

Nov.
15th

New Review

Ten
Cents

A CRITICAL SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

VOL. III.

10c. a copy

Published on the first and fifteenth of the month.

\$1.50 a year

No. 17

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A Hopeful Sign

By A. M. Simons

THE International Socialist Conference at Zimmerwald, Switzerland, is the first really important sign of returning sanity in a war-mad world. It would be foolish to expect too much from it. It would be criminal to fail to welcome what hope it holds out.

When the war broke out the Socialist International worse than failed. It not only broke into as many factions as there were warring nationalities. Its constituent members went over to the enemy and, in many cases, sought to use the very ties created by international organization to serve the ends of the deadliest enemies of Socialism.

The individuals to whom the care of international relations had been entrusted either refused to perform the functions for which they had been chosen or were prevented from so doing by violence. To attempt to deny or palliate the completeness of this failure is to be intellectually dishonest with ourselves, a proceeding that will entitle the world henceforth to look upon us with suspicion.

This collapse did not begin Aug. 4, 1914. It is easy to see this now, and, while we may forgive those who did not foresee it, we cannot again trust those who refuse to see it now. This collapse was foredoomed when the Socialist movement became "institutionalized" and began to exist, not for Socialism, but for itself as an institution and for those who, either as public or party officials saw in the Socialist political organization a means of protecting their individual

and group interests rather than the interests of the working class. It is not easy to avoid this evil. It is inherent in every institution and can be fended off only by the most jealous watchfulness of the basic principles to defend which the institution is established.

The excuse offered for the surrender of Socialist principles at the beginning of the war by those to whom party machinery had been entrusted was the necessity of preserving that machinery. If we rebel we will destroy our press, our unions, our cooperatives and our political influence, was offered as an explanation for turning these agencies of proletarian conflict over to the interests of capitalist Imperialism.

When the interests of officeholders were permitted to become paramount to the principles of Socialism the Socialist movement died as a fighting force. It was a short step from there to voting war credits and excusing the action by some clever phrase-mongering about the incidence of taxation, and then all was ready for the bloody plunge into national conflicts.

Jobs are sought within national boundaries and this influence could not but serve to weaken international ties. Again it is easy to look back and see where treason to those ties began and who were the traitors. Every effort to make of the International Socialist Bureau or Congress anything more than a channel for transmitting resolutions that constantly

grew more innocuous, was fought by the German bureaucracy and its allies many of whom were in the nations now fighting Germany. They opposed more frequent sessions of the Bureau, sneered at the congresses they manipulated and emasculated every resolution tending to assure genuine international action. At every point they were, let us hope unconscious, tools of the Imperialist governments to whom they finally sacrificed the Socialist comrades who had trusted them.

Throughout the war they have consistently followed the course they previously pursued. They have thwarted every effort on the part of those Socialists who remained true even to such attenuated ties of internationalism as had been created to secure common action. But they have not hesitated to try to use those efforts to serve the purpose of nationalistic Imperialism.

The Zimmerwald conference is the first determined effort on the part of those who have not bowed the knee to Mars to open up the blood-choked channels of international relations. The representatives in that conference spoke for the Socialist parties of all but three warring nations, Germany, France and Belgium. From the first two came representatives of that minority that stands for at least so much of Socialism as had not been repudiated before August 1914. In England, Italy, Russia and the Balkan states this conference is endorsed by the official Socialist parties. In France and Germany the bureaucratic Imperialists who had grasped the Socialist machine still stand aloof.

Moreover there is no talk of any proscription, no threat to bar or punish in any way those who did betray us as no movement of labor has ever been betrayed in the thousands of years of treason that have been its part. These are only asked to get out of the road and let those who remain Socialists at least communicate with one another and plan for common action.

There is no effort to supplant the half-existing International Socialist headquarters, which now is isolated from the world by a ring of bayonets, many of which are undoubtedly held by former German Social Democrats. All that is asked is that, until the wave of madness has passed, those who remain sane be at least permitted to discuss ways and means of fighting the epidemic of insanity.

There are some who cry out that we must wait until this madness has spent itself, — that nothing can be done until after the war. But it is just during the war that we need action. We need it to see that so far as we are able the war shall not end as the Imperialist rulers would have it end. When the war is over one of the greatest needs for the International will have disappeared, — the need of some organ through which concerted advantage can be taken of a weakened, warring capitalism.

It should soon be evident to all who have any remnant of independent intelligence, any thinking machinery not operated by some monarch, that the only possible end of this war is a working-class revolt. Any other end will be a truce, and not particularly to be desired. Peace now would be but a breathing spell in which to get ready for greater slaughter. Peace with governments in the hands of present rulers, modified by a bureaucratic, compromising, office-seeking, nationalistic Socialist movement would mean a tighter grip of all the murderous forces fought by real Socialists.

Socialists at least tried to prevent the forces that made this war inevitable. They did a little more to fight its causes and coming than anyone else. But it is here now, by no act of ours, and we would be as false to Socialism as those who rushed to kill their comrades in August 1914, if we did not make capitalism's extremity Socialism's opportunity.

Just now only a few of the people in each nation are ready to realize that their greatest enemies are of their own household. The cold and hunger and killing and maiming of another winter will go far toward convincing the majority in all nations of the inevitability and the duty of revolt. Crushing debts to be paid by armies of cripples will add to the argument.

As this sentiment of revolt spreads the one urgent duty of the Socialists of all nations is to feed this sentiment and to make it international. Having gone down into the depths of hell let us not come up without throwing off some of the burdens that dragged us down. For this reason the new International is needed more than anything else on this earth to-day. It is the only firm foundation on which any but a sham peace can be built.

Any peace not founded on revolt will but plunge the world deeper into militarism. It will certainly do this unless some way can be found to drive out the sneaking jingoism that is infecting the Socialist Party of this country, as well as that of every other nation. The blindest cannot longer pretend not to see that this nation is rushing into militarism faster than any nation ever rushed before.

It should be well known that a lot of Socialists are pricking up their ears at the sound of military music played by the armament trust and the great capitalists who know that with a powerful military force once in existence all danger of a peaceable overthrow of capitalism is gone forever.

So we need an international organization based upon a genuine opposition to militarism, one that will fight as the deadly enemies of Socialism and labor whatever gang of politicians in any country dares to try to make friends with militarism. This the Socialists of Zimmerwald also agreed upon. We have no need of Socialists who would make secret alliance with Roosevelt and his campaign through

such organs as the Metropolitan Magazine to convert Socialists from the "cant" of Socialism and anti-militarism.

Steady heads will be needed as well as revolutionary enthusiasm and unity in the rush of events that will come with the climax of this war and the peace that will follow it. There will be all too great a tendency to appeal to riot, bloodshed and blind uprisings and to reject all political action. This is the inevitable reaction against the betrayal of political power to the benefit of officeholders and the destruction of Socialism. It may serve to check this tendency a bit if we remember that the outbreak of war revived the old familiar alliance of the political adventurer and extreme opportunist with the anarchist. There were exceptions, but as masses the anarchist and syndicalist joined everywhere with the nationalistic bureaucratic socialists and both marched side by side to the bloody bidding of their rulers.

There is going to be work, big work for an international Socialist movement soon. Either that or there will be no more work for it during this generation. We failed once. We cannot fail twice and con-

tinue to pose as the leaders of labor and the heralds of a new civilization.

To do the work that is before us we must light again the fires of revolution, but not with the flashlight powder of empty violent demonstrations. We must organize for revolt. We must make our political fight a revolutionary one, while battling in every phase of the daily struggle of labor. Do these phrases sound axiomatic and bromidic? That we have all seemingly ceased to remember them is my excuse for repeating them.

The Gideon's band that met in Switzerland is composed of the few, that will soon be many, who realize that upon a reorganized, revived and revolutionary international Socialist movement depends the future of civilization in Europe. For these there are coming times even more tryig than those that now exist in the warring countries. The least that we can do is to give them our adherence, our sympathy and the pledge of our support when the crucial days come.

For our own sakes the least we can do is to try to infuse into our own Socialist Party some of the spirit that brought them together. If we cannot do that then we can watch enthusiasm, members, votes and even our beloved offices, gradually grow less and less.

A Socialist Remedy for Unemployment

By I. M. Rubinow

I AM not unmindful of the fact that in discussing the problem of unemployment before Socialists, I am carrying coal to Newcastle. The faithful adherent of the Marxian doctrine has a well established formula for the permanent cure of society from the curse of unemployment, as well as from other economic and a good many social ills for that matter. The statement is not made in any spirit of levity or sarcasm, for the Socialist philosophy means just that and nothing less. So that if we but remember our ideals of a cooperative commonwealth [something the practical, work-a-day socialist may not often do nowadays], they furnish a ready answer to the question — what is the Socialist remedy for Unemployment — especially if we slightly change the wording of the question to read "Socialism as a remedy for Unemployment." This remedy is a corollary to the socialist interpretation of the causes of unemployment as being inherent in the profit system. So much has been said about the reason for the fluctuations, seasonal, annual or local, in the demand for goods, reflecting themselves in corresponding fluctuations in demand for labor and resulting in unem-

ployment temporary or chronic, that perhaps it is unnecessary to dwell further upon this subject. That the sensitive reaction of the labor market is due to our system of manufacturing for profit, and therefore, manufacturing for a market, seems obvious. Even non-Socialist students of the problem of unemployment such as Mr. Beveridge frankly admits that the evils of unemployment cannot be denied.

But the capitalist system, the profit system, is with us to-day. Judging by appearances, it is likely to remain with us for some time, at least, though of course, no one knows precisely what surprises even the immediate future may bring us. The true attitude of the scientist to the phenomena of nature, be they ever so puzzling, was said to be *nil admirari*, to be surprised at nothing. The kaleidoscopic variety of recent times has helped the growth of that calm philosophic attitude of mind, because by a continuous chain of most grewsome surprises, it has dulled our ability to be surprised. There are those who see clearly the coming of the social revolution. To them no other Socialist remedy against unemployment, except preaching and agitation for its earliest ac-

complishment, will appear necessary. It is possible, however, to have preserved one's full faith in the truth of Socialist philosophy, to see the inevitability of the process of the socialization without expecting the far-reaching changes to occur in a day, or year, or decade. Prophecies are proverbially dangerous, whether pessimistic, or optimistic ones. The future is unfortunately hidden from our reason, except that we may have or think we have a general idea of the trend of historic evolution. We see clearly the elements, the weakness in the capitalist system, but it is often the weakest organism that lives longest.

Granting then that the capitalist economy has a perceptible lease of life, what is our remedy for unemployment — one of its inevitable consequences? Before a practical remedy is outlined, let us consider the problem in a purely theoretical, or rather hypothetical way. Assuming that the entire industry is socialized, and the cooperative commonwealth realized, will that itself entirely do away with the condition of unemployment? With the abolition of wage exploitation, with the return to the worker of "the full product of labor", according to good orthodox Socialist doctrine, or at least as much of it as society will not need to retain for its own purposes, the return for labor will probably be sufficiently large to leave to the worker a sufficient credit for the period of unemployment. Thus the main evil of unemployment, will be readily done away with. And yet, that in itself is not a complete answer to the question. Our indictment of the capitalist organization of production is not only on the ground of inhumanity, but also of inefficiency. Failure to utilize the entire supply of available human energy for productive purposes is the greatest inefficiency. We may well assume that under the ideal conditions there will be no financial panics, no bank runs to upset the orderly processes of production. But other causes for fluctuation in demand will remain; there will be seasonal and climatic interruptions in work, women will not altogether lose their susceptibility to changes in fashion, mistakes of economic statistics may still cause shortages in certain supplies and gluts in others.

While there may be no market, there still will be a discriminating demand. While a socialized producing organism need not be so much subject to fluctuations in demand, it cannot afford to disregard it altogether. The producing individual will not be permitted to produce the same objects whether there is a demand for them or not, and thus perhaps waste his energy and materials. Radical changes in methods of production will even then displace supplies of highly specialized labor trained for certain form of work only.

In other words, the worker may find himself, even in a Socialist commonwealth, "out of a job". That will not be social but rather a technical problem. In

fact it may be argued that it will not be a problem at all. After all, it may be questioned "what is the necessity for continuous endeavor?" Even capitalist society stops most efforts on Sunday, because rest and recreation are just as necessary for human happiness as effort and production. Absence of a job may simply mean the glutting of supply and the result will be a very desirable vacation. The answer is not a denial of the desirability of vacations, but the necessity of so regulating it, that it should not depend upon the accidental maladjustment of the productive process to the active demand: in other words it should be evenly distributed among all workers and adjusted so as to fit into normal rest or vacation periods and not cause overwork when supplies run short.

All of which sounds very utopian, and yet must appear very real to all who believe that a socialized industry is sure to come. The problem of prevention of enforced idleness, the problem of equitable and normal distribution of the productive and vacation periods will not appear insoluble. It will require a state of industrial intelligence, under which the available labor supply, as well as the existing and probable demand will be carefully studied. It will require a high degree of mobility of labor with cheap and possibly free transportation (free to the traveling unit, though of course not obtained without cost to the industrial organization). It will require also better mobility of labor from one productive process to another, which means more intelligent and better trained labor, and finally it will require, as a corollary, that if any form of labor be so highly skilled and specialized as not to be easily shifted from one industry to another, this labor should not suffer from the technical difficulty of providing it with continuous employment. This will be met in either one of two ways: either the remuneration for the time of employment will be correspondingly increased, or an allowance will be given for the time of enforced idleness.

You may well ask why, as a practical man, I should waste your time by all these utopian suppositions. I do it, because I observe these technical methods, by means of which a cooperative commonwealth will probably endeavor to counteract the waste incumbent upon failure to utilize the available supply of human labor, I find a very interesting parallel with those methods of relieving unemployment, which are being at present advocated by bourgeois progressives, and are practiced to some extent in European countries. Unemployment has been actively discussed for the last few years, for the first time seriously discussed in this country. It has been discussed in Europe for over twenty years, and as a result the following conclusions have been reached:

1.- The degree of suffering from unemployment is in reverse ratio to the wage level. This means that

all efforts at raising the standards of remuneration have a direct bearing upon unemployment. A virile organized labor movement is a greater factor in the struggle against unemployment than even soup-kitchens. When labor organizations fail, minimum wage legislation must accomplish the same result.

2.- Unemployment is as much due to the uneven distribution of working time as to the insufficiency of employment. This points the way to the most rigid regulations of the labor day, whether by legislation or otherwise—with absolute prohibition of overtime work as a necessary corollary.

3.- Better facilities must be provided to bring together the man and the job. It is a disgrace to leave this all important social function to private greed, and public employment offices are an absolute necessity.

4.- Public works must be adjusted to the labor market. This implies the recognition that in so far as the productive process is socialized, the adjustment of demand for labor to its available supply can be readily accomplished. This may be partly accomplished by proper changes of our school system and extending the school period. Greater industrial mobility of labor, or dovetailing of industries, may be achieved by industrial education.

5.- The needs of the productive units during the period of irreducible idleness must be met out of a common fund. This means unemployment insurance.

Every conscious and intelligent progressive demands public employment offices, demands industrial education, demands adjustment of public works to the conditions of the labor market, demands unemployment insurance.

The Socialist remedy for unemployment does not seem to differ from the prescription which the progressive healers of social ills have already given us.

Is this any cause for disappointment to the Socialist? Does it mean that by recognizing the parallelism, the Socialist ceases being a Socialist, and becomes a horrible dictu—a social reformer? It seems to me that an entirely different construction—one that is much more flattering to one's philosophy—may be placed upon it. To me it simply indicates that in so far as the amount of existing unemployment, both endemic and epidemic is but a manifestation of capitalistic anarchy of production—every remedy honestly proposed, every remedy that offers even a slight relief, is a step, unconscious perhaps, towards a better, more efficient, because more socialized, utilization of the available labor supply.

Instead of opposing and sneering at these "social reforms", the scientific Socialist can well afford to support them, but support them with due consideration to his Socialist philosophy. Because he understands where these remedies are leading to, he can afford to support them wholeheartedly as no mere

social reformer ever is likely to, for he need not take any pains that while the rights of the worker are protected, the interest of capital should also be safeguarded. The conflict that must arise in the complete applications of each one of the necessary reforms outlined, baffles the social reformer, whose endeavor is to satisfy all parties, but is inevitable to the Socialist. Is it the question of public employment offices to the total exclusion of private ones? Of course, capital will find it more advantageous to be in the command of the mechanism of the labor supply, so that it can be used for purposes of strikebreaking.

Is it the regulation of public works? Of course the capitalist and tax-payer will prefer to be guided by other considerations, such as the ease or stringency of the money market. Is it to be unemployment insurance? Of course, the employers will object to it on the ground of cost, and also because it substantially interferes with the club of unemployment he holds over the wageworker for the purpose of exacting a favorable wage contract. In other words, while social reform thought has discovered the technical methods of prevention of unemployment, social reform will be too much concerned with the rights of capital to fight strongly for a liberal measure of these remedies. The Socialist can and must disregard these considerations, because it must assume a class attitude.

It has been recently suggested that Socialism must rise above this doctrine of a class movement. Perhaps Socialist theory may endeavor to become a universally social, rather than a class theory, but the Socialist movement is either a class movement, a working class movement, or it is a cult, a fad, an intellectual dissipation. And on approaching the specific unemployment remedies, the Socialist movement must assume an extremely partisan class attitude, and thus blaze the way ahead with a force which social reform may never command. The difference is largely in the speed, in the vision, though not in the direction.

Of course, in addition, the Socialist movement can take certain steps, assume certain attitudes that social reform will not and logically can not. It must never cease reminding the working class that the broad cause of unemployment is in the profit system, and therefore, even the measures advocated by social reformers cannot fully be applied as long as the profit system is in the way. The objection will be raised that this may be good propaganda, but of itself is no sense a remedy against unemployment. But its corollary is such a remedy—that every step towards socialization of industry because it inevitably weakens the profit motive to some extent, to that extent stabilizes the demand for labor and is a factor relieving unemployment.

Here is at least one Socialist remedy, pure and simple, and its appeal is clear and easily understood

by all wageworkers, whether they will accept the Socialist doctrine in its entirety or not.

You will notice that I have not referred as yet to one proposal, which during our last two winters of unemployment has been brought forth most energetically as the true Socialist remedy — public emergency work for the unemployed. In the light of the analysis made here, it is not a Socialist remedy; moreover, it is doubtful if it may be considered a remedy at all. The demand must necessarily be based upon the admission that there is no active demand for the goods to be produced. Surely, even a Socialist community with well organized productions, will not undertake to establish expensive temporary work-shops for the purpose of keeping people out of idleness and mischief. The demand for the public shops, as far as I know, was made with the full recognition that they are to be temporary. It might even be that by underpaying the labor, by putting the wages upon a basis of relief (such as is done in the famous charitable woodpiles) and by subsidizing them by free rent and in other subtle ways, a market would be formed for the goods produced. But then the displacement of other labor at higher price must be considered. If the plea be made that these shops once established need not be temporary, the answer is that by establishment of new competing industrial enterprises, the unemployment situation cannot be remedied, if the supply for made goods is not affected, for fluctuations in the demand for labor are not only not relieved, but actually aggravated. The social advantages of gradual socialization, nationalization, or municipalization of productive processes must not be claimed for this crude method of relief.

One may only be mildly surprised at the incongruity which discards municipal ownership, or even national ownership as conservative or reformistic, and clamors for public emergency shops — an undignified, crude and often tried method of relief — as a revolutionary measure.

Do not misunderstand me. I do not condemn the demand itself, but its theoretical foundations. None I hope would seriously consider meetings in churches, or even their utilization for a night's lodging as a remedy against unemployment, Socialist or otherwise. Surely, the unemployed men or women, who must be doggedly tired from looking for a job — than which there is no harder task in a day's work to perform — are entitled to a more comfortable bed than a church pew would offer, especially without the soporific effect of the minister's sermon — but with all that Tannenbaum's crusade has done more to stimulate interest in the unemployment problem than can an orderly and performed meeting like ours today. Even so the demand for shops and even their very granting by the authorities, may have unexpected moral and social effect. Unscrutable are the ways

of that sphinx—public opinion, and none but a Broadway press agent may be able to discover in time the sensitive heel of Achilles. But I am discussing what may be truthfully designated as remedies, and not publicity methods.

Furthermore, I recognize that outside of remedial measures, relief measures in emergency become necessary. It is a disgrace to our civilization that we should actually have to discuss as to whether a church pew or the bars and cold floor on a dock should be chosen in preference to the dark hallway in the slums or the park benches on a freezing night, but the situation is there, and confronts us almost every winter.

That New York can go on its merry old way and scarcely notice the nightly bread line, might be considered as an extreme proof of callousness of the human soul, were it not for the mad house in Europe, with theatres, and music halls, and cabarets still open and in full blast both in Petrograd and in Berlin. Be it as it may, and as we are growing older and more cynical, we grow less and less inclined to wonder at evidence of human selfishness. But speaking for ourselves, we have grown selfish enough to want to enjoy our food, our comforts, without the disturbing thought that a line of cold shivering discouraged human beings are standing for hours waiting just for a small cup of coffee and a thin piece of stale bread.

All demands for relief are therefore justified, no matter how unsound from the point of view of theoretical economics or even scientific philanthropy.

I was recently asked by a very profound student of social problems, what my views were in regard to problems of charitable relief. I pointed to the program of social insurance, which I have been advocating for over 13 years. "But until this program has been entirely realized"? My answer was highly unscientific. Until then I would go the limit, and keep the lid off, and I for one refuse to be intimidated by the danger of demoralization of the hungry and the freezing. Mind you, I do not deny the possibility of demoralization. But the way to avoid it is not to cut off relief, it is to apply the remedies. Because Opium may breed a habit, because chloroform may kill, is no reason to stop their administration when the pain is more than men can stand.

Until the remedies outlined to-day are applied, relief must be administered, and if good charitable people insist upon a wood pile and a work test, let it be a wood pile and a work test. If the revolutionary comrades in the wilderness of Brooklyn insist upon municipal emergency workshops, where bandages may be rolled, let it be workshops and bandages, it is all the same to me.

One more word in conclusion. Many of you feel considerable distress that my Socialist remedies for unemployment are so much alike to the reformist

remedies, and may be inclined to reject for this reason alone. My calmest advice to them is: Don't. I sympathize with their longing for something new, startling, in short for that famous "bold idea" that a young man once ardently chased for who now is preaching a modified, glorified militarism. It was ever so, the longing in the human heart not only for the beautiful, good and true but also for the new. It may not be true that there is nothing new under the sun, but it is unfortunately true, that nothing long remains new, neither clothes, wives or ideas.

If I may be pardoned a personal allusion — no I am not going to speak about my wife — 12 years ago, when I began to preach social insurance, I was a man with a new idea in this country. I could talk for hours of the contempt expressed for this idea by the very people with whom I may now act in committees, discussing social insurance plans. I have lived through periods of total neglect, severe criticism, until now the country literally swarms with social insurance experts, and even clever salesmen utilize the phrase in their advertising. But I have not ceased being a social insurance enthusiast for this reason, and I assure you there is still room for Socialist enthusiasm in the movement.

After all social ills, like bodily ills, have only one true remedy, though it is not always known in time, and if we Socialists are at all right, these remedies must be in line with our philosophy. If we want to get the credit for discoveries, let us put even as much thought to these practical problems as our great teachers have to the broad philosophy of the movement.

Mob Law

By Mary W. Ovington

THE Frank case is over and done with, and the sporadic indignation that it evoked has passed away. Lynchings continue, one and two a week. Recently, in Mississippi, one was made a public festival, and attended by hundreds of women and children. Even Georgia lynched another man, but he was old and black so that we none of us knew about it. Our excitement has evaporated, and with it our momentary sense of national disgrace; and mob law again reigns.

What is mob law? It has been magnificently described by its best friend, ex-Governor Blease of South Carolina. Speaking on August 26 at the Governor's Conference in Boston, after a scathing and much-needed condemnation of the "third-degree" as practiced upon suspected criminals in the North, he said:

"In the South an aroused mob is an outraged community, which carries out the law, but brushes aside with mighty force the law's technicalities and delays. There is no hypocritical, sanctimonious violation of fundamental rights under the cloak of law by those sworn to uphold the law, the deed is open, and civilization and justice are vindicated. And when mobs are no longer possible, liberty will be dead."

These are sincere words, and they are not the only ones praising lynch law that have come to us in recent years. In other subtle, gently insinuating ways, we are taught that there may be special persons and special offences that can be best dealt with outside a court of justice. So since Governor Blease has given us a clear statement of a mob's usefulness it should be worth our while to examine his claims for Lynch law.

The mob, we are told, is an outraged community which, by an open deed of violence, vindicates justice and civilization. Is this a true picture? This is not a difficult question to answer because we have abundant material on the subject. In Georgia, where we have witnessed our most dramatic lynching, we have a story covering a number of years in which punishment has been meted out not by the courts but the armed citizens. How has this method worked?

After the Civil War, mob law was executed in the southern states by an organization known as the Ku-Klux Klan. By 1871, complaints against this organization had become so numerous that the federal government undertook a Ku-Klux investigation. It gathered testimony from all classes; from Southern colonels, who loved the Negro but felt that he had never accepted reconstruction; from northern soldiers and politicians; and from newly emancipated slaves. The evidence, for Georgia alone, fills 1217 pages of closely printed matter and gives a clear pic-

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256 BROADWAY, NEW YORK CITY

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Subscription \$1.50 a year in United States and Mexico; six months, \$0.75. \$1.75 in Canada and \$2.00 in foreign countries. Single copies, 10 cents.

Entered at the New York post-office as second-class mail matter.

ture of mob rule. How does it agree with that painted by ex-Governor Blease?

The first thing that we realize as we study the 170 detailed cases of Ku-Klux justice is that a mob is not a defender of the weak; instead it attacks the weak, making certain that it greatly outnumbers its victims. For instance: an old white man, a Methodist minister, wakens one night to find his house surrounded by Ku-Klux. A gun is pushed through a crack of his rough little cabin, while the door in front is broken down. Masked men enter and drag him away from his terrified wife. He is beaten and then hanged for a few moments, presumably for sport, as after losing consciousness, he finds himself again on the ground. Told to make such arrangements as he will before his certain death he kneels on the earth and prays. The mob beats him again, but spares his life, leaving him with the admonition to quit the country in fifteen days. Another time, the Klan, disguised, as always, to prevent recognition, enters a Negro cabin, and, enraged that the father and sons whom it seeks are absent, drags the youngest boy, a sickly lad, out of the house and into the yard where he is shot to death. The mother is hanged and left for dead; but she is later resuscitated only to learn that her husband and all her sons but two have been murdered. Again an old colored man is shot and then beaten so that he dies. A colored woman is taken from her home into the open, stripped, and struck by each member of the mob of disguised men.

These cases and there are many more like them, show a certain cowardice that ill-fits the majestic picture the ex-Governor gives us. But the aroused mob, he tells us, is a community outraged against a terrible crime. For this reason it must brush aside technicalities of law, and deliver instant punishment. What then were crimes that the Ku-Klux were so outraged about?

In that entertaining piece of fiction, "The Birth of the Nation", we see Ku-Klux dressed like Sir Galahads, and like Sir Galahad pure of heart, riding manly through acres of film to rescue beautiful white maidens from villainous black men, and incidentally to lynch the black. This is the job that romance always lays out for the southern mob, but the facts of history contradict romance. Out of the 170 Ku-Klux cases but one concerned the raping of a white girl. In that case the Negro was burned to death, and it is but fair to state that two colored girls were whipped and then raped by Ku-Klux who got off without a scratch or a blister. No, it was not assault upon a white woman, nor theft, nor destruction of property, nor any of the usual criminal offenses of which the law takes cognizance, that outraged the Ku-Klux mob. To this tribunal, a man's most serious offense was voting the republican ticket. For this the old Methodist minister was beaten and hanged and driven from his home. For this twenty-

five other men, colored and white, were whipped or shot. A second crime almost equal in importance, was prosperity. If a Negro accumulated property, if he assumed the manners that go with comfortable living, an outraged community so terrorized him that he fled leaving his property behind him. Getting an education was another crime. The Ku-Klux beat a colored school mistress and then burned down the school-house. Once they entered a Negro's cabin, threw his little library of three books into the fire saying that they would dare any nigger to have a book in his house. An equally important crime that needed instant punishment was giving evidence against illicit distilleries of which the Ku-Klux had many. It was a crime for a black man to marry a pretty mulatto, for which offense both husband and wife were ruthlessly beaten; for a black man to refuse to work for a white man; or for a white man to defend a Negro who had been attacked.

Undoubtedly this makes an interesting collection of offenses, but not such as to merit ex-Governor Blease's eloquence nor to warrant a change from civil to mob law.

How has it been in Georgia since the Ku-Klux days? The majority of cases recounted in the federal investigation were within a radius of twenty-five miles of Marietta. There were sporadic cases of Negroes lynched here throughout the eighties and nineties, sometimes for crimes which they had committed, sometimes for crimes which it was thought they might have committed; but, in the present century, this neighborhood again for a short period came under mob rule.

In September 1908 occurred the Atlanta riots. White men and boys feverishly bought ammunition and went out "to pot niggers", while the police, when they could, disarmed the black populace. This mob was no braver than its Ku-Klux predecessor for it avoided the section where the lawless and criminal Negroes lived and attacked quiet, respectable colored districts. Clark and Atlanta Universities, institutions for higher education of colored youth, were both threatened. In the neighborhood of Clark University the mob attacked the homes of industrious householders, and killed or drove from the city thirty such families. Little children suffered, and old men. The "outraged community", acting without legal procedure, was careless where its fury found vent.

And this brings us to the third serious criticism on mob rule, as a means of administering justice: it frequently punishes the wrong man.

A genuine, passionate mob, must punish somebody, and if it cannot get the right man it will take the wrong one. The Ku-Klux took the colored boy who was sick in bed because they could not get his father. Wild with anger at recent assaults upon white women, the mob of Atlanta killed unoffending colored men; and the Marietta mob, intent upon avenging

Mary Phagan's shocking death, took Frank from prison. Careful weighing of evidence before conviction is foreign to the mob, who would rather see the wrong person killed, particularly if he belong to an unpopular group, than to allow the deed of shame to go unavenged.

There is one more important indictment to bring against mob rule — its terrorism makes freedom of speech impossible.

I was in Boston last spring at a hearing before the Mayor to protest against the production of "The Birth of a Nation." Many speeches were made condemning the picture as tending to incite race hatred. During the hearing Mr. Griffith, the producer of the film arose and expressed his pleasure at being in Boston, the cradle of liberty, the home of free speech, his story of the South should be heard. It was a telling point, and yet, familiar as I was with the film, I wondered whether Boston might not lose something of her freedom, her enviable position as offering respectful treatment to all races in her city, if she fed her young people with a play in which mob law was idealized. For the history of mob rule is that the man in disagreement with the mob is so terrorized that he dare not express his opinion, on the platform or at the ballot box, unless he is of unusually courageous mettle. Ex-Governor Blease may say what he likes in Boston, but if an old-time Boston abolitionist were to say what he liked to-day in Marietta, both on mob law and political and social equality for the Negro he would do well to wait until the eve of the day in which he meant to depart. For some reason, no offense seems so great to the administrators of mob justice as the offense of thinking for yourself; and mob rule prevents the best and finest opinion in the South from full self-expression.

No, the southern mob, for which ex-Governor Blease so eloquently pleads, is just a selfish, ignorant body of men bent upon private revenge. It is the strong oppressing the weak. It can be and sometimes is used by the capitalist to break down any effort on the part of the workers to better their condition. It strikes terror, not into the hearts of criminal Negroes, but into those of hard working white and black men who, if they escape with their lives, leave their homes and move West where ignorance does not so blatantly rule. It keeps out the immigrant. Despite ex-Governor Blease's assurance, liberty will never be alive so long as it endures.

There have been great mobs in the past. We wait, breathless, day by day for the mob with the spirit of the French revolution that shall bring liberty to outraged Europe. But let us have no illusions regarding our Southern Ku-Klux who were no better than a band of Russian Cossacks torturing the peasants of an alien race.

Millions for Defense, But---?

By John Macy

MILITARY power is used for three purposes: (1) aggressive war upon foreign enemies, (2) defensive war against foreign aggressors, (3) war upon domestic enemies, civil war, police duty. These three purposes are not completely distinct in governmental theory or in military practice, but they are sufficiently distinct to be thought about separately; and our thoughts about them seem to divide us into four fairly definite groups. We have no way of knowing how large and strong any group is, but we can safely assume that each group contains an influential number of persons. The groups are:

1. Those who do not believe in armament for any purposes.
2. Those who believe in armament for all purposes.
3. Those who do not believe in aggressive warfare but approve the use of military force for other purposes.
4. Those who believe in armament for use against foreign enemies but are unwilling to have the army used against any section of the civil population.

The first group, the absolute pacifists and non-resistants, are in complete disagreement with the other three groups. The second, third and fourth groups have one and only one belief in common: they are in favor of protecting their nation against invasion of its territory and the rights of its citizens. They all say that we should be prepared to beat back from our boundaries any army or navy which might be sent against us. Defense is the chief argument of even the extreme militarist. Defense is the only argument of the third and fourth groups against the thick-and-thin pacifist who opposes all military preparedness. But these two groups do not trust those who believe in the use of arms for something else than defense.

The third group says to the second: "We suspect your game. You call on the people to fit themselves, as becomes intelligent and spirited men, to guard their homes and their women and children, and then you send those same intelligent and spirited men into foreign lands to make other homes desolate and bring misery to other women and children. What nation that you have ever dominated but has been guilty of murder and conquest? You may be sincere when you plead defense, but history does not acquit you and your kind of hypocrisy. Was England defending herself in the War of 1812 and in the Boer War? Was our great republic defending

itself in the Mexican War and in the war with Spain? We hesitate to put an army under your control or under the control of a government which you can manipulate to purposes which we regard as sinister."

The fourth group adds another objection: "It is reasonable for men to fight for their country, perhaps even at the expense of another country. It is folly for men to fight against themselves, against their friends, their kin, their natural allies. We might consent to a powerful army, we might actively support it and join it, if we could be sure that it would never be turned against us. In every nation the workers have had bitter experiences with soldiers. During strikes the militia has been called out in the name of law and order, but really at the behest of the employers and to the intended advantage of the employers against the workers. This has happened in democratic Switzerland and it has happened in the United States. The government of this country once sent national troops to Chicago contrary to the protests of the mayor of the city and the governor of Illinois, for the purpose, the real if not the declared purpose, of putting down a strike of railroad workers. The gentlemen who have been drilling at Plattsburg are no doubt devoted to the ideal of national safety, but whether or not they realize it, to them national safety means the security of their business and their class. We should be sorry to have them shed their blood in Mexico; we should be sorrier still to shed our blood in Mexico; we should be sorriest of all to have *them* spill *our* blood on our own soil. That is why we ally ourselves with the first group, the peace cranks, as you call them, rather than with you. We do not agree with them, but on the whole they are less dangerous to us than you are. Therefore we support the anti-enlistment propaganda among workmen. Our friend, Mr. Debs, in a recent appeal that must have reached hundreds of thousands of working people, said: 'Let us swear by all that is dear to us and all that is sacred to our cause, *never* to become a soldier and *never* to go to war.' He bases his appeal upon humanitarian grounds, on his hatred for the horrors of killing, but what is especially abhorrent to him is that working people should be killed or defeated by soldiers recruited from your class or from the working class itself."

Let us not raise the question here which of the groups has most right and reason on its side. As a practical matter, whatever is to be done will be determined by what the various groups wish and by their power to realize their wishes. It does not seem likely that the uncompromising pacifists will prevail today or on the immediate morrow. Is there any way by which the most important desires of the rest of the people may be realized?

Here is a suggestion which I offer in the hope that it may evoke at least a journalistic response. If there is anything in the idea, let us develop it. If there is nothing in it, it will die unnoticed and nobody needs spend much energy in killing it.

Suppose that Congress passes an Act for National Defense, to increase and strengthen the army and the navy to whatever extent may seem necessary. Suppose that in the appropriation clause it should be provided that not a dollar shall be spent to send the navy with hostile intent anywhere except on American waters and the high seas, or to send a soldier with hostile intent upon foreign soil, or to employ any soldier or sailor for military purposes within the United States against any inhabitant of the United States. The precise phrasing must be left to those expert in drafting bills. The idea is plain: to provide adequate defense and at the same time to prevent the possession of increased and effective armament from carrying us into aggressive warfare, and to reduce the danger which militarism presents to industrial democracy and to the liberties of civilians.

Such a plan should appeal to those who have advocated an army and a navy fit for all purposes; for it affords that adequate and justifiable defense which they say is the primary object of their efforts to renew the national weapons. Their acceptance of the restrictions which should forbid the sending of soldiers to foreign countries or to scenes of industrial disturbance at home would attest their good faith, would show that their purpose is indeed national defense, that they are not inspired by lust of conquest, that they do not intend an undemocratic use of force in domestic government, that they are willing to remove if possible the causes of the alarms which fill the anti-militarist soul.

Those who hold that we should defend ourselves but not attack others except in self-defense, all who are disgusted with our experiments in Imperialism, would withdraw much of the opposition which they now offer to any military program. The working people, assured that the new army could not in time of strike be turned against them by their industrial masters, might feel more friendly to it than experience has taught them to feel toward the regular army and the state militia. If they did not join the Army of Defense enthusiastically, they would at least have less reason to quarrel with it than with other forms of military service and expenditure,

I know that there are many political and strategic difficulties in the way of the scheme, but it is better to reserve discussion of them until we see whether the plan, here vaguely and briefly outlined, stimulates any constructive suggestions. Is it or is it not possible to have an Army and a Navy of Defense—and nothing but defense?

India Sullen

By "Baghi"

[This is the first of a series of two articles on *India in the Present Crisis*. "Baghi" is the pseudonym of a prominent Hindu Radical. Throughout this article "Hindu" means "East Indian" without reference to his religious affiliations.—Ed. NEW REVIEW.]

BEFORE the first decade of our century had sped half-way through its course, the East was reverberating with the triumph of Japan. The entire Orient was astir. The signal had been given that the time was at hand for India, Persia, China and Egypt to assert their national independence. When China obtained her passports, first signed by the United States of America, to enter the community of "civilized nations", India's hopes rose still higher. Her wish and aspiration became a consuming passion.

If the neglect of the rights of nationality of the Balkan peoples has led to the present catastrophe, the neglect of the claim of India to national self-assertion may lead to a like catastrophe in the future.

The possibility of a radical change in India is ever present to the mind of European statesmanship; but its probability seems to be infinitely remote. After discussing the consequences to England if she lost India, Lord James Bryce declared only two years ago: "Happily for England and for India, questions such as these are for the moment purely speculative". (*The Roman and The British Empire in India*, Oxford, 1913). Have not recent events shown conclusively that James Bryce was justified in adopting an optimistic tone? Is it not true that India is today, more than ever and unequivocally loyal to British rule? My answer is: "India is as sullen and discontented as ever."

But what is my warrant for making such an assertion. Have not the newspapers been publishing all over England and the United States, glowing accounts of the fervid devotion all classes of the people of India have shown to the British Cause? Are not the facts that:

(1) The Hindu Soldiers are fighting with most gallant recklessness.

(2) That the Maharajas and Nawabs have made towards the British Cause, munificent contributions both in men and in money.

(3) That such representatives of the educated middle class as Babus Surendra Nath Banerji and Bhupendra Nath Basu — have declared to the British government their unqualified allegiance.

These are facts. But they are also interpretations. Herein lies the rub. The facts have not been presented in their true proportions and perspective. Then there are other facts, of greater importance,

about which the public in this country and England has been left in utter ignorance. In this connection one needs barely to be reminded that the news about India is under effective control of the British Indian officials.

Let us first understand what the reported manifestations of Indian loyalty really amount to.

The Gurkhas, Sikhs, Pathans who have shown consummate skill and astounding courage on the gory plains of Europe, are strictly mercenary soldiers. They compose the major portion of Britain's standing army in India. (Total strength about two hundred and fifty thousand. English, about seventy-seven thousands, the rest Indians). Their only business is to fight. They are recruited at a very early age, and are continually drilled and drilled and drilled till they become most efficient fighting machines. In this, as in other essential respects, they are like the Cossacks.

Cut off from civic and social life, mostly illiterate, pent up in bleak barracks — those Kipling's barracks — day after day and night after night they prepare themselves for their murderous trade. Like all professional and mercenary soldiers, what conscience they have dwells in their knives. Their ethics are the ethics of the sword. In the various regions of Asia and Africa, they have won for Britain a vast empire. About the rights and the wrongs of the case in any campaign, they are never troubled. In Tibet, China, Burma and Afghanistan, at the bidding of their English masters they have butchered their own co-religionists and neighbors.

Ten years ago it used to be said that at the word of command they would open fire on their mothers and sisters, before they realized what they were doing. Such are these pets of Earl Kitchener — the most finished of his "scientifically managed" Kultur system!

But the spirit of the age did not leave even these outcasts alone. Its magic touch has softened their hearts and opened their eyes. They too, have now begun to feel for their country. They too, have begun to see dimly the iniquity of the system under which they have been brought up. Since 1905, insubordination and disloyalty have become more and more rife among them. In 1907 the Punjabee soldiers were on the verge of a revolution. Again, only last year, the attitude adopted by the Canadian authorities towards the Hindu immigrants, from six to ten per cent. among whom were retired soldiers of the British army and the rest their kith and kin, created the bitterest anti-British feeling among the villages of North India, the homes of the native

soldiery. Just before the outbreak of the war the situation looked ominous, indeed most dangerous. England feared that in the hour of her peril, her disaffected soldiers might prove her ruin. The hour of peril came sooner than was expected. The British Government did what any sensible government would have done under similar circumstances — packed the dangerously ‘infected’ soldiery off to Europe. The government must have argued that in foreign lands, surrounded by the myriad French and British troops, with their pugnacious souls all kindled at the prospect of vigorous action, Hindu soldiers would forget all their old-time affections and disaffections. Still the government took no chances. All possible negative and positive precautions were taken. On the one hand, the troops were carefully segregated from their fellow countrymen and the closest secrecy about their movements was maintained; and on the other hand promises were held out to them of great rewards. Their salaries were immediately raised from nine rupees (three dollars) to eleven rupees (three dollars and sixty cents) per month each.

The women of France and England too helped their governments by pleasing Hindu soldiers with their smiles, and handshakes and flowers and kisses. With each native regiment, the government sends out a staff of native chaplains, Hindu and Mohamedan Priests. Morning and evening, these numerous Billy Sundays draw before their gaping congregations vivid pictures of ‘Swarga’ and ‘Bahisht’, Hindu and Mohamedan Paradises open only to those who die fighting for the “British Raj” (estate).

The wily Sikh-priest (Granthi), in the misquoting of the scriptures, beats the devil himself. The ninth prophet Teg Bahadur prophecied, he declares, that under the leadership of the English the Sikhs (Hindus) will achieve world dominion! To Berlin, then! For it is the will of God that the saffron colored banner of the Hindus should wave over Potsdam!

It is one of the duties of the native evangelist to invent and circulate the most grotesque and terrible stories of German atrocities. And what can not a highly florid, intoxicated Oriental imagination, achieve?

No wonder that the most desperate resistance the Germans have met with, was offered by the Hindus. Here is a story for the entire accuracy of which I can not vouch; but the story has in it, I am convinced, enough substratum of truth to illustrate our point. Out of some ten thousand Hindus, on one occasion, only about a hundred remained alive, whom the Germans captured. These men who had fought as if the very idea of yielding was foreign to them, suddenly went down on their knees and began to make pantomime signs, which interpreted meant that they were beseeching their captors to shoot

them dead but not to dismember them piecemeal!

“Well, what do you think of the Germans”, I asked some wounded Hindu soldiers, after the battle of Neuve Chappelle. “Devilish good with the artillery, sir. Their accuracy is beyond belief. Their shells burst within a span (balisht) of us and wiped us out. But in hand to hand fight we beat them. They simply run away screaming, when we charge with our bayonets.”

“But why do you charge them so furiously?” I asked. They looked at me for a moment. Then as the question soaked into their comprehension, they nodded understandingly and said:-

“We get you. But what can we do. We are helpless. You see, we are always put in the forefront. Immediately behind us are the ‘white’ [English] troops who simply drive us forward into the enemy’s trenches. If we seem to hesitate ever so little, we are shot dead from behind. A true soldier should offer only his breast and never his back to the bullet. Then if we yield to the Germans, they — Say, is it true that the Germans torture Hindu prisoners?”

Recently and generally they have learned, it seems, that the Germans do not ‘torture’ their Hindu captives. The fact is that the captured Hindu soldiers are having the very best of times in Berlin. They are free to go about as they please. They are permitted, even to wear their daggers! Quite a number of them have already enlisted in the German army.

The Hindu soldier at the front does not seem to be at all in a pleasant mood. He complains of injustice and harsh treatment. “The government [sarkar],” he says, “has broken its faith. When leaving India our officers gave us their word of honor that we would be sent back home as soon as we got wounded. But instead of sending us home, no sooner do we recover from wounds received in one battle, than are we sent to fight another. If we are permanently injured and incapacitated for further field use, we are sent to Marseilles or some other such place where we are given some kind of dull drudgery to perform. To keep us from giving up service, the government holds up our salaries. The last time we were paid was just when we left India. [Salaries are paid in India every month]. Since then we have not received a syc (cent). We are poor and risk our lives for money. If we were rich like you, we would not sell ourselves, bodies and souls, for eleven rupees (\$3.60) a month.”

Let these illustrations suffice. The points I want to emphasize are these: The Hindu soldier has rendered invaluable aid to England. But if he fights well, it is because he is a thoroughbred soldier, and not because he loves the British particularly, or hates the Germans. Briefly, the fact of the Hindu soldiers’ fighting at the front, does not signify that the peoples of India or even the soldiers themselves, are loyal to the British.

Current Affairs

By L. B. Boudin

Election Results, 1915.

THE results of the election held in New York and neighboring states on the 2nd of November are distinctly disappointing. The general reactionary tendency was as marked as anything that has happened in our political life since the last presidential election. Woman Suffrage — by far the most important question presented to the voters of the states of New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania — was defeated by large majorities in all of the three states. The majorities are of a size to make the resubmission of the question to the electorate of any of these states within the near future highly improbable. Woman Suffrage may therefore be considered as shelved in the East for some time to come.

And the general spirit of conservatism which showed itself in the suffrage vote also manifested itself in the vote on candidates: the most conservative and the most corrupt political machines scored substantial victories.

The only redeeming features of the election are the defeat of the proposed new State Constitution in New York State, and the election of a Socialist assemblyman in New York City. But satisfactory as these results may be, their political importance is quite negligible. For the new constitution was defeated not by the Socialists and labor-unions — as some of us would like to believe — but by the Honorable Charles F. Murphy, William Barnes, Edgar T. Brackett, and their fellow-politicians, who had axes of their own to grind in this matter. Nor does the election of Shiplacoff to the Assembly from the Brownsville district of Brooklyn indicate the growth of Socialism in that locality. The vote was evidently more a personal tribute to the candidate than an acceptance of the doctrines of his party, as can be seen from the fact that his fellow-candidates on the same ticket were left straggling way behind.

On the whole there is therefore little in the election results that we can be proud of, either as citizens or as Socialists.

In the Gray Dawn of the Morning After

WHEN the great European war broke out, the German government, and some German Socialists, attempted to put the glamor of sanctity on this unholy war by proclaiming Germany's alleged intentions to liberate the oppressed nationalities of the Czar's dominions. The first and foremost of the great "liberating" tasks so magnanimously undertaken by Germany, was to be the reconstruction of a

free and united Poland. At last one of the greatest crimes of European History — the partition of Poland by her three rapacious neighbors, Russia, Prussia and Austria — was to be atoned for by the reunion of the severed members of that unhappy land in a free and independent state.

Of course, those who know the ruling powers of Germany — the only part of Germany that counts — know full well that Germany did not go into this war for any such altruistic purpose. Nevertheless there were some among them, who, while not believing that Germany *went* into this war for any liberating purposes, thought that the exigencies of the situation were such that the German government would, if successful on the eastern front, be compelled to play the liberator of Poland. Germany — they thought — could not very well, after all that has been noised abroad as to her liberating intentions, just annex Poland. Besides, it would be the part of ordinary political wisdom and far-sighted statesmanship to create such a buffer state between herself and Russia, even if she and her ally would have to contribute a province each towards the creation of the new Polish state. It goes without saying that the new Polish Kingdom — with probably some German or Austrian Prince Royal at its head — would move politically in the German "orbit"; and the gratitude which the liberated Poland would bear to its German liberators would be worth more than several German armies as a defence against Russia. The creation of an independent Poland — independent at least in form if not in substance — would, by protecting Germany on her eastern "rear", give her a free hand on her western "front."

Such were evidently the hopes of the Polish Legionaries who volunteered to fight the battles of the Teutonic allies against Russia. And such the assumptions which were the basis of the reports widely circulated immediately after the fall of Warsaw, that an Austrian Archduke would soon be crowned King of Poland.

Events have since been proven that all these calculations were wrong. Not only does official Germany not show any sign of an intention to reconstitute Poland as an independent state, but there is evidently no intention on the part of the powers that be in Germany to reconstitute Poland at all, even as a part of the Austrian Empire. And what is even more important, it seems, that in this determination to perpetuate the partitioning of Poland, even now when all of its provinces are in the possession of the Teutonic powers, the German government is supported by the vast majority of the German nation, including the radicals, or what passes in Germany for radicals.

In this connection an article which appeared in the September issue of *Die Neue Rundschau* — perhaps the most important radical magazine in Germany —

is of great significance. The article, which must have been written immediately after the fall of Warsaw, bears the very interesting and highly significant title: "The Polish Intoxication." And its contents are as interesting and illuminating as the title. In substance it is this:

The Poles are getting quite excited. The Austrian Poles want an autonomous Polish Kingdom as part of the Austrian Empire, and others would not be satisfied even with that, — they want a free and independent Poland. The latter suggestion is utterly absurd, and could be made only by people who *completely misapprehend the character of the present war* and the general trend of modern development, which is away from small nations and towards the formation of great empires. But the creation of an autonomous Polish Kingdom within the Austrian Empire is not the much more acceptable. To begin with, the idea of such a Kingdom contemplates the cession by Austria to this autonomous kingdom of her "crownland" of Galicia, which Austria will not be in a hurry to do. And what is more important, — this plan overlooks two things: First, that *our* military successes had something to do with the conquering of Russian Poland, and we cannot be expected to let all the spoils fall into the lap of Austria. And, secondly, an autonomous Polish Kingdom would only be safe from our point of view if we should cede to it our own Polish provinces, which, of course, we shall not do. Hence, the whole plan is visionary.

Such are the *sober* second-thoughts of Germany's "radicals" on Polish Freedom in the gray dawn of the morning after.

The German Government as the Protector of Socialist Principles

CURIOUS things have been happening since this Great War has been upon us. One of the most curious is the appearance of the German Government in the official role of Protector of True Socialist Faith. It was of course to be expected that the German government would prosecute, and prosecute relentlessly, those valiant German comrades of ours who dared oppose the government and their own official party leadership on the question of the war. There was therefore very little surprise expressed when the arrest of Clara Zetkin and others of the "minority" within the German Socialist Party became known. Nor was there any surprise at the fact that those German Socialists who were known to be in *opposition* to the official party position were not permitted to speak in public, although those who held the official party view had a comparatively free run. But a recent development along these lines is so unexpected as to cause surprise even among those who know Germany and her rulers, and is worth noting here:

Recently a number of leading members of the German Socialist Party who had signed the protest against the war policy of the party were notified by military authorities that they would not be permitted to speak either at public or private meetings. But that they could purge themselves from obloquy and be taken off the blacklist *if they would express their "regrets" at having rebelled against the party authorities and signed the rebellious document.*

In the words of the German poet:

Andere Zeiten, andere Vögel; andere Vögel, andere Lieder.

Arizona Labor Law and the United States Supreme Court

IT is with deep humiliation and shame that we record here the fact that the U. S. Supreme Court has upset a labor law, *and was right in doing so.* The Arizona law — in the passing of which some labor unions were instrumental — restricting the employment of non-citizens in factories to 20 per cent. was so vicious that we cannot help feeling great satisfaction with the decision of the Supreme Court declaring it unconstitutional. This feeling of satisfaction cannot, however, make us insensible to the stinging rebuke which the court administered to those responsible for the enactment of this law, including labor unions. A rebuke the more stinging because fully deserved.

But more important even than the disgrace which the Arizona unions have brought upon the organized labor movement of this country by being instrumental in the enactment of such a law, is the great injury which the Arizona unions have done thereby to the entire working class of this country. For the passing of such laws and their invalidation by the courts, will go far to *justify* in the eyes of many sympathizers with the labor movement, the power of the courts to declare legislation unconstitutional, — or at least to reconcile them to its exercise. The ordinary man is not concerned with political theories, — it would therefore be futile to attempt to show him that the same result could be obtained by more cares for results, and results only. The passing of such laws as the Arizona law at the behest of labor unions and the action of the courts in upsetting them, makes him feel that there is a real danger in the trade-unions; *and a real and needed protection, — in the courts.* If the working class of this country is ever to be in a position to successfully fight Government by Judiciary, it must be careful not to furnish its mortal enemy with its most dangerous weapon, — a plausible excuse for its existence.

A Socialist Digest

An Epochal International Socialist Conference

WITH the outbreak of the war confusion began to affect the Socialist parties of nearly all the nations involved. Nationalism and patriotism seemed to have displaced the Socialist idea and policy of the international solidarity of the working class, but soon sobriety began to clear away the intoxication of patriotism caused by the war. The Socialist International bureau had practically ceased to function. Individual effort, however, resulted in many attempts to bring together the representatives of the various nations for the purpose of restoring international proletarian intercourse. For a long time all such efforts were futile, largely owing to the strong antagonism between some of the most important nations, whose Socialist organizations had taken their stand with the ruling class and the war patriots.

On May 15, 1915, the Executive of the Italian party, having conferred with leading Socialists of other countries, took the initiative in calling an international conference. Invitations were extended to all parties and labor organizations who were known to stand on the basis of the memories and decisions of the international and of whom it could be assumed that they would be ready for common action by the Socialists of the various countries and pronounce against the policy of internal peace and for the proletarian class struggle against the war. It was agreed upon that the conference should not undertake the formation of a new international, but should call upon the proletariat for common action against the war in leading the working class back to its historic mission. It was decided that the conference should meet September 15, 1915. Representatives of many countries, party organizations, trade unions, and other organized groups met on that day in Zimmerwald, Switzerland, and conferred for four days as to their action resulting in a manifesto unanimously approved by all those present. The following countries were officially represented by delegates: Italy, Russia, Roumania, Bulgaria. From Germany, France, Sweden, Norway, and Switzerland only groups or minorities were represented. The Independent Labor Party of Great Britain and a part of the British Socialist Party had expressed their willingness to send delegates, but at the last moment the delegates were refused

passports by the British government.

The deliberations of the conference were characterized by a sprit of unity of purpose, great enthusiasm and unwavering determination. The following, unanimously approved by all those taking part, is a document of historical importance:

TO THE PROLETARIANS OF ALL COUNTRIES OF EUROPE: "The war has now continued for more than a year. Millions of corpses cover the battlefields, millions of men have been turned into life-long cripples. Europe has become a gigantic human slaughter house. The whole civilization created by generations of labor has been devastated. The wildest barbarism celebrates its triumph over all that has hitherto been the pride of mankind.

"Whatever may be the truth as to the responsibility for the outbreak of this war—one thing is sure: The war that has brought forth this chaos is the result of imperialism, of the ambitions of the capitalist classes of each nation to nourish their profit lust from the exploitation of human labor and the natural resources of the globe.

"Economically backward or economically weak nations have accordingly fallen under the yoke of the great powers, who seek in this war to transform the map of the world with blood and iron to make it correspond with their exploiting interests. So it is that whole peoples and countries like Belgium, Poland, the Balkan States and the Armenians are threatened as prey in the game of compensation to be torn entirely or partially into fragments, and then annexed.

"The motive forces of the war in all their baseness come into view as the struggle goes on. Shred by shred every veil is torn away by which it has been sought to hide the truth about the world catastrophe from the knowledge of the peoples.

"The capitalists of all countries that would coin the blood of their peoples into the red gold of war profits assert that the war is for the defense of fatherlands of democracy, or the liberation of oppressed peoples. They lie. In fact and in truth they would bury within each nation the devastated liberties of their own peoples together with the independence of other nations.

"New fetters new chains, new burdens are arising and the proletariat of every country conquerors as well as conquered must bear these.

"Betterment of conditions was proclaimed at the outbreak of the war—misery and deprivation unemployment and high prices, under-nourishment and pestilence were the actual results. For decades to come the costs of war will devour the best energies of the peoples, endanger achievements of social reform and prevent every progressive step.

"Cultural desolation, economic destruction, political reaction—these are the blessings of this monstrous contest of nations.

"So it is that war reveals the naked form of modern capitalism as irreconcilable, not alone with the interests of the working class, nor with the interests of historical evolution, but with the very elementary conditions of human accociation.

"The ruling powers of capitalist society, in whose hands the history of the peoples rests, monarchial as well as republican governments, the secret diplomacy, the powerful associated monopolies, the bourgeoisie parliaments, the capitalist press and the church—all these share the responsibility for this war that has arisen out of the society they have nourished and protected, and for whose interests it is conducted.

"Workers! Exploited, outlawed, despised—when war broke out and you were wanted on the field of slaughter, you were addressed as brothers and comrades. Now, when militarism has crippled, mangled, crushed and destroyed you, the rulers demand that you shall surrender your interests, your goal, your ideal and, in a word, submit to a slavish subjection in the name of civic harmony. They would rob you of the possibility of expressing your ideas, your feelings, even your sufferings, and would deprive you of the power of pressing your demands or even of defending them. The press is muzzled, political rights and liberties are trodden under foot—military dictatorship rules today with an iron st.

"This condition, which threatens the entire future of Europe and of humanity, we can not and dare not longer face without action.

"For decades the Socialist proletariat has led the fight against militarism. With increasing apprehension its representatives occupied themselves at their national and international gatherings with the ever more threatening danger of war arising out of imperialism. At Stuttgart, Copenhagen and Basle international Socialist congresses

more and more obvious. This shows that its causes are inherent in the imperialistic and colonial policies of all the governments that bear the responsibility for causing this frightful shedding of blood.

"Through the "Civil Peace" declared by the beneficiaries of capitalism in all the warring countries the masses of the people were won over for this war which was made to appear to them as a racial struggle, a war for right and justice. Under the pressure of emotions this roused a great part of the organized and unenlightened workers in all countries was carried away by nationalism. Since then the press, dominated by those in power, has not ceased to emphasize the liberating character of this war.

"Now the chauvinists of every nation declare as the aim of the war: the conquest of whole countries or of parts of them. The realization of those objects would carry the germ of future wars.

"In opposition to those plans determined minorities have been formed in all nations endeavoring to fulfill the duties imposed by the international congresses of Stuttgart, Copenhagen and Basle upon the Socialists of all countries.

"It is their task, now more than ever, to oppose those striving for annexation and to accelerate the ending of this war that has already caused the loss of millions of human lives, created innumerable crippled and brought crushing distress to the workers of all countries. Therefore we German and French socialists and trade unionists declare:

"We most emphatically condemn the violation of Belgian neutrality solemnly guaranteed by international treaties of the warring states. We demand and will not cease to demand that Belgium be restored in its active integrity and independence.

"We declare that we want to end this war through an early peace that does no violence to any people or nation; that we will never assent to plans of conquest of our governments, such plans carrying within themselves inevitably the germs of new wars; that we, each in his country, will work for a peace that will assuage the hatred sown between the peoples and will make possible for them again the co-operation for work in common.

"In our judgment, such a peace can only be attained by absolutely giving up any idea of doing violence to any people. The occupation of whole countries or parts of countries must not lead to their forced annexation. No annexation, whether open or masked, nor any forced economic incorporation which would be made only more intolerable by deprivation of the peoples must be inviolably respected.

the indestructible foundation of the creation of national relations.

Proletarians! Since the outbreak of the war you have devoted your strength, your courage, your endurance to the service of the ruling class. The time has now come to stand forth for your own cause, for the sacred purpose of Socialism, for the liberation of oppressed peoples, for all subject classes, and for the irreconcilable, proletarian class struggle.

"It is the task and the duty of the Socialists of the warring countries to take up the full burden of this struggle. It is the task and the duty of the Socialists of all neutral countries to support with all their strength their brothers in this struggle against bloody barbarism.

"Never in the history of the world was there a more imperative, a higher or more sublime task than this, whose fulfillment must be our common work. No sacrifice is too great, no burden too heavy to bear in order to attain the goal of peace among the nations.

Workingmen and working women! Mothers and fathers! Widows and orphans! Wounded and cripples! All who have suffered from war or through war, we call to you over the frontiers, over the smoking slaughter fields, over devastated cities and villages: Proletarians of all nations, unite!"

In the name of the International Socialist Conference.

Signed:

For the German delegation, G. Ledebour, A. Hoffman.

For the French, A. Bourderon, A. Merrheim.

For the Italian, G. F. Modigliani, C. Lazzari.

For the Russian, N. Lenin, Paul Axelrode, M. Babroff.

For the Poles, St. Lapinski A. Warski, Cz. Hanecki.

For the Inter-Balkan Socialist Federation: Rumania C. Racowski; Bulgaria, W. Kolarow.

For the Swedes and Norwegians, Z. Høglund, Ture Nerman.

For the Dutch, H. Roland Holst.

For the Swiss, Robert Grimm, Charles Naine.

The Independent Labor party of England had declared itself in sympathy with the conference and had elected delegates, but the British Government refused to issue passports, and, therefore their names cannot be officially signed.

The work of united action was greatly facilitated by a preliminary heart to heart talk between the German and French delegation resulting in the following joint declaration:

"After a year of this devastating war its imperialistic character has become

have pointed the way that the proletariat must go.

"Socialist parties and labor organizations of various countries that had agreed on this way have since the beginning of the war disregarded the duties that followed from this agreement. Their representatives have called on labor to cease the class struggle, the only possible and effective means of proletarian emancipation.

"They have given their assent to the ruling class for the war credits, they have placed themselves at the disposal of governments for various services, they have through their press and their emissaries sought to win neutrals to their government policy of their countries, they have sent Socialist ministers into the governments as hostages to guard civil peace, and thereby they have, before the working class, for the present and the future, accepted responsibility for this war, its objects and its methods. And like the various individual parties, the official representative of the Socialists of all countries, the international Socialist bureau, has also failed.

"These facts have brought about a condition where the international working class that was not directly carried away by the national panic of the first days of war, or that has freed itself from that panic, has not yet been able, in the second year of the war, to find ways and means to bring their effective power into action for peace simultaneously in all countries.

"In this unendurable condition we, the representatives of Socialist parties, unions and minorities of these, we Germans, French, Italians Russians, Poles, Letts Rumanians Swedes, Norwegians, Dutch and Swiss, we who do not stand on the ground of national solidarity of the proletariat and the class struggle have come together in order to knit up the broken threads of international relations, and to call the working class for self-consciousness and to the struggle for peace.

"This struggle is the struggle for liberty, for fraternity and for Socialism. It is time to take up this battle for peace, and for a peace without annexations or war indemnities. Such a peace is only possible on condition of the condemnation of all violence against the rights and liberties of the peoples. Neither the possession of whole nations nor of separate sections of nations must be permitted to lead to forcible incorporation. No annexation, either open or masked, and no forcible economic union secured through any violation of political rights must be made. The right of self-determination of peoples must be

"We assume the explicit obligation to work ceaselessly in this sense, each in his own country, so that the peace movement may become strong enough to force our governments into ending this butchery.

"In denouncing the "Civil Peace" and remaining loyal to the class struggle that forms the basis for the erection of the socialist Internationale, we German

and French socialists and trade unionists stand steadfast with the countries of our peoples in the struggle against this terrible disaster and for the ending of the wholesale murder that dishonors humanity.

For the German participants: ADOLF HOFFMANN. GEORGE LEDEBOUR.

For the French participants: A. MERRHEIM. A. BOURDERON.

The Lettish S. D. P. to the German S. D. P. An Open Letter

COURLAND is occupied by German soldiers, cannons are roaring, and it is perhaps only a question of several weeks that the Baltic provinces will come under the dominion of the German army. With the victory of the German murderous guns, voices are heard in commanding circles of Germany demanding the annexation of the Baltic provinces in the interest of German imperialism at the same time putting forth the hypocritical phrase of "Liberation" of this territory from the Russian yoke. It is to be regretted that the fairy tale of "liberation" through the grace of Hindenburg finds an open ear among those German social-democrats that hope for liberty and democracy not from proletarian mass will and mass struggle but from the victory of the military power and the insight of the ruling classes. This compels us to issue the following declaration:

The Lettish population of Courland and Livonia does not want any "Liberation" through the German military power. The Lettish masses cherish no hate of the German people, but they fear justly that a possible annexation Germany would strengthen anew the shaken domination of the Baltic-German yunkers. The Baltic provinces are united with Russia economically and politically and any annexation would inflict heavy blows on the whole life of the country. But first of all: the class-conscious Lettish proletariat which has struggled for decades shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary Russian proletariat is firmly convinced of the inevitable victory of the Russian revolution and expects its freedom solely and exclusively from this victory, but never from the victory of the German (or the Russian) guns, Zeppelins and submarines. In the revolutionary year 1905, the great goal of the struggling Russian proletariat was the democratic republic, in the series of revolutionary demands aiming at the democratisation of the whole Russian empire the self-action of self-government of the several peoples within Russia was also called for. The Let-

tish social-democracy, supported by the unanimous will of the masses, proclaimed for the Baltic provinces: abolition of the yunker dominion at home and autonomy on the broadest democratic basis whereby, however, the Baltic provinces were to remain within the union of the Russian empire, the Lettish proletariat to struggle on in unison with the Russian proletariat for our democratic and socialistic goals. Our party still stands on the self-same ground.

Another thing is to be considered. The ultimate issue of the war is still in the dark and it is equally uncertain how the map of Europe will look after the peace treaty. Were it to come about, however, that the Baltic provinces were to come to the German empire then the peoples' right of self-government would be violated, for—we emphasize this again—the Lettish people do not want to hear of any annexation by Germany. We Lettish social-democrats by no means place our local interests higher than the total interest of the European proletariat; we feel ourselves free of any nationalism and we would continue our revolutionary mass struggle for our socialistic aims under German sovereignty as well as under that of Russia. But precisely in the interest of the whole European proletariat must we raise our voices and proclaim that the planned annexation of the Baltic provinces harbors the germs of future world wars. Annexation would create a new Alsace-Lorraine question in Eastern Europe, for as long as the present system of capitalistic large states continues the Russian empire could not give up its access to the Baltic sea. Anew there would be preparation for battles at present, anew the peoples would be sicked at each other until we would again have the ghastly wholesale killing in a novel yet much more terrible form.

The Lettish social-democratic workers, from the first day of the war, have taken this position: this war favors only the imperialistic interests of the capitalistic great powers; the pro-

letariat in this war has no "fatherland" to defend, its enemy being in its own country. The Lettish proletarians have made no "Burgfrieden," they have continued their economical political struggle and worked both on a legal as well as an illegal basis. First of all, they have protested against the war with all the means at their disposal and roused the masses of the people against Czarism and against the capitalistic rule of force. Thousands upon thousands of revolutionary leaflets against the war (in Lettish, Lithuanian and Russian languages) have been distributed by our party. It has carried its agitation against the war into the barracks, it has distributed its leaflets in military trains and even at the front. In spite of the state of war and martial law, in spite of state prisons and jails, our comrades have spared no sacrifices and feared no dangers in working for their revolutionary socialistic convictions, for the international solidarity of the proletariat.

The Lettish social-democracy did not become discouraged when the official German social-democracy, by the policy of August 4th, betrayed its international social-democratic principles and the whole socialist International broke down. (We condemn in the sharpest manner our Russian "Social-patriots," nor do we hold free from guilt the Chauvinistic leaders of the French, English and Belgian parties, but we don't forge that the leadership of the second International was in the hands of the German Social Democracy.) Together with Russian revolutionary fighting comrades the Lettish proletariat never doubted the re-birth of the new socialistic International, the ultimate victory of the proletariat, the coming social revolution. Even then when the German armed masses invaded our territory, when the whole country was devastated by Russian and German soldiers, when hundreds of thousands of refugees in want and misery filled all highways—even in that black hour the Lettish social-democracy clung to the causes of international proletarian solidarity. When the cannons were roaring through our land, when villages and homes were in flames, our party issued proclamations saying that the German workers could not be our enemies, that they were forced against their own will to take part in this horrible war, that the ruling capitalistic system bore the guilt of all this nameless misfortune.

Now our whole Courland (as well as Poland and Lithuania) lies wasted and depopulated—the official German social-democracy, however, votes for the war budget, for the continuation of the war, for further bloodshed, asserting that it was done for the defense of

their "fatherland." Through the occupation of the Baltic provinces the Lettish workers movement has been paralyzed, its organizations mostly destroyed, its struggle against the war and against Czarism interrupted—and we cannot pronounce the German party leaderships free from the charge that they have sanctioned that blow against the Lettish working class by their "national" policy. And yet, the Lettish social-democracy has struggled in the front ranks of the Russian proletariat; precisely during the war it inaugurated a far reaching revolutionary activity in close connection with the Russian organizations—and now the German organization has severed them from the army of the Russian revolutionary workers. Such is the "Liberation" which the official German social-democracy believes in bringing us through Hindenburg.

But in spite of all that—our party is struggling on. The thousands of organized Lettish comrades now spread all through Russia take from their homes along the parole: ever and everywhere to work and to struggle for the revolutionary mass problems of the proletariat, for the ending of the war, for the downfall of Czarism. Together with their Russian comrades they will accomplish their task; but they have a right to turn to the German working

class and to imagine: What have you done and what are you going to do to make an end of the terrible murdering of peoples and to re-erect the international proletarian solidarity anew?

We place no hopes upon the leading party authorities of the German Social-Democracy. But we still have confidence in the German working masses in whom the socialistic class-consciousness remained awake and we call out to them: Enter at once into the struggle for the ending of the war, proclaim with all means your mass will, repudiate your national "Burgfrieden," become fighters for the great and holy cause of the international proletariat! For in the present international situation only a mass action of the German proletariat can banish the nefarious nationalistic phantom that has captivated the socialist parties in most of the warring countries. It alone can disrupt the "national bloc" and bring about a similar movement in the other hostile countries, make an end of the war, and bring together the European proletariat under its former international banner. And only such a mass action of the German proletariat can wipe out the immeasurable guilt which the official German Social-Democracy has brought upon itself by its policy thus far.

The German System of Education

THE Association of German Teachers, which has 130,000 members and, as it says, is "the authorized representative of the teachers of Germany," has issued a statement which sums up in a few words the claims of the advocates of the German system of education:

"With none of our adversaries is public instruction so completely organized as it is in Germany. Nowhere else is the influence of education upon the youth between their departure from the school and their admission to the army so profound. Nowhere else is the preparation of the teachers for their duty so extended and so solid; nowhere else has the work of public education been so spontaneously effected or penetrated so deeply the consciousness of the people. All the states of the civilized world, our enemies included, have acknowledged this by sending their teachers to Germany for several decades to study the organization of the elementary school and the education of the German people. It is a foreigner who is the author of the saying that Germany is the land of schools and barracks. A national army which has passed through these schools is incapable of the acts of barbarity which have been imputed to it."

The new organ of progressive educators in America, "School and Society" opens its columns to Prof. Ernest C. Moore, of Harvard, to state the other side. Prof. Moore says that there is a test of education which is more compelling than the confidence of the schoolmasters, who direct it, or the people who receive it, more compelling than the praise and commendation of educational leaders in other lands.

That supreme and final test is "how it works":

"Nothing is clearer than that German education has not worked. It is useless to point to her organization and her preparedness, to her mechanical efficiency and the 'over-drilled' condition of the German mind. These things are themselves the proof of the failure of German education. The simple question, to what end is all this? reveals the completeness of that failure. Not only has it failed to meet the test which the German schoolmasters themselves propose forudging the rank and file, but it has failed lamentably in the person of the intellectual leaders of the nation. The world has been shocked and amazed at the illogicality and the moral obtuseness of the German professors who have taken their pens in hand to justify the German cause. Men

expected something different from world-famous scientists than failure to hunt for the facts, to sift the evidence, and to preserve a trace of judicial calm."

Prof. Moore acknowledges certain generally recognized superiorities of the German system. He then points to its inferiorities, relying upon German sources:

"Professor Wetekamp, in a volume published in 1910, speaks of overtraining in receptivity and a failure to train its pupils by self-activity to independent work as characteristic of the German schools. Turning to Price Collier's *Germany and the Germans*' we find him quoting the words of no less a person than the Imperial Chancellor, von Bethmann-Hollweg in the Reichstag on February 11, 1911:

"The fear that we may not be working along the right lines in the education of our youth is a cause of great anxiety to many people in Germany. We shall not solve this problem by shunning it."

"And speaking of what he had himself seen in the schools, Mr. Collier says:

"Practically the whole emphasis is laid upon drilling the mind."

"And again,

"I am an admirer of Germany and her emperor; with a distinct love of discipline and a bias in favor of military, and with an experience of actual warfare such as only a score or so of German officers of my generation have had; but I am bound to say that I found this pounding in of patriotism on every side distinctly nauseating."

Bred to submissiveness, tutored in receptivity, the German of today seems to have been reared to be the mouth-piece of official opinion. The bureaucracy controls, and the school-master and the school from the kindergarten to the university are weapons shaped for use by the dominant power of the state. Heuffer says:

"(A German university is nothing more or less than an institution for providing state officials of an orthodox turn of mind."

"These are harsh judgments, but the largest experiment which has been tried to a conclusion thus far in educational practice has reached the stage where these judgments are inevitable. The schoolmasters of Germany themselves have sought to justify the results by the education. But it is the education which must be measured by its results."

These views of Wetekamp and Collier are those expressed almost daily for many years in the German Socialist press.

Correspondence

Why Not Stop the War?

To the NEW REVIEW:

ARE the Socialists of this country also going crazy? I say "also" advisedly, as the Socialists of Europe during the past year have shown themselves unfit to handle the problem of the proletariat; and in Germany especially did they show the inglorious incompetency of power and parliamentarianism. In that nation of so-called Socialistic kultur and philosophy, the Socialists—except Karl Liebknecht and a few others—have been afflicted with the madness of Kaiserism and capitalistic patriotism. In one way, I do not blame the Socialists of other countries so much as the German parliamentarians, as Kaiser Wilhelm's army struck the first blow, and the other nations had to do something to resist the invasion of autocratic Kaiserism. In the light of historic events I would not call these German Socialists either Impossibilists or Opportunists. They are incapabilists.

Now comes Phillips Russell and in the September 1st NEW REVIEW asks the entirely superfluous question, "Why stop the war?"

As a sample of refined revolutionary logic we have the following:

"Revolutionary Socialists had no desire for this war; they opposed it until the last; but now that it is here and gives promise of continuing indefinitely they can afford to sit back and say: *Let the war go on!*"

Why and whenceforth, Mr. Russell? Until every mother's son of a revolutionary Socialist is killed off? Or until all those last moment Socialist oppositionists in the Reichstag who voted for war credits coming together as individual masses of molecular matter contact each other in the dreamless dust of democracy's silent dead?

Paraphrasing the words of the Russell paragraph:

"Every revolutionary Socialist is against the present capitalistic system of exploitation. Such have opposed it for several decades by tongue and pen. But since Capitalism is here and gives promise of continuing indefinitely, in the name of the *laissez faire* doctrine, let us have nothing to do with agitating against it or any of its horrible effects. *Let Capitalism go on!* It will soon die of its own rottenness. Socialism is the inevitable next step in social evolution; the economically-determined, religiously-predestined, God-ordained, Christ-phoehesied plan some time yet to be.

We as intellectual kulturists and believers in what is to be, will can afford to sit back and say, *Let Capitalism go on!*"

Even if it kills us, our companions, our mothers, our sisters, our sweethearts, our wives, our children and our children's children, let us be non-resistant, fold our hands and let our unsacred lives be blotted out in the solid error of a material metamorphosis.

In closing Mr. Russell says:

"We do not object to war because it is war, because it is horrible, or because it slays life. We object to war because we object to being used as pawns in the games of the world's ruling classes, because we object to dying simply that our masters may benefit, because we object to killing inoffensive men whose aims are or should be similar to our own."

But if human life is not sacred, why should we object to the termination of that which is not sacred and not of use to us, even though we are used as pawns in our masters' games? What difference do their games make to us when we are dead and buried? Then, again, following Mr. Russell's fallacious reasoning to its ultimate and logical conclusion, why should we try to stop war, for if we cease existence is not our death a benefit to us? We are dead; and in the dreamless silence of the peaceful dust the troubles, trials and tribulations of our earthly human life are over. Then, again, our battle-battered bones can provide fertilizer for crops and our bodily tissue can be reincarnated in plant life and food-products for the coming generation.

But having stated his objections, Mr. Russell finishes his anti-stoppage war article with an anti-climax paragraph:

"The war is on. Let it run to a finish."

Having told us that in war the working-people are used as pawns in their masters' games the workingmen of Europe, having followed the tactics of the parliamentarian "blind leaders of the blind" and been plunged into this war, they must continue to be used as pawns until there are no more pawns to use; and the beautiful Co-operative Commonwealth dream of the Socialist becomes as much a hot air proposition as the Christian's imaginary heaven.

Having objected to dying for the benefit of our masters, since such ben-

eficial destruction has come into existence and not only taken those who believed in it but those who did not, he says in the next breath let them continue to die for such master class; for, maybe, "when they have all cut each other's throats, whether they call themselves Socialists, Syndicalists, Anarchists, Democrats or Republicans, we shall grow a new generation of men whose minds will be rid of superstition and whose tongues will be free of hypocrisy."

Maybe we'll all go to heaven when we die! Maybe! Maybe all this will happen when we can gather figs from thistles and brains from poison-plants; and Nature changes her modes in the manifestations of her ways to suit our convenience and taste.

And if we take such throat-cutting in the order named, "Socialists, Syndicalists, Anarchists," etc., it will be the brainiest humans whose throats will be first cut, and then where will be the superstitionless men who are to come with tongues free from lies and hypocrisy?

I favor stopping this war as soon as possible, because to me, human life is sacred—and the longer the war lasts the worse will be the consequences.

Los Angeles, Cal. John A. Morris.

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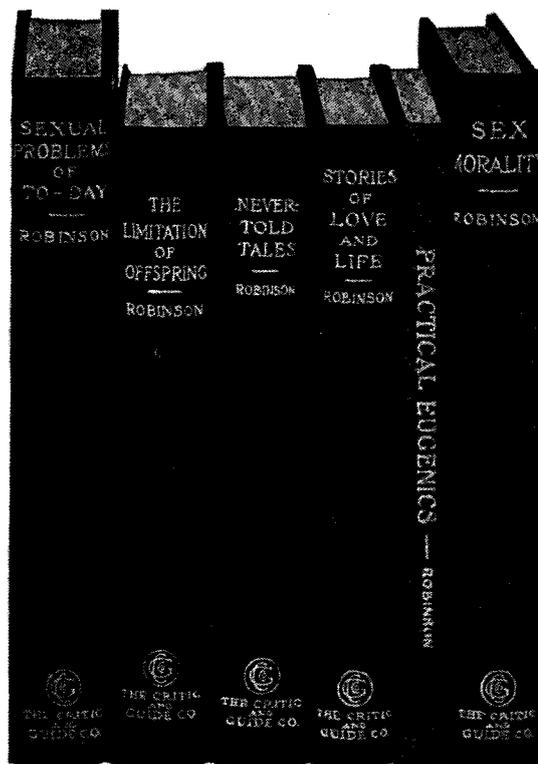
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