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New Review

Vol. III.

APRIL 1915

No. 4

THE BERNHARDI SCHOOL OF SOCIALISM

BY ISAAC A. HOURWICH

I

Von Bernhardi has been universally denounced in the American press for his frank statement that in the relations between nations "right is respected so far only as it is compatible with advantage." And yet, if we would only be candid with ourselves, we should have to admit that this is the guiding principle of the American labor and social reform movement of our day. General von Bernhardi was anticipated by eighteen years in the First-of-May meditations of the Sunday editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, in 1893, at the time when the American Socialist movement was still predominantly German and opportunism was unknown among American Socialists. The *Volkszeitung* played a very important part in the formation of the present Socialist Party in 1900, it has brought up many of the present-day leaders and active workers of the Party in the East and it is still under the same editorial management as in 1893. Its editorials have exerted a greater influence upon the rank and file of the Socialists than the writings of Marx and Engels, whose sacred memories are venerated, but whose writings are not read by the masses.

The proletarian ethics are laid down by the *Volkszeitung* editor in the following sentences:

" 'In the name of justice we demand this thing or that thing,'—thus speaks, we regret to say, and—what is worse yet—thus still thinks the great bulk of organized labor, especially in this country,—and some among them who call themselves Socialists. Just think of it, what they would demand from the ruling classes, what magnificent things these good men, but bad musicians would claim in the name of that beautiful idea: Justice, equal rights for all, humanity, and all the rest of the well-sounding rhetorical phrases! . . .

The pious belief in the soundness of this justification of the demands of labor, in other words the inclination to appeal to the bourgeois legal ideology,—is the hereditary sin of the proletariat. This is the foul cuckoo egg which the proletariat has taken over into its consciousness from the vocabulary of the bourgeoisie. . . . There is no salvation for the proletariat from the ban of social servitude without salvation from this hereditary sin. And . . . as truly as the emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself, so surely must the first step towards this aim be an act . . . of intellectual self-emancipation, an act of cleansing the consciousness of the worker from that ill-smelling garbage of faith in the conceptions of right, justice, equal rights and humanity. . . . If the proletariat would be its own savior, it must first of all rid its own consciousness of all bourgeois notions in its rise towards proletarian class-consciousness." (Editorial of April 30, 1893.)

The substance of this long-winded argument is that the demands of organized labor need not be governed by considerations of right, justice and humanity,—class-consciousness, *i. e.*, class interest (as it may be understood by organized labor) being a sufficient justification of its claims. These principles have recently been given a practical test in the attitude of the leading Socialist organs on the immigration question.

At the hearing on the immigration bill which was held at the White House on January 22, Mr. Charles Edward Russell appeared in behalf of the National Executive of the S. P. in opposition to the then pending bill. "This roused A. F. of L. leaders," reported the Washington correspondent of the New York *Call*, who came to his defense in the following paragraph:

"But Russell made it clear at the White House hearing that the Socialists favor restriction of immigration, but will not indorse restrictions which take from the United States its reputation as the haven for the oppressed of all countries."—The N. Y. *Call*, Jan. 26, 1915.

This defense, however, apparently failed of the desired effect with the A. F. of L. leaders, and so, four weeks later, on February 23, the following item appeared in the *Call*:

"Because *the charge* has been widely circulated by Samuel Gompers and others that Charles Edward Russell defended unrestricted immigration in the hearing before President Wilson, which resulted in the veto of the bill, the actual truth concerning that hearing should be made known."—[Italics mine.—I. A. H.]

The remarks of Mr. Russell are reproduced from the stenographic minutes which appeared in the *Congressional Record*:

Charles Edward Russell—"Mr. President, I thank you for kindly allowing me to be heard on this subject.

"Some limitation and restriction of immigration is undoubtedly necessary and salutary. We are opposed to this measure because the provision of the literacy test would be unscientific, unsound, and extremely difficult to enforce. Consequently it would not reach the purpose aimed at in the bill. No provision, perhaps, could be more easily evaded than the literacy test.

"Next, when there are at least two other tests, two other measures, that would reach the end sought, and that would not be open to the objection of the literacy test, is it not unfortunate that we should adopt this test, which is open to objection on so many grounds and which in all probability cannot be enforced?

"In behalf, therefore, of the Socialist party, which I represent here, I offer this protest against this bill, and on one other ground. . . ."

Next follows an argument in opposition to the provisions of the bill which were directed against political refugees, and in conclusion Mr. Russell says:

"In behalf, therefore, of the 1,000,000 Socialists of this country, whom I represent, I petition you, Mr. President, to veto this bill."

It will be noted—adds the *Call* correspondent—that Russell based his argument entirely upon the ground that the bill would exclude political refugees, which was the ground upon which the veto was based.

The defense of unrestricted immigration is thus a "charge" which calls for a vindication. The correspondent pleads for him, in mitigation, that his argument was based "*entirely* upon the ground that the bill would exclude political refugees," but this plea is negated by the report itself, which shows that Mr. Russell opposed the literacy test as well.

According to the Milwaukee *Leader*, restriction of immigration is in full harmony with International Socialism, which not only recognizes "the right of a people to protect their civilizations and institutions from armed attack," but also "considers it the duty of a people with a higher civilization to protect it from violent overthrow by a lower civilization." (Dec. 18, 1914.)

The writer would, of course, not "court war with any power, but the fact remains that those who are most noisy pacifists are often just as noisy in behalf of policies calculated to give affront to those powers which insist that their subjects shall not be singled out for exclusion from our shores or discriminated against after they shall have been permitted to enter.

"If, as a nation, we shall insist upon policies that are distasteful to nations that are prepared to enforce their demands then there is one of two things that we may do, abandon or modify our policies

voluntarily or under compulsion or *prepare to use force to sustain them.*"

Which of the two horns of the dilemma the Milwaukee *Leader* would choose is clear from the next paragraph where a citizen soldiery for national defense is advocated—"until the American workingman shall be prepared to take the little brown brother to his bosom."

The same ideas are expressed by von Bernhardi when he says "that a state, under the necessity of providing remunerative work for its population, may be driven into war."¹

"War," says he further, "will be regarded as a moral necessity if it is waged to protect the highest and most valuable interests of a nation."²

On the question of immigration, specifically, he says that "over-populated countries pour a stream of emigrants into other States and territories," who "try to obtain favorable conditions of existence for themselves at the cost of the original inhabitants, with whom they compete." Though "at first the procedure is pacific," yet eventually "increase of population forms . . . a convincing argument for war."³

"In such cases . . . might is at once the supreme right, and the dispute as to what is right is decided by the arbitrament of war."⁴

II

Restriction of immigration as a "protective tariff for labor" does not necessarily imply legal discrimination against those immigrants who have been admitted to this country. Lately, however, the anti-immigration movement has developed into a campaign for the restriction of the civil rights of the aliens. And, to be sure, this agitation has struck a responsive chord in the New York *Call*. Its sentiment on the subject is expressed in the following headlines which we find in its issue of December 31, 1914:

JAPS STRONG IN CALIFORNIA

THEY OWN 331 FARMS AND LEASE 282 OTHERS

Just think of the alarming growth of the yellow peril: in the state of California alone, out of 88,000 farms with 27,900,000 acres of farm land, as many as 613 Japanese farmers owned and leased 30,000 acres of farm land!

¹ Germany and the Next War, p. 24.

² *Ibidem*, p. 26.

³ *Ibidem*, pp. 21-23.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 23.

When the people of Arizona adopted by a referendum the law restricting the number of alien factory workers to 20 per cent. of the total number employed, the *Call*, in its issue of November 28, 1914, reproduced without comment, under the caption "Important for Labor," the following remarks of the eminent editor of the *Wyoming Labor Journal*:

"The bill quoted will mean much toward keeping up the standard of wages for Americanized labor of that State."

As might be expected, the *Call* sided with the Bricklayers' Union in its recent fight for the exclusion of alien workmen from employment in the construction of the New York subway.

Having for many years been a reader of the American Socialist press, I have come to know that Socialism is an esoteric doctrine which none but party members in good standing can fathom. Moreover, unlike the ancient mysteries, it is operated upon the quarter-in-the-slot principle: the light of scientific Socialism is shut off from the initiated the moment he fails to deposit his quarter with the treasurer of his local.

Since the *Call* supported editorially the efforts of the New York unions to throw out of employment ten thousand unnaturalized workmen in order to make room for their naturalized countrymen, I would humbly assume that this was strictly in accord with the principle of solidarity of labor. Unfortunately, however, there is conflict of authorities upon the application of this Socialist doctrine to the case at bar.

Said the Milwaukee *Leader* in an editorial of December 17, 1914, commenting upon the decision of the N. Y. Supreme Court sustaining the alien labor law:

"There has been no little denunciation of the law by those New York newspapers that welcome immigration as a means of keeping down wages. . . . So far as the workers are concerned, their interests are identical whether they are native-born, naturalized or unnaturalized.

"To exclude aliens from public employment will bring little benefit to the American workingman. . . .

"Under a sane system of wealth production and distribution, the more work that should be done by aliens the better, for more work would mean more wealth and more wealth would mean more comfort and leisure for all."

This opinion, like the opinions of our courts, is capable of more than one interpretation. The A. F. of L. man will be pleased by the shaft directed at "those New York newspapers that welcome immigration as a means of keeping down wages." It is immaterial that "under a sane system of wealth production and distribution" aliens

might be admitted to public employment,—this very qualification implies that under the present system of production and distribution, which is not sane, the law is justified in excluding the alien from public employment. To be sure, this law “will bring *little* benefit to the American workingman,” yet every little thing helps. Still, you cannot get away from the general proposition that the interests of the workers “are identical whether they are native-born, naturalized or unnaturalized.” If this proposition be correct, the stand taken by the *Call* is not in accord with Socialist principles.

Another standard authority, the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, in an editorial note of November 21, 1914, cautiously animadverted that if the unions paid some attention to the disregard of the eight-hour provision of the law, their proceeding “would lose some of its *reactionary stain* which it appears to have if they emphasize only the citizenship clause and thereby attempt to deprive of employment all non-citizens among the workers.”

In a later editorial, which appeared on December 2, 1914, the same paper said that

“The unions involved did no more than their duty when they made the attempt to enforce observance of the law. It is another question, of course, whether the enforcement of such a law is really in the interest of the workers of New York. . . . At most, it might result in attracting a substantial number of *farm laborers and farmers’ sons who are used to hard labor and low wages*; unemployment in New York would thereby be increased rather than reduced. . . . That awful abuses exist in relation to the underpayment and treatment of the workers . . . because they are chiefly Italian, Slav, Greek and members of other ‘contented’ national groups, is undisputed, and it must further be admitted that the masses of the laborers could be better protected against ill-treatment, if they were citizens of the United States.”

The editorial then argues in favor of abolition of the contract system of public works and concludes as follows:

“*Reactionary laws*—such as that one which is at present attacked in the courts—could then, without injury to the workers, be quickly thrown into the great waste-basket.”

Two propositions are laid down in this editorial opinion: first, that the anti-alien law was reactionary,¹ and, second, that it will be possible to relegate it to the waste-basket only after the abolition of the present contract system of public works, which implies that, so long as this system is in operation, the reactionary law cannot be repealed without injury to the workers.

Three months later, however, the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* reversed itself. In its issue of March 2, 1915, it gives utterance to

¹ It has since been repealed.

the following editorial views:

“This law is not one of those which may be approved from the standpoint of the Socialists or even only from that of the progressive workingman. In so far as this law demands that only citizens of the United States may be employed on public works, it creates a special privilege in favor of the workingmen who were born here or have lived in this country long enough to have become citizens. It abridges the rights of immigrant workingmen who have as yet not lived five years in this country. Not all members of the unions are citizens. The non-citizens in the unions are affected by this law as much as the non-unionists. The law thus creates two kinds of legal status within the union and thereby makes the organization of the unorganized masses more difficult.”

Though further on the same editorial reiterates the assertion that “the immigrants, especially the Italians, who are employed in digging and similar work, are working far below the average wage,” still the answer to that is, according to the same authority, that they could be replaced by “farmers’ sons who are used to hard labor and low wages.” It seems, therefore, indisputable that this abridgment of “the rights of immigrant workingmen” must be condemned because it “makes the organization of the unorganized masses more difficult.”

Still more outspoken is the *Jewish Forward* of the same date. While denouncing the capitalistic press for the motives of its opposition to the alien labor law, the editorial writer says:

“An army of ten thousand souls has been added to the hundreds of thousands of the unemployed who are crowding the city as it is. And this is greeted by the Gompersist trade unionists as ‘a victory for the labor movement.’ [The editor ignores the fact that the *Call* has also upheld the same law.] . . . Unfortunately, it happens that our people (meaning the Socialists) are at times placed in a situation where they demand on some point the same thing as our worst adversaries. Thus they want free immigration, and we want free immigration. . . . The law which allows only citizens to obtain employment . . . creates an abominable hatred of foreigners by citizens and of citizens by foreigners, and this only aggravates the lack of unity and competition among them. . . . The interests of the workers will gain nothing if instead of Italians, American citizens will fight over jobs. . . . And inasmuch as this law is no protection for the workers against capitalistic robbery, the human side may be taken into consideration—how hateful, how abominable it is to enact a law that only a citizen has a right to live and to eat, and a non-citizen must starve.”

In strict conformity with the von Bernhardt rule the human side is taken into consideration only because this law is no protection for the workers against capitalistic robbery—which implies that if this “abominable” law did offer protection to American

labor, the editor would resign himself to the starvation of the non-citizen.

The *Call* of the same date takes this very view of the law, viz.: that it does protect the American worker, and speaks contemptuously "of all the rhetorical gush about the 'right to work' and the constitutional rights of the alien laborer." To the editorial writer "the issue stands out clearly as a phase of the interminable struggle between capital and labor."

In another editorial, under the heading "It is Safe to Taunt the Weak," the *Call* breaks a lance with the *Evening Sun* in defense of the unions accused by that paper of disregard for "the rights of other union men." Says the *Call*:

"The allusion is to the fact that trade unions admit aliens to membership, and this fact the *Sun* uses to make the point that the unions are in the contradictory position of depriving their own members of work. The contradiction is there, it must be admitted, but that does not alter the brazen effrontery of the union-hating *Sun* in calling attention to it, and apparently posing as a champion of union men and impudently declaring that 'all fair-minded union men' should favor the repeal of the law."

So, "it must be admitted" that the *Evening Sun* is right in its criticism, nevertheless it is "impudent" of it to criticise the trade unions for their stand which three Socialist newspapers have characterized as reactionary. Apparently the trade unions "can do no wrong."

I shall not enter into the merits of the claim that the alien laborers stood in the way of "American citizens" with an alleged "higher standard of living" who might otherwise be procured to do rough work at higher wages. It must be conceded that if, as Mr. Russell says, "restriction of immigration is necessary and salutary," anti-alien labor laws would prove the most effective means to accomplish this end. Those who were deprived of an opportunity to work would be forced to return to their native countries. Their example would act as a deterrent against prospective emigrants.

"By self-assertion alone can the State maintain the conditions of life for its citizens,"—says General von Bernhardt. "This duty of self-assertion . . . includes the obligation to assure the possibility of life and development to the whole body of the nation embraced by the State."¹

¹ *Ibidem*, p. 21.

"Might is the supreme right": the citizens affiliated with trade unions have votes the aliens have not. The *New York Call*, true to

the von Bernhardt philosophy, lines up with those who have votes against those who have not.

CHINA BEFORE AND AFTER THE WAR

BY J. A. JACKSON

[Concluded from our March issue.]

President Yuan Shih-kai has now full control of the machine of government, and has had splendid opportunities for doing good to his country and yet there is nothing but an ominous silence. He has been well supported by Great Britain, but the public benefit up to date is practically nil. A great deal of time has been spent in drawing up constitutions; three have been produced in two years, each in turn to be cancelled. There has been much talk and issuing of mandates, but next to no legislative action has resulted. The President is being severely put to the test, and there is a slight suspicion at the present moment that some of the foreign powers which have supported him through thick and thin are losing confidence in him, and may withdraw their support unless some different methods are adopted. These three years have demonstrated in a most emphatic manner that a presidential autocracy is quite unsuited to present conditions in China, and is entirely opposed to the spirit of the times in the Far East.

Some may say that the very fact that Yuan Shih-kai has been able to pass victoriously through such an unsettled period of national history indicates that he has capabilities, but these must be discounted very much when one considers that he is the only man who has been supported by the foreign powers, the foreign financiers and the foreign concession hunters. No other man has had the chance or opportunity of taking control. Now-a-days a great deal can be resolved into dollars, and if you find a man who is willing to play into the hands of the capitalists they will take care to make him out in their newspapers as being a very capable and strong man. While the Nanking Assembly was sitting in 1911 the revolutionists were hard pressed for money and it is said that the Standard Oil Company offered to advance a large amount of money provided that they were granted reasonable returns.

The present Government has just granted the Standard Oil Company a very large lease for the oil fields in Shensi Province. The Standard Oil Company is to have 55 per cent. of the stock, and present the balance to the Chinese Government in the form of shares so that the former will have control of the company. The Standard Oil Company is evidently getting ready to plant a crop

of kerosene cabbages and will duly give the Chinese Government the roots. Engineers are already on their way from America to start operations. The bulk of the kerosene used in China is imported by the Standard Oil Company, though there is some competition; but no doubt if the Standard Oil Company obtains control of the Chinese oil fields they will no doubt be able to wipe the floor with their competitors. There may be a violent agitation over this concession, but the great oil octopus will hardly be dislodged now.

There is one man, however, who has come through this sorry business with clean hands and that is Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who is one of the most intelligent men in China at the present day. A good English scholar, fully conversant with political affairs in Europe and America, and understands the methods of the capitalist. For such a man to be President would be a god-send to China just now when the foreign capitalist vultures are hovering round Peking in such large numbers. I have personally met him several times, and admit that I admire his cool, sedate and calculating manner. He is naturally reserved and does not seek advertisement of self. He is not an office-seeker, but is moved in all his actions by high principles. He has an intense love of his country and has devoted his life to bringing about a social and political reformation. He is now in exile in Japan because he published broadcast his righteous indignation at the disgraceful events in Peking a year ago and warned the foreign Christian powers of the danger of warfare if they continued their financial support of Yuan.

The support given to reaction in China by the foreign capitalists and the Powers is one of the disgraces of Christian nations. It has confirmed among the Chinese their previous impression that "Christianity is a fierce religion," and that Christians are not guided by moral values but look for pecuniary benefits to themselves, and will use and support force in order to get material benefits. It is a great pity that Great Britain is no longer guided in her foreign affairs by the moral rectitude of a Gladstone, instead of the present day petty financial diplomacy with its Marconi and Standard Oil scandals.

Of course one cannot but recognize that the whole of Christendom is morally bankrupt, and this has partly upset the Chinese standards. They have adopted Christian civilization with its desire to get rich quick at other people's expense, and have learned from these Christians how to work it by joint stock companies and gambling in shares. Chinese railway officials have discovered the graft to be scooped when there are large contracts to be placed for land and materials, and they have found out how easy and profitable it is to dispense other people's money when they control

the expenditure and do not give too many details or analyze their accounts. About twenty years ago the word of a Chinese merchant was considered as equal to his bond, but now it is not so. Anybody engaged in the China trade knows to his cost how unreliable and crooked Chinese merchants can be when market or exchange is against them.

Since the European War broke out the Chinese press has been well worked by the German press bureau with a plentiful supply of rubbish and lies to give the impression that Germany was very strong and powerful. There was also an agitation that China should take action, but all this did not move the Government and China remained neutral. That this agitation, however, upset Peking was shown by the ministerial changes which took place at the Boards of Finance, Communications, and Agriculture, where the Ministers resigned and were replaced.

Special activities took place at the Board of War, and steps were taken to select the best officers and most reliable regiments to form what is called the Model Army and which is now located at Peking, apparently for the special protection of the President. Arrangements have also been made for the building of some forts all round Peking. The German system of conscription has been translated into Chinese and published. The Chin Pu Tang have adopted conscription as the first item on their political programme and this question will no doubt occupy a prominent position in the elections which are announced to take place this June. It is not expected that there will be any serious opposition to the military party at the polls as the Government has stamped out all the reformers.

Although White Wolf was killed on the 7th of August and that band of rebels has now been dissolved, yet there are signs almost every week of rebel activities, such as the bomb outrages at Canton in October, and the plots said to have been discovered at Peking to assassinate the Minister of War and the President in November, and the almost continuous execution of alleged rebels, here and there.

The Chinese were very suspicious of the Japanese Government establishing themselves at Tsingtao because of the way in which they have held Manchuria which, although nominally a Chinese province, is economically entirely in the hands of the Japanese in the south and the Russians in the north owing to them controlling the railways there. When the Japanese delivered their ultimatum to Germany the United States stepped in and Bryan stated that he was satisfied as to the intentions of the Japanese, and many people thought that Japan did not intend to keep Tsingtao. In December, however, Baron Kato, the Japanese Minister

for Foreign Affairs, stated in the Parliament at Tokyo that "the restitution (i. e., of Tsingtao to China) after a campaign was not thought of and was not referred to in the ultimatum." Of course there is nothing here to say that Japan will not obey the decision arrived at by the Allies (of whom she is one) when the treaties are signed after the war, but still there is enough to make the Chinese suspicious that Japan intends to hold Tsingtao.¹

There is no doubt that the settlement of the Kiaochau lease will form an important subject of discussion at the conference after the war, and one would not be at all surprised if it was agreed to form some kind of international control of China. During the last decade China affairs have got into a hopeless muddle, and matters have only been kept going by recourse to foreign loans and the continual piling up of debts. The currency has got into a disgraceful state, and the huge masses of vested interests who batten on the people by all forms of squeezes effectually bar the road to even moderate reform. The country is now in the hands of a military clique, and there is no hope of reform in that direction, so that it must be written down as a failure. The nation is very largely conservative; there is so much corruption and lying in all directions; the vested interests which exploit the people are so strong; and the people are so docile, that it is reasonably questionable whether there is any prospect of an improvement except by outside pressure. And this is probably what will take place.

It is needless to say that if China has to submit to international control it will open the field for the foreign capitalists and financiers to fill their pockets. This explains why their press attacked Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who foresaw what was coming, and they "boosted" Yuan Shih-kai as a strong man because he was more amenable to pressure and was a willing tool.

For a long time past the Christian-capitalist press in China has been blinded by the theories of the "strong man," and have openly advocated the use of force in governing the country. This is of course merely a reflection of the similar trend of thought in both Europe and America which has advocated "force" when dealing with strikes, heretics, and the "other people" generally. Criticism of the powers that be or independence of thought were suppressed and the newspapers closed as being "seditious" upon the merest ground. The editor of a Chinese paper in Shanghai was charged with libel because he had fiercely denounced the filthy opium trade as being "immoral," and put to much legal expense. For a long time I have been aware of the disintegrating influence of Chris-

¹ This was written before Japan made her voracious "demands upon China."—Ed. N. R.

tianity in China, and seen that the missionaries have brought a sword with their religion, and because I published an article against Christianity I was prosecuted for "insulting Christianity" and was practically ruined. There were numerous similar instances, and on every side any exhibition of the least independence of thought was met with ruthless brutality without the merest semblance of even fair play. The arm of the law, both British and Chinese, has been prostituted (as it always was) to support the "powers that be," no matter whether that power was a mere cloak for the worst form of humbuggery or incompetence.

There is no doubt that German militarism has had the same pernicious effect in China as it has had in Turkey. Both countries have traveled somewhat closely on the same lines, being guided by the same influence. The revolutionary party has overthrown a corrupt imperialism, but in their turn have been overcome by a military clique which has ruled by force, and played into the hands of the German group, which hoped by these means to gradually establish their power. The German armor and ammunition firm of Krupp was very prominent in China and supplied the arms, ammunition, and officers for the army. With the fall of Tsingtao, however, the Chinese realize that the flood of articles about the importance of a great military system, and the importance of being ruled by a "strong man" has been largely bluff, and that the reasoning has been false. The European War is showing the Asiatics that the Christians have more faith in their armies than in their dogmas. That the flood of missionary talk about brotherly love and the Prince of Peace has no weight with the Christians when there is a dispute. Of course the Christian-capitalist press has already put before the Chinese the explanation that this war is the result of those renegade Europeans who have not attended the churches regularly, and have thus fallen from grace by following Bernhardt. These papers see clearly now that the Christian powers are dangerous and therefore the military clique are using this to bring in conscription.

THE SOCIALIST CRISIS IN ITALY

BY ARTHUR VELLA

National Secretary, Socialist Party of Italy

The war already begins to have its victims even in Italy. Benito Mussolini, the idolized editor of the *Avanti!* (official organ of the Italian Socialist Party), who for the last two years has been the beloved standard-bearer of the Party, has been expelled from the ranks of the Italian Socialists on account of his political and moral unworthiness. This most conspicuous incident in the Italian political situation illustrates more than any other the moral and material crisis reflected by the European conflict upon the life of a country which has taken up too soon the role and customs of a Great Power, while it is yet extremely poor and unprepared.

Hector Ciccotti, one of the great propagandists of Italian Socialism, used to observe that Italy has lost the path leading towards a civic and economic regeneration by following the mirage of warlike adventures, and that now, in her present dilemma, Italy must admit that she has neither prepared herself for war, nor has she cultivated the arts of peace.

While each one of the belligerent nations (for a good or a foolish reason) has at least displayed a wonderful energy, by fierce aggression or by firm defense; while everyone of the belligerent countries has dissimulated the savage acts of war under the cover of the ambitious dream of a universal empire and of a new historical era, or with the excuse of unselfishly protecting the liberty of nations and the international sense of justice, in Italy one only hears of the protection of obscure and mysterious interests, and of the advantages to be traded indifferently with this or with that belligerent nation! And if, after all, Italy in the end should gain any advantage, one can be sure that she will make a poor showing and that her moral prestige will suffer.

It will result in the collapse of an edifice planlessly put together and laboriously erected year by year, a policy which has neither been able to suit the efforts to the energy, nor the action to the needs.

After what has been said, the Mussolini case will easily be explained in a country like Italy. Great interests do not determine ideas, but the abstract and often metaphysical notions are those which determine human actions.

Thus, up to the day of his expulsion, Benito Mussolini had impressed the Party by his attitude against the war and militarism, and in making out the causes of the European war he had held responsible for it all the bourgeois ruling classes (be they English, or German, or Russian, or French).

But then, with a light-heartedness beyond conception, this man suddenly becomes a convert to the strongest principles of intervention, and he foolishly starts to exalt the war, defining it as a source and instrument of revolution, and (which is most absurd and grotesque) an instrument for solving the working-class problem. Mussolini's attitude must be considered not as merely heresy, but as a complete abandonment of every conception of Socialism. The Italian proletariat did not hesitate to expel this man who had broken his faith, while the bourgeois press rejoiced indecorously, because Mussolini is its latest acquisition, after Ferri and Bissolati.

This is an illusion of the middle class: at every apostasy it believes that the Socialist Party and the working class are annihilated, while soon after it finds them stronger and more active than ever.

Think of the many crises which Italian Socialism has triumphantly overcome! After the downfall of the despotic and reactionary followers of Crispi, there came a succession of crises and wrangles, which were only the reflection of the general political crisis in the country. First came the separation between the "Reformists" and the Revolutionists. The Reformists wished to make an alliance with the Democratic minorities in Parliament, in order to gain authority and power in the government, under its present monarchical and bourgeois administration.

The Revolutionists instead wished to maintain strong and intact the *struggle between classes*, not allowing any agreement to intervene in Parliament or in the elections, nor any kind of co-operation between the *exploited* and the *exploiting* classes, even if cloaked under the semblance of a formal democracy.

The wrangles of that time, around 1904, between Ferri and Turati and between Lazzari and Bissolati, have come down as history in our records. And on top of all came the revolutionary *Syndicalism*, imported from France.

This Syndicalism was the theory in practice of the independent activity of the trades-unions, and was also the psychological reaction against "Reform." But it soon degenerated into a radical anti-parliamentary organization.

Having been imported into a country not prepared for it, this Syndicalism was bound to deteriorate into a new kind of politics, represented at that time by Arturo Labriola and Alceste De Ambris,

who are to-day Representatives in the Italian Parliament, and are both for armed intervention!

The latest crisis—the Mussolini movement—is that of “*Socialism for war at any price!*” Two contradictory terms, the sum of which make an obscurity.

The middle class (which is so much stronger and better educated than the proletariat) realized at once the destructive power of this most recent and revolutionary term, “war at any cost,” and it supplied the *means* for the creation of a great daily newspaper against the *Avanti!* and edited by the same Mussolini—in the hope of giving a death blow to our movement! But this stupid illusion will have its awakening.

THE PREVENTION OF CONCEPTION

BY WILLIAM J. ROBINSON, M. D.

It is very easy to write on the subject of the voluntary limitation of offspring for an orthodox audience. For to an orthodox audience our line of reasoning is both new and novel, many of the arguments are shocking and therefore interesting, while the incontrovertible facts which we present and which to us are so old, so very old, come to them as eye-openers, as inspired epoch-making truths. It is very difficult, however, to write on the subject for a radical audience, especially if the radical audience is also an intellectual one (for may it please the editors of the NEW REVIEW, radical and intellectual are not at all synonymous terms, nor do they necessarily go together). One feels like constantly apologizing. For it seems impossible to imagine that the arguments which you have to present in favor of the voluntary limitation of offspring, the proofs of the benefits which it would confer and of the evils which it would obviate should be unknown to radical readers, or that they should not be in full agreement with them. Still there is a valid excuse for speaking on the subject of prevention to Socialists. The excuse is contained in the fact that the attitude of many Socialists to the subject under discussion is one of indifference, while many good comrades speak of it sneeringly or with ill-concealed if not open hostility.

This indifference or hostility, when not due to thoughtlessness—people are not enthusiastic over any measure to which they have not given any consideration—is due to two causes, which, strange to say, are of a diametrically opposite character. Some good comrades are indifferent or hostile to the small family propaganda because they do not believe that a one or two child system will

in any way improve the condition of the working class. They are in general opposed to any measure which has not the Socialist *imprimatur* on it, and which has not for its immediate object the abolition of wage slavery and the bringing about of the co-operative commonwealth. Like the good orthodox brethren that they are, they bring down from the wall the old rusty weapon, the “iron law of wages,” and tell us that as soon as the workingman has few or no children and is able to live on less, his wages will be cut in two and he will be just as badly off as before. Of course no sensible person has now any use for the iron law of wages. A strong union, a high standard of living and a scarce labor market can convert the iron law of wages into one of papier maché and tear it asunder with the greatest ease. A single workman can demand and receive higher wages than a man with nine children. In fact, as he has only himself or himself and wife to provide for, he can be more independent, he can afford to wait; but when there are several hungry mouths at home crying for bread the man is apt to accept anything that is offered him, and it is a well known fact that fathers of big families, especially where the children are not yet earning a living, make very poor strikers.

There are comrades of another class whose objection to the prevention of conception propaganda is, as mentioned, of an entirely different, of an opposite character. Not being entirely devoid of common sense, they admit that a large family of little children is a curse to a workingman, and that his condition would be greatly improved if he could control the number of his children and the intervals of their appearance in this world. But that is just what they are afraid of. They are afraid that if the material condition of the working classes is materially improved, they may lose their revolutionary spirit (which spirit is a pure myth) and sink into the slough of self-contentment and obese satisfaction of the bourgeoisie. And what will then become of the revolution? Yes, and many comrades want a numerically large proletariat. For when that terrible bloody revolution breaks out, we want to be able to send a large proletarian army against the capitalistic monster. These good comrades take it for granted that the proletariat will necessarily be on the side of the revolution. They forget that a large, hungry proletariat is often more anti-revolutionary than is the bourgeoisie itself; they forget that the slum proletariat, or what our German friends call *Lumpenproletariat*, make very poor revolutionary material, and it is from this stratum that are recruited the hired thugs, gunmen, hoodlums and hooligans, black hundreds, strikebreakers and other enemies of revolutionary or evolutionary progress.

To enter into a detailed discussion of the pros and cons of the limitation of offspring propaganda within the brief space suggested by the editors would be impossible. I can only reiterate my conviction that if Socialism stands for the immediate improvement of the condition of the working class, and not for manna and honey in the vague distant future, then the Socialist Party can engage in no more important, no more immediately beneficial, no nobler and saner propaganda, than the *practical* propaganda of teaching the people the means of limiting the number of their children.

You see that young woman? She is pale, thin, exhausted. She has been married eight years and is the mother of five children, who take away every minute of her time, exhaust every atom of her energy. What should we do with her? Teach her Socialism? Yes. But if you will at the same time teach her how she can guard herself against having any more children, you will have done more for *her* than Socialism ever has or ever will do, and she will be correspondingly more grateful. Socialism will improve the conditions of the people in time to come; the knowledge of the limitation of offspring helps to-day, to-morrow, and every other day. And that is the beauty of it. You need no committees, no organizations, no conventions, no resolutions. It can be spread from mouth to mouth, without any concerted action; all that is requisite is to become convinced of its great value, of its absolute necessity for the people in our present social-economic conditions, both as a weapon of defense and offense. The Socialist Party, if it adopted the limitation of offspring propaganda as a part of its program, could through its locals spread this knowledge like wild-fire, and no greater, no more effective ammunition could be put into the hands of the people. It would also swell the army of Socialist Party members enormously. This is rather an opportunistic point of view, and I do not urge the adoption of the propaganda on that score, for I do not believe that the Socialist Party should be a vote hunting party primarily. But where the increase in the membership is the result of real, practical, beneficial work, where the people embrace Socialism because they see that membership means an immediate betterment in their condition, an acquisition of important knowledge, nobody has a right to object.

I knew a young man and a young woman, both engaged in literary work; they were delightfully suited to each other, and they loved each other in quite the old fashioned way. They dearly wanted to get married, but their meager income was in the way. They two could live on it very well; but the spectre of numerous progeny stood before them. How could they afford to have several

children on their meager and uncertain income? They could not, and in the meantime their health suffered; hers even more than his. She was really becoming a pitiable sight. They learned how they could delay and control the appearance of children; they got married; her health became blooming; and a happier couple it is hard to find. And the woman, who is a Socialist, said recently in her woman's inconsequential manner, that the best thing Socialism did for her was that it gave her the means—indirectly, but she might not have been able to learn it otherwise—to live happily with the man she loved. And she has adopted as hers the motto: There is no single measure that would so positively, so immediately, contribute to the happiness and progress of the human race as teaching the people the proper means of the prevention of conception.

This brief article deals with—or rather hints at—the benefits of the knowledge of the prevention of conception to the individual couple. The temptation is great to dilate upon the influence that such universal knowledge would have upon the race as a whole, the relationship of population to the food supply, the eugenic or dysgenic effects of such knowledge, etc. And the temptation is almost irresistible to enter upon a discussion of the effects of the rational control of the birth-rate upon the most important and most sinister event of the hour—War. For there are many sociologists who believe that there is a direct relationship between a high birth-rate and war. But these temptations must be resisted, for my allotted space is limited, and I would also perhaps be going beyond the scope of this paper, which is only a plea for a rational attitude of Socialists in general towards a subject which I have always considered one of the utmost importance to the human race.

MINORITY REPRESENTATION

BY WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

Proportional representation has long been a feature of Socialist programmes. In America it is now especially prominent, since it would give about a dozen Socialist Congressmen and a considerable group of Socialist legislators in every industrial state of the Union.

Compared with other democratic reforms, such as the initiative and referendum and the recall, it has the disadvantage that the several systems of proportional representation differ rather radically and that the best of them seem rather complex. A recent pamphlet printed by Senator Owen (as Senate Document 359) clears up these difficulties within the space of thirty pages. The

pamphlet, however, should be still further condensed for general use. It is entitled "Effective Voting" and is written by C. G. Hoag, Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League. It is both authoritative and amply documented, therefore, and takes a scientific and non-partisan view of the various systems.

The arguments in favor of preferential voting generally are excellently summarized. The present ballot is characterized as a "weak and unstable basis for democracy to rest upon," and we are given the following illustrations of its inefficiency:

Consider the last (1913) State election in Massachusetts. Mr. Walsh, who was elected governor—received only 183,267 votes, or less than 40 per cent. of the total vote; and it may well have been that nearly all of the other 60 per cent. preferred any one of the other candidates to Mr. Walsh. In three of the last four Boston city elections the same can be said of the successful candidate for mayor. In the autumn of 1909 a mayor of Salem, Mass., was elected by 24 per cent. of the voters, and in the opinion of a prominent Salem lawyer each and every one of the five unsuccessful candidates was, by a strong majority, preferred to the winner. The splitting of the vote which causes this injustice is frequently brought about by design.

Our usual plurality system, first, may not elect the candidate desired by a majority of those who vote; secondly, may discourage desirable candidacy; thirdly, may induce voters to express other than their real opinion; and fourthly, discourages many from registering and voting.

Hoag then proceeds to describe the remedy: "Preferential voting." This reform is applicable to all elections and to all electoral offices. But a great distinction is to be drawn between administrative and legislative elections. In administrative elections only one man as a rule is to be elected to each office. In legislative elections, as a rule, a large number are to be elected, and it is easily possible to enlarge the district so that a number of legislators are elected from a single district (or even so that all legislators are elected "at large"). In legislative elections minorities, if sufficiently large, can be given direct representation in approximate proportion to their voting strength, *i. e.*, proportional representation is feasible. In administrative elections, however, it is impossible to do this, as there is only one man to be elected for each office. But even in elections for administrative offices, minorities, while voting first of all for their own candidates, may also be allowed to vote either for or against the candidates who have the best chance to be actually elected. Thus they can vote for their own party, without "throwing away their vote."

Mr. Hoag points out that this system has already been widely adopted:

In one form or another majority preferential voting is in use

for final elections in Queensland, Western Australia, Grand Junction, Colo., Spokane, Denver, Cleveland, and elsewhere, and for primary elections in Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, and elsewhere. Unfortunately these systems are applied in the places mentioned not only to the election of administrative officials, where majority voting is desirable, but to the election of representative bodies.

As this preferential voting for administrative officials requires a *majority* to elect, Hoag calls it majority preferential voting. But here is where the importance of the distinction appears, for in all these places the same system is used for *legislative* elections also. But this is unjust to the minorities. As to administrative officers minorities, as a rule, can only expect to choose between the two most popular candidates. But for legislatures there is no reason why they should not elect their own candidates, *in proportion to the number of their votes*—that is, they can have proportional representation by *minority* preferential voting.

It is the confusion between these two branches of the reform that has led to the long-drawn out and still-continued disputes in the American Socialist Party about the vices and virtues of the commission form of municipal government. The commission should be elected by proportional representation and should have enough members to make this practicable—say nine to fifteen, which points towards the city manager plan. Again, it is the failure to grasp this distinction which led a large faction at the conference of the British Labor Party to favor the *majority* preferential method for the election of members of the national legislature, thus preserving the present single member districts. Another third of the Party favored proportional representation, and this division of the reformers defeated both proposals at the Conference.

The *majority* preferential system, or that system best adapted to administrative offices, is quite simple. The voter has merely to mark all the candidates in the order of his choice; if there are fifteen candidates, he has to number them from one to fifteen. Only one complication arises, that is, when the voter fails to vote on all candidates. By the Nanson variation of this system the blanks are filled in with a certain number, calculated on the justifiable assumption that the voter is indifferent as to the order of the remaining unmarked candidates. In this way, it is claimed the system is absolutely scientific—mathematically exact. There are no other complications. What slight difficulties arise are all for the counting officials and not for the voter. Even these can be easily regulated by a brief and clear statute prescribing the method of counting.

Most countries have not arrived at proportional or minority representation, but have stopped instead with a crude form of majority preference, the second ballot or the alternative ballot—a poor system, even for administrative elections, though a vast advance over the single election or single vote. Our primary laws are a still more crude variation of the second ballot—the voter being compelled to act along party lines. Non-partisan primaries are practically equivalent to the second ballot.

But the second ballot, though general throughout the Continent of Europe, nowhere gives satisfaction. Belgium has led the movement for proportional or minority representation, and now France is about to follow suit.

The *list* system—adopted in Belgium, Sweden, Finland, and now proposed in France—is a compromise. The voter votes for a Party list or ticket, but also marks *one* favorite candidate on that list. All the other candidates on the list are now assumed as his second choice. This system is an advance over our partisan primaries and an advance also over the second ballot, but not a very great one.

The minority preferential system proper, the Hare system, supported by John Stuart Mill and forecasted by Condorcet, allows the voter to express his preferences on *all* candidates and without regard to Party. Again, there is no complexity whatever in the voting. Nor does the statute governing the counting require more than a few hundred words. If, for example, there are 15,000 voters and 15 legislators to be elected, 1,000 votes are sufficient for election. When in the counting a candidate receives that many votes, he is declared elected and preferences for him are no longer counted as being for him. Ballots that put him first are then counted for the candidate next preferred on those ballots. The counting is somewhat more complex, but this is its principle.

The preferential or Hare system is adopted by South Africa, by the provincial government of Tasmania, and by the Upper House of Denmark. The same principle is adopted in the new Home Rule government for Ireland, this clause of the bill passing Parliament by a vote of 311 to 81.

The general adoption of the preferential system would have the most revolutionary consequences. It would finally break up the two-party system, it would bring a number of small parties into the field, it would increase manifold the power of independent voters as against all parties, and above all, it would make it possible to govern directly through a supreme legislature—unchecked by administrative veto, appointive power or reversion to martial law. With a truly representative legislature, the executive could be entirely subordinated. The Cabinet system without minority representation

is oppressive, if efficient. With minority representation it can become both democratic and efficient.

While a proportional representation system introduced on a national scale would bring us about a dozen members of Congress—according to the last election returns—if the system were introduced on a State scale the Socialist representation would be somewhat less.

According to a recent calculation of the Proportional Representation League the Socialists would have one Congressman in Illinois, one in Minnesota, and one in Ohio. This calculation only considers a few states. On the same basis the Socialists would have a Congressman also in New Jersey, Oklahoma, Wisconsin, and California and two each in Pennsylvania and New York, thus increasing their representation from one to eleven.

A splendid summary of the arguments in favor of the proportional representation system is made by William Dudley Foulke, an eminent Civil Service reformer. We quote the leading paragraphs from the *Proportional Representation Review*. The first objection to the present system is that it creates “arbitrary geographical constituencies”:

What should we think of a rule dividing stockholders by geographical lines and prohibiting those residing in different districts from voting for the same directors, although the chief interests and purposes of all the stockholders are not sectional but common to every part of the road? And it is equally true in political elections that in the great majority of cases the reasons which control the votes of the electors relate to the whole community, not merely to a part of it.

If we are ever to have an “industrial parliament,” where industries or occupations alone are represented, then proportional representation affords the road by which we may reach this goal; it does even better, for it affords an opportunity for other economic groupings to be represented, such as co-operating consumers, whenever questions of consumption become more pressing than questions of production.

Foulke then shows how minority parties are obstructed under the present system by the fear of the electors that to cast their ballots for minority candidates may mean “throwing away their vote,” a difficulty entirely removed by proportional representation—to the great benefit of the Socialists and other minority parties. He says:

Another evidence of the crudity of our present system of single-membered constituencies is seen in the immense loss of voting power, the great number of wasted votes in each election. In every

campaign we hear the argument addressed to some member of a minority party: "Don't throw your vote away." The argument is indeed very often an unsound one. It is far better that I should throw my vote away in voting for what I believe to be right than that I should make my vote effective for what I am sure is wrong. Yet the claim that it is better to support the lesser of two possible evils than to vote for an impossibility has sometimes great weight, and it often forces into one of the larger parties many reluctant voters on account of the evident futility of any other course. The district system, therefore, involves a large amount of coercion and constraint upon the individual elector. If representation could be proportional, if the voter stood some chance of electing his own man, of sending up a representative who believed what he believed although only one in ten in the whole body politic might stand with him, he would vote his real convictions. Now it is impossible for him to do this. Proportional representation, therefore, stands for greater freedom of choice in the elector. It stands for liberty.

But this not the worst of it. Even if the voter has the courage to vote for the minority parties, they are cheated:

Even if the electors in casting their votes are perfectly free, and their votes represent their real sentiments, still it commonly results that nearly half, in some cases more than half of these votes are thrown away. If I am a Republican and a Democrat is elected in my district, my vote has been in vain. In like manner every Democrat in a Republican district is unrepresented. Where half the votes are ineffective, the votes of the remainder are equal to two votes each. In a constituency of 1,000 voters 501 votes have as much power in representation as the whole 1,000. The effect is much the same as if 501 voted twice and the 499 did not vote at all. This is manifestly unfair. So far as may be, each voter ought to be represented in the proportion which his vote bears to the entire constituency. This alone is equitable and just. Proportional representation stands not only for greater liberty, but for more perfect justice.

The representative *cannot* represent his voters under the present system because they are divided into at least two hostile camps. When he does not represent the majority, as above, he does worse. He straddles. He sees to it that he offends nobody. "He must keep a safe position upon the fence in regard to all questions where his supporters are divided"—a situation completely cured by proportional representation.

These difficulties come from the fact that, under the present system, one man must represent all the voters of one district. An equally serious difficulty arises from the fact the whole legislative body is made up exclusively of such men. Every district is represented *against* every other district. Nobody represents the interests of the country, state, or city as a whole; nobody represents industries or occupations or other economic groups: "The member

elected is regarded, and he regards himself, rather as the representative of his district than of the entire community. He is in fact charged with the interests of the whole. It is his duty to aid in the enactment of ordinances for the benefit of all. He ought to feel that he has the interests of all in his keeping, not merely the interests of the voters of his own district; but this view of the matter is kept out of sight by the district system."

The Socialist would amend this by saying that the representative ought to have a social program covering these larger questions, even though from the point of view not of "all," but of all the producing classes.

THE WAR IN ENGLAND

BY HERBERT W. ISAY

[Mr. Isay was in England during the first months of the war, leaving for America the latter part of November. His impressions of the attitude of the English people are recorded below.—Eds.]

A declaration of war produces a moment of general panic. As with men, so with nations: they are often judged best in the moment of danger.

Although a resultant of different races, England has in the course of historical development produced a composite national character and philosophy of life peculiarly her own. Ireland alone is an exception; she is not an integral part of England because of the barrier of water and English oppression.

England's continental policy to-day is the traditional policy of centuries: and this policy will always be the same as long as continental Europe blindly allows England to "get away with it." This policy has been the refusal of England to permit any single nation in Europe to become sufficiently strong to contest England's supremacy; and to achieve this end England has played one European nation against another, and while the nations of Europe bled each other white, England waxed strong and prosperous. England to-day fights Germany as she fought Napoleonic France a century ago. The average Englishman knows this very well, and supports any government which expresses this foreign policy, no matter how much that government may be detested in its internal policy.

There was small opposition in England against the war; and even this opposition was given no time to act, because the war was presented to the people as a *fait accompli*. Realizing that this war is particularly dangerous to their country, Englishmen support the government no matter what its acts may be. In spite of this, however, and the silly yarns about the German "Huns and Vandals,"

the call to the colors has left the average Englishman rather cool and unconcerned. Exactly the same "atrocities" yarns were circulated in England about Belgian rule in the Congo at the time when the British lion was slyly looking around for a chance to pounce upon and seize the Congo. The "Belgian barbarians" were denounced, and in thousands of pamphlets the British were told of alleged butchery of women and children in the Congo. At that time, also in the name of duty and humanity, England wanted to free an oppressed people, the while sardonically grinning in anticipation of adding one more rich colony to its booty.

When the war started, England did not expect a protracted struggle. It was believed that the enormous armies of Russia alone would be able to crush Germany; that all England would have to do was to use its fleet to keep the seas clear while her merchants captured the commerce of her allies as well as the commerce of Germany. In even the meanest shop placards appeared, bearing the national colors and the inscription: "To every patriotic Britisher: Business as usual." Party disputes ceased; and even the Irish party for the moment gave up its Home Rule campaign.

A rigorous censorship was established to keep bad news from the people in order to maintain confidence in the government; but in spite of the censorship some of the bad news managed to get into England. The dash of the Germans almost to the gates of Paris, the Russian defeat at Tannenberg, the loss of British warships, all of a sudden awoke Englishmen from their sweet sleep of security; and they arose full of venom and hatred in a wild desire for revenge. The army did not appear the right place to take their revenge: the enemy was easier to get—the Germans living in England, and a campaign of persecution was started against these Germans. "The enemy is in our midst!" was the general cry; and the liberty of innocent, peaceful Germans was taken away, and they were sent to concentration camps as "prisoners of war."

The workers refused to enlist; alluring promises being of no use, pressure and force were brought to bear. In the factories workers were discharged and left to their fate. They were given a choice of death from hunger at home or death from German bullets abroad. With their children crying for bread, they reluctantly went to the battlefield. On the horizon appeared the fire of burning towns in France and Belgium; fear of a similar fate for his own home made him apprehensive and vindictive; and he sprang at the enemy. This is the spirit of the British worker-soldier of to-day; this is the "patriotism of the proletariat." But the leaders of the workers, men who do not have to fear death from hunger or on the field of battle—they, of course, are "patriotic" when patriotism is

the order of the day. Not patriotism, not love of country, not the fate of Belgium, not the desire for adventure, have made the workmen join the army; for that the British proletariat is too emancipated. The spectre of want is the greatest recruiting sergeant in England.

The workmen left in civil life—those needed for industry and commerce—are toiling under conditions no better, often worse, than before the war—they even go on strike. But the old liberty to strike has been taken away from the workers; the workers in the Clyde shipping wharf who went on strike for a small increase in wages, were ordered back to work by the government under threat of drastic action. The small clerks find it very difficult to get along, as they are usually drawing only half salary in spite of the higher cost of living. A good example of English selfishness among the so-called better class was shown at the beginning of the war, when a famine was feared, and the "better class" began hoarding enormous quantities of food in their homes, as a result of which prices soared upwards. These high prices made it almost impossible for the poorer people to purchase a sufficiency of food. After this became known, the shopkeepers arranged as a preventive measure to sell their goods only in small quantities.

It is interesting to note the attitude of the English women. In the other belligerent nations the women of course desire their country's victory, but in general they seem to act more or less reasonably. But in England it is different. The English women are animated by sentiments of hatred stronger than among the men. In times of peace the English woman was, except in regard to the question of suffrage, probably the most conservative in the world. Since the war they have become hysterical nationalists—nationalism possesses them as a fever. The women in England are a great recruiting agent, almost as great as the spectre of want. They are instigating national hatred, and sending their brothers, husbands, sweethearts and sons to the battlefield. Women's insular outlook, their concentration upon the home and the family, their lack of broad social experience, make them easy victims of nationalism and patriotism—more so than the men.

It is a well-known fact that the foreigner is not well-liked in England. Anti-Semitism has appeared again since the war; and this in spite of the fact that the Jews are proportionally the most numerous element in the British army. Perhaps one reason for this prejudice is that most of the Jews bear German names; but even the French and Belgians are not exactly loved by the British—the French because they have not beaten the Germans, the Bel-

gians because hundreds of thousands of them in England are an uncomfortable reminder of the plight of Belgium.

A splendid obituary has been read by the English pharisees over the heroic and magnificent death of Belgium; but the living Belgians in England are treated very shabbily. The Belgian with money is given plenty to eat and drink—and welcome; but what to do with those who are penniless? British workers do not like the competition of foreign labor; and in some cases they threatened strike if Belgian workers were given jobs. And the British government was compelled to feed these Belgians; it did so very grudgingly, however. Specially skilled Belgian workers have been made to teach English workers their particular national arts so as to dispense with British dependence upon Belgium in these particular industries. Belgian industries are being established in England; and in this way Belgian misery is transmuted into English profit. England refused to send food into starving Belgium, claiming that would benefit the Germans by saving the Germans so much food; and England, which admits having been saved by Belgium's heroic resistance, left the task of feeding her heroic defenders to the United States.

The English press is shocked at the fact that there are many able-bodied Belgians in England who should have been fighting in France; and this in spite of the millions of British who are doing the same thing. An appalling proof of British ingratitude is the number of men crippled in the Boer war now begging in the streets of London; and now crippled Belgium is left to beg its means of livelihood, too.

What England is not given freely she takes forcibly; honor and treaty rights are a new discovery. The bombardment of undefended Copenhagen in 1807—the destruction of many official buildings and more than 300 private dwellings, the killing of hundreds of innocent civilians, the capture of the Danish fleet and an enormous amount of ammunition—is an exact parallel of the German invasion of Belgium. England justified her monstrous breach of international law in the name of "duty," and hypocritically contended that if she had not assaulted neutral Denmark, Napoleon would have done so.

The days of the liberal government in England had seemed numbered. Shortly before the war began, the opposition to Home Rule began to get the upper hand. The radical elements of the government majority found that the government was not energetic enough fighting the anti-Home Rulers, and also that it was in general not sufficiently radical. The government was on the verge of collapsing like a house of cards. But the clever diplomats and

business men of the government were able to turn the war to their advantage, and the government is to-day stronger than ever. It has taken into its ranks the strongest representative of British imperialism and militarism—Kitchener, who is using his power for the same reactionary purposes as those of the Grand Duke Nicholas in Russia. This representative of British imperialism is using the opportunity created for him by the diplomacy and intrigues of Sir Edward Grey.

The British parties, which never loved internationalism for the reason that Britain is proprietor of half the world, are giving their full support to Grey and Kitchener. But some far-seeing men while they appreciate in Kitchener a good soldier, see in him otherwise a very dangerous man. They ask themselves apprehensively what may happen with Kitchener at the head of a victorious army. The power and prestige of Kitchener would undoubtedly be used to kill the Home Rule bill and restore the supremacy of the House of Lords. Nationalism and imperialism in England would get a new lease of life. The government encourages the clamor of nationalism and imperialism. Men of art and science and learning are mobilized in the service of the government. Only in a revolution in Ireland it now appears lies the hope of realizing Irish Home Rule and averting a reactionary cataclysm in England.

What can we say about the attitude of the British Socialist party? It is not only supporting England, but loudly demands the total disruption of Germany as a nation. It uses venom and hatred to instigate the workers of England against the workers of Germany. The conduct of the British party is probably more repulsive than that of any other party. The German Social Democracy has borne alone the burden of criticism. But it seems to be forgotten that the Socialists of the other belligerent nations, with the exception of Servia and Russia, are equally nationalistic—Vandervelde even being a member of a clerical-reactionary cabinet. But at least Vandervelde does not demand the destruction of the German nation, as the B. S. P. does. Can a worse case of nationalism be imagined than that of H. M. Hyndman, who absolves England from all blame and holds Germany exclusively responsible for the war? Even those in the British labor movement who oppose the war are intensely nationalistic. The nationalism of the British movement is no new phenomena: nationalism has always been its dominant characteristic.

Hysteria is rampant among the British intellectuals—as among the other belligerents. The condemnation of Nietzsche's philosophy as a cause of the present war is very puerile, but is being indulged in by British intellectuals. Nietzsche opposed German

militarism, and even detested German culture. Nietzsche's philosophy is the apotheosis of individuality; and a war which tramples on all individuality and culture could not spring from his philosophy. Bernhardt and other German militarists may misquote Nietzsche and distort his ideas into justifications of their brutal philosophy and acts; but this does not condemn Nietzsche or make him responsible.

We may ask ourselves, How can internationalism and Socialism exist in England? Socialism in the real sense of the word has been very scarce in England. The Labor party and the Socialist party have the Socialist programme in their platforms, but their actions display very little Socialism. It is very probable, however, that the workers represented through the Labor party will in the future gain new strength. The Liberal party will in course of years become a negligible factor. Its radical elements will gradually go over to the Labor party; and its right wing coalesce with the Conservative or Unionist party, as happened once before. Part of the Liberals are in a state of suspense, indecision; they would like to join the Labor party but are as yet afraid to do so. The class struggle will then be fought out between Laborism and reaction. The middle class is very small in comparison with other countries; and the war will so transform conditions as to make socially inevitable a struggle between two extreme parties by tightening class lines.

As long as British world-power exists, internationalism will not be strong in England. What is strong in England to-day is a vicious "nationalistic internationalism"—an internationalism which serves the nationalistic interests of England. The Englishman, depending on his over-seas possessions, has acquired a special national feeling, and therefore cannot develop a genuine internationalism. But we need not despair. The day will come when the British world-empire will cease; and from that day England will be the strongest ally of internationalism.

The international task of the immediate future is the destruction of the British world-empire, and its bulwark, British navalism. British navalism is a danger to the whole world; German militarism is only a danger to contiguous nations in Europe, and these nations have strong armies for defense. We cannot fight militarism in one country and leave it free in the others; the militarism of France and Russia surely is not a sweet agency of peace. "Against British navalism" should be a new world-motto. British navalism has been an instrument of aggression, made possible England's conquest of half the world. British navalism was instrumental in commercially ruining Spain, Holland and France.

The British fleet to-day is the monster which rules the world and strangles other nations in their efforts at competition. Against this menace the world should unite. Let us hope that this war will show the nations of Europe that the more they fight among themselves, the greater the power of England. The continental powers should cease their internecine strife, unite, organize a customs-union directed against England—the only way to destroy the British menace. This would mean the end of British world-predominance. Other nations will be equal with England on the seas and in commerce. Her colonies will slowly drift away and new nations arise. And then internationalism will pass from a theory into reality.

THE GREAT PRO-GERMAN ILLUSION

BY AN IRISH SOCIALIST

That any large body of Irishmen should become enamoured of Prussia is surely one of the strangest paradoxes in history. An intimate knowledge of Irish political and social conditions is required in order to understand the peculiar situation in which so many Irish people find themselves as a result of the European war. It may, of course, be admitted, that this is not the first time the normally rebel element of Ireland's population has declared itself in sympathy with a frankly reactionary movement. For one thing the obligations imposed by hatred of England are such that to many the enemy of England must necessarily be the friend of Ireland. Community of hatred has made Ireland acquainted with strange bedfellows.

The anti-English impulse in the present instance, however, differs considerably from such previous manifestations as, let us say, the pro-Boer sympathies of Ireland some fifteen years ago. In the first place the impulse is less strong; there are many people in Ireland now who favor the cause of the Allies, who did not sympathize with England in the previous war. In the second, the pro-German Irish, unlike the pro-Boers, base their sympathy upon something more positive than the merely negative desire to be with those who are attacking England. In short, Irish pro-Germanism pretends to be a reasoned rather than an emotional impulse. Whereas one condoled with the Boers as fellow-victims of England's oppression, one looks towards the Germans as the heralds of release from the conqueror's yoke. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that, apart from a negligible minority of resident Irishmen, this fond illusion is cherished mainly by expatriates.

The most concise summary of the pro-German case from the Irish standpoint will be found in the pamphlet by Sir Roger Casement entitled *The Crime Against Europe*, published by The Celtic Press, Philadelphia. This document contains that mixture of healthy revolt against the commercial domination of England, together with the profoundest naïveté where fundamental social principles are concerned, which makes the political mind of Ireland almost the despair of Socialists. It is unnecessary to give a detailed statement of Casement's arguments. He rightly sums up the causes of the war in one fact, the rivalry of England and Germany in the markets of the world. Like so many Irishmen, when confronted with the history of English commercial and imperial expansion, Casement's comments have all the appearance of sound revolutionary sense. He understands precisely the methods which the English government has employed to further the interests of the profiteers; he knows what an instrument of capitalist aggression the British fleet has always been. It is only when he comes to the point of suggesting remedies that the weakness, and to the Socialist, the perniciousness, of his attitude is revealed. The remedy for English commercialism is Prussian militarism! This naturally includes the profiteering and wage slavery which have made modern Germany.

Here we have the fundamental absurdity of Irish politics. Years of concentration upon the single question of autonomy have atrophied the political faculties of the vast majority of the Irish people. Their intelligence has been developed in such a one-sided manner that men who have rebelled all their lives against English rule, whose revolt against landlordism has been unconquerable, are, outside these questions, hopeless reactionaries. It was not the least of Larkin's achievements that he succeeded in arousing the working classes to fight for a vital economic issue entirely disconnected from the traditional subjects of popular indignation. Needless to say, during the Dublin strike of 1913, he had *all* the parties against him, rebel as well as loyalist. With wonderful unanimity they all forgot the political game and combined to crush the propaganda in which was heard the pulsation of a new and vigorous life. It was effectively demonstrated that where economic problems were concerned the workers need not turn to their accepted leaders. These, whether Nationalist or Unionist, Protestant or Catholic, were at one in their ignorance of social conditions and their subservience to the capitalist class.

It is not for nothing that the "citizens" of Dublin recently presented William M. Murphy, the arch-strike-breaker, with a substantial token of their gratitude for his stand against "Larkinism"

When Murphy undertook to crush the labor movement which was just growing under Larkin's influence, he knew well what he was about. He knew that exceptional conditions had kept the Irish people in a state of political infancy. Their economic thinking was still in an infantile stage, so that there he might yet hope to crush the seeds of revolt sown by Larkin, and prevent the Irish workers from attaining even to that degree of progress enjoyed by their class in England and in France. Though Murphy failed in one sense, for the workers have not forgotten what they learned in 1913, it must be admitted that he correctly estimated the force of ignorance and prejudice, which brought him the help of people who normally had no special regard for Irish capitalism. Revolt in Ireland has always been political rather than economic.

The childlike innocence of the social question which characterizes so many Irishmen, and upon which it is easy to count when the "menace of Socialism" appears, can be estimated by the arguments of such pro-German Irishmen as Sir Roger Casement. He is typical of a large class, for he represents not only the more revolutionary section, as in the present war, but also the bulk of those who follow the orthodox Nationalist and Unionist politicians. They are incapable of conceiving the welfare of the Irish people otherwise than bound up with profiteering commercialism. To some wage enslavement to England is desirable, to others exploitation by Germans seems preferable. Casement imagines that German imperialism is a noble, uplifting manifestation of a superior race and culture. When Ireland's industries were crushed; her language almost exterminated and half her population driven out, England's sordid greed, and savage materialism were evident. But Casement asks us, Posen, Schleswig-Holstein and Alsace-Lorraine notwithstanding, to believe how different our fate would be were we grasped by the tender hand of Prussia. His rapturous faith in the benevolence of German Imperialism would be amusing, if it were not tragic.

It is not that the pro-Germans refuse to admit the facts where the Danes, Poles and French are concerned. They will usually grant that these victims of the new "liberator" of Ireland are not contented. They have seen enough and read enough of English military rule in Ireland to know what such incidents as that of Zabern mean. But they reply that, at the most, they would be better off under German than under English rule. The material condition of the peoples conquered by Prussia has improved, they argue, whereas Ireland under English administration has been impoverished and is almost ruined. Thus, like Casement, they see in the arrival of German troops in Ireland the dawn of a new period in Irish history. He carries simplicity so far as to believe that

Germany would be willing to constitute Ireland an independent and neutral state. As if such a point of vantage for attack against England would be relinquished by a people dominated by the militarist imperial ideal. The more reasonable, who are not blinded by the dazzling light of Prussian divinity, admit the possibility of Germany's staying in Ireland once she got there. Then it is that they urge the material benefits which our new conquerors would bestow upon us.

As is evident this line of reasoning not only precludes all hope of emancipation from wage slavery, but actually ignores the possibility. Although Ireland is, in a sense, an "untilled field," a country in which industrialism has made comparatively no progress, and which is, therefore, the most promising virgin soil for democratic economic experiment, we are asked to hand ourselves over to be molded by an autocracy where we should be crushed between the wheels of militarism and commercialism. We are to escape from the incompetent militarism and inefficient industrialism of England which contain the seeds of their own decay, only to come under the inhuman régime of military and commercial efficiency which make Germany more dangerous to democracy than Russia. If the German military machine is the powerful instrument we see, it is because everything that other men prize has been sacrificed to it. Nobody but a German would tolerate the conditions he docilely accepts as the price of military supremacy. He pays well for the privilege of holding two frontiers successfully in the interests of the capitalist and governing classes. Similarly if German commerce has expanded as we know it has, with extraordinary rapidity, it is because the discipline and efficiency engendered by the dominance of militarism have been transferred to industrial fields.

If the pro-German Irish talk of the "prosperity" which accrues to those living under German rule, it is because the capitalist system has not pressed upon them with all its horrors. Landlords have been the only class of exploiters whom they have learned to estimate properly. Even in Ulster, where industry prevails, the old religious and political animosities have been effectively used to prevent the workers from combining to further their real interests in the face of the common enemy, Capitalism. It is easy for these people whose grievances and memories are centered about the agrarian question to contemplate "prosperity" on Prussian lines. The hideous spectre of State Socialism is unknown to them. Accustomed to look to the State for help in every emergency, having acquired the land with the assistance of State purchase, Irishmen are, in the main, unacquainted with the subtle evils of State Capitalism. They do not realize what a weapon for the permanent enslavement and

degradation of labor the State is becoming at the hands of our "enlightened" capitalists. Because the proposal to give Ireland Government-owned railways still sounds like revolutionary Socialism in some Irish ears, people imagine that the Servile State is a fiction. In England, where the profiteers are rapidly learning all the tricks of their trade from Germany—even including conscription—the working classes have begun to sense the real menace of Prussianism. *They* have no wish to exchange their present condition for that of the well-fed, housed, docketed, ticketed and supervised wage slave of the State Capitalist's dream.

The belief that prosperity must come to Ireland from efficient German exploitation may pass with the pessimistic and the naïve. Those of us who have any faith in the class struggle will count upon something better. We will not be deluded by the rhapsodies of Casement and those for whom he speaks. They are, as we know, essentially reactionary, jingoistic and anti-social. The rigidity of their minds has caused them to become infected with the very faults they most hate in the English. When Casement refers to France as a "decadent Republic" and contrasts it with Germany, to the latter's advantage, we know that while he may be a useful propagandist for the Irish capitalist, he is the enemy of Irish democracy. France, with her strong anti-militarist propaganda, her impotent colonial policy, and her natural hatred of mechanical obedience, still contains greater germs of revolutionary hope, than all that German efficiency has produced. Russian and French reactionaries, from their very incompetence, are less of a danger than the disciplined ranks of Germany, where obedience is a fetich buttressed up by all the devices capable of taming the human spirit. Fortunately we have men in Ireland who can offer us a more acceptable, if less immediate, hope of freedom and prosperity than those who would sell us into economic slavery to German exploiters.

WAR AND THE RED CROSS

BY JAMES P. WARBASSE

The forces which promote war often are found running parallel with the humane impulses which would relieve suffering.

The soldier has for his functions to destroy life, to maim or otherwise physically incapacitate those of his fellow human beings who are called "the enemy," to destroy property which might be of help to his opponents, and to appropriate from all sources whatever may be of aid in these operations. To such ends are enlisted all that science, art, and skill can produce.

Modern war continues until one side or the other has lost so many lives, has so many human beings incapacitated, and so much property destroyed that the remaining people are no longer willing to venture the hazard of being called upon for further sacrifice of themselves. The remnant of the nation then stops the war: it ceases to fight, and the war ends.

Certain external agencies keep war going and postpone the armistice which would bring peace. One of these factors is the profit which the noncombatant nations can make out of the bleeding people. Another factor is found in the Red Cross and the non-combatant activities allied with it. Though the first of these is purely economic, the Red Cross is no less its accomplice in keeping warfare alive.

Thus we witness the spectacle of the United States, with sanctimonious hypocrisy, praying for the end of the war as a sort of Sunday performance, and during the week days lending its good offices to big business to send over to the soldiers grains, meats and other food-stuffs, guns, powder, shot and shell, to keep the slaughter going—all in the interest of profits. We lay upon our souls the unction of neutrality by supplying munitions of war to either side.

Then comes the Red Cross and its allied neutrals, with sweet-voiced nurses and bandages and sheets and pillow-cases and goodies and soft beds, with the assumption that it is mitigating the horrors of war. However much it is mitigating the discomforts of individual warriors, one thing is certain: it is prolonging war; and war is nothing but horrors. Sentimentalism, combined with a confused ethical sense which calls for impartiality, results in a neutrality which promotes war.

The fact can be grasped by a simple mind that, if it helps one side in warfare, it damages the other side. We need yet to push our mathematics one step farther and demonstrate that if we help both sides, we damage both sides.

The commercial and sentimental neutrals if they were really interested in mitigating the horrors of war, would employ their energies to end the war. To end war is the best way to mitigate war. The last thing that one who really loves his fellow men, and who truly revolts at war, would think of would be to go into battle with a double-edged sword and fight against both sides. This is what our neutrals are doing; and when we look upon the cost of one day of it we may calculate what will be the cost of the next day—the cost to both sides, for both are daily losing; and in the end both are destined to be losers by the aggregate of their days of warfare.

Were the neutrals desirous of mitigating the horrors of war,

instead of maintaining merely a commercial and sentimental interest in it, they would be acting more reasonably to throw all of their help upon one side and end it. War continues so long as the damages are fairly balanced. It ends when the balance is lost and an unbalance of damages takes its place.

The soldier is a person who goes forth to kill his fellow man. The hope that he may kill but not be killed sends him on his errand. He is not only a cold-blooded murderer; he also is a gambler. He hopes to do his unholy business, come off with his life, and be ever after proclaimed a "hero." Society with its nationalism, patriotism, race hatreds, militarism, perverted histories which glorify war, and the international quest for commercial profits, creates the soldier—the dupe of war. If he *knew* that he were to fare as badly as he *hopes* his "enemy" will, he would not go. The nearer to one hundred per cent. the mortality of warfare approaches, the less will be the enthusiasm for its "glories." If the mortality could be brought up to one hundred per cent. the problem would be solved, and war would cease. Do the activities of the Red Cross make for the abolition of war or for its perpetuation?

If the man of fighting age refused to go to war, or if he was proclaimed the hero who had moral heroism enough to stay at home and do his work and refuse to participate in the miserable business, then the problem would be solved. Does the Red Cross, which rushes to the front to keep alive this "sport of kings," make for war or peace?

We may contemplate with amazement surgeons and nurses attempting to save lives, and at the same time working in co-operation with murderous men, equipped with the newest appliances of science, bent upon destroying lives—all zealously striving together.

Perhaps society will some day look back with wonder upon the anachronism of surgical skill, with its infinite possibilities for human service, occupied day and night in restoring to efficiency the butchers of men, that they may be returned to their cruel pursuit.

Let the participating Red Cross doctors not beguile us with the claim that they are noncombatants, and inspired only by love of humanity. We shall not be deceived. They are a part of the programme of war. When it is over, we shall find them parading among its "heroes" and accepting the recognition which is accorded to those who went forth to kill.

Were the impelling motive behind the sentimental neutrals one of love for humanity and a burning zeal to sacrifice themselves for mankind, there are ample fields yet unoccupied in the struggle for life in every land. In our own country the preventable deaths in the economic warfare for livelihood and for profits are quite as

appalling to the discerning eye as those of the European charnel. Here are the unaided hurt crying for help—hurt by machines and dust and poisons and rotten railroad ties and insufficient food and crowded slums—hurt because somebody is making money by withholding rightful human protection from them and robbing others of the wealth that they create.

These suffering and dying millions go down to their graves without the stain of their fellows' blood upon their hands. They are soldiers in the world's warfare against the forces of nature, enlisted to make the world more pleasant and life more livable. They stand for life, and not for death. They need all the surgeons, nurses, Red Cross stockings, and shirts that are now consumed by the blood-thirsty men who go forth to slay the husbands of innocent wives and the sons of guiltless mothers and the fathers of weeping babes.

The answer to this social riddle is here: War is a ruling-class game. It is the affair of kings, ministers, imperialists, and the capitalistic seekers for markets and economic aggrandizement. The Red Cross executive, doctor, and nurse prefer the approval and applause of this so-called "upper class." To give themselves to the cause of the lowly and of the exploited poor with the abandon with which they can give themselves to the cause of war would mean also to court the disapproval of those who have the wealth and "honors" to bestow. The money-giving public prefers to support the warfare which appeals most strongly to its dramatic sense. The exploited poor, on the other hand, in the industrial struggle have nothing to offer but a doubtful gratitude.

Let us not be deceived. There is no neutrality in war. All who are parties to it are warriors—the Red Cross surgeon, the nurse, the sewing woman, and the priest, no less than the blood-lusting dupe of military insanity.

War is the consummate social crime. It is something more than hell; it is the crucible in which a social system is tested and found dross.

CORRESPONDENCE

An Expensive Democracy

To the NEW REVIEW:

Readers of the NEW REVIEW for March, 1915, will recall the following statement in a letter opposing an internationalist policy for the magazine: "We must realize that to-day, if a vote were taken of all the Socialists of the world, that is, all those who accept and agree to work for socialization of society, whether military war is justified under certain conditions or not, the overwhelming majority would vote in favor. If we really believe in a social democracy, then we must accept the decision of the majority of Socialists."

The writer of the paragraph quoted has apparently lost sight of the wide difference between the necessity for unity on matters of mere method and alleged necessity for unity on other matters known as principles. It is quite true that no sharp line can be drawn between principles and policies—so gradually does one group shade into the other; but persons opposed to "military war" under all conditions will doubtless maintain that war on war, always and everywhere, is much more than a piece of policy or practical tactics; that it is, in fact, precisely the kind of doctrine that must be contended for, by those who hold it, however great the opposing majorities.

If uniform silent acceptance of the decision of the majority is the price of "social democracy," there are those who will decide not to pay it, believing it better to do without such democracy. "*La Critique est la vie de la Science*"—and of Socialism, too.

Wellesley, Mass.

ELLEN HAYES.

More on Feminism

To The NEW REVIEW:

If I am allowed to enter as third party into the controversy between Mr. Belford Bax and Mr. Floyd Dell, I would like to begin by stating that the whole discussion seems to me extremely old fashioned.

Fifteen years ago the learned and the laymen used seriously and lengthily to engage in discussions regarding the natural and necessary inferiority of women, and the conclusions that had "naturally" to be drawn from this inferiority, in regard to citizens' rights, studies, interests and occupations. I was then a schoolgirl. Now-a-days the point is rarely mentioned. One really does not care to convince Mr. Belford Bax and his contemporaries of the nineteenth and earlier centuries of the fact that women's innate inferiority is as yet a thing to be proved; or that difference is one thing, inferiority another; or that, suppose such inferiority should exist, it would furnish no excuse for not granting women the vote; since the vote merely means the right to voice and defend one's interests in the community, to express one's wishes in regard to it and oneself; and the duty to show interest in its affairs and to devote to them at least some part of one's mental and moral faculties. But, for my part, let whoever wishes spend energy on attack and defense of this old and dilapidated fortress of the anti-feminists of a long while ago, and Mr. Floyd Dell is right in what he says in regard to this point.

I must, however, take issue with him where he "defends" what he calls "all intelligent Feminists" against Mr. B. B.'s statement that they, the Feminists and Suffragists, want to acquire all the rights of men while at the same time keeping various privileges which men do not possess. (Mr. B. B. belongs probably to those who do not wish to see the vote handed over to women unless it be accompanied by the soldier's sword and uniform. I have not enough of the missionary and propagandist spirit in me to argue with any kind of opponents concerning any kind of "arguments." So I will leave Mr. Bax alone.)

Having a fairly good survey over Feminists and Suffragists and their desires in various countries; keeping track of new and old in the field, in various languages; having been "active" in it to some extent myself, and interested in it ever since my High School time, I can assure Mr. Floyd Dell that "the belief that men and women shall be equal before the law," absolutely, strictly, everywhere and always, "equal," was the ideal of the old dogmatic pioneers; (not of a few superior Feminists like Ellen Key, who twenty years ago was twenty-five years ahead of her sister Feminists). And it may still be the ideal of a small portion of younger Feminists who are, soul and body, under the thumb and fascination of the older "leaders" and doctrinaires. But we Feminists and Suffragists of the younger generation, younger in both years and mentality, we have learned to see that the old slogan of "equality, weighed and numbered in words and letters," constitutes a narrow and ignorant piece of dogmatism and is no more of our time.

We do NOT wish that "concessions wrung from capitalism for the female part of the working class, concessions which may be achieved later for the whole of the working class, such as the normal workday or the prohibition of night work," shall be given up. We do not want to have protective labor legislation for women annulled, until the same has been established for men. The pregnant woman; the nursing mother; and also the laboring woman who in addition to her "job" has to take care of the household, cooking, scrubbing, laundering, mending; and also the young woman doing nightwork: they require, not twenty-five or ten years from now, but now, more protection than the workingman. If they do not get it, they are at a disadvantage as compared with man; they work under worse, not under equal conditions.

The old orthodoxists with their hobby and mania think that "equality" will be safe, if only the words of the law—of all law—sound exactly the same for men as for women.

They only ignore a few facts of life which make such "all along the line equality" result in gross injustice and utter lack of common sense. But facts of life do not bother maniacs and doctrinaires, as a rule. To them it does not matter that in dealing with the case, "man versus woman" there always enters a third live thing: the child. It does not matter whether this child suffers from being born and nursed by a mother who—as proved "equal" of the father—may work any number of hours, under any circumstances, at any time. It does not matter, according to Mr. Floyd Dell's "intelligent" Feminists, whether society at large will be the dupe of this equality which prescribes: wholesale exploitation rather than partial relief, if you cannot get wholesale relief.

A good many years ago I saw an exhibition of the works of the great Belgian sculptor, Meunier. Among them was a little statue representing a woman miner; as I remember it, one of the most striking portraits of the "brute beast of burden" I have ever seen; and a splendid illustration of "equality"—as undisturbed by law. Equality alleluia—sings the chorus of dogmatists. *Après nous le déluge!*

Fortunately, the younger generation of Feminists and Suffragists has a wider and more "human" view of life than the old school. They have come in contact with and thought about social problems of various kinds. They know a little more about biology and about eugenics. They are less ashamed of being "women." They don't want any pseudo-equality. They think that life matters more than words, than catchwords of one special movement. They want children born of healthy, well-trained mothers (of healthy, well-trained fathers, too, for that matter!). They know that the protective legislation which has been established for women with a view to this necessity is as yet a very poor part of the program. But they are glad that something has been reached and they will not promote race suicide by "giving up" whatever there has been achieved in the direction towards more salutary conditions of labor for women.

Those whom Mr. Floyd Dell calls the "intelligent" Feminists: prostrate before verbal equality, deaf and blind for all other claims, they call "fools."

EMMA V. SANDERS, L.L. D.

Stockholm, Sweden.

An Impartial Policy

To the NEW REVIEW:

I believe the majority of the American Socialists, at least the intellectual leaders of the movement, are *against* nationalism, and if the question of nationalism is discussed in the NEW REVIEW as an entirely open forum, the majority of the views expressed will be against nationalism, and the REVIEW exert a powerful influence in this direction. If, however, the policy of the REVIEW is fixed as anti-nationalism, I can not see that it will exert any great influence in this direction, as any statement made in the REVIEW against nationalism will naturally and justly be met by the opponents as not pertinent, as the REVIEW is closed to the opposing side.

Therefore, I favor absolute impartiality in your policy in all those subjects, in which a discussion is welcomed and is probable in the NEW REVIEW. A definite policy, in my opinion, should be taken only on those matters, which we do not care to discuss in the REVIEW, but assume as granted and as settled. The only such policy, in my opinion, should be the economic doctrine of Socialism: the REVIEW is no propaganda paper, and defense or attack of Socialism does not belong in it. But nationalism and internationalism are of enormous and fundamental interest at present, should and will be discussed, and in my opinion, the REVIEW should be the forum, but can not fairly be this, if it gives judgment beforehand, no matter how justified the judgment appears to be.

CHARLES P. STEINMETZ.

Schenectady, N. Y.

England and the War

To the NEW REVIEW:

If there is one thing which Arthur D. Lewis can do more effectively than another it is to "confound confusion." In his letter in your December number he has mixed the Parliamentary "Labour Party" up with the "Independent Labour Party." There was a sufficiently unhealthy mixture in the pie before A. D. Lewis put his finger in it; because, though the "Independent Labour Party" is a society made up of out-and-out Socialists, yet the Parliamentary "Labour Party," to which I. L. P. is (unhappily) affiliated, neither professes to be Socialist nor propagates Socialistic ideas.

The true situation is that, while the non-Socialist "Labour Party" is blatantly supporting the pro-war ideas held by A. D. Lewis, and the English Liberal Government, the Socialist I. L. P. is in vigorous opposition to the Government and to the War party.

I think it would have been better had Arthur D. Lewis joined the ranks of the I. L. P. before claiming omniscience as to the views of its rank and file. I am a modest person myself, comparatively, and claim to know only the views of the rank and file of the I. L. P. (of which I am a member) and other Socialist bodies in London. Here the rank and file is absolutely opposed to the war.

In one sentence A. D. Lewis blunders into lucidity and comparative truth:—"The few," he says, "who oppose the war are really non-resisters who are opposed to every war."

Leaving out the "non-resisters," that is so; the rank and file of the Socialists in London are opposed not only to this war, but all war—except of course the class war. It is not true that there have been no public anti-war demonstrations. Many of us even feel that, of all the capitalists who are to blame for this war, the English capitalists (and big-navy-rule-the-seas-of-the-whole-world people) bear the heaviest share of responsibility.

LEONARD J. SIMONS.

London, Eng.

An Answer to Shaw on Education

To the NEW REVIEW:

I have called forth the withering scorn of Mr. Felix Grendon for not recognizing the divine mission on this earth of Mr. G. Bernard Shaw and his

competence to pour forth wisdom on every subject. Mr. Grendon's wrath seems almost gratuitous, for he suddenly hurls his lightning at me in the last lines of his article and without explanation. I have never made (and never shall make) anything but passing references to Shaw, though it is true that such references in the past have been by no means worshipful. But now that I have had the honor of being denounced by a genuine "Shavian" (I was previously not aware that we had a specimen of this genus in America), I should be allowed a few words in reply.

The first error of the "Shavian" is to suppose that Shaw has a philosophy. Put Shaw on the witness-stand before any first-class mind, ask him leading questions about the foundations of his views and it would be found that they haven't any foundations. There are few, if any, prominent men today who would appear so ridiculous and insignificant after such a test as Shaw.

The next error of the "Shavian" is to suppose that Shaw is advanced in his politics and economics, that he is a Socialist, or a democrat, or at least a radical. He gives absolutely conclusive and final evidence about once a month that he is none of the three. I have made a little collection of some of his reactionary positions—most incomplete, I confess. A sufficient number of them to convince anybody but a "Shavian" may be secured by consulting the index of any of my books.

Shaw's desultory ideas on education, as Grendon admits, are similar to Tolstoi's (now about forty years old)—and so far as they follow Tolstoi they are, for the most part, sound. But they follow him too far. For no radical can accept Shaw's Tolstoian defense of religious instruction, no matter how much Shaw may attempt to broaden that term.

Shaw, we are told, is practical and constructive. How strange that Grendon should fear that radicals might accuse this arch-Fabian of not being "constructive." But, like the true Fabian he is, Shaw dodges the real issue, so that his construction, with all his big words and conceit of practicality would come to almost nothing—as far as the common people are concerned. Let us examine his chief practical suggestion.

Grendon himself emphasizes the evil of large classes and the insufficient number of teachers. But he does not seem to have noticed that Shaw passes over this root evil, speaks merely of the low wages of teachers, and this is not merely an oversight. For to remedy the low wages would scarcely double the school budget, a Fabian reform which might be secured from conservative governments. Grendon points out that existing classes usually consist of forty to fifty pupils. Such classes should be reduced to fifteen, or, if we take Bebel's standard, to eight or ten. But this would require another increase of the school budget of 400 to 500 per cent. The ruling class evidently won't stand for that, and Shaw being opposed to class-struggle, or to wasting time in begging for what we won't get, just quietly passes over this question, the crux of the economic phase of the subject. Yet Shaw continually prates of the importance of economics.

Moreover, that voluntary vocational education, which, as Shaw says, is the backbone of all education, would also increase the expense of schooling several fold—if honestly applied. And how does Shaw solve this second economic problem? He goes in the opposite direction from the increase of expenditure needed and adopts the employers' educational ideal of cutting down school taxes by making the pupil pay his way. Grendon reminds us that "Mr. Shaw recommends that from an early age on, all minors be expected to devote a part of their time to rendering some productive service"—a plan renounced by Dewey and every exponent of the new education. Let the child learn industrial processes as a whole. But Dewey warns us not to specialize him, at an early age, as a mere cog in the vast machine. For it is only if he is so specialized that he can render while still in school, any economic service of consequence to himself or to society.

So here Shaw, after a sea of irresponsible and contradictory generalities, winds up, as usual, with practical conclusions of an anti-Socialist, anti-democratic, and reactionary character. No doubt there are other schools of reaction in England, besides that of the "Shavians," and, since these attack Shaw, perhaps they are even more reactionary than he is. So he may appear as a "progressive" in that country. But fortunately the overwhelming majority of the American people have reached a point in democratic evolution, where

they are safe at least from the educational features of "Shavianism." America is not yet out of the bourgeois period of thought even as to education, but at least it has passed the stage represented by Shaw and the audience he addresses. Most of us long ago ceased to discuss corporal punishment, religious instruction and the other matters with which he is chiefly concerned.

What Shaw is really trying to do is to get his British middle-class readers (he does not even condescend to notice the working-classes), to drop their aristocratic educational tradition and to take up the bourgeois educational view. This is a good work and much needed—in England. It is ridiculous to try to extend it here, where—even if our progress so far has been slight—we are already beginning to work in the direction of social-democratic principles.

WM. ENGLISH WALLING.

Greenwich, Conn.

LINCOLN—LEADER OF HIS CLASS

BY FRANK BOHN

American history is being rewritten. Within ten years the bibliography of the new history has grown to very respectable proportions. The Economic Interpretation of History has permeated the seminars of our universities and some few Socialists are studying the history of the United States. Both tendencies have resulted in valuable contributions.

Rose Strunsky's Lincoln is void of each kind of nonsense which so often detracts from the value of biography. The American petty-bourgeois college professor, writing of distinguished Americans, nearly always permits fifty or a hundred years to do what two thousand have done for Caesar and Alexander or three thousand for Ulysses and Moses. The amateurish Socialist writers, on the other hand, are nearly always discovering that Washington joined the Revolution because his third cousin raised pigs and the price of pig-bristles had fallen on the London market, or that Hamilton led the commercialized Federalist Party to keep his wife's father from throwing him out with unpaid laundry bills.

"It is time his name," says Miss Strunsky, "conjured up a truer picture than that of a tall, gaunt man, looking out into space, in his hand the Emancipation Proclamation, and at his feet newly freed and grateful slaves. He is not 'the Great Liberator' merely, he is part and parcel of his class, the small home-steader who claimed an equal opportunity in the virgin forests. As such he is not a hero, he is a people."

Such, of course, is the true purpose of the biography of statesmen—to indicate the evolution and the purpose of a social class in history.

Of the six men who rose, in the century of statebuilding between 1765 and 1865, to positions of transcendent importance in American government, Lincoln was last and most characteristic of his class. Washington was a Southern slave-holding country squire. But he was no Peter Pounce. On the contrary, he was a very bold rebel and a consistent and militant republican. Hamilton was the political archetype of the great American commercial and industrial capitalist class. But he was himself a poor man, a scholar with eloquent voice, thin lips and good manners. Jefferson, the knight errant of the primitive American farm democracy was the lord of a hundred slaves and three thousand acres of land. Franklin was an intellectual genius who lived at least three totally different lives. Democratic enough in philosophy as well as in life, he was of the small business mind in his general attitude, a trimmer in politics and shining only as a diplomat. Andrew Jackson was a great democrat, but he was, when in any position of authority, a soldier, and hence no true representative personally, of the farming democracy.

The facts which Miss Strunsky uses are pretty well known. It is the way she marshals these facts and interprets them which give solid value to her work. In the dull and slovenly intellectual life of America today, the individual human creature merely craves, at odd moments, to rush wildly away from dirt, confusion, too much food and the noise and despair of life.

Religion being dead in the cities, he has created for himself a complete set of brand-new myths. "Anglo-Saxon Law," "American Freedom," "The Flag," "The Constitution of our Fathers," etc., these are its catch words. But poor Washington and Lincoln are people to the historian of facts and something is due their memory. The work of rescue by Miss Strunsky has been completely successful.

Lincoln was not the emancipator of slaves. He was the preserver of the Union. *His class*, the small farmer type, didn't care whether the slaves were kept or hanged, thrown into the sea or sold back to the tribal chiefs of Africa—so long as they didn't get out on the new Western lands which the small farmers wanted for their sons. If Judge Douglas was so opposed to the black man, said Lincoln in one of the great debates, why did he wish to bring him to the Western lands?

Lincoln took throughout the Southerner's view of the Negro. Why shouldn't he? He was born in a Southern state, married to a Southern woman and lived in Springfield, Ill., a Southern community. But we cannot attempt here to give even a resume of chapter fifteen, on "Lincoln and the Negro." It is new, startling and completely smashes the plaster cast of Jesus with which second-rate bourgeois magazine writers have covered the features of Lincoln.

The stupendous work for civilization and progress accomplished by the successful politician and astute leader of men is cleverly described in chapters ten, eleven and twelve. Most any specialist in American History will rise from a reading of those chapters with renewed admiration of Lincoln. We economic interpreters are so accustomed to saying, "The North was bound to win. It had the men. It had the shops. It had the food. It controlled the sea," etc.

That view is wrong. The North was *not bound to win, because the South was the Mother of the West*. The pro-Southern half of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, as well as the 109,000 soldiers from Missouri (a few Germans excepted), the 79,000 soldiers from Kentucky, the 50,000 from Tennessee—these, at the crisis, were for the Union because of the marvellously brilliant tactics of Lincoln—the born representative of this agricultural heart of the American nation. Lincoln's policy saved the Union. Seward's policy would have lost it. The Union lost, slavery would have lived in the South for a generation. With the Union saved, slavery was lost.

Such was the truly Herculean work of Lincoln—placed by a divided ruling class where he commanded that class to unite and in uniting, united the Nation.

There are many small errors in the book—a bit too numerous, in fact, to indicate here. They betray the fact that our author is not a careful student of the whole field of American history. We hope these slips will be caught up and eradicated in a later edition. That done, a definite task, which badly needed doing, will have been completed.

A SOCIALIST DIGEST

BERNSTEIN VS. THE NATIONALISTIC SOCIALISTS

Bernstein on October 24th delivered a lecture to the metal workers of which *Voerwaerts* prints the following account:

I hope that international trade relations will be resumed after peace is declared, and that peace will be declared before a very great time. In many circles of the people, even among the working people, the annexation of Belgium is demanded. As much as I desire the victory of Germany, I regard such a policy as completely mistaken. Belgium consists of three million Walloons who speak French exclusively, and three and a half million Flemish, who, in spite of their low German, are enemies of Germany. I hope and believe that the German government will not agree to this demand for annexation. I regard it as especially necessary that a peace is concluded that makes possible the renewal of international relations among the civilized peoples. There is a discussion to demand thirty to forty milliard of indemnity from the enemy. In the first place it is quite unbelievable that such a monstrous sum can be collected. Besides, one must not forget that if the other civilized nations are financially ruined, our whole foreign trade will be crippled. And in this case a great amount of unemployment will be an inevitable result. We Social-Democrats have the most earnest wish that victory should rest with German arms. It would be a misfortune for all civilization if this is not the case. But nevertheless, we maintain our principles, and have the most earnest wish that the German Empire should not appear as a dictator in the making of the peace, as to stir up the hatred and envy of other civilized nations. That this should not happen is doubtless the wish not only of the German workers, but also of the great majority of the bourgeois classes, who want to, not only preserve German trade and industry in its former condition, but to advance it even beyond the point reached before the war. I have the hope that the German government will act along these lines in the negotiating of peace.

Bernstein supports Scheidemann in desiring German victory for the sake of the world's "Kultur" or civilization, and in declaring Germany to be on the defensive. He agrees with Kautsky that there are to be no indemnities.

But before the voting of the second war loan by the Reichstag Socialists on December 2nd Bernstein began to hammer upon another side of his position. He is for a war of defense against Russia and supports the Kaiser in the lengths he has gone in carrying on an aggressive war against the allies of the Czar. But he

does not agree that England and France should become the main object of attack, and in November he suggested (in the *Leipzig Volkszeitung*) that if the Government had changed its declared policy of August 4th, the Socialists no longer owed it their financial and moral support. On December 2nd the Reichstag Socialists again voted the war loan, but the Government's declaration was chiefly directed against England, and now Bernstein is more anti-governmental than ever.

Even before December 2nd he fell out with all his revisionist and labor union associates. In November he was savagely attacked by David and Heine for even raising the question whether the Socialists should continue to support the government.

David denied in the most unambiguous way that Bernstein had any grounds upon which to raise the question whether the conditions still existed under which the Social-Democratic group in the Reichstag granted the war loan on August 4, and later Wolfgang Heine turns very energetically against Bernstein's question. He published an article in the *Volksblatt für Anhalt*, in which he said that not one of the conditions that existed upon the fourth of August had ceased to exist. On the contrary, the menace to the Fatherland had become more serious than it was at the beginning of the war. The war against the western powers must be fought out just as energetically as the war against Russia, since a victory of the Allies would be a victory of Russia with all its consequences:

Whether we wish it or not, we must fight in the West, and can it be said that no dangers threaten us there? England has decreed a twenty years' war against Germany, and English labor leaders have adopted this goal of a war of annihilation. French and Belgian Socialists are adopting the same view.

The western powers have brought Hindoos and negroes to the European field of war. Does Bernstein regard an invasion of these hordes into the thickly-populated, blooming Rhine country as less dangerous than the over-flowing of the forest country of East Prussia by the Russians—I should have thought that the loss in blood and property would be a hundred times greater in West Germany than on the eastern frontier.

And what should our soldiers in France and Belgium say to this, they who have to fight a war of unexampled heroism and sacrifice? We are responsible for the welfare of these courageous men. Shall we leave them in the ditch because the way they are being employed does not correspond to the strategic idea of Bernstein? Shall we forcibly alienate them from the Party?

What is one to think of a policy which, according to the changed conditions of war on one or the other side is forced to change its position as to the defense of the Fatherland? We have not willed this war, either against Russia or against the western countries, but the war took place and threatened the economic, cultural and political existence of our country. We were therefore compelled

to do our best for the protection of these values. The war is still in existence and we must continue to act in the same way. We must fight it through, not with the purpose of triumph or of the subjection of other peoples, but for the sake of our existence and that of our children. This is what the fight is about to-day as it was on the first day of the war.

The *Grundstein*, organ of the building trades union, declares it is "nothing less than scandalous that there is a little group in Germany which holds against the Party as a whole and falls on the backs of brother-workingmen who are on the field of battle."

To the attacks of David, Heine and the *Grundstein*, Bernstein replied:

The extracts of my article made by my friends and colleagues of the Reichstag group, David and Heine, might easily arouse among readers not familiar with my article, false impressions as to its tendency. I therefore take advantage of the hospitality of your columns to reproduce some of the essential features of my articles to show their true tendency. With me the question was whether and how far the political parties are being forced to change during the war their fundamental views with regard to questions related to it. In this matter I held the view that in our country it is to the highest degree important that the Social Democracy should not allow its principles which are involved in this connection to become silenced during the war. In this connection my article, which is under attack, said:

"The consciousness that we must be ready to make every sacrifice of life and property that is necessary for the protection of the safety and independence of our country cannot serve as a reason for putting in the background, even temporarily, our deeply-rooted conception of the unity of peoples, our better knowledge of what makes peoples great, our distinction between treaties and power as the basis of relations between peoples."

"The close connection between politics and military conduct of war," I continued, "must force the Social Democracy to insist that the military conduct of the war must be subordinated throughout to politics and not be put in a position, on the contrary, to govern politics." I illustrated this among other means by the question discussed in various circles, whether the war against the East or the war against the West should be the controlling motive in the German conduct of the war, and connected this with the declaration of Bank-Director Witting in the *New York Sun* that the hate against the Russians was growing less and that the life and death struggle against England was now the controlling factor. To this I remarked:

"If *Panslavism* as a determining factor of governmental policy is a real danger for Germany, then the raising of the above-mentioned principle [that of Witting] to the position of the leading principle of the present war would greatly increase this danger [that of *Panslavism*]. The question may be asked whether *Panslavism* has not already gained more than it has lost with the war.

For it can not be questioned that up to the present it has been much less damaged than the two western powers of Europe."

At this point it may be casually remarked: before the Hindoos and negroes reach the Rhine country there is a long road. And in the meanwhile the Cossacks have made themselves at home in a large part of Galicia and in front of Cracow, hold a large part of the passes of the Carpathians, and once more threaten Czernowitz.

A development in this direction, my article continued, would give the war a new character and if the Social Democracy does not care to lower itself to become the mere statistician of history, it must decide what stand it would take to such a changed war.

How little the danger here indicated is, or how great, naturally depends upon how we judge symptoms. However, he who sees the danger has a duty and a right to point it out as strongly as possible and to determine his political behavior accordingly. That such a conception has nothing to do with any sort of indifference to the interests of Germany may be shown by the following passages from my article printed in bold-faced type—with the quotation of which I will conclude this communication:

"For war-like persons abroad the emphasis of this fact may suffice, that our party is united upon this: every attempt to diminish Germany's territory by force of arms, every attempt to forcibly destroy the national unity of Germany, every attempt to dictate from outside and in a one-sided way, the right of the German people to decide as to its own armament on sea or land, will find the German Social Democracy ready to make the greatest sacrifice for the defense of the integrity, unity and independence of Germany. This the opponents of Germany ought to know—but not less the friends of the German people and of world peace should and must know that we German Socialist-Democrats will always be found on the side of those who extend their hand for an honorable peace, damaging to no people, and that this readiness is independent of any consideration of momentary economic conditions. Determined by our principles as to the solidarity of peoples it is exactly the same when superfluity rules as when want shows itself."

After the granting of the second war loan Bernstein became still more anti-governmental, as his articles in *Die Neue Zeit* and the radical *Vorwaerts* amply demonstrate. Of course it must be remembered that their tone is restrained because of the censorship. But their radical internationalism is clear enough and cannot be questioned. The following selections from a defense of France and the French Socialists (January *Neue Zeit*) give an idea of his present position:

The first ground for the support of the present war by the French Socialists of all shades is to be sought in the immediate causes that brought on the war. With many of us this eventful time has put out of our memories the events which preceded the outbreak of war, and with most of us these events have completely extinguished all memory of the feelings which then inspired the Social Democracy of all countries. The flaming protests which in

the last weeks of July were published both in the organs of the Social Democracy of other countries and in those of the German Social Democracy against the politics of Austria and its support by the German government would strike them as if coming out of a time long gone by. One of the sharpest of these protests was the appeal published by the Party Executive on the 25th of July in a special edition of *Vorwaerts*, calling the Party comrades to mass meetings against the danger of war. The German government was imperiously called upon in this document, in case Austria's conduct should bring about war, under no circumstances to allow itself to be driven into participation in it. The wish of the German Social-Democracy that peace should be preserved was in this document, as in many articles of the Party press, expressed in the warmest terms.

It happened otherwise. Under the influence of the events leading up to the war and of the after-effects of our vote on the fourth of August, the opinions of that time have vanished from the minds of the majority of the leading members of the German Social-Democracy, together with the atmosphere of that time. One can understand this even if one judged things otherwise at that time and to-day still judges things otherwise than the majority of our comrades; but one can also understand that people for whom no event has intervened which might change their judgment of that period—and the majority of French Social Radicals and French Socialists are in this situation—still preserve, unchanged or even strengthened, the same feelings which the Social-Democrats of Germany also felt at the time.

At the present moment I know the Yellow Book of the French government on the war only from extracts telegraphically published. But one does not need it in order to understand the conceptions and the conduct of the Socialists of France. If they hold the view that the French government did not want the war, they can rely among other things upon the testimony of Jean Jaurès, who in Brussels on the 29th of July, at the session of the International Socialist Bureau, and also at the great demonstration in the Royal Circus (on the 30th), gave his word that the French government was working for peace. With emphasis he declared:

"The French government is the best peace ally of that admirable government of England which took the initiative in the mediation. And it is influencing Russia by its counsels of wisdom and patience."

At that time and also in the last conversation which Jaurès—on the 31st of July—held with the representatives of the government, Jaurès urged energetically that France renounce its duty as an ally of Russia if Russia did not enter into the mediation plans or if it declared war. But, as things appeared to the French, Russia did the first thing and did not do the second—she entered into all mediation proposals, and finally Russia did not declare war. The war declared by Germany against Russia and France, moreover, came at a moment when Russia represented the cause of the people in danger of being overpowered by a stronger neighbor and when the enemy of France and Russia proposed to another people that it should lend its hand against its own will for an attempt against the former (France). If one recalls the fact that in those days there

was not *one* single country the labor democracy of which did not take a stronger stand against Germany and Austria than against Russia, then one will understand that it was all the more impossible for the proletarian democracy of France to turn its back on Russia. If it did not want altogether to renounce the defense of its own country it was forced to allow the fact of the alliance with Russia to pass as a temporary necessity.

But that the Republic had not previously given up the alliance of its own accord is the result of the circumstances that democratic and capitalistic interests have long worked together to justify this alliance in the eyes of the French.

The capitalistic interests concerned are obvious. Against a Germany always becoming stronger, France could assure its power in Europe only by an alliance with another great power. And it was Russia that offered itself for this purpose since as early as 1870 and 1871 it had already raised its voice against a too great weakening of France, and in 1875 had given its powerful veto when Bismarck made a move to prevent France from rebuilding its defensive power by the threat of a new war. The attempt made by Bismarck and his followers to divert France from the idea of reconquest of Alsace-Lorraine to a preoccupation with colonial forces could take root at the best only with a part of the bourgeoisie. Among the great masses of the people it was doomed to failure because in their eyes the idea of the "Revanche" included a thought of democratic justice, because the reconquest of those provinces for a long time meant for them the emancipation of their oppressed former fellow-citizens. As long as Alsace-Lorraine remained under dictatorship, it remained to the French as being oppressed just as Schleswig-Holstein once was for the Germans, and therefore it was very difficult to separate the demagogic Chauvinism of professional politicians from the democratic thought of the restoration of a just condition in a part of the country which was under a dictatorship. The line,

"*Vouez rendez nous l'Alsace et la Lorraine,*"
was based therefore on the same idea of justice as our [poem] of a former time:

*"Schleswig Holstein, meerumschlungen,
Deutscher Sitten hohe Wacht,
Wahre treu, was schwer errungen,
Bis ein schön'rer Morgen tagt."*

THE SYNDICALISTS AND THE WAR

Solidarity, the organ of the I. W. W., has contained a good deal of matter on both sides of the war. After several months' delay it has finally come to take a very definite position, as is proved by an article reviewing the attitude of the syndicalists, from which we quote the following:

It must be admitted that up to the moment Germany declared war against France the French syndicalists and Socialist fought

desperately to maintain peace. Shortly before the war the *Bataille Syndicaliste*, the French daily paper of the unions, printed for several days at the head of the front page the following quotation from the resolution voted by the special conference of trades councils and federations (Oct. 1, 1911):

"The decisions of the Confederal Congresses concerning the attitude to be taken by the working class in case of war, become active the moment the war is declared.

". . . This happening the declaration of war must be for every worker the command for an immediate stoppage of work.

". . . To every declaration of war the workers must at once answer by a general revolutionary strike."

Working class demonstrations against the war were held in all the centers of the country. That one of July 27 organized in Paris by the Trades Councils of the Seine at which 100,000 persons took part and showed their hatred of war, was an enormous success.

But when all efforts proved to be in vain, when the leaders of the French unions were warned by Socialist deputies that not only did war seem inevitable and immediate, but that Germany was secretly mobilizing so that France would be surprised by the attack—then a change took place: "If you desire the ruin of the French nation, if you in Germany and Austria want war at any cost, you will have it." And Socialists and anarchists, all took as their guiding principle: "Let us save West European civilization and liberties from foreign invaders! We are anti-militarists, but we are not dogmatic Tolstoyans; we are revolutionaries!"

We do not judge here the fundamental modification of the mind when confronted with the danger of an invasion. We state only that a minority of French syndicalists continue to defend "peace at all costs"; those comrades would like to have seen the people fold their arms, in spite of the danger and ruin of the country. The existence of this current, feeble though it be, may have some importance in the future; it is so to say a guarantee against an excess of nationalist spirit in case the French armies should win a decisive victory.

In general, the French unions have shown the same attitude as the large English unions.

It is for the "destruction of the Prussian military caste" that the British Federation of Trades Unions takes sides.

For the future the prevailing opinions in syndicalist circles can easily have importance. The syndicalists and also Socialists ask "a speedy peace which humiliates nobody; a peace without conquest" (the formula of Karl Liebknecht).

But it must not be forgotten that there are difficulties in the way of peace, as several provinces of France are yet in occupation by the German troops, and above all, a neutral nation, Belgium, has been crushed and devastated with the greatest cruelty by a barbarous army. And once the war has begun it must be carried on until military reaction in all countries is put down.

The syndicalists should let themselves be guided by the great idea of the creation of the United States of Europe with the complete disarmament of the nations.

“WAR SOCIALISM”

Under the above heading, the Berlin *Vorwaerts* refers to the so-called experiments undertaken by various governments for war purposes, with special reference, of course, to the government of Germany. The German action has been perhaps the most radical of all. Yet *Vorwaerts* sees nothing Socialistic about it and not even the slightest step in the direction of Socialism:

Let us recall the contents of the order of the Imperial Council. After a period of six months—during which a still worse speculation had been carried on in grains than in times of peace—the government decided upon the confiscation of the supplies of grain and flour. The confiscation followed at the market prices which had been driven up for six months, or at least with the unnecessarily high legal maximum price. The producers and traders from whom the supplies were taken away, therefore, obtained about the same price which they would have secured by free trading. Therefore the confiscation resulted in no curtailment either of the ground rent or of the trading profit. The whole measure represents neither the nationalization of the products of the land, nor even the nationalization of the grain trade.

Vorwaerts proceeds to prove this point by citing the details of the government measures. It then continues:

The assertion that the present order of the Imperial Council is partly or wholly on the road to Socialism rests upon a confusion of Socialist with social democratic demands. Our program contains a whole group of demands (for example, the separation of religion from the public schools) which are wholly realizable inside of the present society and contain nothing whatever specifically Socialistic. Their accomplishment would, therefore, be in no degree progress towards Socialism. Moreover the Erfurt Program (the present program of the German party) contains no demand for the creation of State monopolies. The Party has always occupied a critical attitude towards such demands. At the Erfurt Congress in 1891 a motion that the Socialist Reichstag

group should demand the nationalization of the grain trade was rejected. . . . In any case the introduction of State monopoly does not mean the triumph of Socialism over capitalism, for if this had been the case Socialists would already have celebrated tremendous triumphs in Russia and Austria.

The Erfurt Program says very clearly what Socialism is: “the transformation of capitalistic private property in the means of production—land, mines, raw material, tools, machines, means of transportation—into social property, and the transformation of production for private into production carried on for and by society.”

Vorwaerts says that to welcome the war measures as being in any degree Socialistic is a very dangerous illusion for the working class.

STATE SOCIALISM AND NATIONALISM

The NEW REVIEW has printed a number of items showing the intimate connection between nationalism and State Socialism. The truth seems to be that they should be considered parts of one single movement. This change is well indicated by the *American Journal of Sociology*, which in its last number prints a symposium entitled “What Is Americanism?” The contributions are not especially interesting, though that of the editor, Prof. Albion Small, clearly indicates a State Socialist and nationalistic standpoint, but still more significant is the reprinting in the same number of an article on Class Conflicts by Gustav Schmoller, one of Germany’s State Socialists and national economists.

Schmoller is not a reactionary at all points; he does not want to restore aristocracy or landlordism. He apologizes for this view by explaining that “In a country of compulsory school attendance and of universal military duty, in a state which for nearly forty years has had universal suffrage” the working classes should be given a chance “to have leaders of their own organizations whom they learn to obey” and the result will be that “these leaders will treat with the civic power and later, if not at once, with the other classes.” This statement was written in 1904. The labor leaders of Germany and elsewhere are doing exactly what Schmoller predicted and the ruling class, it seems, can maintain their privileges intact by this system without resorting to any reaction towards an earlier form of government. Schmoller feels that there is still some danger:

It is a question whether the reins would not quickly slip from the hands of a Bebel and a Singer and pass over to more radical

associates. Catastrophes and bloody conflicts are thus certainly not out of the question, especially if, at the decisive hour, weak statesmen should be at the head.

However, Schmoller relies on his sovereign remedy against Social Democracy. The statesmen of the ruling class have only to see that "the way is made easy for the reasonable politicians in the party to get the victory over the demagogues" and "blind hatred against all the other classes and civic authority will gradually disappear."

Like our own Progressives Schmoller advocates a mixture of existing institutions and of certain innovations intended to strengthen them against the lower classes. He favors, for example, "a mixture and a reconciliation of heterogeneous institutions, democracy and aristocracy, republic and monarchy."

Schmoller takes up a very strong stand against any extension of democracy that would really transfer important decisions from the government to the people. He rejects direct legislation, for example:

In particular, however, there are certain extreme democratic arrangements which are wholesome in small parishes or cantons, but can be only harmful in great states. Hence it was not illogical for certain radicals, such as Owen and Fourier, to demand that all the great states should be resolved into small local communities. They merely forgot that the demand would amount to destruction of all higher culture and all national independence. Those Socialists who want to retain the great state are mostly in the dark about the preconditions of its existence, about the international struggles which threaten it, about the internal structure of force which it presupposes, they think it is compatible with a constitution suitable for a trade union of 50 to 100 members. Direct legislation by the whole folk (obligatory referendum), the imperative mandate in case of members of the lower house, which compels them to vote, not in accordance with their inside knowledge and conviction, but as their constituents direct, the uni-cameral system, annual elections, the one-man-one-vote system in all elections, the decision about peace and war by the whole folk—these are the extreme democratic demands, which rest upon the idea of popular sovereignty, and which would transfer great decisions from government to folk.

Schmoller advocates that all important decisions should continue to be made by parliaments and governments in order to prevent the people from any effective control of the government in these larger matters. He then proceeds to indicate that parliamentarism is perfectly safe for the ruling classes now that conservative leaders are getting control of the Socialist organizations;

For hundreds of years in all the great civilized states the final decisions upon important matters have been intrusted to a single man or to a small body of men, or to senates and lower houses of from 200 to 600 members. The ancient republics perished in the attempt at government by the whole folk. The greatest political progress meanwhile—government by means of ministers and parliaments—would be nullified by the above-mentioned democratic demands.

The like is true of the demand for annual elections of all civil officials and judges and for abolition of standing armies. . . .

The reasonable Socialism and radicalism of most recent times, like, for instance, that of the English Fabians, has accordingly already pronounced all these democratic demands archaic and fallacious. For four years the English trade unions have more and more given over the conduct of their affairs to a labor aristocracy and to a body of labor officials. This is practically the case more and more in Germany. The power of the leaders in the Social Democracy is growing daily. Nowhere is faith in authority more necessary than here. A saint-worship toward departed leaders is developing, but in all this a long process is under way, a process of political education. This process should prepare the laborers as far as possible for self-government. They should not be hindered in this process by vicious exclusion from political rights and responsibilities.

Finally Schmoller concludes by advocating a sort of monarchical Socialism or Socialist monarchy. He states that the only obstacle to the Socialist participation in government in Germany is that they have neglected "the specifically national demands which were in the interest of the power of the state and of the nation."

In view of the fact that approximately half of the Socialist Reichstag members opposed any effective assertions of republicanism at the closing of the session last June and in view of the present nationalistic attitude of the majority of its leaders there seems to be no sufficient reason now why they and the State Socialists may not get together. Schmoller regrets that they have not been able to do so in the past, but is more hopeful as to the future:

All this may be modified. It does not exclude an alliance between monarchy and the laborers in Germany. Even today we may say that the monarchy with its organs and the labor world present the most vital political forces in Germany. In the German folk-thrift of the future there would then occur further reconstructions in the spirit of social reform in the interest of the laborers. . . .

This would merely amount to a fulfilment of the most general historical law, viz., that great opposing political energies within the same state always at last find the point of union and of co-operation. This would substantiate a remark of Kaiser Wilhelm II at the beginning of his reign, that the Prussian state, because it has the most fixed monarchical constitution and administration is also capable of most boldly undertaking social reform.

Suedekum, Heine, Fischer, Legien and many leaders of the German Social Democracy have made statements in recent years, and especially since the war, which show them ready to go to great lengths in the direction of nationalism in order to secure the social reforms upon which they have set their hearts. Is it not probable that the rising influence of the nationalistic social reform party, including a large part of the Socialists, will be one of the chief features of German politics after the war and that it may even succeed, before many years, in securing control of the government, further democratizing it and placing it securely in the hands of the lower middle classes and the aristocracy of labor?

THE GERMAN PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

The *Peoples' College News* gives the following interesting review of the relation between the public schools and the ruling military caste in Germany. It is especially important because of the capitalistic campaign to introduce this school system and these educational principles into the United States:

Have you ever stopped to consider the influence which German schools have had upon the citizenry of Germany who today are fighting as one great machine?

Have you also considered that this is the type of education our educators are advocating for American Schools? P. P. Claxton, U. S. Commissioner of Education says "there is a marked tendency in the United States to adopt German plans and methods." What are these plans and methods?

In the first place, education is compulsory in Germany between the ages of 6 and 14. Most German children are sent to Kindergartens at the age of 4. But if they are not in school at the age of 6, the Government demands of the parents the reason why. And here begins the explanation of German caste. There are two distinct branches of the German school system; one, which trains the common people and is known as the *Volks-schule*, and the other which trains the students who are to go into the University and into the professions. Between these two systems, so far as the pupils are concerned, there is no relation. The boys and girls who enter the *Volks-schule* never have any expectation of entering a secondary school; they never expect to go to a university or to enter any of the professions. They belong to the working class, are educated for the manual trades and there is no breaking away from the system. The teachers in the *Volks-schule* have an entirely different training and belong to a different class than those who teach in the *Vor-schule* or *Gymnasium*, the schools of the higher classes.

The whole world of professional activity is closed to the boy or girl of the people. The only possible avenue of escape from manual work or as a craftsman is to become a teacher in the *Volks-schule*.

Every German is brought up and educated for a specific work in life and this work is chosen for him. He has no choice in the matter and everything in his education is directed to that end.

There is no "working up" or possibility of such. You are born a "hand" and you are educated as a "hand" and a "hand" you remain unless the Kaiser needs cannon fodder and then being a "hand" and not a "head" you obey as automatically as the hand obeys the head.

The course in the schools for the people covers eight years. At first the study hours are divided into eleven hours for German, four for arithmetic, one for singing and four for religion. Later six hours are spent in science, five in religion and four hours in mathematics.

The technical schools in Germany are without doubt the finest in the world. The great corporations of the United States have made a special study of German Trade Schools with the result that they have formed a National Association of Corporation Schools and are leaving no stone unturned to introduce the German system into the United States.

The schools are carried on in connection with the factory work.

Here is a day's program in the Krupp Steel Works at Essen. Shopwork from 6 to 8 A. M.; Breakfast from 8 to 8:15 A. M. Shopwork 8:15 A. M. to 12 M.; Dinner 12 M. to 1:30 P. M.; Shopwork from 1:30 to 4 P. M.; Lunch 4 to 4:15 P. M.; Shop-work 4:15 to 6 P. M.; Continuation school from 6 to 8 P. M., 3 evenings a week—after which the apprentice is allowed to go to his home for supper!

Sufficient comment upon the system from a working class point of view is made in the following quotation from the bulletin of the U. S. Bureau of Education. "The entire system, while beneficial to the individual employee and his family, still makes for the good of the company. The man becomes a more efficient producer, and, during his period of training he not only *maintains the education expense of the institution, but is also a source of revenue.* The girl becomes a more efficient home-maker and is able to provide a better living for her husband who is employed in the works than she otherwise could. *These conditions make more satisfied employees and tend toward less and less social unrest and dissatisfaction—results vital for the good of such a productive organization.*"

Will the spirit of democracy allow this caste producing system of education to be foisted upon our American children? Shall we put iron bands of caste upon our children and declare that the accident of birth shall decree that one child shall be forever a hewer of wood and a drawer of water while another, perhaps less capable, shall by the same accident of birth enter upon a life of culture and ease? Surely the men and women of America who have walked meekly like lambs to the shearing themselves, will rouse and claim for their children the right to life which they have not had the courage to claim for themselves. Shall we continue to educate a few to exploit the many? And educate the many to forge the fetters that bind their own souls and bodies?

JULIUS VAHLTEICH

The death of Julius Vahlteich in Chicago is a tremendous loss to American Socialists. Vahlteich was one of the founders of the German Social Democracy and of the International. He was one of the organizers of the LaSalle party before Bebel had become a Socialist and while he was still a mere nationalistic labor unionist social reformer.

Shortly before his death Vahlteich wrote to the New York *Volkszeitung* that he feared the International had gone back to the position of fifty years ago. He was even so discouraged that he was ready for death. He wrote:

As to the effect of a war upon our party I have always been clear and have only had contempt for those loud mouthed persons who spoke of a general strike and revolution in case of war, but I never believed in the possibility of such shameful conduct as the German party has been guilty of and the fact has depressed me exceedingly. . . . You can imagine what an impression this behavior makes on a person who went through the experiences and trials of 1870-71 and must now survive to the time when the whole struggle of those days, which not only gave the party its reputation, but made the International possible, has turned out to be practically useless. Ah, dear friends, it requires a much clearer vision and conviction in order that men should not err and should hold out to the end. I hope I shall survive it, but I would like for the end to come soon. Do you remember what I wrote about Bebel? He was fortunate in everything and even died at the right time.

 AN EX-POLICE CHIEF ON THE LATEST "BOMB-
PLOT"

William S. Devery, former chief of the New York police, was interviewed on the subject of the alleged anarchist plot which grew out of the arrest of two Italian youths in St. Patrick's Cathedral with a lighted bomb, by policemen who were waiting ready for it all to happen.

The two Italian bomb-makers are not anarchists at all, said Devery, according to the New York *Tribune*, but simply religious fanatics:

This idea of a widespread plot is nonsense. Those boys are not anarchists or socialists. I know those sects, and I would trust any member of them a lot sooner than I would many a business man in this town. They [the Italian youths] are simply religious maniacs, nothing more or less. I know their kind. The asylums are full of them.

Devery also said that the police had no right to let them take their bombs into the cathedral and thus endanger the lives of hundreds.

Suppose that the fuses of those bombs had been shorter or badly made, and the bombs had gone off before the sexton or the scrubwomen or any one else of that Sherlock Holmes crowd could get to them? Was it worth while to risk having the roof of the cathedral land in the cellar with all of the worshippers underneath it, for a bit of spectacular effect?

These remarks from an ex-chief make an interesting commentary on the methods of Commissioner Woods, whose enlightened views on the functions of the police have been received in good faith by the public. Something has happened to Mr. Woods since he went into office a little over a year ago. *Then* Mr. Woods refused to take the word of the police that a peaceable crowd in Union Square needed clubbing. *Now* he takes the word of the *agent provocateur*, Pulignani, that he did not engineer this plot himself. What has happened to Woods appears to be that he has lost the ability to spot a police lie when he sees it.

 THE FALL IN THE PURCHASING POWER
OF WAGES

In the *American Economic Review* for December Comrade I. M. Rubinow published an important article on this subject which has recently appeared as a re-print. The article shows that the purchasing power of weekly earnings fell 15 per cent from 1890 to the present time. In 1900 the purchasing power of weekly earnings was about the same as 1890, so that the whole of the fall has been in the last fifteen years, *i.e.*, at the rate of one per cent. each year. As Rubinow states it, "the sum total of economic progress of this country from the last quarter of a century appears to be a loss of 10 to 15 per cent. in the earning power of the American wage worker." Rubinow's figures for the most part come down only to 1912, but he calculates that prices have risen 6 per cent. since that time, while the average increase of wages in 63 trade-union occupations was only 2½ per cent. Owing to the lack of official data Rubinow was unable to take into account the fluctuations of employment or of annual earnings, but he does not think they would very materially alter his figures.

He mentions two important causes why the family income may not have fallen so much as the income of the individual wage

earner, the fact that families are smaller and that a larger part of women is employed. Rubinow's conclusion is as follows:

With fewer children to support, with women young and old, married or unmarried contributing to the family budget, or at least partially relieving it of a certain share of the burden, the wage-workers of America were able to raise their standard of living, to lead a somewhat easier life. But this does not mean a larger return for their labor. As far as the purchasing value of their wages is concerned, it had probably increased slightly (though by no means as rapidly as is asserted) between 1870 and 1890. But since 1900 it has been rapidly falling. The purchasing powers of wages in 1913 are not much higher than they were in 1870. Even assuming the correctness of the figures derived from the Aldrich report, the increase for the last three decades was nil.

And yet the increase in the productivity of labor during the last three decades, especially as measured in consumer's values, was enormous. It is not at all necessary to quote figures to prove this contention.

The conclusion is inevitable that a much smaller share of the value reaches the wage-worker now than did twenty or thirty years ago.

An important element to which Rubinow does not pay attention is that, whereas the real wages paid for an individual job are less than they were a generation ago, the individual worker is much better off as a rule, for he was born in Europe in the majority of instances, where he received a small fraction of the money wages and a small fraction also of the purchasing power he got as soon as he came to America. This is important in explaining the psychology of the American working class and their lack of radicalism. They have been better off from generation to generation—in spite of the fact that the working class has been receiving a smaller and smaller proportion of the total product, and in spite of the fact that less real wages are paid for each particular kind of manual labor than were paid a generation ago.

In a word the economic structure of America is becoming less and less democratic, but we are lifting this grade of labor from the semi-feudal conditions of Europe to the semi-democratic conditions of America. This lifting process is pulling us down a little, though very slowly, but it is more than a compensation for this fact that it is pulling up a considerable element of the European working class—our immigrants—very rapidly. Capitalism is doing its progressive task, though it is not of itself carrying us into Socialism.

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87 GREENWICH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

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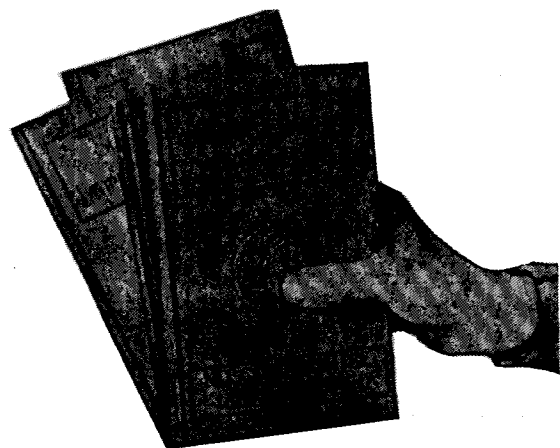
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New Propaganda of Race Hatred

By Paul Kennaday

THE easy and popular business of stirring up hatred and contempt of the Negro has assumed a new and profitable form. D. W. Griffith's "Birth of a Nation," a film play based on Thomas Dixon's outrageous *Clansman*, has for two months been running to packed houses at the Liberty theatre in New York City. With scarcely an exception, the press has been filled with the usual sort of copy that passes for dramatic criticism and the public twice a day has been giving every indication of pleasure and satisfaction at paying out its money for "history" reeled off before its eyes to the accompaniment of the regulation throb music. The history is a bit askew, to be sure, but with so much precedent for so writing it, it would be hypercritical to object to so picturing it.

But the "Birth of a Nation" is more than the portrayal of Reconstruction from "a point of view,"—the South's point of view. It is because of its open, deliberate and intended insult to the whole Negro race, because of its portrayal of the Negro race as one of drunkards, of harlots and of rapists; because of its praise of lynching and its glorification of mob vengeance; because of its downright and barefaced appeal to race hatred, that the right to continue the production of the play has been challenged.

It is not yet clear how out of the Board of Censors' "censoring committee" membership of over a hundred, a sub-committee of ten could have been selected that without one dissenting vote could pass the original "Birth of a Nation" film and mark it, "morally, educationally and artistically

excellent," while the general committee itself, upon appeal made to it, insisted by an overwhelming vote upon the cutting out of certain scenes in the first half of the play and the suppression of practically the whole of the second part. But the wisdom of this National Board is inscrutable. Quick upon its wholesale disapproval, it reversed itself again after the cutting out of some few of the vilest portions of that second act, which first had been fulsomely praised and then had been sweepingly condemned. Certainly a board of less weight and position would find it difficult to hold so firmly to its judgment when its decisions against plays have no more immediate effect than the association of producers choose to give to them, and when the secretary and executive force of the board have their salaries and expenses paid wholly by that association.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People who have appealed to officials and to the Board of Censors in an endeavor to have the "Birth of a Nation" stopped, have been accused of favoring the suppression of free speech. Free speech is wanted by us, we are told, only so long as speech may be free to us, not while it is exercised by those who do not speak as we do.

But we who have deliberately brought upon us this accusation claim extenuating circumstances of a wholly unique character. We are fighting in the most unpopular and unequal combat in all the world—for the equality of all races. Rich and poor, capital and labor, women and men, are arrayed against