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Against Premature Peace

By Anatole France

Specially Written for the "New Review"

IT would be a grave and dangerous error to suppose that peace is possible and desirable at the present time.

The idea that is now being spread in America that the end of the war can be hastened by prohibiting the exportation of arms and ammunition does not proceed, I can assure you, from any French source. I will add that it does not proceed from any genuinely humane inspiration, for neither France and her allies nor the world at large would gain anything from a peace which allowed that perpetual cause of war, German militarism, to continue.

It is certain that from such a peace humanity would gain nothing and would lose security, liberty, and even hope.

These are considerations, I believe, that must appeal strongly to the American nation, so energetic, so self-controlled, and so jealous of its independence.

All the parties of France, Socialists, Nationalists, Radicals, are united in a single thought, a single feeling, a single purpose—to liberate Europe by breaking the formidable instrument of oppression which Germany has forged, and which, for forty years, has weighed our old world down with its hideous weight.

Such is our duty towards France, towards our allies, towards ourselves. It is imposed upon us Socialists at least as imperatively as on any of the other political and social parties—united and coalesced as all of them now stand.

That duty we shall perform up to the hilt, through the most frightful trials, at the cost of the most cruel sacrifices. That sacred duty. How could we

dream of evading it, when doing it involves but one supreme effort, an effort, huge, no doubt, terrible perhaps, but well-directed and decisive, when the reward of our confidence is certain, and when even now we see the signs of our victory on the horizon.

The blood of our brothers, of our children, fallen in the cause of justice and liberty, must not cry out against us. We owe it to their memory to finish their work. We owe to the just and heroic men who have died in battle a peaceful tomb on which the laurel and the olive will never fade.

We love peace too well to give it a vile and shameful cradle; we love peace too much not to wish it great, pure, radiant, assured of a long career.

We have nothing to fear from time: it is working for France and her allies. Our army is stronger than ever. Russia is inexhaustible in men and grain. England, whose persistency is well-known, is ceaselessly developing her resources and her activities. Germany, to whom the sea, the dispenser of riches, is closed, must perish miserably. And it is on the eve of this assured victory that we are asked to betray, through a shameful weakness or through a morbid sentimentality, the just cause that destiny has placed in our hands!

No, no, as Frenchmen, we are unanimous in our decision to fight until the final victory.

As for me, if I should hear that Frenchmen were allowing themselves to be seduced by the deceptive phantom of a hideous peace, I would ask of Parliament to declare a traitor every man who proposed to treat with the enemy as long as they occupy any part of our territory or that of Belgium.

Current Affairs

By L. B. Boudin

Italy in the War

AT last Italy has jumped off the fence on which she has been sitting for nearly ten months. Amid all the disgusting things which this war has produced, or has uncovered to the gaze of the world, Italy on the fence was the most disgusting. Not that she is necessarily worse than those who have entered the struggle before her. Only that we have not seen the others when they were plotting, manoeuvring, calculating. When we first beheld them they were in the midst of the combat, a prey to the fiercest passions. They therefore appealed to our sympathies, no matter how thoroughly we disapproved or condemned their actions. Human nature is so constituted that it is inclined to deal lightly with *crimes de passion*. So we did not think of the sordid motives that actuated the entrance into the war, of some at least, if not all, the combatants which were fighting in the arena, and saw only the titanic struggle itself. We were overawed by its vastness, and largely fascinated by the fury of the passions which it unloosed. But Italy, sitting at the crossways and offering herself to the highest bidder, shrewdly and cynically calculating which bid to accept, was simply revolting—a challenge to all decency and morality.

The apologists' explanation of Italy's final decision is that *Italia Irredenta* has gained the day, that the national "aspirations of the Italian people" have forced on the war. As a matter of fact *Italia Irredenta* had nothing to do with it, except in the sense that it made the war popular, thus securing that popular support without which no modern, large-scale war is possible. *Italia Irredenta* made it easy for Italy to enter the war, whenever her ruling class determined upon that course, and the absence of *Italia Irredenta* might have put her ruling class to the inconvenience of looking for some other slogan that would make the war popular. We know that the ruling classes of some of Italy's neighbors at least did not find the task particularly hard. But a slogan *was* there for Italy, and simplified matters considerably. *Irredentism* will furnish the enthusiasm of the masses, while the fight is going on over Albania, the control of the Adriatic, and other imperialistic ventures of the Italian capitalist class.

Italy's final determination to enter the war, seems to have been due, however, not so much to the fact that Austria-Germany did not bid high enough for her favors, as to the circumstance that they did not properly assure her the wages of her sin. Internal

conditions did not permit the Austro-German combination to make any immediate cession of territory, and Italy wouldn't take their word for it that they would make the cession after the war was over. So she decided to cast her lot with the allies.

In all this sordid business there were, however, two things to relieve one's disgust; both clean and refreshing, although otherwise fundamentally different one from the other. The masses of the Italian people wanted none of the "compensations" their ruling class was after, none of the miserable business of bargaining and dickering; they wanted *Italia Irredenta* and war against the ancient oppressor, and could not be bought off. The Socialists, with few exceptions, stuck to their guns; manfully resisting the combined attacks of old-fashioned *Irredentism* and new-fangled Imperialism.

Waterloo, 1815-1915

THE centenary of the battle of Waterloo, fought on June 17-18, 1815, will be celebrated in a manner that no similar centenary has ever been celebrated before. Even if the commanders of the opposing armies in Belgium and Northern France do not provide for any special carnage, there will probably be more people killed in the vicinity of that historic battlefield on June 17-18, 1915, than were killed in the famous battle of a hundred years ago. Certainly, there will be more troops and more guns engaged in that battlefield alone than the great conqueror who there fought his last-ditch battle ever dreamt of. Indeed, the very conception of a "battlefield" has so changed since the days of Napoleon, that the size of our "battlefields" would stagger that King of the Battlefield, could he rise and see one. And the battlefield near Waterloo will not be the only battlefield, and the battle there fought not the only battle fought, on the fateful centenary of the Battle of Waterloo.

This, however, does not detract anything from the importance of the Battle of Waterloo. Battles are judged according to their results. The great historic importance of Waterloo lies in the fact that it was the grave of Napoleon's dream of World Empire. It was not a great conqueror merely, or a dynasty, that were destroyed in that battle, but a great plan of reconstructing the world under the hegemony of one nation—a revival of the Roman Empire on a modern, much larger, scale. The defeat of this scheme was decisive—that's the great significance of Waterloo.

It is true that it meant the close of a great revolutionary epoch and the remaking of the map of Europe. But the revolutionary epoch had been closed long before as far as its special forms and manifestations were concerned. And as far as its deeper meaning was concerned Waterloo didn't close

it. The Restoration which followed it could not restore the Ancient Regime. No, not even the Bourbon dynasty. The Revolution which was partly interrupted was carried to a successful conclusion a little later. The map of Europe which was remade after Waterloo didn't stay put, and was remade again and again since. Not even the Napoleonic dynasty did Waterloo dispose of for good.

The only thing that Waterloo disposed of for good and all was the Napoleonic dream of world-empire. And it is the only thing about Waterloo that the world approved of without a dissenting voice. With all their love of the French Revolution and their hatred of the Holy Alliance, with all their sympathy for Napoleon's work in attempting to modernize Europe and their disgust with the Restoration, the revolutionist of the 19th Century could not help but be thankful for Waterloo. "Bonapartism" has therefore been considered by all revolutionists an enemy to be fought no matter under what guise it appeared.

It is as much the enemy of revolution and progress in the 20th Century as it ever was in the 19th. And the danger of its appearance is greater now than it ever was since the day of Waterloo. The very fact that Germany fights, single-handed, "a world in arms," proves that there is danger ahead. That alone requires her defeat. A nation that can fight the world is a danger to the world's peace, prosperity, and progress.

What Are You Going to do About It?

DR. W. S. RAINSFORD, the noted divine, has written a letter to the *N. Y. Times* in which he expresses indignation over the Lawson verdict in a manner which does great credit to his high sense of justice—and shows how little he knows of his country and its ways. After stating that the conviction of Lawson was a "very terrible thing" he announces bravely and categorically that—

"The country, Sir, will not stand for that verdict."

Well said, Dr. Rainsford! But may we ask you, Dr. Rainsford, just what do you mean by that statement? Who, or what, exactly is the "country" that you think is not going to "stand" for the Lawson verdict? Is it the N. Y. Times and the interests which it, in common with the other "great metropolitan dailies," represent? Is it the fashionable and highly influential congregation whom you minister? Is it the press, the church, the educational institutions of this country that you expect not to "stand for it?"

Another question that we would like to ask you, Dr. Rainsford, is this: Suppose these great influential agencies do "stand for it," as they have often before stood for similar things, and as they have stood for this verdict now for over a month without

showing the least inclination to move, *what are you, Dr. Rainsford, going to do about it?*

And there are others to whom this question might be properly put. In the same letter Dr. Rainsford says:

"To all labor organizations, male and female, the Colorado verdict is an insult." This is surely not an overstatement. It is not only an insult, but a direct and most severe blow at their very existence. But,—

What are you, the organized men and women of this country, going to do about it?

"Jersey Justice"

JERSEY Justice has been vindicated. Apropos of it the *N. Y. Times* says, editorially:

"A New Jersey jury has convicted nine men who shot strikers. The verdict disposes of any idea that the shooting was justifiable by the conditions on the one hand, and on the other hand convinces, or should convince, strikers that the courts are for them as much as for strike-breakers. Courts are neutral and produce their decisions with certainty if the requisite facts are produced."

Quite so. Only with this slight difference:

A striker or a striker's friend gets a term of years in jail if he "advocates sabotage" or criticizes the Paterson police, while a strike-breaker must be a professional thug, and commit deliberate and unprovoked murder before a similar penalty will be inflicted on him.

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Termination of the "Protocol"

By Isaac A. Hourwich

THE famous "Protocol of Peace," the pet child of the uplifters, has been terminated by the Cloak Manufacturers' Protective Association. *The Independent*, whose editor-in-chief was one of the arbitrators under the protocol, thinks that it "is unquestionably the most important attempt yet made in the United States to substitute law for war in industrial relations. It ranks as a measure of industrial peace with the compulsory arbitration law of New Zealand and the compulsory investigation law of Canada. . . . The protocol has already been of inestimable benefit to both employers and employees. It has been the subject of numerous magazine articles and of a sympathetic investigation and report by the United States Government. It has been copied in other cities and trades. It has abolished the brutality of the lock-out and the violence of the strike. . . . It has bettered the condition of the workers."

A similar view is taken by *The New Republic*, one of whose editors has also served on the Board of Arbitration under the protocol. According to that exponent of the "graceful and calisthenic way to struggle against the established" (as Mr. Amos Pinchot has cleverly characterized it), the protocol "became one of the most significant and hopeful experiments in our whole industrial laboratory." Under it "wages (have been) raised, labor conditions improved, and thousands of grievances amicably settled."

And yet, turning to the official press of the Union, we learn that its meetings following the termination of that "hopeful experiment" were "made up of happy members. Happy at having got rid of an instrument that took from them the only method for getting redress without giving them anything in return for it. At the Joint Board the meeting seemed as though it were celebrating the delivery of the workers from the bonds of wage slavery. A holiday spirit prevailed, the delegates congratulating each other upon their newly regained industrial freedom. . . . Every mention of the death of the protocol caused such applause that the chairman asked that a letter of thanks be sent for it to the Association."

In the same issue of *The Ladies' Garment Cutter*, from which the preceding report is quoted, we find the following editorial comment, which radically dissents from the optimistic view taken by the friends of the protocol:

"As for *the protocol*, the Union does not shed any crocodile tears for the instrument that kept

them in subjection for five years without improving their conditions one iota.

"The cutters of Local No. 10 can especially testify to the fact that for the last 5 years their wages have not only not increased, but on the contrary decreased. There are more cutters to-day receiving wages below the scale than in 1911. . . .

"For nearly three years the organization clamored for an increase of wages to meet the shorter seasons and the increased cost of living, and with what result? An investigation, a compilation of statistics, a promise, but no money. . . . But statistics cannot be eaten, and therefore cutters, hundreds of them, were starving."

The only craft receiving an increase of wages, as a result of the statistical investigation, was the pressers, who constitute less than one-fifth of the total force employed in the industry.

On the other hand, however, the piece workers, who number about three-fourths of the whole force, complain that their wages have actually declined under the protocol. The reason for this decline can be gleaned from the editorial of *The New Republic*, quoted above.

"The manufacturers claim 'the right to discharge,' 'the right to reorganize their shops.' But all these phrases come down to a matter of dollars and cents and exploitation. . . . The difficulty is inherent in the industry as at present organized. Hundreds of shops make thousands of styles of garments. There is no one standard of wage payment for all these different styles, and each manufacturer is obliged to come to an agreement with his employees over the price which he is to pay for the making of each style. In these daily agreements his employees are represented by their committee. . . . If the manufacturer is to have the right arbitrarily to discharge such union representatives, all collective bargaining will cease. The employer would only have to state the price (which means the wages) he is willing to pay, and if his terms were not accepted, *he could throw the committeeman out of his job and oblige his employees to select a more amenable representative. Such a situation would be intolerable.*"

We further learn that under an award rendered "by the Board of Arbitration in its last session in January the employer enjoys the right to discharge, but such discharge is subject to review by a disinterested and impartial tribunal, and may be set aside if unfair, unreasonable or discriminatory. Administrative control within the factory is retained

by the employer, but safeguards are given to the union to prevent such control being used to break down collective bargaining."

It thus appears that the employer not only "claimed," but actually "enjoyed" the right to discharge, and that prior to last January, i. e., for over four years from the adoption of the protocol, "such discharge" could not "be set aside if unfair, unreasonable or discriminatory." This being actually the case it follows by inference that whenever "his terms were not accepted, he could throw the committeeman out of his job." This "intolerable" situation existed under the protocol until last January, according to *The New Republic's* own testimony, and yet it makes a general claim that wages have been increased. This is an illustration of the "graceful and calisthenic way" of making public sentiment for the protocol, which the membership of the Union regarded as an instrument of oppression.

To be sure, the editorial opinion of a labor paper is open to suspicion of bias. Moreover, five years of training under the protocol have been too short a period to imbue the union membership with the idea of "social peace," based upon "partnership of capital and labor." We have, however, the testimony of one who stands above suspicion of partisanship, having been chosen by both sides to administer the protocol in the work-a-day relations between the employers and the employees. In a letter made public by the chairman of the Committee on Immediate Action, under date of May 27, 1914, we find the following analysis of "the dangers neither fanciful nor unreal," to which the protocol is exposed:

"Under the mechanism of the protocol, nearly every day brings us face to face with a new crisis; we escape from one danger only to be confronted on the morrow with another; and we have no logical or rational method given us to meet and solve these difficulties."

The source of all trouble is, according to him, the present method of settlement of piece work rates, which "arrays the interests of the employer and workers against each other constantly, so that a perpetual state of antagonism is engendered. And the price operation is a daily occurrence in many factories, so that the irritation is constant and price-making becomes a chronic running sore. . . . All of the complaints of discrimination, and most of those relating to unequal distribution of work and unjust discharge are directly traceable to it."

To the preachers who proclaim that the protocol was made to bring peace instead of war, he says that "good purposes are not enough to operate a mechanism intended to stand a great economic strain." The present "impossible situation begets constant strain and conflict":

"It generates strife instead of peace, conflict instead of co-operation. . . . It poisons the waters of amity at their source, and its toxic miasmas extend into all the ramifications of the stream, carrying its virulent and hate-breeding poisons into the remotest parts of the system."

It is quite evident that the protocol has failed of its purpose to establish peace, but on the contrary, we are told, it has converted "*otherwise genial and friendly natures into fighters.*"

Why has the protocol failed? If the mechanism originally provided by it for regulating the relations between the employers and the employees was imperfect, why was it not improved in the light of experience?

I am not prepared to maintain as a general proposition that from the date of these presents until the day set for the "ushering in" of the "Cooperative Commonwealth," there can be no other way of carrying on the class struggle between Capital and Labor, except through strikes, lockouts, etc. On the contrary, with the extension of State Socialism (or State Capitalism, which is synonymous with State Socialism), some method will undoubtedly have to be found to regulate the mutual rights and duties of the State, as employer, and the public servants, as employees. The doctrine of State slavery, promulgated by President Roosevelt in the case of the Government Printing Office thirteen years ago, will not be accepted as a final solution. No satisfactory solution of the problem is possible, however, without a frank recognition of the plain fact that the relation of employer and employee is a bipartite contract in which the interest of one party may eventually conflict with the interest of the other. The compulsory arbitration schemes so far tried attempt to provide a method for the settlement of such conflicts. The protocol, however, borrowed from those schemes only their compulsory feature, but not the machinery for arbitration. Strikes were prohibited, but the Board of Arbitration refused to arbitrate individual disputes. This attitude is justified by an original theory which is voiced in the editorial of *The New Republic* quoted above.

According to that theory, "the proceedings" before the agency for the consideration of grievances must "be rather in the spirit of mediation than in that of litigation." At the same time, however, "the right to strike a shop must be given up."

The editorial writer overlooks the fact that this ideal has been in practical operation during the five years of the existence of the protocol. The machinery for "mediation" was very elaborate, there were the Board of Grievances consisting of an equal number of representatives of each side, and the "clerks" of the Union and the Manufacturers' Association, but, as we have seen, according to com-

petent testimony, this scheme brought both sides "nearly every day face to face with a new crisis." In order that mediation may bring satisfactory results, each side must be at liberty to reject the offer of the mediators, in case it unduly favors the other side, and to resort to hostilities. But when the employees are prohibited from striking, while the employer is practically free to declare a lockout, provided he call it "reorganization of the system," mediation in practice helps only the employer.

In theory, the correctness of this conclusion was recognized by the patron saint of the protocol, Mr. Louis D. Brandeis. In an interview by Mr. Treadwell Cleveland, which was published in *La Follette's* of May 24, 1913, he was quoted as follows:

"Do you think the trade unionists are justified in their uncompromising demand that the right to strike shall under no circumstances be either abridged or suspended?"

"They are entirely justified. *Labor cannot on any terms surrender the right to strike.* In last resort, it is its sole effective means of protest. The old common law, which assures the employer the right to discharge and the employee the right to quit work, for any reason or for no reason in either case, is a necessary guaranty of industrial liberty."

"You are, then, opposed to compulsory arbitration, since it involves penalizing the striker?"

"Absolutely. Not only that, but *I do not approve even of compulsory investigation, with a penalty for a walk-out during the period of inquiry.*"

Still, as the chairman of the Board of Arbitration under the protocol, he himself has firmly upheld the rule that under no circumstances may the employees of a shop quit work in a body,—“not only that,” but “a penalty for a walk-out” has been devised by him, in the form of an amendment to the protocol, which prohibits an inquiry into the dispute so long as the strikers are out.

When the patience of the workers in some shop was exhausted by a long series of wrongs which could not be redressed by mediation, and they were provoked into a strike, it was the duty of the Union officials under the protocol to break the strike.

A year and a half ago the rank and file of the Union rose in revolt against this “organized scabbery,” to use the phrase coined by the late Daniel De Leon. To save the protocol, the Board of Arbitration grudgingly conceded the workers’ demand—which it had shortly before that denied by a unanimous decision—for a tribunal vested with the authority to make awards in individual disputes. A Committee on Immediate Action was created, with an umpire as presiding officer, for the hearing and determination of disputes involving only questions of fact. Questions of “Protocol Law” were to be passed upon by the Board of Arbitration, whenever,

in its opinion, they affected the interests of either organization as a body. Discussing this plan before it went into effect, I ventured the opinion that “in the most important cases the reform granted by the Board of Arbitration will bring no relief,” for the reason “that a technical lawyer can raise some point of law in nearly every case, and then the Committee on Immediate Action will be without jurisdiction to try the case.”¹

The experience of the Chairman of that committee has fully justified this forecast.

It is worth noting that the language of the Protocol indicates no intention of the parties to confine the methods of adjustment of disputes solely to mediation. Section 16 expressly invests the Board of Arbitration with jurisdiction in “any differences between any of the members of the Manufacturers and any members of the Union.” But the bias of the Board in favor of mediation prevailed over the letter and the spirit of the Protocol: the Board held the nature of its authority to be quasi—legislative, not judicial. “Raise no issues!” became the slogan of Protocol diplomacy, which did not prevent the mediators for the Manufacturers’ Association, however, from raising an issue of principle whenever the Union complained of discrimination, wrongful discharge, etc. The absence of a judicial tribunal for the determination of such issues barred the way to peaceable improvement of the Protocol by a body of precedents which might have grown out of the daily controversies between employer and employee in the shop. The legislative board, on the other hand, being an “honorary” body, whose members were busy men dividing their time among a variety of public and private activities, could not give prompt attention to the most urgent problems of the Union. By way of illustration, I shall cite one example.

Payment under the Union scale was by no means uncommon in Protocol shops. This fact has been established by the statistical investigation ordered by the Board of Arbitration.² On August 3, 1913, the Union submitted to the Board the demand that in such cases the employer should be required to refund to the Union the full amount of the deductions from the wages of his employees. Up to the end of January, 1914, this question had not been decided by the Board, and as far as I am informed, it was still pending last month, when the Protocol was terminated by the Manufacturers’ Association.

What then induced the Union leaders to put up with these conditions? It was the belief that the Protocol was maintaining the Union. It was claimed by the leaders that the majority of the cloakmakers did not recognize the advantages of organization, it was therefore necessary to coerce

¹ *The New York Call*, February, 15, 1914.

² Wages, &c., in the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Industry. Bulletin of U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 147, p. 29.

them into joining the Union, which would have been impossible without "the friendly cooperation" of the Manufacturers' Association. In return for this cooperation the machinery of the Union was used by the manufacturers to repress every spontaneous manifestation of protest in the shops. Is there any wonder that the workers lost faith in the ability of the Union to improve their condition? The official organ of the Union complained that the members displayed no interest in Union affairs. The Union meetings were not attended. At the last election for secretary of the Operators' Local, with a membership exceeding 10,000, only 62 votes were cast.

It should have been clear to the leaders, who stand high in the councils of the class-conscious Socialist Party, that a labor union which existed merely through the "friendly cooperation" of the employers could not endure. Indeed, when the rebel spirit in the shops appeared to have been thoroughly curbed, the usefulness of the Protocol to the employers came to an end. The sensation produced by the indictment of a number of union officials on the charge of association with gansters furnished the manufacturers the welcome opportunity to rid themselves completely of "union interference."

It goes without saying, the union officials and advisers who have upheld the Protocol to the last, have a different explanation for the action of the Manufacturers' Association. They claim to have inside information that the Board of Arbitration was about to render a decision taking away from the employer the right of arbitrary discharge, and that the Association having been tipped off to that effect hastened to terminate the Protocol. Bearing in mind Mr. Brandies' views, quoted above, on the right of discharge, one may well question the accuracy of that advance information. Only last January the Board of Arbitration decided that no "regular" employee could be discharged without cause. The Association immediately raised the issue that this decision by implication recognized the authority of the manufacturer to discharge at pleasure all irregular employees, who are in the majority. The Union strongly objected to this idea, because it was bound to engender antagonism of interests within the Union, which would lead to its ultimate disruption.

Still, if we are to take the apocryphal story whole, the moral of it is that the Protocol was maintained by the Manufacturers' Association only so long as it did not interfere with the autocratic power of the employer in the shop—the moment it attempted to restrict his autocracy it came to an end. This seems to me to carry the strongest condemnation of the whole scheme.

A characteristic explanation of the failure of the Protocol was given by President Schlesinger of

the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to the reporter for the Yiddish "Forward" (a paper supporting the S. P.). According to this official, the whole trouble is due to a change in the leadership of the Manufacturers' Association. In the beginning its leaders were "men with a broader outlook, with what may be called 'capitalistic fairness,' men who understand, indeed, their own interests and defend their own interests, yet are at the same time possessed of dignity and self-respect; their word is a word, an agreement with them is an agreement. Those are men who are ready to sacrifice their interest, if they believe that their honor demands it. In those first years, the atmosphere of the Association was freer and clearer. The counsel for the Association, Mr. Julius Henry Cohen, at that time viewed the Protocol with other eyes, he interpreted it more honestly, more fairly, in the same spirit as those leaders of the Association. Lately, however, great changes have taken place in the Association. The administration has passed into the hands of other manufacturers with whom the Union has always had trouble."

In point of fact, a cursory inspection of the records of the Union would show that all the issues upon which the Protocol was wrecked date back to the good old times when those benevolent manufacturers were in full control. Yet if the praises sung to them by the Union president were not mere diplomatic flattery for a purpose, what would they prove? That the success of the Union under the Protocol depended upon the pleasure of the Manufacturers' Association. Admission to the Association, however, being open to any solvent manufacturer, the hostility of its present leaders to the Union merely reflects the attitude of the majority of the manufacturers. If the Protocol worked well only because the former leaders of the Manufacturers' Association were "ready to sacrifice their interests" for the good of their employees, it must be clear that it was built on sand.

Mr. Schlesinger would feel offended if he were classed with the Gompers type of trade union leaders. He was for many years a devout member of the S. L. P., and has been an active member of the S. P. since its organization. He is not tainted by any Revisionist heresy and always votes a straight ticket. Yet, with all his orthodoxy, he is quite unconscious of the true Civic Federation ring in his utterances on the relations between the Union and the Manufacturers' Association. I should not have quoted him if he stood alone with his views. But he is representative of a new type of labor leaders who, after learning their catechism in the S. L. P., the S. P., the I. W. W., or in some Anarchistic group, have taken a practical course in the training school of the Protocol.

The Decision of Italy

By Louis C. Fraina

JULES GUESDE, in an interview eight months ago with De Ambris, the Italian revolutionary Socialist, declared that the intervention of Italy was desirable and indispensable for two reasons:

1.—The war would be shortened, which would mean an immense saving in human life.

2.—In case of a victory of the Allies, which Guesde considers certain, Italy could strengthen the influence of the democratic countries—England, France and Belgium—and serve as a counterweight to the influence of Russia.

Guesde was substantially right, but the situation is much more complicated. What makes Italian intervention a complex problem is the fact that Italy is *waging a war of aggression* as much as Germany and Austria.

Technically, Italy's position is unassailable. The treaty of the Triple Alliance was defensive, not offensive; Austria-Hungary violated the treaty by issuing an ultimatum to Servia without consulting Italy; and Italy did not receive the "compensations" provided for by the treaty in the event of the very situation produced by Austria-Hungary's action. Bethmann-Hollweg's charge that Italy violated her treaty obligations is unjustifiable, and hypocritical as well, considering Germany's violation of the treaty guaranteeing Belgian neutrality.¹ Bethmann-Hollweg's denunciation of Italy for refusing to accept Germany's word as guarantee of Austrian promises—a denunciation approved by Ebert for the Reichstag Social-Democrats—is a typical expression of German governmental hypocrisy. Desolated Belgium shows the worth of the German word and German honor.²

The Triple Alliance was not terminated when Italy "denounced" it in May; it was *de facto* terminated when Austria and Italian interests clashed in the Balkans, and when France and England allowed Italy to seize Tripoli. As early as 1901 Italy came to an agreement with France and England concerning the Mediterranean. This event was decisive; open rupture became simply a matter of expediency.

Never popular in Italy, the Triple Alliance was virtually forced upon her by the weak and criminal Crispi, who was as clay in the hands of Bismarck.

¹"Every government takes solely its own interests as the standard of its actions, however it may drape them with deductions of justice or sentiment." Bismarck, *Reflections and Reminiscences*.

²Interpellated by a Socialist deputy in the Reichstag, in 1913, on whether in the event of war with France, Germany would respect Belgian neutrality, von Jagow, under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, replied: "Belgian neutrality is guaranteed by international conventions, and Germany is resolved to abide by those conventions." Paul Vergnet, *France in Danger*.

It met only one requirement of Italy—temporary peace with Austria. Bismarck was cynical about the whole dirty business. Fifteen years ago the temporary necessity to Italy of the alliance passed away; Italy realized that Germany and Austria were violating her interests and using her as a means for Pan-Germanic aggression. Italy saw the danger; the triumph of Pan-Germanism meant the end of Italian aspirations in the Adriatic. Italy betrayed her allies by making a secret agreement with France and England. Germany was routed by the use of methods of her own. Italy's diplomacy was unclean, but successful.

The demands upon Austria constitute the real crime against international comity. They are substantially an attempt to economically smother Austria by seizing the chief sea-ports through which Austrian commerce flows. Italy's demands imply depriving an industrial nation of an indispensable economic necessity, outlets to the sea, as flagrant an act of aggression as Austria-Hungary's depriving Serbia of a sea-port on the Aegean. This exposes Italy's chief motive: *the economic isolation of Austria, and the control of the Adriatic and the Aegean*,—imperialism. The ruling class felt its interests menaced by staying out of a war that will decide colonial destiny for many years to come.

Within recent years Italy has developed a well-defined imperialist policy. Her imperialists urge a necessity for colonial expansion similar to that of the Germans—a large and growing population.³ Interwoven with this is the desire of the northern Italian bourgeoisie for commercial expansion and economic aggrandizement. This bourgeoisie and its government, unlike the German, have failed miserably to develop internal resources, and they look for easy profits in imperialist expansion. *It is an imperialism not of an over-developed industrialism, but of an industrialism scandalously under-developed*; and which, without the capacity or the virility to develop resources at home, covets the profits of imperialism. The colonial imperialism of Italy is perhaps much more governmental than industrial; the government itself as such would profit tremendously by a colonial empire.⁴

In the Balkans Austria and Italy clashed: the one

³"If Italy had a colony of her own into which to pour the excess of her prolific and laborious population, it would today be an empire of forty millions; her industrial and commercial forces would be greater." Federico Garlanda, *The New Italy* New York: Putnam. (This book was written in 1904.)

⁴"Italy found herself a debtor country, with heavy interest charges to meet, with the economic conditions unfavorable, and, consequently, with a national budget constantly in arrears. . . . The statesmen anticipated that the revenue from the customs, plus the indirect results of its [colonial] trade with Italy herself, would not improbably suffice to produce a credit balance in the national exchequer." Roland G. Usher, *Pan-Germanism*.

menaced the economic interests of the other.⁵ Italy has been systematically "penetrating" Albania, Scutari and Epirus financially and economically—an economic conquest preparatory to a political conquest. This move had a double purpose: checking Pan-Germanic development in the Balkans and securing strategic naval and economic points for Italy's control of the Adriatic and the Aegean. The control of the Adriatic and the Aegean, naval and commercial, would inevitably mean the control of the Mediterranean, and the development of an Italian over-seas empire in North Africa and Asia Minor.

The desire for Trieste itself is primarily imperialist, not *irredentist*. Trieste, the chief sea-port of Austria, is a potential rival of and menace to Venice commercially. A thriving Trieste, the outlet of a developing industrialism in the Austrian interior, makes impossible Italian commercial supremacy in the Adriatic.

Irredentism, the aspiration to recover the Italian-speaking provinces of Austria, was an incidental if powerful factor in the decision of the Italian government. The influence of *irredentism* is potent among the masses of the people, a national democratic issue arousing popular passion and enthusiasm. The *irredentist* claims to Trente and Trieste are just. The population is Italian, has remained Italian in spite of centuries of alien rule and oppression. Austria has treated the Italians worse than any other of her subject races,—a calculated policy of terrorism. The Italian sentiment in these provinces is vastly stronger than the French sentiment in Alsace-Lorraine.

But Italy does not covet Trent and Trieste alone; she covets Fiume and the Istria peninsula (which embraces the Austrian naval base at Pola) and a large part of *Slavic Dalmatia, including Zara and Sebenico and their hinterland, and many of the adjoining islands*. The desire for Dalmatia (a wedge thrust deep into Slavic territory), is a weapon of potential aggression against the Balkans,—unless the terms of peace adjust matters equitably and reconstitute the Balkan Confederation.

The immediate purpose of Italy is to crush Austria as a Mediterranean power. Imperialism is monopolistic, and Italy scarcely relishes the prospect of a new rival. But Russia is fighting primarily for Constantinople and the Dardanelles, the possession of which would make her a Mediterranean power capable of challenging Italy's supremacy. It now appears that, in the event of Allied victory, Russia may be deprived of the stakes, being given a concession in the form of neutralizing Constantinople and the Dardanelles. It would be a calamity if

England, France and Italy resume the old European game of "bottling up" Russia. Every check-mate of Russian effort to secure an outlet to the Mediterranean in the past produced new wars. Is the tragedy to be repeated? England and France are probably wiser: will Italy act stupidly? Stealing Austria's ports will compel her to become a part of the economic and political unit of the German Empire; denying Russia an outlet to the sea will mean new alignment, new aggressions, possibly new wars. The democratic Allies should check-mate any reactionary schemes of Russia, but grant her necessary economic demands.

Italy's intervention, accordingly, is fraught with potential danger. The immediate influence is beneficial. The defeat of the central European Powers is brought measurably nearer: and whatever new menaces arise will not be as formidable as the Pan-Germanic menace. None of the Allies desire the hegemony of Europe or world dominion. Italy simultaneously strengthens the democracy and imperialism of the Allies; but the circumstance that the majority of the Italian people is fighting for irredentist and democratic aspirations strengthens the democratic purposes of the Allies and may compel their government to stress democracy in the terms of peace. And France and England, whose consent is necessary to Italian supremacy in the Mediterranean, will surely induce Italy to modify her aggressive and excessive demands in Dalmatia and the Balkans.

The war will produce tremendous internal changes, particularly if Italy is victorious; the synthesis of these changes being a more pervasive, more vital national unity.

Italy is economically divided against itself. It has neither a solid economic or political unity. North and South Italy are economically,⁶ politically and culturally arrayed against each other. Industry and agriculture are undeveloped; semi-feudal conditions and psychology persist pertinaciously; North and South seek to control the government for sectional advantages. All this hampers national growth, is itself an expression of retarded national growth, and makes impossible a larger and more solid national unity. The situation is strikingly similar to that in the United States prior to the Civil War.

Italy's intervention should accomplish the work the Civil War accomplished for the United States. North and South will be brought closer together, develop a new national unity. The war, particularly if successful, will react favorably upon economic development; and if unsuccessful, its losses

⁵ In that typical piece of diplomatic special pleading, the official statement to the neutral nations of her reasons for declaring war upon Austria, the Italian government emphasizes the fact that Austria-Hungary's course toward Serbia was "a direct encroachment upon the general interests of Italy, both political and economical, in the Balkan peninsula," and "was prompted by a desire to decrease Italy's economical and political influence in that section."

⁶ "The industry of the North can compete at home with German and French competitors only with a high protective tariff. Italy's predominance in the foreign market is exclusively agricultural and to the advantage of the South. But here the South meets the retaliatory tariffs of France, Switzerland and Germany. The present Italian government rests, then, on the impoverishment of the South to which the North sells at increased rates and which it compels to sell under adverse conditions." Arthur Livingston, *The Attitude of Italy*, NEW REVIEW, October, 1914.

will compel the people and the government to develop their internal industrial and agricultural resources. This means economic unity, a new and mightier

Capitalism. Out of the murk and murder and treachery of the war will issue a New Italy,—democratic, progressive, powerful.

The War and International Socialism

By J. B. Askew (Berlin)

THE War has certainly brought us Socialists more than one unpleasant eye opener and more than one surprise. Among the former may be recounted the attitude of our Socialist Press in the principal countries affected as well as the line followed by the parliamentary representatives of Socialism in those same lands—notably France and Germany.

That the Socialist Parties in those countries could prevent war, in the last instance, was not expected or at least could hardly be expected—but it was not to be expected that old and experienced representatives of Socialism should turn round and write in a manner hardly to be distinguished from that of the yellow press, or even that the Socialists in the various Parliaments should have voted war credits. No doubt a certain allowance must be made for the very difficult position in which the party found itself both in France and Germany—in Germany the fear of a Russian invasion, in France the actual occupation of part of their country by Germany have undoubtedly created a situation that is very difficult to solve on the lines of what I may call nationalist internationalism. But it seems to me even though Socialists admit on that ground the necessity of defending their so-called fatherland against the invader, there is no need for them or rather their literary representatives who for the most part sit at home in perfect security to immediately reverse all their principles and proclaim national solidarity instead of class solidarity and to denounce the foreign foe instead of the domestic exploiter. I cannot but think that many of our friends will find themselves in a very awkward box indeed when it comes to debate after the war on some proposal or other to increase armaments. These good people have worked themselves up into such a fever of excitement and exerted all their powers of persuasion to prove that the one thing needful is the victory of their own government that to my mind it will be no easy matter for them to justify any future action they may find it necessary to take against any military demands of that same government.

My friend and teacher Karl Kautsky has gone

at great detail into the attitude taken by Socialist leaders from Marx and Engels onwards towards wars which have arisen in the course of the last half century or more, and he has laid great stress on the fact that there was always great divergence on the point. Granted. It may, however, be pointed out that for the most part it was a question in which the Socialists of the country in question were not concerned, consequently for these Socialists as for the Socialists of America let us say today, the question was largely an academic one, namely that, which issue promises to be most favorable for the economic development in general and also for the emancipation of the proletariat in particular. That, however, does not apply in my opinion to the party in the countries engaged in war. These must in my opinion do all that they can in reason to keep alive the idea of the International. All denunciation of the enemy and so on they can leave to the press organs of the Bourgeoisie. On the contrary, it must be their aim to correct the exaggerations of the nationalist press, and to push home the fact that their own government is not in a position to throw stones. Once our press takes the same line as the Bourgeois Press—they make this latter so much the worse—and what is more important will make the task of reconciliation after the war so much the harder. It seems to me with all due respect for Marx, Engels, Kautsky and our other men of light and learning that even more important than deeply grounded speculation on the course of economic development at such a moment—when we hardly know how the war is going to modify the economic or social character of the states of the world—is to determine the practical attitude of the party. It seems to me above all things important that the party should not allow itself to be carried away by the stream, but that the leaders should make it their chief concern to see that their policy is not incompatible with their principles.

That is naturally not written for those whose luck forces them to take part in the fight or are themselves victims of the war in whatever way. It is obviously absurd to ask those who are engaged in the fight where their own life is every second at

stake to remember that the man who is trying to kill them is a brother, as the Vienna *Arbeiter Zeitung* is said to have suggested, and it is certainly a marvelous tribute to the strength of the human impulses which animate the workers now that it should have been possible for soldiers of the two hostile armies to fraternize at Christmas. Much as one must rejoice at this, one cannot expect much to come of it, because unfortunately war tends to brutalize everyone who takes part in it and to deaden completely any human feelings the longer it goes on, and that noncombatants should feel very sore over the injuries that are inflicted on themselves and their families is only too natural.

Again speaking as an Englishman, I know, of course, that there will always occur times when it will be hard for the most philosophical to preserve this impartiality. But in regard to the question of atrocities and so on, our duty is plainly to get people to reserve their judgment till a full and impartial inquiry can be held. The Belgian official inquiry cannot be said, with all due deference to those who took part in it, to constitute such an impartial body. On the other hand, if I am rightly informed by Russian comrades, we can say that fully as awful cruelties have been perpetrated by the Russian armies in East Prussia as by the Germans in Belgium.

Of course, for anyone who looks on the whole war, not as the result of capitalist development, but as the struggle for universal dominion on the part of the German Junkers as Hyndman does, the matter is very different. Just as the old Roman who had only one speech on every occasion—*delenda est Carthago*, Carthage must be destroyed—so these people say Germany must be destroyed. German militarism must be destroyed even if in so doing we English become military ourselves. The fact that a military humiliation and conquest of Germany would only strengthen the position of the military caste in Germany hardly seems to occur to certain of our friends—nor do they seem able to grasp the idea that the sea supremacy of Great Britain should seem to other nations just as intolerable as the German militarism. It may well be that after the war England will hear some plain speaking from the neutral nations on this point. I certainly do not think that Germany or any other power would act differently than Great Britain, but the point is not that which country should have this power, but whether any one country can continue to hold it without creating an intolerable situation. The position in which Germany and her trade are placed by England's sea supremacy is certainly amply sufficient to account for the hate felt by leading German industrialists for our country.

It certainly seems to me that till the workers and the Socialist parties recognize the incompatibility of nationalism and internationalism our efforts to or-

ganize them on a really international basis are doomed to failure. How long it will be before we can achieve that I do not know, but I feel that so long as our friends let themselves be hypnotized by the ideals of a state of affairs which has passed away they will not be equal to fighting, much less overcoming such very cool and clear thinkers as the representatives of capitalism unfortunately are. Once these latter realize that war is a means of paralyzing the activity of International Socialism and involves practically no danger to themselves, we may reckon that wars will be fairly frequent.

German Publicity Campaign

By Moses Oppenheimer

THE European war has brought us a sample of publicity inspired by German officialdom. It is publicity of a peculiar brand. Its aim is to influence and mould public opinion in the interests of the ruling powers of Germany.

The father of this kind of dishonest way of fooling the masses is Bismarck, as far as Germany is concerned. He learned the trick during his stay as ambassador at the court of Napoleon III. It was the latter who used the manufacture of public opinion on a large scale to gain power and to maintain himself in it. Of course, Napoleon III was not the inventor of the falsification system. Others had resorted to it before. But none on such a large and thorough-going scale.

When Bismarck came to power in Prussia he profited from his French lessons. For some years only timidly, owing to lack of ample means. But after 1866, when he obtained absolute control of the notorious Reptile Fund with its millions of annual income, the poisoning of public opinion was organized on a gigantic scale. It has continued ever since, no matter from what source the funds had to be drawn.

The process of poisoning the minds of readers goes on along three different main lines:

- I. Suppression of unwelcome facts;
- II. Coloring, or mixing a grain of truth with ample falsehood;
- III. Downright, shameless lying.

The German publicity campaign in this country during the war has been of the usual pattern. For a long time it has proceeded so clumsily that it not only failed with the bulk of the American readers but it even roused acrid hostility to the German war apologists. For the directors of the campaign overlooked the all important fact that American capitalism had interests of its own in many ways different from the interests of German capitalism.

Dr. Dernberg operated along the time-honored lines, but with more skill and subtlety. Coloring, manipulation, sophistry became more and more the prevailing method. The manufacture and sale of arms and ammunition to the allies were chosen for attack. Here German publicity touched one of the most sensitive nerve centers of American capitalism. Backfire started all along the line, and with telling effect. In official Washington the new campaign failed ignominiously.

But with Michiavellian dexterity a new field was entered, the field of American organized labor. The first gun was fired at a Cooper Union meeting, ostensibly called by the New York Central Fed-

erated Union. That meeting bore all the earmarks of "Acceleration." The resolutions prepared in advance caught quite a lot of dupes and suckers. They were entirely free from any sentiment of international Socialism.

The pseudo-radicalism displayed succeeded with a number of Socialists even, good people but very poor politicians. Dr. Dernberg could rub his hands in glee. He understood the game and its purpose. The Cooper Union meeting was never meant to produce an effect in America. But it could be played up in Germany and Austria for all it was worth to keep up the flagging war spirit. "The American working class is rising to our support" is a fine slogan.

The Revolutionary Movement in India

By "An Indian Democrat."

THE revolutionary activities in India are not more than ten years old. Before that there was a very small percentage of the highly educated people who studied the revolutionary literature, thought on revolutionary lines, carried on a revolutionary propaganda in secret, but were not prepared to back up their thoughts by deeds.

The extremely provocative policy of Lord Curzon, however, fed the revolutionary fire already burning in many hearts, and forced action. Since then, the revolutionists have been fairly active and have been giving ample evidences of life. For the last ten years or so they have carried on an active propaganda and have kept the Government busy. It was in 1907 that they declared war on the British Government and began to use violence and force in support of their convictions. Being comparatively few in number and without resources in money and munitions of war, they have to raise money by conspiracy and obtain arms by stealing them from their enemies or by occasional smuggling. Sometimes they buy them from their enemies, though they have to pay very high prices for the same.

For two years they confined their activities to the carrying on of an open campaign of propaganda in the press and on the platform. Numbers of them were sent to jail for long terms and their papers confiscated. Every time a man was imprisoned, another appeared on the scene and took the place of his imprisoned comrade. Confiscated papers were replaced by new ones without loss of time. Then the Government took a leaf out of the book of the Russian Government, and began imprisoning and confiscating by administrative order. The Indian

revolutionary in his turn adopted the methods of the Russian revolutionaries. Probably he learnt bomb-making from the latter at Paris. Ever since, both parties have been busy with each others' activities. The British Government have followed all the methods of the Russian Government and so have the Indian revolutionary party those of their fellow-revolutionaries.

The former has made law after law, taking power to deal summarily with the right of free speech, free press, and freedom of meeting, until practically every vestige of them has disappeared from the land. They have moreover revived an old regulation of the East India Company authorizing imprisonment without trial, without charge, and without notice; they have also improvised special tribunals for the trials of politicals. A press act prohibits the opening of any press or the starting of a paper without the permission of the British Magistrate, who may require cash security being deposited before he gives that permission. Numbers of such securities have been forfeited within the last five years and scores of papers stopped.

The revolutionists on their side have shot and bombed several high Government officials and many Indian supporters of them. They killed a high official in London and one at Nassick (Bombay). They shot and fired at several others, including the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, but not fatally. They bombed Lord Minto, the Governor General of India, but the bomb missed him. They bombed Lord Harding, the present viceroy and Governor General of India; the bomb hit him, but did not prove fatal, and so on. An approver was killed by one of them

right in the compound of the jail by a revolver smuggled by some method undetected so far. The murderer's funeral procession was attended by hundreds and thousands of his countrymen who considered him a martyr.

The government on their side have hanged a number of them, transported and imprisoned for life and for shorter terms dozens and scores of them. So the struggle continues. Just now, India is in a very disturbed condition. Conspiracies, riots and incendiary fires (political and non-political) are the order of the day. There are disturbances both in the interior and on the frontier. Murders of police officers, or attempts at murders are not infrequent. The country is practically in a state of siege. The government has made laws by which they can detain and imprison almost anybody, foreign or native, on any pretext whatsoever and keep him in custody without the right of Habeas Corpus and without trial. The ingress into India and egress out are completely under their control. Every letter and every paper going in or coming out, is opened and censored. Special tribunals have been set up for the summary trial of political or even semi-political offences. House-searches are common. Special efforts are being made to assure people of the eventual triumph of British arms. The English papers, the other day, were very angry at some Italian paper having said that India was in a state of siege, but how a "state of siege" differs from what is actually going on in India just now, one fails to see.

Now one word about the nature of the Indian revolutionary propaganda. The British Government and their friends call them "anarchists" and their propaganda "anarchistic," but neither description is true. They are neither anarchists nor nihilists. There are some socialists in their ranks and some democrats also, but all of them are Nationalists. For the present they are in revolt against the foreign government that is sucking their blood and exploiting their people. So far, they have received little sympathy, and still less any help, from the outside world. The English socialists have done practically nothing for them. The only men who now and then speak out for them are Messrs. Hyndman and Keir Hardie. Jaures sympathized with them, but his hands were too full to allow of his giving any tangible proofs of his sympathy. The Indian feels that in his talk of principles and in his conception of humanity, the European and the American socialist and democrat does not include the non-white races of the world, and that his vision is quite circumscribed by that limitation.

It is a pity that it should be so, and I think it is time that the matter be seriously considered by the different socialist organizations the world over. The political conditions in India are bound to undergo substantial changes and it is of vital importance to humanity at large that the vast mass of Indian population should be brought in line with the advanced thought of the Western world.

Walt Whitman, Anti-Socialist

By Floyd Dell

WALT WHITMAN seems to have been accepted by Socialists as peculiarly their poet. In the library of the ordinary "local" he stands on the shelf not far from Karl Marx. It never occurred to me until recently to wonder at the fact, for I too had considered Walt an honorary member of the party. But on reading *Leaves of Grass* lately for the five hundredth time I discovered Walt Whitman to be the most complete and thorough-going anti-Socialist in all literature. . . .

Nevertheless, I am glad that he has been adopted as our party poet. I would not for anything try to lessen his popularity among Socialists. It is not merely that I think it a good thing to have imported some first-rate poetry, on whatever excuse, into an otherwise dry and heavy curriculum: but I think there is a real reason why Socialists should read and admire the poetry of this anti-Socialist. But first let me show that he is anti-Socialist.

It may be said that Socialism is many different things. But Socialism of whatever kind is based on

a conviction that in intelligence lies the clue to life. For intelligence we find the means of grasping and using the blind evolution of forces to an end of our own. However mechanistic we may be, we recognize the necessity of at least having so much intelligence as not to stand in the way of the processes of social evolution. And, on the other hand, we may believe that these processes can only operate through our perception of them—that we must intelligently *make* the inevitable come to pass. In any case, our human minds are the clue to our human destiny. That conviction lies at the heart of the Socialist movement.

While at the heart of Walt Whitman's poetry lies exactly the opposite conviction. Whitman did not believe in intelligence. He believed in instinct. He thought that intelligence was not to be trusted—that it would lead men into the swamp of doubt or off the precipice of despair—and so it sometimes does. He believed in the instincts as the true guides of life, and all his poetry is a glorification of them.

He immersed himself in the world, delighting in every contact with it, and celebrating the glorious reality of these contacts at the expense of logic and skepticism. He loved the animals because they did not worry about destiny (which it is the peculiar business of the Socialist to worry about). He delighted in nudity as a condition that left no barrier between him and the world he loved so well—a condition that made him seem to himself not a separate being but a part of this elemental universe. He did not theorize about that universe, because theorizing would have implied himself as subject and the universe as object. He enjoyed it, simply, through all his senses. He ranged in an eloquent catalogue of praise everything that could be seen, heard, tasted, smelled or touched—and to these five senses he added two others, the sense of sex, and the sense of religion. He did not speculate about women or God—he enjoyed them, as he enjoyed ships, fire-bells, beer, the scent of flowers and manure, and the clasp of the sea on his naked body.

Democracy—a favorite word—meant a combination of all these sensual activities—the pressure of a comrade's arm round his neck, the laughter of children begotten of fierce athletic girls, flags, battles, oratory, ploughing, loafing, and a happy passage to the great unknown world of death. For his sense of God in the universe told him that death would be good to him even as life had been. He would have held it a treason to the universe which he trusted, to fear death.

And this Self to which the universe was so gracious, of which it made so much, must itself be worthy all these attentions. It must be a sublime thing. It must be worth while to live, even if you are a drunkard, or an insane person, or a slave—all are necessary, or the universe would not have created them; all are glorious, because they are her children. All is good—including evil. The only thing that is bad is fear, or mistrust, or cowardice. Don't bother about death, or God, or anything else. Be magnificently at peace. Live and die bravely, simply, joyously.

That, in undistinguished prose, is the philosophy of *Leaves of Grass*. It is a version for whose tameness I apologize; it has only one merit, brevity. Had I space I would quote you ten thousand magnificent lines of Walt Whitman's poetry instead.

But that is what Walt Whitman believed. And I submit that it is just what Socialists do not believe; and moreover that it is a doctrine which if generally followed, would land us all in hopeless hell. That we have got anywhere—and we haven't got far—is due to the fact that people have believed in their ideas rather than in their instincts, have doubted, feared, experimented, theorized, tormented themselves and others into activity, fought the elements, staved off death, and in some measure circumvented God and Fate. They have in the process

committed a million follies, a million crimes against their own instincts, made themselves uselessly unhappy. It was intelligence which got us into this hell of Capitalism by inventing machinery; and now it will have to get us out again! But by virtue of intelligence, on we go, leaving behind the animals which, as Walt Whitman admiringly says, do not worry about God nor are obsessed with the mania for owning things. For we are not as they.

How then, explain, the admiration which Socialists have for Walt Whitman? Because after all we *are* as the animals. We do live mainly a life of instinct. The spark of intelligence drives us ahead toward a dream; and we speculate and theorize and invent, and get the idea presently that we are very near the angels. But we aren't. There lies in us all the old instinctive hungers and lusts and hates and fears and faiths—they wake at a touch, and we discover, as Europe is discovering now, just what sort of animals we fundamentally are.

We sometimes refer to the war in Europe as insanity. Well, there is a theory that insanity is caused by the undue repression of the instinctive emotions—the uncivilized emotions. Social insanity may be due to the same cause. It is a tremendous strain to pretend to be civilized—and the savage that underlies the peaceful European citizen leaps to the call of murder, rape and pillage; leaps to the call of death, for that there is an instinctive urge to die cannot be denied.

But all these instinctive emotions can be used differently—"sublimated"—is the technical term. The vast overplus of sex flows normally in fortunate natures into the channels of the arts—their creation and their appreciation. Painting, poetry, architecture, sculpture, music—these are sublimations of the sexual instinct. The hearing of grand opera is a mode of sublimated expression for profound emotions to which civilized life gives but the slightest opportunity of direct expression. Tragedy, in the view of the ancients, purged the soul of pity and fear by exciting pity and fear.

Walt Whitman is hardly to be considered an equivalent in artistic terms of all the instinctive unreason to which the human animal is prone; but he does feed that hunger which no reason and no logic can satisfy. He does fulfill a demand of the animal within us for the free, untrammelled life of the senses, including the sense of religion, which finds God in the Universe, and rejoices trustingly in His goodness. For, all the more that we are Socialists, and ask of the intelligence to find us a way out of the muddle into which it has got us, we need to give our senses their contacts, actually and imaginatively, with ships, fire-bells, beer, the scent of flowers and manure, the sea, the pressure of a comrade's arm about the neck, the laughter of children, flags, battles, ploughing, loafing, oratory, death, women and God.

La Belle Dame Sans Amour

By Felix Grendon

ONLY the other day, I heard an ambitious English novelist say to Bernard Shaw: "You have written a magnificent play about the Devil. Why don't you write an equally good play about God?" Mr. Shaw's answer was swift and crushing. "Your suggestion," said he, "is totally superfluous. It happens that all my plays have been about God." The ambitious English novelist said no more.

This repartee came to my mind in the Neighborhood Playhouse during the recent performance of *Captain Brassbound's Conversion*. A religious play, if ever there was one. Not religious, observe, because it begins with a missionary and ends with a conversion. Such theologic facts are, as often as not, the flimsiest trappings of religion, and may have as little to do with God as soap and water has. When all is said and done, the proof of a conversion is in the convert. Your Billy Sunday convert, like any annual taker of the liquor pledge, is the man who merely finds out that he is his own worst enemy. But your truly religious convert is the man who finds out that he is his own surest friend. Dramatize the conflict which brings a man to the discovery that the divinity which shapes our ends is within him, and you produce one variety of a really religious play.

Now Captain Brassbound's conversion is no soap and water conversion. It is not a change of religious creed like the Apostle Paul's or Felix Drinkwater's, nor a change of political creed like the Duke of Marlborough's or Theodore Roosevelt's. It is a radical change in spirit and purpose incident upon the dramatic discovery of a secret.

This is how it comes about. For the better part of his thirty-five years, Brassbound has concentrated all his faculties on accomplishing a spectacular revenge. The object of his passionate hatred is his uncle, Sir Howard Hallam, a powerful jurist whom he holds responsible for the theft of his inheritance and the death of his mother. Fate, or rather the enchanting Lady Cicely, brings Sir Howard on a trip to Morocco. Now Lady Cicely, the judge's sister-in-law, has set her heart on an excursion into the interior. Sir Howard, less reckless than she, insists upon an armed guard which, much to her annoyance, is thrust upon her in the shape of Brassbound and a band of the most villainous looking cutthroats that ever graced the Barbary States. But she is not easily daunted. She is one of those women who take to managing men as other women take to drink. And so she manages the Captain and his crew (not to mention Sir Howard) and steers her

fellow-travelers through a perilous journey that taxes to the utmost her remarkable faculty for capturing the affection of everyone she meets.

The action forms a chain of lively situations leading inexorably to Brassbound's momentous conversion.

This event is the culmination of a heartfelt talk between the Captain and the Lady. With the clarifying agency of her rich common sense, she shows his revenge-seeking up to him for the stupid, unworthy, insane pursuit it is. Driven to bay, he pleads guilty. But he charges her with having robbed him of his controlling purpose and totally blotted all the meaning out of his life. He argues that any purpose, however base, is better than no purpose at all. What has she left him to live for? The hate that once unified and directed his actions she has robbed him of. Has she anything stronger to substitute for this unifying motive—love, for instance? He asks her to marry him, urging that the least she can do is to furnish him with a new purpose, a purpose that shall save him from becoming no better than a ship that is derelict and tempest-tossed. Lady Cicely is hard put to it. Nevertheless, she declines his offer, telling him she has never loved a real person, and doesn't intend to begin now. In her contempt for sex infatuation, she is like Mrs. Clandon in "You Never Can Tell." Her strength is as the strength of ten, because her heart is free. She can discern and love the good in anybody—in a guttersnipe, in a Moroccan Sheik, even in an American naval officer—that is what makes her irresistible to everybody. But she is alive to the truth that, with rare exceptions, the price we pay for sex-love is the loss of our integrity. This price she rightly considers exorbitant. And so she prefers to keep her heart as well as her head, knowing that when her friends lose either or both, emergencies are bound to arise in which the cool hand and the self-controlled spirit must come to the rescue.

However, Brassbound paints a forlorn future with such impressive despair, that she throws her "last bit of self" away and reluctantly stretches out her hand to accept him. It is by this supreme exhibition of selflessness that Brassbound is converted. In a flash of intuition, he guesses Lady Cicely's secret, (which is also the secret of the poet in *Candida*), that he who would be master of his destiny must spurn fate, scorn death, and set his hopes above happiness and love. He bids farewell to Cicely with all the exultation of a man who has found his own soul, the curtain descending as the hero and heroine save themselves by losing each other.

I wonder why the feminists haven't seized on this comedy and marked it for their own. For though there is only one woman in the play, she monopolizes all the commonsense, while the fourteen men multiply nonsense by folly.

Book Reviews

Property Income and Wage Income Among the American People

WITHOUT being a member of any Socialist organization or a believer in any of the traditional Socialist doctrines, Dr. Scott Nearing, in his new book¹, has treated his subject in a thoroughly Socialist manner. He says:

"Economic parasitism, in its most extreme form, is based on chattel slavery; more highly developed, it is built upon land ownership; in its still higher forms, it fastens itself upon the social body with the strong bonds of capitalism. Whatever its form, its principle is the same."

Nearing points out that the idea upon which America has been built up was not that of a radical inequality of income, but of equal opportunity. It has been opposed from its very inception to the parasitism above described, and has been erected upon the "question of the validity of effort." Its ideal, at any rate, has been freedom, and during all the early period of American history, the nation thought it was moving in that direction.

Nearing's views of the present are as radical as his views of the past. He says:

"Wherever one group in a community secures large income returns without participating in the work of creating those returns, while another group in the same community carries the burden of the work and at the same time receives a meager share of the product of its labor, there, sooner or later, a conflict will arise. The conflict may be peaceful, and long drawn out, like that between the English peasantry and the English landlords, or it may be dramatic, spectacular and bloody like that between the French peasantry and their landlords."

And while the Western World was formerly most advanced towards economic democracy, it has now developed a more efficient machine for exploitation than the world has ever known before—titles to transferable income-yielding property:

"This income is not paid as a reward for virtue; people receive it who are vicious. It is not paid in return for meritorious social service; some of those who receive it are notoriously anti-social in all of their dealings. It is not paid for abstinence; many of the recipients of property income never

knew what it was to abstain. It is not paid for saving; there are people with vast incomes, who during their entire lives have never done anything except spend. It is not paid for productive effort; children, disabled persons, idlers and wastrels are among its recipients."

Nearing believes that "the tax demanded by property is increasing actually and proportionally. The most valuable part of Nearing's book is his collection and very conservative study of the statistics of wages, salary and incomes from property. He sums up the increase in property incomes since 1850 in the following sentences:

"In 1850 the wealth per capita was \$308. In 1904 it was \$1,318. In other words, the per capita wealth of the country was four times as great in 1904 as it was in 1850. This is not the same thing as saying that property income was four times as great, but the facts point in that direction. Manufacturing capital, one of the most distinctive forms of income-yielding property, is thirty-five times as great in 1910 as it was in 1850. Agricultural values have risen tenfold."

Since the publication of Nearing's book, the census has published a bulletin showing that the national wealth had increased from one hundred million in 1900 to one hundred and seventy-five million in 1912—or 75 per cent. We can assume that income from property has increased at a somewhat similar figure. The Department of Labor Statistics shows that even among unskilled workers, wages have risen only very slightly during this period. So that the relative increase of income is now far more disproportionate than it was ten years ago.

In comparing property income with wage income, Nearing points out that the former has priority, is relatively permanent, and suffers less vicissitudes.

Nearing shows that the wages of nine-tenths of the wage-earners, clerks, etc., is less than \$1,000 a year, even allowing nothing for unemployment. Doubtless the labor of children, etc., would about compensate for the unemployment on the average. This indicates that nine-tenths of the family incomes of the country are totally inadequate. For a number of years ago, when the cost of living was considerably lower than it is now, it was shown that \$800 to \$900 a family was neces-

sary to keep the workers even in industrial efficiency in most of our industrial centers.

However, Nearing makes a remark that is most important for a Socialist to bear in mind. He favors a radical redistribution of income, because if the higher incomes were wiped off, \$300 a year could be added to the income of every family in the United States. According to the new Census statistics of wealth, this figure should probably be \$500.

Now, vast as this improvement would be—doubling the wages of the less skilled, and increasing the wages of the skilled by 50 per cent.—even this radical change is not the revolution Socialists have in view. For the collective expenditure of a large part of this money on schools, health, etc., would produce vastly greater results than the mere increase of individual wages, while the re-organization of industry on a scientific basis would enormously increase the total national wealth to be divided or expended collectively for the general good.

One of the most brilliant ideas of this exceedingly able book is the proposition that the workingman's expenditures ought to be regarded by the community from a business point of view. Applying the scientific modern principles of accounting to the workingman's budget, Nearing reaches the following conclusions:

"On page seventy of Chapin's study of *The Standard of Living in New York City*, certain facts appear for the families that were receiving a "fair" wage (\$800 to \$900 per year).

1 Gross Receipts.....	\$846.26
(Total Average Income per family)	
2 Operating Expenses.....	804.26
(Upkeep)	
3 Gross Income.....	42.00

"The up-keep of the family (food, clothes, shelter, and medicines) absorbs over 95 per cent. of the receipts. The remaining \$42 must cover—

"1. *Depreciation.* First on the furniture and other property of the family. Second, on the earning-power of the bread-winner. Corporations charge 'amortization' against mining properties. The earning-power of the bread-winner fails sooner or later no less surely than the producing power of a mine. In some trades (white-lead, structural-iron, and other high-risk industries) the depreciation is rapid. In either case, the charge should be sufficient to make up for lost earning-

¹ *Income*, by Scott Nearing. New York: Macmillan, \$1.50.

power, and to protect against hardship in old age.

"2. *Interest*. The capitalist demands an interest return because he invests in a business. The worker invests his time, energy, and all of his income in his family. He, himself, represents an outlay for up-bringing, education, and the like.

"3. *Dividends*. The investor demands dividends because of the risk involved in an investment. The worker who has married and brought a family into the world on the present wage-scale, runs as great a risk as any man might conceive of.

"4. *Surplus*. There should be something laid by for future exigencies. Those four requirements are to be covered, in this case, by \$42 for a family of five people. There is room for neither stock watering, nor any other form of high finance.

"Furthermore, this reasoning applies to incomes of \$2.50 to \$3 per working-day. Probably three-quarters of the adult male workers in American industry are paid less than that amount."

Nearing concludes that present wages are inadequate even to maintain industrial or social efficiency. He also shows that there is no escape for the overwhelming majority from the ranks of wage earners. In the railways, for example, only one in three hundred employees is a general officer. In the cotton-goods industry all but two per cent. are wage earners, in the silk mills of New Jersey all but three per cent.

Nearing reaches the conclusion that there is a tendency for our present parasitic system to become a caste system. He says:—

"The modern plan of industrial organization which calls for four managers, superintendents and foremen, six clerks, twenty skilled men and seventy semi-skilled 'machine hands' and unskilled 'laborers' is almost as fatalistic for the children of the unskilled laborers as was the Feudal system for the children of the serfs.

"The wage of the unskilled father is meager, the son must leave school at fourteen to help support the family. The job which the son gets is a monotonous non-educational, 'dead-end' job, which begins his training as a low-skilled worker. His home has been wretched; his life has been lived on the street; his ideals have been low; the examples before him have not inspired him to great effort; he has been poorly fed; in short, his whole life has prepared him to follow in the footsteps of his father, and to become a low-skilled man. Thus the curse of poor training and inefficiency is handed down from father to son, through one generation after another."

WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING.

The Old Gorky and the New

THESE tales of two countries, Russia and Italy, are a peculiar amalgam of the old Gorky and the new, the humanist and the propagandist.¹

The Russian tales are bitter, satirical, symbolical, mercilessly lashing national foibles and national vices. To smash an evil in a short, incisive story is an essential characteristic of Gorky, brilliantly expressed in these tales. The story of "the man with a national face" is full of grim satire tearing to pieces one of the most stupid and brutal vagaries of Russian nationalism. These tales expose a series of characters each of whom symbolizes a particular evil of Russian life. They are propaganda, simplified and vitalized by Gorky's genius. Around these tales life surges and sings, but the singing and the surging is not in the tales. They are serious, morose, and a trifle dull.

The larger part of the volume consists of Italian tales. In these Gorky deals with the essential humaneness of life,—life triumphant in spite of all good and all evil. They flash forth the spirit of Italy and its people—stern and languid, passionate and cruel, devoted and forgetful, vivid, physical, living as if all eternity was theirs; the healthy primitive strain modified and beautified by feeling and poetry as simple, as real and as spontaneous as the natural beauty of Italy itself. The Italian peasant is just enough like the Russian, and yet so different from him, that a new and yet strangely familiar world must have inspired Gorky in Italy.

Gorky's lucidity and splendid brevity are in every one of these tales. His love of men and women expresses itself humanely, without the bitterness and the scorn. "Man and the Simplon" and "Hearts and Creeds" are two imperishable masterpieces. The vivid descriptions which open nearly all of these tales are etchings in prose:

"The sun melts in the blue midday sky, pouring hot, many-colored rays on to the water and the earth. The sea slumbers and exhales an opal mist, the bluish water glistens like steel. A strong smell of brine is carried to the lonely shore.

"The waves advance and splash lazily against a mass of grey stones; they roll slowly upon the beach and the pebbles make a gurgling sound; they are gentle waves, as clear as glass, and there is no foam on them.

"The mountain is enveloped in a violet blaze of heat, the grey leaves of

the olive-trees shine like old silver in the sun; in the gardens which cover the mountain-side the gold of lemons and orange gleams in the dark velvet of the foliage; the red blossoms of pomegranate-trees smile brightly, and everywhere there are flowers.

"How the sun loves the earth!"

The tales of Italy give us a picture of a softened, mellowed Gorky, critical without being a propagandist, artistic as life itself in its simplicity. They sing their story into your imagination, a-stir with a strange sympathy, making you one with the beauty and the power of it all.

L. C. F.

The Two Germanys

OSWALD Garrison Villard, son of a German republican emigrant of 1848, and chief owner and editor of the *New York Evening Post*, has written a small book on the above subject.¹ The book is valuable to all democrats, whether Socialists or anti-Socialists. It shows where even the most individualistic and conservative of democrats and republicans stand at the present crisis.

Villard frankly desires German defeat as much for the sake of Germany as for that of the world, for a victory, he believes, would be a victory of German reaction:

"No one can confute this merely by asserting that this is not a war of the Kaiser but of the whole German people, or by pointing out that in the haste to serve the Fatherland the two Germanys are now as one."

But while the two Germanys are now one, Villard takes the greatest pains to discriminate between them, even including a careful differentiation between the two groups of Socialists. As to the majority, he believes that their pro-war stand must have the result that "the Social-Democrats will have gained nothing, and lost much by the war."

Villard's very careful and fearless portrayal undoubtedly represents the point of view of the overwhelming majority of educated non-Socialist Americans, with the exception of those of pro-British or pro-German affiliations.

His republican and anti-militarist conclusions follow:

"Americans who believe in self-government and democracy can take but one stand against absolutism and arbitrary power. They trust that as a result of this war thrones will everywhere come crashing to the ground."

W. E. W.

¹ *Tales of Two Countries*, by Maxim Gorky, New York. B. W. Huebsch. \$1.25.

¹ *Germany Embattled*, by Oswald Garrison Villard. New York. Scribner's. \$1.50.

A Socialist Digest

The Peace Programme of the American Socialist Party

ON May 15th the National Committee of the American Socialist Party at its annual session in Chicago, adopted a peace programme in the name of the Party.

On the whole the programme was similar to the project drawn up by the National Executive Committee last January. However, some extremely important changes were made.

Previously there were only two recommendations for the peace terms at the close of the present war:

- "(1) No indemnities, and
- "(2) No transfer of territory except by the consent and the vote of the people within the territory."

This programme was severely criticised by many Socialists last January as being pro-German. Nevertheless, the first demand, that there should be no indemnities is still retained in its old form.

The American Party thus takes the position of the German Socialists—including Bernstein and Kautsky, and opposes the position of the Socialists of the Allied Powers—since a resolution was passed unanimously at the London Conference (at which Keir Hardie, MacDonald and other pacifists were delegates) demanding an indemnity for Belgium as a condition *sine qua non* of peace.

The second proposition, however, has now been supplemented by a third, as follows.

"All countries under foreign rule must be given political independence if demanded by the inhabitants of such countries."

The January project, taking the German view, made no provision for plebiscites in Alsace-Lorraine and other subject provinces.

This proposal is now corrected. However the correction would do little towards an early peace—even if the new programme were adopted by all the Socialists of the world. For the Socialists of the Allies continue to insist upon a sufficient indemnity for the Belgians.

Another new clause of the programme:

"No appropriations for military or naval purposes," is a distinct repudiation of the action of the German Party in 1913 in voting money for military supplies. But this is not a present issue.

It was further proposed in a special

resolution that all war debts be repudiated.

This is not the position of Kautsky. If war debts are repudiated before Socialism is established, the credit of the country repudiating would be impaired and even the people might suffer—in some instances. This would be especially true of a country which is insufficiently furnished with capital and is therefore forced to borrow. If the Russian national debt, for example, is repudiated, it will probably be because of a reactionary alliance of Russia and Germany. The Russian government might well repudiate its debt to England and France, if Germany would undertake to supply the money in the future. Such an outcome could only be prevented if a revolution occurred at the same time as the repudiation.

Kautsky urges that the interest on the war debt should be paid by graduated taxation of the rich—and this may be quite as confiscatory in the long run as repudiation. Moreover, no form of property is so easy to reach by taxation as a war debt represented by government bonds.

On the question of exportation of arms, the new programme also takes the German position, demanding the "prohibition of exportation of arms, war equipments and supplies from one country to another."

And yet even the *Milwaukee Leader* declares that neutrality demands that "the Allies shall pay for their ammunition, and Germany for what it can get." The argument is also made by many Socialists that to prohibit the export of arms would put the less prepared countries at a permanent disadvantage, compared with the more militaristic countries. It is further argued by those Socialists who desire to see the Allies win that in any war the nations with the best capitalistic connections, representing the largest and highest developed groups of capital, will secure the most arms and ammunition from neutral countries, thus insuring their victory, and the continuation of economic evolution. It is contended that Socialists should reach this conclusion just as they wish to see the trusts drive out their smaller competitors—that in this way the capitalism of the various nations develops in the direction of a single international capitalism. W. E. W.

Italy in the War and its Effect on Russia

AMONG the few American Socialists who are special students of the relations of the European nations are the editors of the New York *Volkszeitung*. Their discussion of European affairs is nearly always worthy of attention. After reviewing the various motives which brought the Italian government into the war and led to the undoubted support of a majority of the Italian people, the *Volkszeitung* points to one motive that has often been overlooked in the American Socialist and radical press. Favorably impressed by the action of a large part of the Italian Socialists against Italy's entrance into the war, they have forgotten that the Italian people have a very well founded democratic grievance against Austria. On this point the *Volkszeitung* says:

"Official Austria has been so much hated in Italy because it has always been reactionary and in the democratic country of the Appenines has long served as the model of political reaction and of absolute monarchy. Under this head Metternich and his regime were thought of when Austria was mentioned, and fundamentally speaking this was not entirely unjustified. The system of the black and yellow double monarchy has not yet become very different; the same reaction remains there as before—in spite of the many decades that have passed by."

The *Volkszeitung* believes that it is highly probable that this will lead ultimately to an alliance of all the reactionary governments of Europe against all the democratic governments, that is, of Russia, Germany and Austria, against England, Italy and France:

"Since the beginning of the war we have often pointed out that in conservative circles of Prussia the war against Russia is conducted in a half-hearted way and that a strong tendency is to be seen working for an early peace with the Czar. It was decided to rely on the old friendship of Prussia with Russia in order then to be able to proceed more vigorously against the democratic western powers, against England and France.

"This tendency, which was also to be seen in the court of Petrograd, which also wanted a separate peace with Germany, has by no means become weaker during the course of the war. On the contrary. A short time ago we showed that this tendency had already spread beyond the conservatives and

had taken hold of the National Liberal Party of Germany [Party of the Banks, Capitalists, and Manufacturers].

"The National Liberal leader, Basermann, declared in the budget committee of the Reichstag that nothing was wanted of Russia and that Russia had always been a good friend of Germany." A separate peace with Russia would doubtless also receive the enthusiastic consent of the National Liberals.

"If it suits Russia and if the German and Austrian troops press the Russian armies further back and Warsaw or some other important town falls into the hands of the Germans, then the time may have come for Russia to declare its treaties pieces of paper, and to consent to the separate peace desired by the ruling classes of Germany.

"The entrance of Italy into the war increases the danger. Italy belongs to those powers which are most nearly affected by the state of affairs in the Balkans.

"With Italy's participation in the war that faction of the Allies which is against the annexation of Constantinople by Russia will be enlarged. The probable entrance of other Balkan states into the war will still further increase this faction. With this, the possibility becomes greater that even in case of a victory of the Allies, Russia's desire for Constantinople will not be fulfilled. This would increase the possibility that a separate peace with Germany might give the Russians more profit than to remain with the Allies.

"A danger indeed! For then the war would take a shape of the struggle of the political backward countries of Europe against the democratic western powers."

The *Volkszeitung* says nothing of another motive pushing the Russian government in the same direction. Its enormous indebtedness to France and England before the war will probably be doubled within a few months. *By declaring bankruptcy and opening a new account with Germany, the Russian government could rid itself of this colossal burden and probably at the same time provide for its future needs for many years to come.*

Many Russian papers, among them the influential *Novoe Vremya* of Petrograd, argued strongly against the intervention of Italy. The two countries' interests clash in Asia Minor, was the general trend of the arguments. Other arguments were couched in the form, "Italy can hardly oppose our aspirations in the Dardanelles."

These complications seem to be for the future, in the view of many papers. Russia is now dependent upon the Allies: standing by the Allies may give her Constantinople and the Dardanelles.

Militarism and Anti-Militarism Among the German People

A FEW years ago there was published in Munich a Hand-Book of the German Social Democratic Party Congresses from 1863 to 1909, edited by a well-known Socialist. The space given to militarism shows very clearly just what the position of the German party has been on this all important subject.

From 1904 until the outbreak of the present war Karl Liebknecht and other radicals made an effort at every Congress to persuade the Social Democratic Party to carry on a special propaganda against militarism. The Party, of course, has always opposed militarism, but Liebknecht and others claim that its efforts had not been successful and especially that they were not comparable to the radical anti-militarist propaganda in other countries. At the Congress of 1906 Liebknecht said:

"You are all well aware what a widespread anti-military propaganda the Socialist Parties have made in France and Belgium, and how successful it has been. We are far behind in this matter in Germany, and have done practically nothing to carry out the decision of the International Socialist Congress at Paris [against militarism]."

Liebknecht was answered by Bebel, who pointed out that "the conditions in France and Belgium are quite different from the conditions in Germany, for in those countries many things can be said and done which are impossible in Germany."

This would seem to be a definite admission of the backwardness of German Socialist propaganda against militarism, whether we regard the explanation given as satisfactory or not. But Bebel followed up this statement with another, in which it was claimed that the German Socialists were *ahead* of those of the rest of Europe in this agitation:

"In all Europe there is no other Social Democratic Party which has conducted a more systematic campaign against militarism even in Parliament, than Germany. In all Europe there is no other Social Democratic Party which, for forty years, has so systematically voted against the budget for military, colonial and naval purposes, as in Germany. [Bebel was here interrupted by lively applause from the Congress.] We should not allow ourselves to be driven further into agitation since we are reaching by our form of agitation the object that is to be reached." [More applause.]

The voting against military supplies is here given as an all-sufficient method of anti-militarist agitation, yet we

know that in 1913 the German Party by a large majority decided to vote money for the military budget—while no other Socialist Party did this up to the outbreak of the present war.

It is also clear from the discussions of the German Party Congresses that the opposition to militarism was in nearly every instance put purely upon domestic and not upon international grounds. None of the resolutions declared that militarism was to be fought against because the German army might be used to wrong another people. All were based on certain injuries done to the German workers by militarism. So Auer, one of the founders of the Party, said in 1898:

"There may be governments to which we will vote no money as long as we are not recognized as an equal factor in Parliament, and public life. But if we are recognized as equals, then the duties and responsibilities of our class become greater and it is very possible that from the day the workers become recognized as an equal factor, we might listen to a discussion of the navy question. At the present time we must refuse to vote a single soldier a single penny."

This speech was quoted by Geyer at the Party Congress in 1899. It carries the idea that in proportion as Germany became democratic, Auer believed the Socialists would become more nationalistic or, can we not say, more militaristic. It is also to be noted that militarism is attacked not chiefly because of the undesirability of war, which is seldom referred to, but on the supposition that the army might be used against the working people. This leads directly to the conclusion that if the army becomes democratically organized so that it could not be used against German workers inside of Germany, the main argument against it would fall.

But the frankest expression of militarism has come from Wolfgang Heine, who with Scheideman and Suedekum has become one of the chief leaders of the Party since the beginning of the present war. In 1898 Heine said on the question of voting for or against war budgets:

"There are military purposes which are necessary for the defense of the nation and against which we are indifferent as far as our idea and principles are concerned, for example, new guns. . . . Such military demands could also be granted by a Socialist in my opinion, if he obtained sufficient com-

pensation, if he got in exchange for it valuable popular rights."

Referring to the speech in the Congress of 1898, Wurm (who is also now with the pro-war Party majority) pointed out that all public opinion had agreed at the time that what Heine had said amounted to this: Cannons in exchange for rights for the people. Heine said further:

"Unnecessary military demands one must generally and always refuse, not because they are military demands, but because they would mean a wasting of public money. Moreover, one ought not to grant any supplies which would work against the evolution of the present army system into the armament of the people and a militia, such as the increase of the term of service and the institution of professional troops.

"But there are military purposes which are necessary for the defense of the nation and are indifferent to us as far as our ideals and principles are concerned."

Heine's point of view may probably be called a modified form of militarism. It may be doubted if it has the support of a majority of the Party even at the present time. But there are indications since the present war that it has gained a very large part of this tremendous organization. If we remember the strength of militarism in Germany outside of the Socialist Party, we can see how greatly it has been strengthened by the spread of such ideas among the Socialists and by the fact that the Social Democratic Party was no longer to be regarded as wholly anti-militarist.

The attitude of the German Socialists towards war also has two aspects. Undoubtedly their opposition to war in general has always been very strong and is very strong at the present time. But an exception has been made from the beginning not only for wars of defense, but for so-called wars of liberation. In the Congress of 1907 at Erfurt, Bebel made it clear that he would be enthusiastically in favor of a war against Russia—apparently at any time and under any pretext, and whether it was a defensive war or not. He said:

"Comrade David has doubted whether I used the expression that even in my old age I was ready to take a gun on my shoulder in case of a war with Russia. But I did say this and nothing else. About seven years ago I said that if it came to a war with Russia, which I regard not only as the enemy of all civilization and of the oppressed in its own country, but also as the most dangerous enemy of Europe, and especially of us Germans, I would take a gun on my shoulders and use it in the war

against Russia. You may laugh, but I was bitterly in earnest. In a few years we shall celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the uprising of the Tirolese against the foreign yoke of Napoleon. At that time many old people went into the war, and I am not certain but that I also in a similar case would shoulder a gun, if I still have strength to carry a gun."

Kautsky replied that the next war would be a war not against Russia alone, but against a combination of powers. He added further that all

would claim to be on the defensive, probably with equal justice. Bebel refused to say what he would do in case of a war against republican France as well as reactionary Russia. He allowed his speech to stand, which could only mean that he would be personally ready to fight in that case also. Nor did the Congress take any action after this speech of its accepted leader. Only one interpretation is possible—that the German party was not prepared to take any stand on the question of a general European war.

Socialist Analysis of "State Socialism" During the War

THE opinion seems unanimous among most Socialists that collectivist war measures may tend toward Socialism, but are not Socialist.

The radical wing of the German Socialists as represented by *Vorwaerts* denies the present State Socialist measures of the government as being Socialistic. Edward Bernstein, intellectual leader of the moderate wing, also points out that a distinction must be made between what looks like Socialism and what is really Socialism. Bernstein begins an article in *Vorwaerts* of March 7th with a quotation from the well-known British Economist and Publicist, Chiozza-Money, M.P. (from the *Daily Citizen*), claiming that similar measures take nby the British Government are to be considered as Socialistic, in spite of the denial made in Parliament by Runciman, a member of the Cabinet.

Bernstein then takes up the argument against Chiozza-Money as follows:

"If he meant to say that a government has unlimited rights over the economic life of the community during war, then naturally, Mr. Money is right. But otherwise, his masterpiece consists in this: that without further ado, it makes state operation the same thing as Socialism. That may be effective for rhetorical effect, but it accomplishes nothing for the clarification of ideas. With his logic, one could prove that the war censorship is Socialistic. But it is only an exceptional institution necessitated by war.

"Certainly war, and the measures to which it gives rise, have many characteristics which seem to resemble Socialism. In the very nature of armies there is hidden a piece of Communism. General and compulsory military service has a Socialistic thought at its foundation, and the interferences with private rights and private property which takes place during a war, are little different in their immediate effects from expropriation for economic purposes of an organic nature. But

they are not, on this account, to be considered as essentially the same thing, since they have to do, not with the normal life of society, but with an exceptional situation. Conditioned by these circumstances, such measures are, in their fundamental principles, independent of the stage of social evolution reached which is not true of Socialism as we understand it. They are, if the expression may be permitted to me, intersecular, belonging to all ages, and not the peculiarity of any particular country."

Bernstein denies absolutely the Socialism of all of these measures, but he by no means denies that they may have a favorable effect upon the development of Socialism.

In the *Die Neue Zeit* (March 7th), Karl Kautsky takes a position toward the new or proposed State enterprises very similar to that taken by Bernstein. Kautsky is concerned especially with the state enterprises that are likely to follow the war when the governments will probably establish additional monopolies in order to pay the interest on the colossal public debt created by the great conflict, preferring this method to heavy income taxes against the wealthy. Like Bernstein, Kautsky admits that nationalization, and still more municipalization, usually means progress; "in general it can be said that government monopolies present considerable advantages over private monopolies."

"But this by no means implies that every intervention of the state in industry is Socialism. We have even seen Socialists proclaim martial law as the open door to Socialism.

"According to its equipment and functions the state represents the permanent interests of the possessing classes as a whole as against the temporary interests of separate groups, though often the state does this very imperfectly, because some of these groups rule it more than others."

It follows from this that industrial activities of the present state, even

when desirable and thoroughly approved by Socialists, are not Socialist.

Kautsky shows how little may be expected from the impending nationalization of certain private monopolies. If the coal mines, for example, were bought out without any confiscation, the state would have to pay a colossal price. This would force it to continue the present monopoly prices for coal. And it might even have to raise them, for it would have to pay the present market value for the mines, which is based upon the expectation of a still higher price in the future.

Now if nationalization were carried through for the express purpose of furnishing additional governmental income, the prices would have to be raised higher yet. "Such an increase of prices would have the same effect as an ordinary tax on consumption when placed on a necessity or on an indispensable means of production."

"The situation at the close of the war will be of the very kind to increase all the dangerous sides of governmental monopoly and to prevent all its good sides from going into effect. We must certainly expect attempts to introduce governmental monopolies. We shall have to use all our power, if they cannot be prevented, to see to it that their features which are opposed to the interests of labor and of the consumer are restricted."

As against government ownership thus used as a means of indirect taxation to pay the war debt, Kautsky proposes a graduated tax on incomes and property. That is, heavily graduated taxation against the rich with the exemption of the lower incomes is far more Socialistic than any form of government ownership under a non-Socialist government.

Bernard Shaw on the Evils of War and Peace

SINCE we were stunned by Shaw's brilliant but verbose "Common Sense About the War," the public has heard comparatively little from him, although he has written briefly for English publications nearly every week. A recent letter to *The New Statesman*, however, contains one of the most eloquent passages we have had from his pen. It deals with the question why the present "State Socialist" measures for war purposes are not applied also for the purposes of peace. The passage follows:

"The main reason why I do not make our British voters happy in M. Saint-yves' fashion is that I do not want to make them happy. I want to make

them howl, to drive them to rend their hearts and not their garments; to see them heap ashes on their silly heads whilst they confess in the dust, with humble and contrite hearts, that though they may buy victory with their blood and iron, they deserve defeat and even extermination, and have no plea to offer against that doom except that the Germans deserve no less. For just consider how I must feel about it. I read in *The Times* Lord Curzon's demand for the suppression of the Derby on the ground that it is unbecoming to have "junketings" in the face of bereavement and wounds and death. I ask Lord Curzon whether he supposes that there has been a single Derby run during his lifetime, or a single junketing of any description, that has not been held in the teeth of the most abominable socially preventable evils, including child mortality, compulsory prostitution, artificially produced vice, disease, degradation, suffering, squalor, fraud, violence, plague, pestilence, and famine; battle, murder and sudden death. Mr. Sidney Webb offers to put an end to British unemployment and destitution, with their infinite loss and demoralization, for a paltry couple of million pounds. Sir Horace Plunkett offers to quadruple the produce of the Irish soil and thereby avert the land and labor war that is hanging over Ireland, at a cost of £5,000 a year for technical education in agriculture. They might as well ask for the sun and stars. No mother sends her son to live for England. No father shakes his son's hand and says, "I wish I were young enough to stand beside you in the fight for a decent country to live in." Yet for this senseless suicidal slaughter of civilization in Flanders and Poland, this illusory hatred, this monstrous fruit of selfish, lazy, apathy, soothed by huge doses of falsehood, we are putting down thousands of millions of pounds eagerly; and the mothers and fathers are sending their sons to kill and die, to maim and be maimed, because none of them took as much thought and care for the welfare of Europe as for the shininess of their boots. And now that we are waked up at last, our first step is to cut off all the little grants-in-aid that a few struggling reformers have managed to procure for our social needs, and to sweep them into the till of the armament contractor. That is what it costs to make a Briton serious. We are more callous than Tartars or Hottentots. With them a few dozen heads chopped off and piled in the middle of the street, and a few girls buried alive under the doorpost of the king, produce public seriousness enough for a whole reign. But we must have 30,000 men in the flower of their youth bayoneted and smashed and shattered and pierced and

blinded and deafened with inconceivable violence every morning for months before we can feel really fine, and thrill with admiration of ourselves. Even then our notion of rising to the occasion is to applaud the gentlemen who write to the papers calling on me to cease frivolling and flatter them."

The Militarist Socialists of Great Britain

APPARENTLY the British Socialists are nearly all divided into two camps, those who agree substantially with the bourgeois pacifists and those who agree substantially with the bourgeois militarists. Apparently there are very few, if any, well known Socialists who cannot be classed in one group or the other. The militarists have now organized in a Socialist National Defense Committee, supported by H. G. Wells, Robert Blatchford, and other Socialists.

The purpose of the organization is "to combat the sinister propaganda of aliens, pro-Germans, and advocates of peace-at-any-price, whose efforts encourage the enemy's aggression and weaken this country's resolve to prosecute the War to a victorious issue."

The organization proposes, for example, "to insist that the war must be pursued to the complete triumph of the democratic principle in civilization, because that triumph is of vital importance to true Socialism most of all. There can be neither peace nor truce till the human menace of Prussian militarism has been destroyed to its very roots." And it proposes further "to distinguish, at all costs, between the Socialism of Belgium, France and Britain, founded in the ideal of civil freedom, and that of Germany, which has always been fettered and limited by political immaturity and bureaucratic domination."

The new committee does not stop at this point. They pass over into a very distinct advocacy of British nationalism and imperialism. They propose "to assert the principle that Socialism cannot be anti-national, seeing that the pre-existence of free and self-governing nations is an essential preliminary to international confederation," since in the "situation forced upon us, national safety must be secured before we can anticipate a United Europe." And they declare their conviction as Socialists "that the British Federation of Free States is the surest guarantee for the maintenance of national and civil rights and that its overthrow or break-up by any Power ambitious of conquest and domination would therefore be a disaster to democracy and a set-back to human progress."

Correspondence

The Demand for Labor After the War—Discussion Invited

To the NEW REVIEW:

IT is generally expected that after the conclusion of peace a new and greater immigration will set in to the United States. Europe being devastated and industry destroyed, it is argued, the process of recovery will be long and arduous, and great numbers of workers will seek adequate livelihoods elsewhere. America is seen looming as a haven, free as it has been of the horrors of war and prosperous because of its capture of a great part of Europe's commerce.

The war, however, will have sacrificed many millions of men. The flower of European manhood, the best workers in every sphere of commercial and industrial activity, will be no more and their places vacant. Europe will therefore not only be in need of men able to rebuild the devastated fields, cities and villages, but also men capable of healing the wounds and losses of commerce and industry. The governments of Europe will encourage renewed economic activity and better conditions for the workers. A new era of labor legislation and social reform will be inaugurated, and wages will increase. This, no doubt, will deter the workers from leaving their homes. On the other hand, the governments will encourage re-emigration into their country. Those who have emigrated in recent years will be given a chance to return and regain their citizenship.

Italy's proportionately large population and comparatively small industry has been the cause of her great immigration, not only to America, but also to Switzerland, Roumania, Germany and Luxemburg. But since Italy has acquired one of the richest colonies, Tripoli, many immigrants may in future go to Tripoli if encouraged and subsidized by the Italian government. There living conditions are good, and employment easy to get.

The conditions of the Jews in Russia and Galicia have been made worse by the war. Their means of livelihood have been taken away and their homes destroyed. The fanatical oppression by the Russian government and the conduct of the Polish population have made their lives unbearable. We may therefore expect an immigration of this oppressed race in case of a Russian victory.

However, most of the Polish emigrants in the last fifteen years have gone to the great industrial towns of Westphalia and the Rhineland. The great demand for labor after the war

will probably increase this migration. Many Polish peasants also go to Denmark during the agricultural season.

Emigration from the British Isles in recent years has been mostly to British colonies, especially Australia and Canada and New Zealand, where very advantageous offers have been made to them. Ireland's population has been reduced to a minimum and cannot spare any more emigrants. Doubtless many Irish will return in the event of political freedom.

Denmark, Sweden and Norway are slowly changing from agricultural into industrial nations. Industry needs many workers, and emigration will accordingly be very slight—still less slight than it has hitherto been.

The indications are that the great centres of immigration in the near future will be Canada and South America, particularly the latter. South America is in process of development—still has vast natural resources and virgin land untouched by industrial exploitation. As South America develops industrially it will rival the United States in commerce and as a centre of immigration.

In spite of its terrific destruction of life and property the war and its consequences will, on the whole, better the conditions of the workers of the world as soon as the great machine of industry and commerce is agin in motion.

HERBERT W. ISAY.

New York City.

The Ku Klux Klan

To the NEW REVIEW:

IT is rather late again to discuss "The Birth of a Nation," still I cannot help referring back to a phase or so of this subject which I think should have been dealt with.

In the current estimates there are two points of view, one view claiming that the negro race has been viciously dealt with, others denying that the role ascribed the negro in the piece contradicts the facts of history. Paul Kennaday's article condemned the treatment of the negro in general terms without making clear the exact nature of the sin committed.

The "Birth of a Nation"—and, by the way, it is the second part only that is involved in the present discussion—contains errors of omission rather than errors of commission. It depicts occurrences that could have been committed by a certain number of negroes at a given time because there are enough evil ones among the blacks, as there are in any race. But the presentation sins in that it omits the good blacks and the bad whites or at least makes them negligible influences.

The fact is that the Northern whites instigated much of the lawlessness committed by the negroes during the reconstruction period, the purpose being to secure the plunder and get the negro to bear the blame.

This is corroborated by the fact that the worst disorders of that period did not occur throughout the entire South, but in those portions to which the Northern whites or "carpet baggers" penetrated, and it was in this territory that the Ku Klux movement developed and spread terrorism and disaster.

The far South was ruled by a different order of whites entirely, that of the Camelias, an organization numerically greater than the Ku Klux itself, which claimed not to have had much trouble in dealing with negro uprisings.

The reason the Ku Klux Clan became so widely known while the order of the Camelias and others were comparatively unnoticed, is doubtless due to the fact that the Ku Klux operated in the most turbulent territory.

MAURICE BLUMLEIN.

New York City.

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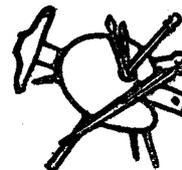
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Similarly with Germany. It tells the strength of the anti-war faction represented by Liebknecht and the Vorwaerts; of the middle group represented by Haase, Bernstein and Kautsky which supports a war of defense against Russia, but not a war of aggression against France, Belgium and England; of the pro-war faction, led by Scheidemann, Suedekum, David, Heine, and Legien and other labor union leaders.

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