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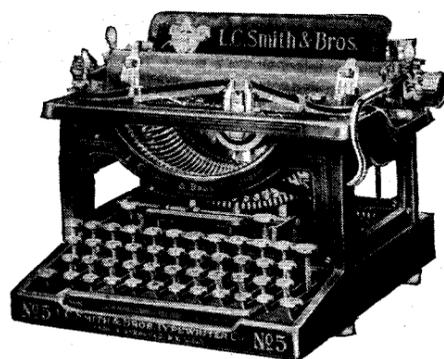
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NEW TACTICS AGAINST WAR BASIS OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL

BY ANTON PANNEKOEK

More than a conference of delegates from the Socialist parties of the neutral nations is needed to re-organize the International. Such a conference cannot even be an instrument for peace, for now that all the high-sounding resolutions of the Social-Democracy have become mere empty talk, no one feels any respect for its power.

Even if the leaders of all Socialist parties should meet when the war is over, fall about each others' necks and forgive each other their nationalist sins, their "International" would be nothing more than an International of Leaders for the protection of common interests. An International that obediently falls apart into opposing national armies when the Bourgeoisie demands war for the support of its interests is no real International of Labor. The International of the Proletariat is possible only when founded upon incessant opposition and increasing struggle against the ruling classes. The first condition for a real international policy of the Proletariat is the *tactic of the class-struggle*, the emphatic denial of all opportunism in inner politics.

But more than this we must take up the fight against war, not with resolutions but by doing everything in our power to prevent war. To prevent war the working-class needs mental power and material power. The creation of this power alone can make possible a re-organization of the International.

Mental power is necessary. As long as a ruling class can so influence their minds that the workers will take up arms against other nations, so long will it be impossible to prevent wars. As long as bourgeois theories and catchwords can sweep the workers into the tide of war and war-enthusiasm, so long will the ranks of the laboring class be disrupted again and again, so long will Social-

ism be a dream. One of these bourgeois catchwords is that of "Wars of Defense."

THE WAR OF DEFENSE

A number of American Socialists have expressed the opinion that the German Social Democrats were to blame for having failed to hinder the war; on the other hand they maintain that the French and Belgian comrades were absolutely justified in defending their country when it was attacked.

If this judgment, which fundamentally arises out of an already fixed attitude in favor of one nation and against the other, was right, then the German comrades would stand exonerated, along with those of France and Belgium. For in Germany every worker and every Social Democrat was absolutely convinced that his nation was in danger of invasion by the enemy. They believed, as firmly as did the French Socialists, that they were taking up arms only for defense.

Who was right? Who was wrong? First let us look at France. For more than twenty years France has been in a firm alliance with Russia. In 1902 came the understanding with England, the *Entente*, settling all old conflicts with England, France, choosing sides with England in the growing antagonism between England and Germany. By France we here mean the French government, the clique of politicians, controlled by High Finance, doing the bidding of the money-wolves, and controlling Parliament by a corrupt party machine. The people have just as little influence in France as in Germany or in England. Of these governments we speak when we discuss the conflicts and alliances of France, England, Germany and Russia. The objects of their conflicts are always foreign lands which they desire to control as colonies or as "spheres of influence," seeking tremendous profits for their own capital. The *Entente* of 1902, for instance, consisted merely of an understanding concerning Egypt and Morocco, France relinquishing its claims upon Egypt and turning it over to the English, who have occupied it since 1882; England, on the other hand, turning over Morocco to the French capitalists. But here a new claimant came to the front. Germany demanded the right to be heard. The English author Brailsford, whose book, *The War of Steel and Gold* (appearing shortly before the war) presents in its first part an excellent exposition of the economic foundations of Imperialism and modern politics, says:

"The German thesis was perfectly simple, and in principle defensible. It was that France and Britain had no right by an exclusive bargain to settle the fate of Morocco without consulting other Powers. The answer of the French and British press was more plausible than convincing. It was our case that as what we

call the 'trade' of Morocco is mainly in French and British hands, Germany was not in any real sense an interested party. The 'trade' of Morocco, if by that word is meant the exchange of European manufactured goods against the raw produce of its agriculture, is at best inconsiderable. No one would risk the lives of soldiers and the money of taxpayers for the sake of the Moroccan market. What matters in Morocco is *the wealth of its virgin mines*. This was an open field, and here Germany has as good or bad a claim as anyone else. A German firm, the Mannesmann Brothers, could indeed boast that it had obtained an exclusive concession to work all the mines of Morocco in return for money which it had lent to an embarrassed Sultan during its civil wars. That this was the real issue is proved by the terms which were more than once discussed between Paris and Berlin for the settlement of the dispute. A *détente* or provisional settlement of the dispute was concluded in 1910, which had only one clause—that German finance would share with French finance in the various undertakings and companies, which aimed at 'opening up' Morocco by ports, railways, mines and other public works. No effect was ever given to this undertaking, and German irritation at the delays of French diplomacy and French finance culminated in the despatch of the gunboat Panther to Agadir as a prelude to further 'conversations.' Had M. Caillaux remained in power we know, from the subsequent investigations before the Senate's Committee, how these conversations would have ended. They would have effected not merely an adjustment of French and German colonial interests, but a general understanding which would have covered the whole field of German-Franco relations. The points on which he had begun to negotiate were all economic, and chief among them was a proposal to put an end to the boycott by French finance of the Bagdad railway, and to admit German securities to quotation on the Paris exchange."

Like two hungry beasts that have both fastened their eyes upon the same prey, these governments watch and stealthily follow each other, growling and threatening, now ready to attack, now retreating—and then, when suddenly the whole pack springs up, jumping upon each others' backs, throttling and biting, shall the priest come and decide: this one here is to blame, he was the first to spring; the others are merely defending themselves? Among the servants of French capital it was Delcassé above all who strove, together with King Edward, to isolate Germany, to rivet more firmly the ring of its opponents, to loosen the bonds that bound it to its allies. Germany felt itself "penned in," was hindered on all sides in its efforts towards expansion of the *Entente* powers. This was true at the time of the Agadir crisis, when Lloyd George threatened in his Mansion House speech that England stood ready to place its armed strength at the disposal of France, and urged Germany to retreat. It is worthy of special notice that this threat, which might have precipitated war at that time, was agreed upon by three per-

sons only, Asquith, Grey and Lloyd George: that is, the English Parliamentary government! This autocratic attitude on the part of three English ministers is one of the causes of the present war: For it left with the German bourgeoisie the firm conviction that its enemies, in order to prevent the growth of Germany, had prepared to surround it with an ever increasing force, until the hour should come when they were ready to pounce upon it.

The immediate cause of the war came from the East. France was drawn in as an ally of Russia. This alliance chained it fast to Russia; we could speak of a French defense only if Russia as well had been forced to defend itself against a German attack. Was this the case? The first to attack was Austria, when it presented its ultimatum to Servia and declared war. Russia stood behind Servia and threatened Austria; Germany backed up Austria, and issued an ultimatum to Russia. Russia might have avoided a war by stopping its mobilization, Germany might have avoided it by bringing pressure to bear upon Austria. And should we say: "The real reason lies much further back; Russia mobilized because Germany had humiliated it in 1909; not Austria but Servia was the first aggressor, when it inspired the murder of the Austrian prince"—it but proves that a close examination of the question as to who was the aggressor, leads us into a tangled web of past quarrels and antagonisms. We come across Austria harrassing the Serbs striving for a large national state and export harbors; Austria aiming to extend its powers over the Balkans; imperialistic conflicts between Russia and Germany in Armenia.

The war of 1914 did not come because one nation attacked another voluntarily with malice aforethought; it came because at a certain degree of tension Russia and Germany both said to themselves: "If it must be, let it be now!" They grasped the opportunity. In the last days of July a fruitful attempt had been made to persuade Austria and Russia to come to terms in the Servian controversy; what prevented peace was the ultimatum issued by Germany—according to England; was the mobilization of Russia—according to Germany. In reality there is no way of distinguishing the aggressor from the defender; each one attacks and defends himself from the other. In this struggle for world-power any differentiation between "aggressive" and "defensive" wars is senseless.

Nevertheless this differentiation has played an important part in the Social Democratic movement. Repeatedly Socialists have declared openly that they were opposed to all war, but that they would defend their countries if attacked. Prominent party leaders like Bebel espoused this point of view. Kautsky opposed him in the convention of 1906 in Essen, calling attention to the fact that

the government can always make it appear its nation is attacked. How true this standpoint is, the war of 1870 with Bismarck's falsified message, as well as the present war, plainly show.

But this does not entirely dispose of the matter. This point of view is founded on the conception that wars are precipitated at will by the action of one's own or a foreign government. The position of the proletariat then should be: Down with the disturbers of peace! That may have been true at one time; but not to-day. War to-day is imperialistic war; the disturber is capitalistic development, capital hungry for world-power. They all want power, land, colonies. They threaten and are threatened by each other. None of them desired war voluntarily, knowingly, but they all knew that it was inevitable, and struck when chances were favorable. These circumstances make the war appear to every bourgeoisie, to every government, a war of defense. It was more than mere hypocritical attempts to deceive the people. It was a war *in defense of their world-power, their world-aims* against those of their competitors. Thus each felt that he was in the right, and went forth with all the energy and conviction he possessed to clear the track for the future. For the mass of the people the word defense has an *entirely different meaning*. Farmers and small citizens know nothing of world politics. When they are told, "The Russians threaten us, the Germans are attacking us," it means to them a defense of their peace and their livelihood. The catchword so many Socialists use, "Take part only in a war of defense," is the political translation of the old bourgeois and small farmer standpoint: "I will leave him alone who leaves me alone, but him who will disturb the peace of my home I shall strike upon the head."

So it was natural as well as necessary for the ruling class to make the war appear as a war of defense. This lie alone could make the mass of the people support war. The middle class and farmer elements came of their own accord, the Socialist party responded to the old formula that provides for participation in wars of defense. This formula at the present time serves only to make the workers willing to go to war for Imperialism. If in times to come wars are to be prevented by the action of the proletariat it will first be necessary that they become mentally free from bourgeois influence and middle class traditions. *A new International can be built up only upon one principle: "Down with all war, down with the war of defense!"*

ACTION AGAINST WAR

It is not enough for the workers to oppose war, every war, to refuse to be led astray by the cry of national defense. They must also have the power and the means to prevent war.

In the *International Socialist Review* for November a writer rightly condemns the European Socialists in no measured terms for having violated their duty as Socialists. He picks to pieces their flimsy arguments of "defense," "fatherland" and "culture." But when he comes to the question, "Could the Socialists have acted otherwise than they did? Could they have prevented the war?" his answer is: "A careful analysis of the facts proves that they could. It lay within their power. There was just one course they could have adopted. It was desperate. It was bloody, but it could have saved millions of lives. It was the only weapon that could have beaten down the murderous clash of militarism. *It was revolution!*"

This answer will fail to satisfy a great many readers. Furthermore, it will excuse the German Socialists in the eyes of a great many others. For there is not the slightest doubt that Germany, not to speak of the others, was not ready for a proletarian revolution. The number of those who oppose Socialists there is again as large as the number of those who cast Socialist votes. Even among the latter only a part would fight actively for Socialism. Behind the others stands the whole might of the nation. If Revolution were the only alternative, we should have to concede that the German Socialists, as well as the others, could not have acted differently, that they were forced to submit without opposition to the commands to war of the bourgeoisie.

But this conclusion is false. To make this clear let us first examine the meaning of the word "revolution." What seems in the distant horizon a single fine streak of color becomes, as we approach it a broad landscape with hills and valleys, full of variation. So a revolution, which in the distance looms up as one indivisible final goal, as one single, glowing deed, becomes as we approach it a whole historical period with peculiar characteristics, full of charges, of ascents and descents, of great events and deadening reverses. He who stands far from the goal in the midst of the first period of propaganda and rallying of forces, in the first period of the workers' awakening, is right when he points to the revolution as something in the distant future, as the signal for all great coming changes. There lies the mountain, the glowing summit, whose view inspires us with courage and patience as we painfully force our way through thicket and morass. But when the great masses have been organized and are filled with the spirit of Socialism, then Revolution ceases to be an ideal and becomes a practical question. The distant ideal becomes definite, difficult practice. *How shall we go on?* He who stands at the foot of the mountain still has the most difficult, the nearest way to go.

Now only can he see it plainly. This was, approximately, the position of the German working-class movement. To the comrades in other countries it seemed so large, so mighty, so strong, that they asked: Why do not the Germans make a Revolution? In reality they but stood at the foot of the mountain. In reality the German saw most clearly how difficult, how great a struggle still remained, how far off still was victory and Socialism.

Revolutions are not made; they grow out of deeds, movements, struggles, when circumstances have become ripe. This ripeness of conditions depends upon the existence of a revolutionary class internally so strong, possessing such great social power, that every struggle, every action, results in a victory. The great French Revolution, for instance, was a long chain of rebellions, of meetings of delegated bodies, of peaceful legislation and bloody wars. It was due to the strength and the stubborn self-confidence of the middle class that the beginning, the calling of the "Generalstannde" for the alleviation of the financial straits of its governments, culminated in the Revolution. Every courageous word, every bold deed, every bitter battle with the government aroused energy and enthusiasm in thousands and drew them into the struggle. Their determination forced the government to make concessions, but each new concession, each new attempt at suppression weakened the position of the government. The first representatives that met in 1789 had only modest aims; they hardly knew the strength of their own class. Only during the Revolution and through it, their strength and the strength of the middle class grew and with its power grew its demands. In 1848 we see similar developments. The immediate cause was a parliamentary conflict between the middle class opposition and the government. The prohibition of a public demonstration resulted in tumults, which fed by the deep dissatisfaction of the masses and the small bourgeoisie grew until the whole governmental system was overthrown. And if we look upon the Revolution in a still wider sense, as the conquest of power by the new class of the bourgeoisie, we see a process that lasted for hundreds of years, bitter class struggles alternating with periods of quiet growth of economic power.

The proletarian revolution, which is once more to place a new class into power, will also be a *long historical process*, though it may be completed in a comparatively much shorter time than the ascent of the bourgeoisie to power on account of the rapidity of economic development. This process divides naturally into a number of individual *revolutionary actions*, which alternate with periods of quiet, of peaceful organization and even of periodic collapse.

For a revolutionary action of this kind it is not necessary that the majority of the workers think as Socialists, that they must be willing to sacrifice all for the Socialist Revolution. Minorities can undertake such actions when they feel that the unthinking masses will sympathize with its aim and can be swept along by the force of the movement. Of course, the might of the proletariat, its organization and class-consciousness, must have reached a certain stage to engage in this revolutionary action. And by this action hopefulness, energy and proletarian class-consciousness, the solidarity of the masses, in short the strength of the proletariat, are strengthened so that they will be capable of undertaking still more difficult struggles. The aim of such an action is not the Revolution. These actions are undertaken to gain more *insignificant ends*, that may be termed *important reforms*. But the success of the struggle or perhaps the opposition which necessarily calls forth more energetic activity, will mean increased strength, courage, self-confidence. Aims will grow larger and higher as the scope of the struggle widens. The "Etats généraux" of 1789 thought neither of a republic nor of parliamentary government, the opposition of 1848 desired only more liberal Ministers. But the development of a feeling of power in the people carried them far beyond this original aim. To be sure, citadels may be won in such a storm that lie beyond the strength that has been gained, and may then be lost in a counter-revolution.

Reformists promise the workers that they can win improvements and reforms by uniting with capitalist parties and giving up the class-struggle, that these reforms will improve the condition of the workers, that they will receive constantly increasing rights and influence, so that the world will finally become quite an attractive place for them. Many Radicals speak of the final goal, the Revolution, for which we must strengthen our organization, so that we may, when the hour has struck, suddenly overthrow the rule of Capital by a gigantic rebellion. We maintain, on the other hand, that capitalist rule cannot be destroyed at one blow, that it will take a series of struggles, which, each in itself, will bring a partial gain in as much as the masses will force the ruling classes to give in. But each partial victory must be won by the revolutionary conflicts. In 1893 the Belgian Parliament, and in 1905 the Czar, were forced to give in to a mass strike. In Russia, in recent years, the workers were forced to fight for the most fundamental rights, for their organization and their press by the quiet means of collections and imprisonment, by the greater means of demonstrations and strikes. In America the workers fought for the right of organization and assemblage in a revolutionary manner, by sacrificing their own interests. They could not expect to

win these reforms by begging and the good will of the bourgeoisie. They did not say: "Why fight for such insignificant measures? We want the Revolution!" In Germany the struggle for popular suffrage in Prussia was begun five years ago with the revolutionary means of colossal street demonstrations, in spite of police prohibition. This movement has since come to a standstill because the leaders feared that the government would crush the organizations of the workers. Each one of these actions strengthened the power, the courage, the organization of the workers. Their discontinuance marks the beginning of the decline, was the precursor of the present downfall.

At the time of the bourgeois revolutions the decisive actions were civil war, as in England in 1646; armed rebellions, as in Paris in 1790; street battles and barricades, as in 1848. In the proletarian movement the method of armed conflict played a part only in the earliest period, when the Army was still small, technique primitive, cities small and the people middle class in character. To-day we are in a period of gigantic armies and compulsory military service, centralized governments, gigantic cities with millions of working-people;—and other methods prevail. The pressure the masses are now able to exert by demonstrating in the streets and expressing their wishes in spite of policemen's clubs, is a warning to the government; the readiness to sacrifice is the measure of their determination. More effective still is the mass strike, when the proletariat uses its power over production to cripple the whole industrial life of the nation; no government can rule for any length of time against the determined resistance of the masses.

These mass actions are the revolutionary method of the modern proletariat. They are only possible when the numbers, the readiness to fight, the solidarity, and the understanding of the proletariat has reached a high level. But, on the other hand, they awaken these qualities in no small degree, they attract new fighters who have stood aside, they increase their courage, their knowledge, their solidarity.

Instead of a single Revolution we find a series of revolutionary actions, which run through the whole historical period in which the proletariat is fighting for supremacy. Each of these actions has a concrete aim, which is not the whole Revolution and consequently can be granted by the ruling class if forced to it by necessity. Each of these struggles, each of these actions, increases the strength of the proletariat. Each one helps to build the foundation of its supremacy, and undermines a little the power of the ruling class. When, at last, the power of the proletariat has been completely built up, when its organization, its power and its solidarity, its

class-consciousness and social understanding have reached the highest point, when at the same time the moral standing, the authority, the strength and the physical force of the government have broken down, then the class rule of capitalism will crumble like an empty shell. The Revolution will be accomplished.

If we ask again: could the German proletariat have done anything against the war—because it was strongest in organization and knowledge—the answer is *yes*. It could not have made a Revolution, but it could have used *revolutionary action*. It might have exerted an extraordinary pressure upon the government by calling mass demonstrations and mass-strikes in the week before the war broke out, had it been determined to combat war with all its might.

We know that the conditions were not ripe for such a struggle. There were great Socialist masses and strong organizations—such as will be necessary in other countries as well—but they did not know how to act on their own initiative, the leaders feared that a struggle would mean the destruction of the organization. The movement was not prepared for the use of revolutionary tactics—and mass action. But this war will not be the last one.

In a few decades we may be facing a new and greater world-war. Then the proletariat of Europe and America will again face the question: How can we prevent this war? Then we must not beg the question as we did in Basel in 1912. Then the International of Labor must know that it must oppose the war spirit of the ruling classes in all nations with the revolutionary mass action of organizations and a Socialist working-class, lest it be again torn and crushed in the turmoil.

The determination to adopt a revolutionary tactic against war must be the foundation of the new International!

LIGHT AND SHADE OF THE GREAT WAR

BY H. M. HYNDMAN

In accepting the invitation of the Editors of the *NEW REVIEW* to put my views on the European situation before its readers, I think I may reasonably take a few points for granted:—

1. That this great war is not a capitalist war, or a war desired by capitalists as a class in any country.

2. That the war is due to the action of the last hereditary militarist caste left in the world, the Prussian Junkers, who have dragged their country into a campaign of aggression, long and most assiduously prepared for, in order to maintain their own ascendancy over Germany and obtain control over Europe.

3. That Great Britain was unprepared for war and did her utmost to maintain peace.

4. That the attack upon Belgium and the declared intention of Germany to crush France and after France Great Britain inevitably forced Great Britain into war.

5. That Germany as a military power will be finally overwhelmed by the combination she has wantonly raised against her.

6. That Belgium and France at least must be compensated by Germany, so far as is possible, for the hideous wrongs done them.

7. That, subject to such indemnities, to the return of German conquered provinces (as may be desired by their inhabitants) either to their former rulers or to self-government, and the security against another outbreak of megalomania at the expense of her neighbors, Germany must be left quite free to manage her own affairs in her own way. So far as Great Britain is concerned, there is none of the hatred of Germany which Germans so vehemently express against England.*

I believe that is the state of the case to-day and will be for the next few months. What may happen, should the war drag on, and Russia, with millions of victorious troops, hold a dominating position on the continent of Europe, I do not pretend to say.

It is no satisfaction whatever to me that my blackest forecasts

* I assume that the English White Book, the French Yellow Book, and the disclosures of Messrs. Salandra & Giolitti are well known in America; as well as the official reports on the German atrocities in Belgium and the proclamations of the German generals. These prove that the Germans not only forced on the war, but that they have conducted it in most ruthless and barbarous fashion on the territory of a small neutral power. I remember the Franco-German war of 1870-71 very well. Harsh as were the measures then taken by the Germans against the French, in conquered provinces, particularly by General von Goeben in the north, there was nothing at all comparable then to the frightful conduct of their troops in the present campaign.

and predictions, as to the desperate intentions of Germany, have been realized. Very much the contrary. But I do regret that, owing to the credulity of my countrymen with respect to German plans, and the ignorant pacifism of many Radicals, Laborists and Socialists, England did not make ready for war by land and by sea and thus preserve peace. Had Germany known that England and the British Empire would go to war to avenge the violated neutrality of Belgium and to safeguard her own interests, there would have been no war at all. Germany was misled as to the real situation and the feelings of the mass of the people in this island, in Ireland and in our Colonies. What is more, up to the very moment of our declaration of war, so was the British Government; and France, on that account, was left quite in doubt as to our intentions. Russia, as Mr. Sazonoff's despatches clearly show, experienced similar uncertainty as to the policy of England.

This war of ours is, nevertheless, a people's war. The manifestos of practically all the working-class organizations in Great Britain, the appearance of the Labor leaders on public platforms as recruiting agents, and the march to the colors of a formidable array of trade unionists, who were earning good wages, prove this beyond dispute. The unions alone have sent between 150,000 and 200,000 men to take part in the fray. These men have assuredly not been forced into the ranks by severe poverty. They have gone forward, as they believe, to fight the fight of liberty against despotism, of peace and fair play against treacherous brutality. As a Social-Democrat I marvel that men so plucky and so determined as they are showing themselves to be have not long since decided to fight a far greater fight against the tyranny of capital here at home. But disappointing as this may be, we have to look at things as they are, and, to my mind, the miners and other trade unionists, taking the present momentous issue by itself, have chosen the better part. They have decided, that is to say, that humanity and the world at large would fare worse if Germany and Austria should win in this terrible struggle than if the Allies should be victorious. They would probably come to the same conclusion and would go forth to fight on the same side if they were all of them to-day class-conscious Socialists. For the success of Prussianised Militarist Germany would set back democracy as well as Social-Democracy in Europe for fully fifty years.

"Force is the midwife of progress," said Marx, "delivering the old society pregnant with the new." But force, as history too sadly tells us, is also the abortionist of reaction, strangling the new society in the womb of the old. The force of militarist Germany is the social abortionist of to-day. Destroy it before it can accomplish its hideous task!

But there is a seamy side to all this patriotic enthusiasm for Great Britain, France and Belgium on the part of English workmen. Undoubtedly, the strengthening of the British army up to more than 2,000,000 of men strengthens at the same time the dominant class which provides the officers and controls this huge power. This is dangerous. I see the danger as clearly as any man. For that reason I have advocated and agitated for a genuine, democratic Citizen Army on a modification of the Swiss form since the early '70s. I learnt it from old Mazzini. "All soldiers and not one paid man—*tutti soldati e nessun soldato*." All soldiers and all citizens, as we should say, retaining their own weapons and choosing their own officers, and subject to the civil law. That would make our people masters of this country, which is not now theirs by any means. There is still time for us to proceed on these lines. If we do not, a military dictatorship after the war is by no means an impossibility.

Meanwhile, Social-Democracy is gaining ground since the war as fast as it can gain ground among such an uneducated population as ours. I am a member of the National Workers (War Emergency) Committee which represents some 4,500,000 men and not far short of twenty millions of people, including women and children. All the trade unions and Socialist bodies of Great Britain have members on this committee. From the very first, measures were adopted and pushed to the front which the old S. D. F., and the recently-formed British Socialist Party, which grew out of it, have striven for in vain since 1882. Our worst opponents have been the apathetic trade union leaders and the Labor Party in Parliament. Now we are able to act with them and they with us on this committee in favor of palliatives of capitalist anarchy which are most certainly stepping-stones to a complete Social-Democratic transformation. That does not by any means satisfy me; but the thing does move and the government itself is being compelled to help it to move by adopting in war collectivist methods derided in peace.

I say what we are doing does not satisfy me. How can it, in view of what I see around me and the indifference of the workers to their own position as wage-slaves? In spite of all the work some of us have done there is no revolutionary feeling as yet among the great body of the workers. They are content with so little! How true is it, also, that the very poor never bestir themselves! There is no revolution to be brought about by or through them. Those who need most demand least. Even if Acts of Parliament decree important ameliorations of their condition, the poorest of the poor remain apathetic and the administration of the Acts continues in

the hands of those who are directly interested in maintaining the old abuses.

At this present time we have in Great Britain fully 12,000,000 of people who never obtain sufficient wages in their families to keep up a standard of life high enough to save them from physical, moral and mental deterioration. And the rise in the price of necessities of existence is in effect lowering even this miserable standard. There are at least 6,000,000 more whose condition is one of permanent uncertainty, standing on the brink of the same miserable poverty.

We have the largest and most horrible slum areas known to the civilized world. No effective means whatever are being taken to improve this desperate state of things.

Our popular education is quite contemptible and the governing classes are determined it shall not be changed for the better. Even if it were and social surroundings remained as they are, there would be little improvement in the intelligence or conduct of the very poor.

When we ask for the means to put an end to these horrors of peace and to create wholesome and pleasant surroundings for our people, we are asked "Where is the money to come from?" The Chancellor of the Exchequer, who poses as "a friend of the people," while he hugely increases their taxation, refuses any help from the national resources.

Yet £350,000,000 (\$1,750,000,000) have just been raised for this great war; and the Government has pledged the national credit to the extent of tens of millions more in order to save the leading private commercial firms and the great Joint Stock Banks from bankruptcy.

Consequently, though I recognize that the war was and is inevitable, and I eagerly desire the triumph of the Allies, I cannot shut my eyes to the truth that in this matter defeated Germany may be more fortunate than victorious Great Britain, unless the workers learn during the war how to put the fear of man in the hearts of their capitalist enemies in peace. For the defeat of the sinister German-Austrian plot may have as good results for both Empires as the defeat of Napoleon III had for France in 1870-71. The reactionary dynasties of Hohenzollern and Hapsburg even now hang by a thread: later they may hang by a rope. In Germany, notwithstanding the deplorable mistakes of their leaders, Social-Democrats will then be the only organized party capable of putting the industrial and political position of the country on a sound basis. And the wholesale military disaster which seems now inevitable can scarcely fail to help on the emancipation of the German people.

In Great Britain, on the other hand, the decay of the House of

Commons, the breakdown of the old capitalist Party system, the growing distrust of the Caucus Cabinet, and the lack of any powerful Socialist section, in or out of Parliament, render the outlook very gloomy, in spite of the favorable symptoms to which I have referred.

AGAINST THE "ARMED NATION" OR "CITIZEN ARMY"

BY F. M. WIBAUT

[F. M. Wibaut is one of the best-known writers among the Socialists of Holland. We italicise the most significant passages of his article which we reproduce in the following translation.]

Our hope must be that the Social Democrats of the countries at war—of Germany and France to name the two countries where the Socialist Party is strongest—will find themselves, when they come out of this war, in a much lesser degree under the power of the nationalist influences than when they went into it.

There is good ground for this hope. The horrors of this war, undreamed of even by our most fantastic novelists, cannot be without effect. They must tell the proletariat, if not the governing classes, that humanity cannot any longer stand wars as they have come to be. The result of this war must tell the proletariat of all countries that *nationalism in its consequences, now experienced, renders impossible the establishment of international co-operation in effective production of necessities for decent life.*

If at the end of the war the Social Democrats of the countries at war, and those of the countries which remained neutral, recognize these results of nationalism, they will unite their efforts in making the terms of peace *the starting point* of the abandonment of national armaments. The next peace will be nothing more than an armistice, if it does not *prepare the way* to the abandonment of arms.

It is on this basis that the Social Democrats of all countries will have to join at the end of this war. *The question is not whether they will be strong enough to enforce this basis of peace upon the peacemaking countries. The question is whether they will realize that this basis is essential for the development of international Social Democracy.*

The European war has not found the proletariat sufficiently strong to prevent it. But it has taught us the lesson—a cruel lesson it is—that wars cannot be prevented if they have come near at hand. The lesson is, that wars must be forestalled by preventing

preparation for them, by directing all the force of the proletariat against national armaments.

The Socialist action against militarism has, in some countries on the European continent, taken the form of advocating the "armed nation" [the so-called Swiss "militia" or "citizen army" system.—EDS.] as an alternative to standing armies in the service of the governing classes. The present war puts the question, whether this form of fighting the militarist system should be continued and generally adopted.

The present war is a "war of machines." It is many times more murderous than previous wars, but it kills in accordance with the rules of technical science. This development of warfare throws new light on the system of the "armed nation."

The "armed nation" now and henceforth means a nation equipped with all the war machinery human spirit has invented for the destruction of mankind—mankind on the other side of the frontier.

It will thus become a point of discussion between Socialists, whether the plan of the "armed nation" to fight militarism may still hold good. We have personally little doubt that the issue of such discussion will lead to the giving up of the plan of the "armed nation" and the adoption of the position of antagonism to all systems of national armaments.

We do not mean to attempt to establish new tactics for international Social Democracy in a few lines. But we think it is clear that the position international Social Democracy finds itself in at present cannot be explained without admitting that *nationalism has been shown to have still a strong grasp on the very large majority of the various national populations, including Social Democrats.*

It does not seem likely that the adoption of a somewhat different method in the preparation of national armaments, the method where the machinery of war would still be the same, but where only the drilling of the army and its conduct would be on opposite lines to that of standing armies, *would do away with the effect of all national armaments—the effect of opposing one nation against the other. It seems more likely that the "war against war" must be effectively carried on by fighting all systems of national armament.*

We will not have achieved Socialism by preventing wars arising from nationalistic competition for new markets for industrial products, or the competition in opening new countries for capitalist exploitism. *But the modern development of capitalism shows that the achievement of its aims does no longer necessitate wars between the competing countries.*

The huge organization of capitalists of various countries have

well started *international combination* and have thereby achieved in several instances—in Morocco, Asia Minor, China and South America—the same extension of capitalist exploitation which *war-faring imperialism could have obtained.*

These instances show that while admitting the imperialist tendencies which result from capitalism, war between industrial nations is no longer inevitable. The fact of this modern development will give strength to the Socialist action, if the Socialists take a firm position against all systems of national armaments.

The terms of peace, therefore, must be based upon the abandonment of armaments. This is the end at which international Social Democracy must aim.

THE REMEDY: ANTI-NATIONALISM

BY WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

The National Executive Committee of the American Socialist Party has issued a statement that professes to define the Socialist position on war and peace. And it must be admitted that it has accurately stated the attitude of the ruling majorities of most of the world's Socialist parties *before* the present war—the very attitude that led to their moral collapse in several countries. In other words, this declaration of the American Party Executive is a stand-pat statement. The Socialists, we see, are like the Bourbons. They learn nothing and they forget nothing, not even from a colossal event like the present war.

We may divide this stand-pat declaration into two parts: bourgeois anti-imperialism and bourgeois pacifism. The underlying cause of war, we are told, is—"imperialism." The chief remedy for war is—"disarmament," democracy, and government ownership. Contrast with this view the clear and simple revolutionary position, familiar to every genuine Socialist since the day of Karl Marx, which declares that the cause of wars between nations is—nationalism, and the remedy for wars is—internationalism. Nationalism, in this view, is nothing more nor less than the economic conflict of interests between nations; and internationalism can arise only in proportion as national economic interests become overshadowed by international economic interests.

And why has this revolutionary view been dropped? Chiefly because the ruling majorities in the world's Socialist parties have yielded to nationalism, for the purpose of gaining votes, and, like Morris Hillquit, have even declared definitely for nationalism. But also because they have yielded to bourgeois politics all along the

line and have taken the bourgeois view of all other public questions. The opportunists of the Socialist right wing have done this deliberately, the dried-up dogmatists and party-hacks of the center have done it only half consciously or sub-consciously. Germany gives the best example of this gradual abandonment of Socialism, but several other countries show an identical progress.

Let us take anti-imperialism first. When Bryan began his anti-imperialist movement in this country fifteen years ago the revolutionists dominated in the Socialist Party and laughed this issue down. The United States had and still has no empire of any moment, yet we have had our full share of nationalists and not a few militarists ever since the Spanish-American War. Australia has no Empire of its own and cares little for the British Empire, but Australia is arming to the teeth. Canada is not imperialistic. What is the cause of the militarism of these countries then? Just this. They want to erect economic Chinese walls to prevent the natural tendency of industrial evolution towards internationalism. They want to keep out the working people and the products of the working people of other nations. Whether these other nations are democratic or collectivist and whether they themselves are democratic and collectivist makes not the slightest difference whatever. In fact, Australia, in the hands of its Labor Party, is already democratic and is quite far on the road to collectivism. Yet the Labor Party was brought into power on September 5th largely because it could prove it was even more nationalistic and militaristic than the anti-Labor combination.

In fact nationalism is developing in exact proportion with the advance of collectivism and democracy and with the decay of imperialism and capitalist rule. For what does the tendency towards democratic collectivism mean? It means that the day is gradually but rapidly approaching in several countries when a majority of the population will be admitted to the privileged classes. This majority will then be able to say: we, the majority, now control the government, and through the government we control the larger part of industry. We are, as it were, shareholders in the great governmental enterprises, railways, steamships, and nationalized "trusts." Therefore it is to our interest that the government steamships should make profits at the expense of the steamships of the British and German governments and that "our" steel mills should get business away from theirs. Even to-day, as Arthur Brisbane has pointed out, "the trusts are making their nests in people's pocketbooks" through the investment of insurance companies, savings banks, etc., in corporation securities. Even to-day the capitalist interests of each nation are making their nests in the people's pocketbooks,

and when a home trust competes some foreign trust into bankruptcy, our skilled workers, mental and manual, are given an additional lot of lucrative jobs. How much stronger this competition between nations will become when many of these interests are directly owned by "our" then democratically controlled government!

The Empires, on the other hand, are controlled by capitalists who are already largely international. As Kautsky pointed out, a few weeks ago, the interests of the great Empires are gradually driving them into combination, just as industrial competitors were driven together to form the trusts. And he shows that after the present war we may have a combination of Empires, an ultra-imperialism, that will be in every way worse than the present imperialism—except that it will no longer make for war at all. Imperialism, in other words, has been *one* of the causes of the present war, but it is not essentially war-like. It is essentially a system of exploitation of backward peoples.

This imperialism, whether militarist or pacifist, has found a reliable support in the working-classes. Take Great Britain, for example. There is a pacifist group among the Socialists, but it is also in favor of keeping the British Empire intact. The government is attacked because of the character of its rule in India. But British rule in India is not attacked. J. R. MacDonald and Keir Hardie are imperialists, who believed that the Empire could be preserved without war. Hardie, in his book on India, refers to that country as "the brightest jewel in the British crown" and spurns the suggestion that the Hindus are so wicked or unintelligent as to be disloyal to the British Empire; while MacDonald doubts if some of the native races will *ever* be fit for the white man's democracy.

Otto Bauer, of Austria, who was chosen by the International to report on Imperialism at the Vienna Congress, is the author of a book on "Imperialismus und die Nationalitaetenfrage," and is the leading Socialist authority on the subject. Bauer points out that the division of the world into economic units, each consisting of one nation, necessarily leads to economic conflicts of interest between these nations—including a conflict of *immediate* economic interest between the peoples also. He points out that this conflict will continue and the danger of war will continue as long as the world is thus divided into competing nations. *In other words, production must not be nationalized, it must be internationalized.* And to this truth we may add a second. *As long as production is nationalized more rapidly than it is internationalized wars will increase in frequency and intensity because of the nationalization.*

Thus imperialism is neither the sole cause nor the chief cause of war. Nor is imperialism an essential feature of capitalism as

the Party Executive contends. The theory of the Party Executive is that there is necessarily a large surplus of goods under capitalism which is to be exported or the whole system will collapse. In the last number of the NEW REVIEW Hourwich has shown that exports—except exchanges among the large nations themselves—are a relatively small feature of our national economics. Moreover, it is perfectly possible for the capitalist classes to consume whatever surplus there may be in the form of luxuries—or in wars, as Veblen has so amply demonstrated, in his "Theory of Business Enterprise."

The chief feature of imperialism is not exports but investments in backward countries, which bring in ten times as much in interest as the exports give in profits. And the purpose of the investor is like that of the railway; he wants to develop the backward country more and more, in order to exploit it more and more. Thus he not only "loves" his own country (because he gets so much out of it) but he is also a strong admirer and friend of the backward country where his money lies—from "a lively sense of favors to come." He is thus actually, to some degree, an internationalist.

The nationalist, on the other hand, be he small capitalist or wage-earner, does not want American, British, German or French capital, as the case may be, to leave the country. Russia, China, and India, he argues, are backward; let them stay backward. Let our money not go to them and let them not come in person to us. But let us force our goods on them. Let capital stay at home, and let the surplus product be not consumed in luxuries, but let us develop our exports—at the same time forbidding the backward countries to send the products of their cheap labor to us. *Here is the attitude of the overwhelming majority of the workers of the world. Guided by their immediate economic interests, they are and will remain nationalists, while the great financial interests (the so-called imperialists) are largely internationalist. The economic nationalism of the workers and of the small capitalists, and not the imperialism of the large capitalists, is the chief cause of the present war and is likely to be the sole cause of the next war.* For in exact proportion as the nationalist democracies secure control of governments and use these governments to control industry, they will replace the semi-international and semi-pacifist policy of the large capitalists by militarism and nationalism. (I showed this tendency of the small capitalist and labor union parties, including the German Social Democracy, in my last book, over a year ago.)

What is the remedy? Not mere bourgeois pacifism, not mere disarmament. If the nations are disarmed, as some critic has pointed out, the next war will be fought with sticks or fists. It will be no less violent and bloody and more protracted. To do away

with armaments is merely to treat the symptom and not the disease.

We must internationalize production. And this cannot be done in a day. Humanity must become *economically* united, and it will become united in every other way. Marxism—and all political economy—has shown that the tendency of industrial evolution is in that direction. But it has been impeded by artificial nationalist barriers to the free movement of capital, goods, and men. *If it were not for these barriers the world would already be so welded together economically that war would be impossible.* They could be removed by reciprocal arrangements within a single decade, and within a decade more war would have become a thing of the past, and the nations would be well on the way to fusion, first into groups and then into a world federation. It was the North German Customs Union and not the Franco-Prussian War brought about the unity of the German Empire. If, as a remedy for the immense economic losses of this war a series of reciprocity treaties are enacted for the countries of Continental Europe, or a large part of them, this will be a long step towards that United States of Europe which Berger and so many other Socialists have predicted should result from this war.

The Executive Committee of the American Socialist Party also hopes to see a development in this direction. But what is its plan? Economic nationalism and commercial warfare are to be left intact while a sort of an armed league of peace is to be established, an "international police force." This is the favorite bourgeois remedy endorsed by President Roosevelt, Dr. Eliot of Harvard and other bourgeois militarists and pacifists—just because it leaves economic nationalism, the cause of wars, untouched. Nor can this omission be a mere oversight, for international tariff reciprocity was urged as the leading remedy against war by Karl Kautsky in the *Neue Zeit* early in August. Perhaps our anti-Asiatic Executive Committee fears that such a step would lead to the demand for another step—towards the international regulation of the immigration question?

An "international police force" is not only bourgeois, it is *reactionary*, and so is not favored by Kautsky and other Continental Socialists. At the International Congress at Basel in 1912 the Socialists *unanimously* declared that a European war would and should lead to revolutions. And even our bourgeois radicals realize that the only hope for Russia and Germany and Austria lies in revolution. What chance would there be for revolutions in Russia, Germany and Austria for the establishment of that democracy which the Executive claims will alone ensure peace, and which is certainly necessary as a basis for Socialism, if we had an "interna-

tional police force"? This is doubtless the reason why we have not heard one word, since the war, about a German revolution from our Socialist leaders, either here or in Switzerland, Holland, Russia, Scandinavia—the countries that follow the lead of Germany's nationalist majority.

Yet is there any other hope for progress against nationalism? And is there any doubt that nationalism spells militarism?

The only internationalism in the declaration of the Party Executive is the verbal statement that it still favors "internationalism" and opposes "nationalism"—unless we except the proposed international ownership and control of the great inter-oceanic canals. This is a step in the right direction. But it is only in proportion as the carrying-trade of the world and the production of the world are also internationalized that the economic wars and military wars of the peoples will cease.

As long as we can say, as Hillquit complacently says, that "sometimes" the "economic interests of each nation are harmonious and entire" as against other nations (Socialism—Promise or Menace, p. 92) wars will be with us. And the conversion of each country to bourgeois pacifism, anti-imperialism, and the whole programme of the National Executive Committee will be utterly futile.

But we can hope nothing whatever from this body. For the anti-Asiatic policy is popular among our workers to-day. And as long as this is the case they will never adopt that *anti-nationalist* policy which alone expresses Socialism in international politics.

"Internationalism" is good, if understood in its true meaning. But the trouble is that the Socialist Parties in their present degeneration have evolved the clever idea that "internationalism" is not opposed to nationalism.

Let us remember that the German Party also declared that it advocated internationalism—in so far as it did not interfere with nationalism. In the words of The New York *Volkszeitung*:

"An International of Labor can be built up again and can survive unshaken through the trials of war *only if the national illusion is once and for all thrown upon the dung-heap.*

"The old maxim, according to which internationalism does not exclude patriotism, but pre-supposes it, has been proven by the hard test of reality to be untrue. Patriotism is nationalism, is to emphasize and prefer the interests of one's own country, is the opposite of internationalism.

"The reconstruction of the International can succeed only if the Comrades are always and everywhere clear that this is a world-movement on the portals of which it is written:

"Entrance is forbidden to the nationalist-minded."

To carry out this international policy we must exclude from the American Party first of all our delegate to the International Socialist Bureau and the International Peace Conference. For never has there been a more definite, a more complete profession of nationalism as against internationalism than in Hillquit's speech at Cooper Union on November 19th in which he said:

"National feeling stands for existence primarily, for the chance to earn a livelihood. It stands for everything that we hold dear,—home, language, family, and friends. The workman has a country as well as a class. Even before he has a class."

We cannot define Socialist internationalism better than exactly to reverse this statement, as follows:

Class feeling stands for existence primarily, for the chance to earn a livelihood. It stands for everything we hold dear,—home, family, and friends. The workman has a class as well as a country. Even before he has a country.

A DEFENSE OF THE GERMAN SOCIALISTS

BY THOMAS C. HALL, D.D.

The war in Europe breaks in upon many visions of both the Christian and the Socialist. And immediately the question rises, did German Socialists give up their international character; surrender their doctrine of the class struggle, and their vision of a Democratic State, when they joined hands with feudalism and the bourgeoisie in defense of their particular country? To answer this question we must try and look at the war as it appeared to the German Socialists in the beginning of the struggle.

No Socialist is committed to any doctrine of absolute non-resistance. Karl Marx would have gladly embroiled Germany in a war with Russia when Russia was struggling with her autocracy, in order to free Russia from that feudal tyranny. And to-day, as Socialism has no such following as would enable co-operation among Socialists to paralyze the military machinery of *all* the struggling nations, a passive revolt in Germany when the war broke out would simply have resulted, so far as successful, in the land being overrun by Russia's Cossacks. To the last the German Socialists raised their voices against all war, and a strong minority blamed the bad diplomacy that, they claimed, bound them to Austria without power to efficiently control the conduct of Austria. Dr. Liebknecht is understood to still take that position; but for them

the real enemy was Russia. No party in Germany did really desire war at this time. Germany's alliances were in bad working order, and from the naval point of view enough ships were not ready (they never are!). It is safe to say, we repeat, that for one reason or another, some good, some less so, *no political party in Germany wanted war at this time.*

What then happened? It was the irresistible proof of the intentions of the Russian oligarchy that decided every German Socialist to a man to support the Emperor until war was over. They surrendered not one of their principles, proclaiming them to the last; but simply saying as over against the triumph of a brutal, individualistic Asiatic oligarchy, the Social organization of Germany cannot be sacrificed. Social Democracy has no quarrel with the Russia of Tolstoy or with the Russian peasantry. But the Jew baiting, dishonest and corrupt oligarchy that holds down every honest aspiration for religious and political freedom and does it in the name of an alleged Christian Church, is the worst enemy that the Russian people have, and the triumph of the "Allies" would be the salvation of the Autocracy from the revolution otherwise inevitable.

Nor has the entry of England into the war done aught but confirm the wisdom of this action. England openly fights Germany, according to the really national defenders of her policy, on the ground of capitalistic terror of a commercial competitor. The hypocritical pretences about Belgian neutrality is merely "Colonial dope," as it is called in London clubs. Bernard Shaw and others should clear our minds once and for all of that cant. And the fact that two days before Belgian neutrality was violated the French ambassador was promised protection while the fleet of France "concentrated in the Mediterranean," could make her dispositions against Austria, had already committed England to war. (English White Book, Document 148.) England's action was not the defense of "freedom and democracy," but the continuance of her capitalistic ambition to secure a monopoly of the carrying trade of the world and an extension of her colonial dumping ground for the goods her own people are too poor to buy. That Social Democracy has no especial interest on even recovering the colonies Germany has temporarily lost is no doubt true, but as Germans they would not be human if they did not want to recover what a wanton militaristic capitalism has taken from Germany. It was with sore hearts and stern determination that many went into the war. But this was true of all Parties. The terrible odds made enormous sacrifices a necessity. But Social Democracy counted the cost, and placed its buildings, funds and leaders at the disposal of the Government. And Frank died among the first and was honored by the nation.

Not at present is Social Democracy facing any difficult decision. Life and death are at stake, and military discipline, like all discipline, even a Party discipline, demands some sacrifices. But the trust the Social Democracy bestowed upon the Government has been repaid by a new attitude of the governing classes to Social Democracy. After the war many questions will await a settlement, and struggle for political power will again begin, but Social Democracy will have gained a hearing that cannot easily again be lost, and the life of Germany will be increasingly democratic after the war. Modern warfare weakens the possessing class out of all proportion to its numbers, and all lands will see a turning to the proletariat for recuperation. The State Socialism of to-day in Germany is not democratic Socialism, but in efficiency it is a long way ahead of the anarchic competition for the food supply which it is displacing. And never will any community that has entered upon social organization in such a bold manner and with such success turn again to capitalistic competitive chaos.

The German city is in many respects more democratically organized than is the American city. It has a measure of home-rule only a few American cities have obtained. It is an experiment in municipal social organization of remarkable success, and the German cities are the foremost organizations in the world. Moreover, the vast socialization of railways as well as of forests, and many national sources of production, all are a menace to greedy competitive individualism. The capitalist class in England has been groaning over the measures forced upon the ruling class to insure the producers, and follow the social organization of Germany. Of course this social organization is not socialism, and more especially not democratic socialism; but it is the highest type of social organization in the general interests of all that the world has seen; and this distribution of ownership, if not always of control, has been producing as a natural result democratic self-respect. Every German who travels cheaply and comfortably on the third class of a railway, well-managed, with fine stations, feels "this is my railway." Hence Bernard Shaw is perfectly right in saying that in some respects Germany is far more democratic than is England. The German walks on Sunday in his own woods, he lights his house with his own electric plant, and generally feels that he is not wholly dependent upon a wealthy class of monopolists. One of the reasons the vulgar rich of America are bitterly anti-German is that this social organization is a success and is a menace to private monopoly. State ownership, for instance, of railways is not social democracy, but they think it is, and know that it is a success in Germany, and that its measure of success threatens their monopoly.

The Socialists of Belgium complain bitterly of what they regard as their betrayal by their Socialist comrades in Germany. But one of the things that convinced the Socialists that they were fighting a conspiracy against Germany was the overwhelming proof that since 1906 Belgium and France have secretly conspired with England against Germany. Had Belgium and England gone openly to Germany and said "Here are our plans if you attack us, will you enter with us on similar military plans should France attack you?" then Germany would have felt safe as in 1870. But the plans were secret jug-handled military measures which exposed Germany at any moment to a flank attack on her most vulnerable side.

Moreover, Belgium has been steadily incited against Germany for some time. Only a year ago a wealthy German told me he had stopped going to the Belgian coast where he had gone for years because of the growing hostility to Germans. The French press carried on a distinct campaign of abuse and misrepresentation. Belgium feared Germany. The old individualistic household industry still maintained itself in Belgian districts. And in these districts Germany's wholesale factory competition was seriously felt; and this bred ill-feeling and jealousy. Men born in Antwerp, and well-known there, but of German blood, were murdered and their houses wrecked upon the opening of the war.

The Socialism also of both France and Belgium, like that of Italy, has never cleared itself of the individualistic elements that find better expression in anarchy. And the feeling for country and group, however dominant in all parties, is in Germany far more of an organizing factor in its life. Nevertheless it is doubtful if Social Democracy in Germany would have gone into the war had it only been with France and England. But for Germany the war was from the beginning the outcome of the Russian autocracy's long cherished plan to attack Austria and Germany just as soon as she thought she had a good chance for success. The hour struck, and, realizing the issue, Social Democracy to a man entered upon the war as one of national self-defense against autocratic feudalism and commercial capitalism. And the Socialist majority still hold this position.

Moreover, England and France are not democratic or even socially advanced countries. They cannot be while despotically ruling great colonial empires. England exploits India, and as long as colonies are exploited democracy is a farce. With Ireland at her doors and on her conscience, England cannot claim to be the divine protector of "small nationalities." Italy is endangering her crude and anarchistic type of Socialism by pandering to colonial expansion. She has no right to lecture German "Militarism" or to view

Germany's army as less democratic than her own. And all talk about pacific France is moonshine. France has linked herself with the worst elements in Russian life when she sold out to the Autocracy and financed the repression of the Revolution, and the establishment of capitalistic exploitation. It is all vain to say Socialist currents are running in the life of Russia. A triumphant autocracy with a victorious army will dam those streams for years to come and distract the proletariat by visions of eastern conquest in Persia, India and Asia Minor. Even since the war broke out the Autocracy has trampled on the last liberties of Finland, in spite of all protestations and promises, and is even now carrying on persecution of Jews and patriots in the Ukraine. With a triumphant English capitalism exploiting the seas and mastering the commerce of the world without a rival; and Russian autocracy mastering Europe and exploiting Asia, Socialism, though sure one day to come, would be postponed for generations.

THE RIGHTS OF CHILDREN

BY FELIX GRENDON

I

MAGNA CHARTA REDIVIVA

This is an age of new Magna Chartas. Women, wage slaves, and even lunatics have recently drawn up Bills of Rights. It is thus quite in the order of the day for Bernard Shaw to draw up a Bill of Rights for children. Time was when a small minority in each community held the power of life and death over the members of the four economically submerged estates; not only held the power but exercised it freely. To this day our legal documents preserve the outworn custom in formulas wherein women, children, paupers, and idiots are linked in a common degradation and servitude. But the star of aristocracy is on the wane, and as the dawn of social transition obscures its setting brilliance, our women, our wage earners, and our mentally afflicted are forcing their cases before the bar of humanity. Alone of the enslaved Estates remain the children, the most helpless and the most important of the four. To jog the conscience of society touching their plight, it needed insight, courage, and a voice. These three requirements Mr. Shaw has masterfully integrated in the tract on "Parents and Children" that prefaces his play, "Misalliance."

II

THE PARENT AS DESPOT AND HUMBUG

The responsibility for bringing up the community's children devolves chiefly upon their parents. Such, Mr. Shaw points out,

is still our Unsocialist theory. What the practise is, is another story. At the close of a hard day's business Mr. Jones, snugly buried in his slippers and his evening newspaper, has little appetite for applying genetic science to young Tommy's questionnaire on life, and Mrs. Jones, relaxing from household drudgery in a novel or, more likely, in a stirring article on "How a Government of Women Instead of Diplomatic Duffers Would Avert War," has even less. What is the result? Tommy is handed over as much as possible to the tender mercies of the State represented officially by the school and the teacher. Despite this relief, Tommy's expanding activities interfere more and more with the work and play of the adults around him, making him an ever-growing nuisance. Consequently, we find that parents who are passionate opponents of collective action in every other administrative field, will join in a wild clamor to the authorities to multiply compulsory evening schools, to prolong the school age considerably, and to extend school sessions throughout the summer so that the sole care of children shall not be thrust upon their elders during an interminable vacation.

But for the present, the State does not offer to relieve the private guardians of a child for more than five or six hours a day, and parents can by no means wholly dodge the responsibility of infant training. How do they meet this grave responsibility? On what theory of education do they act? What division do they make of children's duties and children's rights, and what regard do they pay the latter? We hardly need the authority of Mr. Shaw's rich experience in public and private life to convince us that the overwhelming majority of parents recognize no rights for children, at least no rights that may conflict with adult convenience or comfort. As to a theory of education, the popular parental attitude, when it does not openly deride the absurdity of the thing, is that the best theory is to let children "just grow, like Topsy." As a matter of fact, minors rarely enjoy even this anarchic freedom. Ask a child to describe its parents, and if it could express its emotion, it would probably describe them as adults who can darken counsel with more words and affection with more demands than any other adults in the world.

Most parents meet their responsibility, then, in a very simple way. They set out to make their children as much like themselves as possible. A man might hold himself up as an example to be avoided. That, as Mr. Shaw observes, would be pardonable. But what he actually does in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred is to hold himself up as a model to be dutifully followed. We all have a good deal of the Kaiser in us. Modestly acknowledging that

we are among the successes of the Almighty, we feel that since God took special pains to create us in His image, we should display a poor ingratitude indeed, if we did not create our children in our image. Now the simplest way for an overworked parent to bring about this result is to say to his child: "Imitate my virtues in every particular or I will have the skin off your back." In short, education in the home begins with pious humbug and continues with pious cruelty. For there is no other way of diverting a child from its own bent into the mould its seniors presumptuously choose for it, than to drive it there by the systematic application of force. Nor does force lose any of its cruelty when black looks, heartrending sermons, or the subtle harshnesses of atmosphere takes the place of canes and whips, that is, when moral chastisement is inflicted under the euphemistic term of moral suasion, as freely happens in the United States.

As an illustration of the standard behavior of parents whose respectability and good intentions are unimpeachable, Mr. Shaw cites the case of a gentleman who assured him that the only thing he beat his children for was failure in perfect obedience and perfect truthfulness. Mr. Shaw remarks that "as one of these attributes is not a virtue at all, and the other is the attribute of a God, one can imagine what the lives of this gentleman's children would have been, had it been possible for him to live down to his monstrous and foolish pretensions." And we must note that the blasphemous folly of this man is exceeded by any number of voluptuaries, who beat or overawe their children by way of gratifying their own lustful natures, the while they whitewash their secret passion with such hypocrisies as "this hurts me more than it hurts you."

III

THE TEACHER AS TYRANT AND SWINDLER

To pass from the home to the school is cold comfort for the child. If the independence of a boy or a girl is despotically abridged to suit the personal convenience of the parent, it is still more unscrupulously curtailed to meet the private comfort of the teacher. Upon the teaching profession and its existing morale, Mr. Shaw empties flagons of contempt, and nowadays it will be hard to find a healthy-minded person unwilling to applaud the act. The trouble with compulsory instruction is, first, that it is compulsory, and second, that it is conducted by teachers as they are. Now teachers as they are, are far from being the self-sacrificing, lucre-despising martyrs they romantically conceive themselves to be. In reality, they are the mere pariahs of the intellectual world, looked down on by every professional worker and secretly despised by the very members of the Board of Education that publicly glorify teaching

as the guardianship of the nation's spiritual liberty. This last irony is a bitter one indeed. For the average teacher is too poor in nerve force to drink generous drafts from the stream of life. And he is too pitifully underpaid to gather the varied experiences of art, music, the theater, politics, and social service, that blend into a rich, flexible personality, the only sort of personality from which children may derive profit.

Low as the school board estimate of a teacher is, it cannot be said the the popular estimate is much higher. Mr. Shaw relates a friend's adventure which drives this estimate home. This friend, chancing to see a boy severely whipped by a schoolmaster, blackened the latter's eye. The injured man had his assailant brought to court.

"In his anxiety the defendant asked a police officer what would happen to him. 'What did you do?' said the officer. 'I gave a man a black eye,' said my friend. 'Six pounds if he was a gentleman, two pounds if he wasn't,' said the constable. 'He was a schoolmaster,' said my friend. 'Two pounds,' said the officer; and two pounds it was."

Yet parents rarely hesitate to entrust the minds of their children to a profession that is held in such light esteem. But here one may anticipate a storm of objections. It will be said that Mr. Shaw has forgotten the cause of the teacher in his enthusiasm for the cause of the child, and that in a treatise on education the section on the sweating of children should be followed by an equally stirring section on the sweating of teachers. All this is quite true. And I dare say that had Mr. Shaw been an American he would hardly have denied himself the pleasure of decimating our city school boards, which in sheer corporate meanness, cynical neglect of duty, and poverty of enlightened ideas can find no match among the public bodies of our country. The stupendous folly of committing the direction of our school systems to respectable ignoramuses who have as much aptitude for their jobs as a cannibal has for prescribing a diet of fruit and vegetables, leads to daily crimes. With one of these crimes we are all unhappily familiar, and that is the crime of caging forty or fifty spirited boys in a single room with one miserable man or woman "instructor," under circumstances that stifle whatever powers of love, imagination, or personal magnetism the teacher may possess. While such things continue, can we honestly affect indignation if the teacher becomes a tyrant protecting his comfort with brute force when he can, and with malice, fraud, or cunning when he can't?

But Mr. Shaw's appointed work is to champion the child, not to excuse the teacher. However we may extenuate the latter's

behavior, the fact remains that in school, no less than at home, children are persistently beaten or defrauded out of their rights, including the right to test their own impulses and the right to seize the truths most valid for their own purposes. Mr. Shaw does not pretend to expose in detail the far-reaching conspiracy of mis-instruction that goes by the name of Public Education. But he touches the subject on so many points that it is easy to draw our own conclusions from his wealth of suggestion. Thus it may puzzle us why the teacher whom capitalist society treats so shabbily is such a willing tool of that society's thought and morals. This case is not stranger than the industry with which the underpaid servant of a monopoly cheats or shortweights customers without the thanks or bidding of his employers. What the wage-slave does from downright servility of nature, the pedagogue, mental starveling and spiritual anemic that he usually is, does from self-interest. To keep the animosity of his pupil-prisoners in check, he is practically driven to bring to his classroom the ideas, discipline and atmosphere of the factory. But the task of making the worse appear the better reason does not always secure him a permanently peaceful existence. And so, from swindling his pupils in the most important branches of human inquiry, he falls to stamping out any originality they may exhibit, and busily inculcates that slave submissiveness and caste morality which greatminded men and women are at pains to destroy.

IV

THE CHILD AS EXPERIMENT AND MONSTER

Every child, Mr. Shaw observes, is an experiment, a fresh attempt on the part of the Life Force to make humanity divine. On the question of how to conduct these experiments in divinity our wisest men give very modest replies. "Let every child live and learn to understand life in its own way" is the view of William James, or, as Mr. Shaw tersely phrases it, "Every child has a right to its own bent." But parents and pedagogs rush in where philosophers fear to tread. With rod and sermon the parent flagellates his children until their vital impulses are warped and perverted to his way of thinking, while the schoolmaster follows industriously in the footsteps of Dr. Skinner in "The Way of All Flesh," whose method of education was "not so much to keep the boy in blinkers as to gouge his eyes out altogether." As this systematic perversion is confined to no one province or country, we get nations full of mental imbeciles and moral monsters ready, in periodical panics of fear, to fly at one another's throats.

At this moment of writing, three million Germans, the cream of such civilization as we boast of, are doing their best to cut the

throats of their French and Russian neighbors. With no real stomach for this murderous task, they are nevertheless docilely obeying the handful of arrogant Junkers by whom they are ruled. Under a like compulsion, French and Russian millions are exacting an eye for an eye. If these masses of men had not been dressed in obedience and flogged into self-suppression from the cradle on, can we doubt that they would turn on their selfish masters and swiftly crush them? But the horrible panorama of wholesale international murder is the inevitable result of a civilization resting on intimidation, the sort of civilization built up on the "stop your noise, you young devil" and kindred watchwords of nursery and schoolroom. Mr. Shaw sums up the matter with emphatic pithiness:

"The grown-up Englishman is to the end of his days a badly brought-up child, beyond belief quarrelsome, petulant, selfish, destructive, and cowardly: afraid that the Germans will come and enslave him; that the burglar will come and rob him; that the bicycle or motor car will run over him; that the smallpox will attack him; and that the devil will run away with him and empty him out like a sack of coals on a blazing fire unless his nurse or his parents or his schoolmaster or his bishop or his judge or his army or his navy will do something to frighten these bad things away."

IV

THE AMERICAN CHILD

Naturally enough, it is with a special eye upon English or European conditions that Mr. Shaw writes. To many good people in America, the news that their children are the slaves of their guardians will come as a bewildering shock. We rather plume ourselves on having abolished corporal punishment in schools many years ago, and on strongly deprecating exhibitions of it in the home. Accustomed as we now are to being snubbed, ridiculed, bullied, and tormented by the younger generation, we feel secure from the charge of oppression when we behold in American boys and girls the spectacle of the most insolent, noisy, unmannerly, intractable, shameless, and destructive children in the world, and imagine that the triumphant ease with which they uphold this reputation abroad and in their native land speaks well both for their independence of character and our democracy of spirit.

It is assuredly better that our children should have the characteristics for which they are justly infamous than that they should degenerate into will-less, spineless, docile automata. But we had better beware of vaunting ourselves superior until we have harvested our policy in deeds. We don't break our children's backs

with the rod, but there are other methods than this of breaking their spirits. Have we much evidence for believing that American parents shy at employing these methods? The evidence is actually all the other way, a little observation showing us that the American mother's customary admonition to her children is, in effect if not in words: "Be as much of a nuisance to other adults as their patience allows, only take care you are not a nuisance to me." Thus spurred on, the child behaves in public with the same savagery that the dog we chain up in our own back yard displays towards strangers when we let him loose.

In American schools an even more tragi-comic situation has developed. We have reformed school discipline by forbidding corporal punishment, whilst sticking fiercely to our system of compulsory prison schooling. This is like trying to make a pair of scissors cut something with a single one of its blades. It is as if we were to reform our convict prisons not by undoing the bolts and bars, but by rigorously depriving the wardens of all legal power to use physical force in securing obedience, and trusting to their personal magnetism to wheedle or coax the prisoners into keeping the prison rules. This is precisely what we now ask of our pedagogs. The male teacher, caught in the triangle of prison doors, his own impotence, and his pupils' derision, keeps a semblance of discipline by stooping to abject toadyism, whilst it is notorious that the female teacher in charge of big boys gains a precarious peace by openly engaging in the most unscrupulous flirtation.

The effect of all this on the demoralization of our youth is incalculable. Witness the consequences in our social life. Everywhere in the United States, the demonstration that the existing order is wrong has led not to a contempt for the wrong order, but to a contempt for any order whatever. In the end, such a state of unsocial feeling is bound to exact a heavy retribution. Already the labor movement has paid dearly for it in the anarchist explosions that split and retard it with growing frequency. And the next decade bids fair to see its predecessor outdone in a desperate dum-dumming of the battalions of workers striving towards democracy.

V

THE NEW EDUCATION

What is to be done by way of remedy? In a nutshell, two things. Adults must rise superior to the barbarian habit of imposing their wills on their minors; they must cultivate the enlightened habit of toleration. Secondly, children (and teachers) must be emancipated from instructional slavery by the virtual stoppage of compulsory schooling. The first step is to reduce compulsory

schooling to a minimum embracing a knowledge of reading, writing, "enough arithmetic to use money honestly and accurately," and enough law and civics to enable a child to set a proper value on its liberty. We need shed no tears over the sweeping away of the pretentious ragout of compulsory studies in our obsolete curricula, especially as economics and sex, the two branches of science of the greatest human importance, are at present closed to school-children, the former excluded for obvious reasons by the ruling caste, the latter tabooed by the incurable stupidity of mankind at large.

Of prison schoolmasters and the whole barrack system of capitalist schooling there is to be an end. How then is the child to get an education? Mr. Shaw points out that when a pupil has mastered the compulsory minimum there will be at his command the opportunities which the fine arts and a generous freedom in foreign and local travel will open up. Here Mr. Shaw is in full accord with the great thinkers aforetime. Ruskin, for instance, never tired of repeating that when a child knew how to read, to write, and to use the multiplication table, it could learn the ways of God and man better from personal adventure in a city, a mountain, or a field, than from all the books and pedagogs in creation.

Of course, voluntary schools and their teachers will continue. And as their existence will depend entirely on the optional patronage of the pupils, they will offer instruction in whatever branches are in demand. Really fruitful knowledge is the knowledge a man's vocation, interests, and goal in the world spur him on to acquire. With this fact in mind, Mr. Shaw recommends that, from an early age on, all minors be expected to devote a part of their time to rendering some productive service. Not only will they thereby repay the community for their maintenance, but they will discover from experience wherein their equipment is defective. And they will then repair to the schoolroom on their own initiative with a zest in study that a compulsory system can never call forth.

VI

PRECEPTS FOR CHILDREN

Samuel Butler once remarked that the real moral of Casabianca is that children cannot begin too early to exercise discretion in the obedience they pay to their parents and elders. Mr. Shaw goes even further. He reminds us that children are commonly taught "to be kind, to be respectful, to be quiet, not to answer back . . . to be above all things obedient, and to be seen and not heard." And he urges us to correct this negative and amiable set of precepts with a positive and unamiable set. Here, in part, is the second batch: "Always contradict an authoritative

statement. Always return a blow. When you are scolded for a mistake . . . return the scolding with a blow or an insult. Remember that the progress of the world depends on your knowing better than your elders."

Mr. Shaw contends that either set of precepts is sure to spoil a child hopelessly if the other set be omitted. It is against the neglect or suppression of the second set that we must guard, the first set having "all the adults, all the laws, all the religions on their side."

VII

"CONSTRUCTIVE" PROPOSALS

And now some college professor or third-rate journalist is sure to babble out that Mr. Shaw has again done the characteristic thing. He has employed his brilliant destructive powers in assaulting an established institution without offering anything definite to replace the ruins. He has, in short, failed to be "constructive," that will be the glib rebuke on the lips of every novice in social science. We shall be told that Mr. Shaw has cleverly disabled the parent with a blow in the wind, and adroitly kicked the pedagog out of the window; but that when the rumpus is all over, we shall have to resume entrusting our children to fathers and mothers and teachers as of yore; and that this policy will endure until (presumably) some notable bureaucrat appears with a nicely-dovetailed, minutely-organized scheme of education whose manifest perfection will make everybody eager to substitute it for the admittedly defective scheme we now reluctantly tolerate.

Drivelers will be drivelers, but it is said to observe writers of considerable ability launching this makeshift criticism at the great Shavian documents. When Mr. Shaw penetrates to the core of a deep social problem and, with dramatic emphasis, fires the crucial guide posts towards institutional revolution, critics of whom we have a right to expect more, will descend to the novice's cry of "not constructive," or alternate this refrain with the grave information that Mr. Shaw is getting old and reactionary, and is contriving "another of the infinite and perpetually renewed dodges of the English aristocracy." The best part of the whole business is that the chorus of accusation is made up of elements as diverse as the pedantic moles of the *Boston Transcript*, Columbia professors of metaphysics, aristocratic "radicals" like Mr. Hilaire Belloc, and blood-curdling intellectual revolutionists like Mr. William English Walling.

A detailed plan of reconstruction is out of place until men and women are convinced of these first principles. Once convinced, society could speedily find a way to a complete remodeling of its

educational institutions—a society that couldn't, would deserve to perish. Clearly, it is Mr. Shaw's business in life to convince society, and who will assert that his business is not well done? If his work is not "constructive," let us be thankful that he does not waste his time and ours with what the world calls "constructive" efforts, such efforts as the pathetically meager programs of school reform which were issued by official and unofficial committees of Socialists during New York's last municipal campaign. But describe the "Preface for Parents and Children" by what epithet you please, it remains the first systematic and co-ordinated inquiry into the problem of children and education pursued in the light of current social and political science, nor is it the least of our good fortune that this light is deployed by the genius of Bernard Shaw.

CORRESPONDENCE

IMPLICATIONS

To The NEW REVIEW:

A "distinguished American Socialist," at the recent Intercollegiate Socialist Society Convention, maintained that the Great War means "the moral triumph of Socialism and the collapse of Capitalism."

Accordingly—

1.—War waged by Capitalism is a crime against civilization; waged by Capitalism abetted by Socialism, war becomes a "moral triumph of Socialism."

2.—It is a "collapse of Capitalism" when Capitalism bends Socialism to its purposes, temporarily wipes out the class struggle and shatters Socialist international solidarity.

3.—Socialism scores a "moral triumph" whenever it allows itself to become the tool of governmental and Capitalist interests.

Our "distinguished American Socialist" doesn't draw these conclusions. The Great War, according to this "distinguished Socialist," means the "moral triumph" of Socialism because, based upon the theory that Capitalism inherently produces war, Socialists predicted this war.

Accordingly—

1.—The German, French and British chauvinists who raucously predicted this war as inevitable have scored a "moral triumph."

2.—While foreseeing the war, Socialists, particularly the German Socialists, failed to prepare adequately and when the war came were not in a position to oppose it—which naturally constitutes a "moral triumph."

3.—Socialism scores a "moral triumph" whenever it foresees an event and fails to prepare for it.

The Great War means the "collapse of Capitalism" because it proves that Capitalism inherently produces war and is consequently unfit to control the destiny of civilization, is the "distinguished Socialist's" theory.

Accordingly—

1.—When Capitalism is fatalistically driven into war, doing that which is necessary to its existence, it means the "collapse of Capitalism."

2.—But when Socialism, which claims superiority and hostility to Capitalism, proves itself weakling and craven, not at all superior to Capitalism in spite of claims to the contrary, Socialism scores a "moral triumph" and proves that it alone is fit to control the destiny of civilization.

The beautiful theory of our "distinguished American Socialist" assumes that the Socialists of all the belligerent nations were equally justified. But here one meets a contradiction: The French, Belgian and German Socialists "backed up" their governments; the Russian Social-Democrats, the Socialists of Servia and certain British Socialists bitterly opposed their governments. Are they all equally justified? How? Unanimous justification should imply unanimity of action.

Accordingly—

Socialists' action is a justification in itself; any and all of their acts constitute a "moral triumph of Socialism."

Another "distinguished Socialist," slightly less distinguished than the "distinguished American Socialist," attempts in the New York *Call* to defend the German Social Democracy by insinuating that Socialists who condemn the Social Democracy are victims of "bourgeois American Germanophobia."

Accordingly—

Karl Liebknecht, Anton Pannekoek, the Chicago *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, the San Francisco *Vorwärts*, the New York *Volkszeitung*, are all victims of "bourgeois American Germanophobia," seeing that they all condemn the German Social Democracy.

Socialists who desire a victory of the Allies because its consequences would mean a new era of democratic progress in Europe, are victims of "bourgeois American Germanophobia," because their desire coincides with a similar desire of bourgeois democrats.

Accordingly—

1.—The "distinguished Socialists" who ascribe the Great War to commercial rivalry are victims of bourgeois stupidity of thought, seeing that many bourgeois thinkers agree with their view.

2.—"Democratic progress" is a meaningless term. There is nothing to choose politically between democratic and non-democratic nations. Socialism is a denial of social evolution.

3.—Marx was all wrong in urging democratic progress as a necessary precedent to the progress of Socialism; and his demand for a war in the interests of democracy against Russia, then the center of reaction in Europe, proves Marx to have been the victim of mid-continental Russophobia.

Nationalism, the dynamic synthesis of the economic interests of nations and their antagonisms, was an active cause of the Great War. The "war against war" must therefore become a war against Nationalism. Our "distinguished Socialists," however, are celebrating an orgy of Nationalism: national interests are above class interests, and Nationalism will always be with us.

Accordingly—

1.—Capitalism, the economic development of which tends to minimize Nationalism and strengthen Internationalism, offers better prospects of universal peace than Socialism.

2.—As Nationalism may produce war, and national interests are above class interests, the Socialist proletariat must favor adequate armaments.

3.—Socialism is not international, and not the enemy of the barbarism of war. "Workers of the world, unite to slaughter each other. You have nothing to lose but your lives, and Nationalism to maintain."

The practical purpose behind the monstrous theorizing of our "distinguished Socialists" is the endeavor to "save the face" of the German Social Democracy. It is now clear that the dominant elements in the Socialist movement are seeking a re-organization of the International along the same nationalist lines that prevailed before the war. The German party was the center of nationalistic reaction in the old International. Our own nationalists derived their animating sentiments from the Social Democracy of Germany; and condemnation of the German party condemns the nationalists in our American party. The supremacy in the new International of the German Social Democracy as now constituted means the supremacy of Nationalism.

Accordingly—

Let us forget the apostasy of the German party, and perpetuate the apostates' control of the Socialist movement.

LOUIS C. FRAINA.

New York City.

A SOCIALIST DIGEST

A DEFENSE OF THE INTERNATIONAL

BY KARL KAUTSKY.

The small states at war and not less those great states that are composed of many nationalities are struggling for nothing less than their existence. The situation is different with the great solidly-based national countries. *Their independence is certainly not threatened and apparently their integrity is not threatened either.* Democracy, the participation of the people in politics, is too strongly developed in them; so that tearing out of a piece from one of them and its forcible annexation to another foreign country would always be a perpetual source of weakness and complication to that country. Moreover, the demand for the alienation of a piece of another nation would stir up the wildest resistance, would considerably prolong the war, greatly increase its sacrifices and costs, and all for a purpose which would bring harm rather than benefit to the conqueror.

Violation of the integrity and independence of a great national state is scarcely to be expected, but the conquered country must reckon with the possibility that the present material basis of its existence will be considerably narrowed and the country forced to build upon a new and completely changed foundation.

Under certain conditions this might prove a beneficial force and compel the country to new and higher forms of production. But the devastation of war and the necessities of the conquered will be so great that even the boldest Socialist innovator will regard it as a hard task to make a new social life to grow on such desperate ruins. And so not only the possessing classes but also the proletarians everywhere feel their existence threatened and feel compelled to do everything possible to avoid defeat.

Therefore a quiet and passionless consideration of the prospects which a victory of one or the other side promises for international progress was never so rare as now.

Under these conditions, what obtrudes itself not only on the masses but on many of the leading comrades is the most primitive way of deciding one's attitude to the war, namely, that motive which everywhere has been the first one and has everywhere

decided the attitude of the masses in previous wars, the fear of hostile invasion, *the pressing need of keeping the enemy out of the country, whatever may be the cause, the object, or the result of the war . . .*

Unquestionably there is a great danger for the International in taking sides according to nationalistic standpoints. No doubt taking sides in war for protection against hostile invasion is altogether compatible with our principles. The decision according to this criterion certainly does not stand so high theoretically as decision according to the criterion of the proletarian interests of the world. But in the first place, *the latter criterion is almost completely lacking in the present war, and then, though it is certainly important for individual theorists and leaders of the Party who cannot allow themselves to be swept along by the current, it has hitherto had little historical effect. Certainly, it has never decisively influenced the masses.* For them the most tangible, the nearest, and the most compelling consideration was the defense of their lives and their livelihood. It would be a bad case for the internationalism of the modern proletariat if it were incompatible with this defense.

That is by no means the case. It rather sanctions it. But that does not mean that this consideration may not at the same time endanger the International standpoint. It brings proletarians in hostile conflict with proletarians and temporarily forces the social conflicts in one's own country into the background. *In their activities it is difficult to distinguish between international patriotism and nationalist Chauvinist patriotism. . . .*

War will not kill the International but will lead it to a better comprehension of the limitation of its power than we had before the war.

The capacity of a man for achievement depends in large measure on his knowledge of the limit of his power, on not giving himself tasks the solution of which are above his strength, and on not creating expectations which he cannot fulfill. He will reach his highest possible achievements by concentrating his powers. Of course, not in the limitation of his final goal. The higher one puts this, the more one desires great things, the more will the necessarily limited action of the moment prepare great things and have permanent results. . . .

So the present war shows the limits of the power of the International. We deceived ourselves if we expected that it might assure a harmonious attitude of the whole Socialist proletariat of the world during the world war. Such a position was possible only in a few specially simple cases. The world war split the Socialists into various camps. The International is unable to prevent that.

That is to say, it is no effective tool in war. It is essentially an instrument of peace. And in a double sense, it can develop its full strength only during peace. And in so far as it succeeds in developing its full strength it works always for peace.

In so far as Socialism is a spiritual heir of the idealism of the revolutionary bourgeois democracy and of the international pacific tendencies of free trade and industrialism, a heritage which of course it does not take over entirely unchanged, it strives always for international agreements against the international solidarity of the reaction and the policy of exclusion of the protectionists. But this agreement gains a solid material foundation only through recognizing how little assured are the gains of the proletarian class struggle within the frame-work of one nation without international unity. . . .

The International is strongest in peace, weakest in war. One must certainly regret this; but that does not in the least limit its importance in time of peace, that is, of normal social development.

But the International is not only strongest in peace. It is also the strongest means to maintain peace.

In any case, the proletariat was the strongest of all factors that made for the maintenance or preservation of peace. But its strength for this purpose was powerfully increased by the International which brought the proletarian movement of all nations together and gave them a unified goal, a policy which would have maintained peace if they had become the rulers. The International has declared that a world policy is possible which assures to every nation its economic development and yet coerces none. *That the supporters of this international policy do not aim by it at a surrender of national interests, the socialist parties of the warring nations have now abundantly demonstrated.*—(Translated from *Die Neue Zeit*.)

A CRITICISM OF KAUTSKY

The International, we are told in Kautsky's article, *A Defense of the International*, ceases to be of any moment when it is most needed, and exists only when it has no important function. "It is no effective tool in war. It is *essentially* an instrument of peace." That the International failed in war, we all know. Kautsky now reassures us by saying that it *must* fail in war and will continue to fail in war. He insists that neither its "principles" nor its "tactics" have been proven wrong by this collapse! And yet he admits that Socialists had hoped that the Socialists of all countries would do their utmost—however ineffective—to hinder war.

Next we read that "the supporters of this international policy [of Socialism] do not by it aim at a surrender of national interests." In other words, Socialists are internationalists *only where there is no conflict between internationalism and nationalism*. This is like favoring the working-class only when there is no conflict between the working-class and the ruling-class.

Once more we are told that we are to take sides in this war, but we are *not* to take sides according to the criterion of "the proletarian interests of the world." This latter test failed, we are told, because the Socialists of France reached unanimously a different conclusion from the majority faction of the Germans!

Then we are offered a new criterion for taking sides, a criterion that justifies all Socialists in all countries in using all their power for the support of their governments during war: the danger of invasion. But here Kautsky defeats his own argument. The danger of invasion is a sufficient justification, he tells us, simply because the masses feel it to be such, and because "the proletarian interests of the world" have "hitherto had very little historical effect" and "never decisively influenced the masses." Such internationalism, he says, is the duty only of "theorists and leaders."

"Whatever may be the cause, the object, the result of the war," the pressing need of keeping the enemy out of the country justifies support of the government. That is, no matter how much any government is fighting against "the proletarian interests of the world" it must be supported by the proletarians in war time. Therefore, we have a right to conclude, *the Russian Socialists in the Duma did wrongly; they should have given their financial and moral support to their executioner, the Czar!*

But Kautsky goes further and exposes his true motive and that of all nationalistic Socialists. He admits that neither the "integrity" of German territory nor its "independence" are menaced. Germany's existence is not at stake, but "the present material basis of its existence will be considerably narrowed" in case of defeat. Exactly. This war is an economic conflict between the nations. But it scarcely touches the *internal* affairs of the larger countries. For them it is exclusively a question of the exploitation of foreign markets. Germany and England are holding certain foreign markets, directly or indirectly, by force of arms. Most of the profits of this exploitation of Chinese, Hindus, and other backward peoples goes to the capitalists. But a small share at least goes to skilled labor. The "basis of the material existence" of the German and British working-class is thus broadened at the expense of the more backward peoples. So the German and British proletarians "feel" their "existence" threatened and feel obliged "to do everything possible to avoid defeat."

In a word, Kautsky, and the stand-pat Socialists and Party machines everywhere now endorse nationalism and imperialism. For many years, and until six months ago, they held unanimously that *imperialism* and *militarism* were the worst form of capitalism, the *final* form in fact, since they would *force* the proletarians to revolt first against, and then to overthrow, the whole capitalist system. Two years ago a resolution to this effect was passed *unanimously* by the Socialists of the world assembled at Basel to prevent the Balkan War from becoming a general European conflagration.

That this position should be affected and more or less changed by the great war is scarcely surprising. But it has not merely been changed. It has been completely *reversed*. W. E. W.

PROPOSED PEACE PROGRAM OF THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST PARTY

A sub-committee of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party has drawn up a draft of a proposed peace program, intended for submission to the National Committee.

The program starts off with the statement that the "fundamental causes" of war are "economic":

Every capitalistic nation on earth exploits its people. The wages received by the workers are always less than the market value of the goods which they produce. Consequently when the workers enter the market they cannot buy back an amount of wealth equal to that which their labor created and put into the market. A surplus accumulates. The capitalist class cannot consume it all or profitably invest it in a nation suffering from capitalistic exploitation. Thus sooner or later each capitalistic nation is suffocated with the surplus products resulting from its own exploitation. Having exhausted its home market, unwilling and unable to readjust its processes so as to eliminate exploitation, every capitalist nation is compelled to enter the struggle for foreign markets.

All the rest of the tragedies of capitalism follow upon this fundamental feature. Each capitalistic nation enters the list to fight for foreign markets. Hence arise the commercial rivalries of nations, the policies of imperialism, the conflicts for commercial supremacy, ever growing more intense and fierce as the nations expand and the world's field of conquest narrows. Hence arise the policies of armaments every year more immense and monstrous. Hence arise the strategy, the intrigue of secret diplomacy, till the world is involved in a deadly struggle for the capture and control of the world market.

The Socialist movement has warned the world for half a century of the impending catastrophe, but its warning and propaganda were unheeded. "The supreme duty of the hour is for us,

the Socialists of all the world, to dedicate ourselves anew to the imperishable principles of international Socialism; to strengthen the bonds of working-class solidarity; to deepen the currents of conscious internationalism, and to proclaim to the world a constructive program for permanent peace."

The constructive program in full is as follows:

I. TERMS OF PEACE AT CLOSE OF PRESENT WAR must be such as to protect the nations from future wars and conserve the identity of the smaller nations.

1. No indemnities.
2. No transfer of territory, except upon consent and by vote of the people within the territory.

II. INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION—UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD.

1. Court or courts for the settlement of all disputes between nations.
2. International congress, with legislative and administrative powers over international affairs, and with permanent committees in place of present secret diplomacy.
3. International police force.

III. NATIONAL DISARMAMENT.

1. National disarmament shall be effected immediately upon the adoption of the peace program by a sufficient number of nations, or by nations of sufficient power so that the international police force developed by the terms of the program shall be adequate to insure the protection of the disarmed.
2. No increase in existing armaments under any circumstances.
3. Pending complete disarmament the abolition of the manufacture of armaments and munitions of war for private profit.
4. International ownership and control of strategic waterways, such as the Dardanelles, Straits of Gibraltar, and the Suez, Panama and Kiel Canals.
5. Neutralization of the seas.

IV. EXTENSION OF DEMOCRACY.

1. Political democracy.
 - (a) The declaration of offensive war to be made only by direct vote of the people.
 - (b) Abolition of secret diplomacy and the democratic control of foreign policies.
 - (c) Universal suffrage, including woman suffrage.
2. Industrial democracy.

RADICAL SOCIAL CHANGES IN ALL COUNTRIES TO ELIMINATE THE ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR, such as,

- (a) Federation of the working classes of the world in a league of peace.
- (b) Socialization of the national resources, public utilities and fundamental equipment of industry of the nations.
- (c) Elimination of all unearned income.
- (d) Immediate and progressive amelioration of the conditions of labor.

V. IMMEDIATE ACTION.

1. Efforts to be made in every nation to secure the official adoption of the above program by the governing bodies at the earliest possible date. The adoption of the program (contingent upon its acceptance by a sufficient number of the nations to insure its success) to be immediately announced to the world as a standing offer of federation.

2. The federation of all the possible peace forces that can be united in behalf of the above program for active propoganda among all nations.

3. Efforts through the International and the national organizations of the Socialist party of all nations to secure universal cooperation of all Socialist and labor organizations in the above program.

COMPROMISING WITH HELL

That is A. M. Simons' description of the proposed peace program of the Socialist party. His article in the *New York Call* warns us against repeating the "horrible blunder" of the Socialists of Europe:

It was not last August that they made their mistake. Then they only took the final step on the road they began when they first tried to prove they were not "Fatherlandless rascals" and "sans-patrie." When Bebel talked of "shouldering a rifle in defense of his Fatherland," when even Jaurès wavered in his opposition to militarism and offered an "alternative plan" for introducing hell, the first steps were taken. When at Stuttgart a dozen German delegates, whose names I would not now wish to mention, assured me that we must not vote a complete repudiation of war lest we "outlaw" the great German Social Democracy; when the Reichstag members played smart politics with the war budget and dreamed they were "shifting the burdens of taxation on to capital," they were taking the first steps on the road which finally not only left them helpless to stem the red tide of war, but so impregnated their minds with the poison of race hatred that they swallowed the Bethman-Hollweg story of a Russian invasion and dashed away to the desolation of Belgium.

Now we are met with the sophisticated hypocrisy that we must not make "moral judgments" on the war. That is the one thing we must do if we leave all else undone. Not to take advantage of the lessons of the war now that we have paid the fearful price for tuition is the climax of stupidity and cowardice.

Yet that is exactly what the committee failed to do that drew up the proposed program. They excuse the course of the Armament Trust. They carefully omit all suggestion that the influence of the Socialist party should be brought to bear upon this government to the end that the universal disarmament should be pressed at the peace congress that must end the war. They have not one word to say against the swiftly rising flood of militarist thought.

They make no protest against threatened increases in army and navy, against proposed military training in schools and colleges, against even conscription which is being proposed in powerful places in our government.

Simons maintains that the committee which formulated the program botched its task because—

This committee argue the need of "defense" and talk of "adequate armament" and possibility of invasion like veritable Hobsons and Roosevelts. It seems as if no one whose mind was not made up exclusively from European memories, or else furnished ready made by armament mind factories, would talk of the necessity of building up powerful defenses in this country at a moment when all the nations of anything like equal strength are on the verge of bankruptcy, and when Japan, where most of the war scares are manufactured for us, has confessed she cannot even conduct the war in which she is involved, or would babble nonsense about the need of protection by means of guns and ships and soldiers in the hands of a ruthless capitalist class.

Any program that excuses, dodges and equivocates on the armament question, not only opens the road to the bloody gulf in which half the world is now wallowing (because of just such excuses and cowardice by Socialists), but it adds to the strength of the class against which Socialism fights, and increases the weapons—material and mental—in the hands of our enemies.

The Swiss system of military service won't do—even Roosevelt advocates it. "Furthermore, this war is not being fought with rifles, and until some method is found by which every workingman can afford to keep a 42-centimeter gun in his kitchen, together with sufficient ammunition and other supplies to make it effective, it would be well to talk softly about 'democratic armies.'" This Swiss system is a compromise with militarism:

A majority of the Socialist party are opposed to armament, to the regular army with its brutality and abuse, the tin soldiers of the militia and their murder of strikers, and the whole hideous waste of funds for military purposes when workers are suffering for lack of even the most ordinary social legislation.

This program is being "slipped over on us" with the intention of forming a basis that will excuse support of a soft, nice, gentle, defensive militarism. Later the beast will crawl further into the tent and we will be asked to fight quiet, lady-like wars. Then the road will be paved for the acceptance of the red hell of war in which we can pose as patriots.

I want to know the truth. If the Socialist party is going to make terms with militarism in the face of the horrible results of a similar blunder in Europe, I want it done openly. I want to know just how far this poison has entered into the movement that I believe to be the only thing worth living for, and I want to know whether it is worth living for any longer when it makes compromise with the hell of militarism.

In the *American Socialist* Simons emphasizes the importance of complete disarmament in any practical peace proposal]:

The whole treatment of disarmament is a shameful and dishonest attempt to play cheap politics with the biggest question in the world. Let those who deny its dishonesty give a frank reply to the following questions:

Shall the "international police force" mentioned possess an armament strong enough to whip the rest of the world? If so, who will control it? Should a Socialist congressman vote for armament? If so, for how much? America already expends more than Germany on its navy. Is it now too big or too small? Do you mean it when you say "no increase in existing armaments under any circumstances"? That means complete disarmament in about ten years. If you believe in present armaments, do you want Socialists to vote more profits into the war-lobbying armament ring? Should the army be increased? Are we ready to urge more soldiers for strike duty?

These contradictions are something worse than illogical. They are dishonest. They are intended to permit Socialists to maintain their pose of opposition to war while depending upon capitalists to vote the armaments which Socialists secretly favor.

That is the identical road that led the European comrades to red hell, and we dare not pave our pathway with the same evasive good intentions. The road that leads to militarism leads away from Socialism and the man or the party that tries to travel them both is doomed.

Much of the remainder of the program is absurdly confused. The proposal under "Immediate Action" that efforts should be made in every nation to secure the official adoption of the above program, by the governing bodies, at the earliest possible date, is silly when we notice that the program includes "industrial democracy," and almost the whole Socialist program.

There is a ghastly simplicity about Socialists who talk of "offensive war," in the midst of the greatest war of history, where all involved assert their defensive attitude. This same piffling distinction enabled the Socialists of all the warring countries to excuse their support of the war. Shall we prepare the same pitfall for our own footsteps?

The confused attitude on war and armaments leads to such artificial and foolish proposals as the one about "international ownership" of "strategic waterways," which shows a lack of geographical as well as historical and political knowledge. What Solomon is to name these "strategic ways," and why not land routes as well as water routes, and how is this mysterious "international" something-or-other to be organized and controlled?

Were all of those who framed this program ignorant of the fact that International Socialist Congresses have always opposed these mysterious "internationally" controlled powers, of armament and positions while the governments that composed them were still capitalistically governed? Some European comrades remember the "Holy Alliance," and do not welcome a combination of the masters to put down "inner enemies."

Simons offers two concrete proposals: (1) The United States should invite the co-operation of the South American countries "in a proposal to abolish all armaments and compulsory military service. . . . To this work we can invite the co-operation of every peace-desiring organization." (2) Socialists must oppose "any and all appropriations for military purposes."

MILWAUKEE SOCIALISTS FAVOR A LARGER ARMY

The Larger Army favored by Victor Berger and the Milwaukee *Leader* is to be a "Citizen Army," democratically organized—some-what as introduced by the Labor Party in Australia. But nevertheless every citizen is to be *compelled* to become more or less of a soldier. The Milwaukee *Leader* defends this militarism on the ground that our policy towards Asiatics makes it indispensable. Says the *Leader*:

One of our subscribers after reading Mr. Berger's speech in Congress in favor of a citizen soldiery asks how we can reconcile his programme for national defense with the Socialist internationalism and disarmament—with the "fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man."

We shall not undertake to reconcile Mr. Berger's utterance designed to meet conditions as they are with what might be feasible when swords shall have been beaten into ploughshares and the parliaments of the world shall have been federated. We are not living under Socialism. We are living in an age of capitalistic competition for the world's markets. We are little nearer the Christian millennium under the world empire of Great Britain than we were under the lesser empire of the pagan Caesars.

International Socialism is not pacifist in the sense that it is non-resistant. International Socialism has ever recognized the right of a people to protect their civilizations and institutions from armed attack. It not only recognizes their right to protect themselves, but it has indicated that it considers it the duty of a people with a higher civilization to protect it from violent overthrow by a lower civilization. But International Socialism has ever sought, and still seeks, to create conditions that will lessen the possibilities of war and to relieve the people of the burdens of great armaments without at the same time placing the civilized world at the mercy of armed barbarism.

In May, 1913, Representative Hobson stated at the congressional hearing on the national defenses, the American government expected war with an unnamed nation. The men in the forts at Corregidor island were at their guns night and day and the garrison was strengthened and provisioned with a view to withstanding a two years' siege. Corregidor island is at the entrance of Manila Bay.

Hobson has often been an alarmist, but in this instance he revealed an unpleasant truth, to which he was goaded by the sneer-

ing remark that he was "always seeing things." He challenged the secretary of the navy, who was present, to deny the truth of his statement. The secretary remained silent.

There is no occasion that we should court war with any power, but the fact remains that those who are our most noisy pacifists are often just as noisy in behalf of policies calculated to give affront to those powers which insist that their subjects shall not be singled out for exclusion from our shores or discriminated against.

If, as a nation, we shall insist upon policies that are distasteful to nations that are prepared to enforce their demands then there is one of two things that we may do, abandon or modify our policies voluntarily or under compulsion or prepare to use force to sustain them. The great American yawp will not stop a single soldier from putting foot on our shores or cause a shell from the guns of an enemy's fleet to fall harmless at the water's edge.

It is possible that if American industry should be scrapped, American forts could be dispensed with, American battleships scuttled, and American soldiers disarmed without inviting invasion or disaster. But until the American workingman shall be prepared to take the little brown brother to his bosom and until the American capitalist shall manifest a disposition to surrender his advantages, until the Monroe doctrine shall be repudiated and American pretensions to the overlordship of two continents abandoned a reasonable amount of common sense would suggest that, at least, we should take such a reasonable and democratic measure for national defense as is found in a citizen soldiery.

The complete identity of this point of view with that of our economic-patriotic middle class, as represented by Mr. Hearst, the *New York Times*, *Sun*, etc., will not fail to be remarked.

SOME NEW "SOCIALIST" PRINCIPLES

The representative of the American Socialist Party to the International Socialist Bureau, Morris Hillquit, has formulated and published some new principles that are worthy of attention:

1.—The recent history of Socialist parties is not to be discussed; it is our duty to keep the curtain down on these chapters. Authority: lecture in Cooper Union on November 19th reported by the friendly *New York Call* as follows:

"To call the stand of the German or any other Socialists cowardly or unwise," Hillquit said, "or to discuss what they might have done instead of what they did do is as silly as to discuss what might have happened if Napoleon had been born a hunchback. We are standing in the presence of history. Such speculations may be interesting to indulge in, but they are without basis and lead nowhere."

2.—Socialists should be proud of the fact that they can no longer be called unpatriotic. Authority: Lecture in Cooper Union on November 23rd, as follows:

"The German Socialists were designated by the Kaiser himself as *Vaterlandslose Gesellen*. And the French rulers made the same complaint against the French Socialists. Our European comrades have at last shown conclusively that they have fatherlands."

3.—The struggle between nations has an even more solid foundation than the struggle between classes, and the struggle between nations should and must be given the right of way. Authority: The first lecture quoted, as follows:

"If there is anything the war can teach us," the speaker went on. "It is that when national interest comes into conflict with any other, even class interest, it will be the stronger. National feeling stands for existence primarily, for the chance to earn a livelihood. It stands for everything we hold dear—homes, language, family and friends. The workman has a country as well as a class. Even before he has a class."

4.—All the governments engaged in war are on the same political and social level as far as Socialists are concerned. The value of *political* democracy, therefore, equals zero. Authority: The second lecture already quoted, as follows:

"The final outcome of the war could matter little to Socialists, except that the best thing any radical could hope for was that it would be a draw. . . . If the armies go home exhausted, without having gained definite victories, they will begin to realize the horror and the futility of what they have been doing."

WHY LIEBKNECHT VOTED AGAINST THE SECOND WAR LOAN

The following is the written statement handed by Karl Liebknecht to the President of the Reichstag, on the occasion of his vote against the second war loan on December 2, 1914—all the other Socialists voted for it:

"My vote against the war loan is based upon the following considerations:

"This war, which none of the peoples engaged therein has willed, did not originate for the benefit or the welfare of the German or any other nation. It is an imperialistic war, a war for the domination of the world market, for the political domination over important fields of operation for industrial and bank capital. It is a war mutually fostered by German and Austrian war parties in the darkness of half absolutism and secret diplomacy in order to steal a march on the adversary.

"At the same time this war is a Bonapartist effort to check and divide the growing labor movement. This has been demonstrated with ever-increasing plainness in the past few months.

"The German motto, 'Against Czarism,' as well as the present English and French cries, 'Against Militarism,' has the deliberate

purpose of bringing into play in behalf of race hatred the noblest inclinations and the revolutionary feelings and ideals of the people. To Germany, the accomplice of Czarism, the model of political backwardness down to the present day, does not belong the calling of the liberator of nations. The liberation of the Russian as well as the German people should be their own task.

"This war is not a war of German defense. Its historical character and its development thus far make it impossible to trust the assertion of a capitalistic government that the purpose for which loans are asked is the defense of the fatherland.

"An early peace without conquests should be demanded; every effort in this connection should be assisted. Only the simultaneous and permanent enforcement of the currents going in the direction of such a peace in all the countries at war can bring the bloody butchery to an end.

"Only that peace which has germinated in the soil of the international solidarity of the laboring class can be lasting. It is for this reason that it is the duty of the proletariat of all countries to continue also in this war common Socialistic manifestations in behalf of peace.

"The loan for relief has my approval, with the understanding that the amount asked seems far from being sufficient. Not less eagerly do I vote for everything that will alleviate the hard lot of our brothers in the field, as well as that of the wounded and the sick, for whom I have the deepest sympathy. But I do vote against the war loan demanded as a protest against the war and against those who are responsible for it and have caused it, against the capitalistic purposes for which it is being used, against the annexation plans, against the violation of the independence of Belgium and Luxemburg, against the unlimited authority of martial law and against the neglect of social and political duties of which the government and the ruling classes are guilty."

WHY THE GERMAN SOCIALISTS CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE KAISER

On the occasion of the vote of the Second War Loan (Dec. 2nd) Haase, Chairman of the Socialist Reichstag Group, spoke as follows:

As an addition to the statement of the Imperial Chancellor about Belgium, I declare in the name of the group, that the facts which have become known, are not sufficient to change our conviction, and to make us desert the standpoint which the Imperial Chancellor took on the 4th of August with regard to Luxemburg and Belgium. Up to the last moment we struggled against this war, the deeper causes of which are the conflicts of economic interests.

The borders of our country are still menaced by hostile troops. The German people must still offer its whole strength for the protection of the country. Therefore the Social Democracy grants the new credits demanded. We remember with gratitude all the

brave sons of the people who sacrificed their lives and health for us and all those who have died with unspeakable pains and sufferings in the service of the country. On the 4th of August, in agreement with the International, we announced the principle that every people had the right to national independence and that it is our unchangeable conviction that a prosperous development of peoples is only possible if every nation refuses to violate the integrity and independence of other nations and in this way to plant the seeds of new wars.

Therefore we stand by what we said on the 4th of August.

We demand that an end be made to the war as soon as the goal of safety has been reached and the enemy is disposed to make peace, and that this peace be one that makes possible friendship with neighboring nations.

The Social Democracy condemns those small but active circles in all countries, which are trying by all the means in their power and under cover of a special love of the Fatherland to stir up the hatreds of the peoples against each other, and in their way of doing this forget all truth and decency.

The first paragraph is the important one. On August 4th the Imperial Chancellor said Germany would make good the wrong done to Belgium, which could only mean a sufficient indemnity—according to the latest and best calculation the damage already amounts to the indemnity of the Franco-Prussian war, \$1,000,000,000. To make the Prussian patriots pay this would certainly require a revolution.

For the rest this declaration is a compromise between the declaration of August 4th—when the first war loan was voted—and the defense of the Socialist support of the war by Kautsky. The principle of the August 4th was that the war should be supported because it was defensive and because it was directed against the Czar. This statement is now re-affirmed but the statement is not repeated. Chief emphasis is now laid on the Kautsky principle, only once mentioned in the declaration of August 4th, that there is danger of invasion, which must be avoided.

MESSAGES FROM KARL LIEBKNECHT AND ROSA LUXEMBURG

Karl Liebknecht, in the course of his communication to the Socialists of Great Britain, printed in the *Labor Leader*, December 31, says:

As a representative of labor I am pleased to be able to write a message of brotherhood to British Socialists at a time when the ruling classes of Germany and Great Britain are trying by all means in their power to incite bloodthirsty hatred between the two peoples; but it is painful for me to write these lines at a time when our radiant hope of previous days—the Socialist Interna-

tional—lies smashed on the ground together with a thousand expectations; when even many Socialists in the belligerent countries—for Germany is not an exception—have in this most rapacious of all wars of robbery willingly put on the yoke of the chariot of imperialism, just when the evils of capitalism were becoming more apparent than ever. The example which the Independent Labor Party and our Russian and Servian comrades have given to the world will have a stimulating effect wherever Socialists have been ensnared by the designs of the ruling classes, and I am sure the mass of British workers will soon rally to our help. Confusion reigns in the ranks of the Socialist army. Many Socialists make our principles responsible for our present failure. The failure is due not to our principles but to the representatives of our principles.

All such phrases as "National Defense," and the "Freedom of the People" with which imperialism decorates its instruments of murder, are lying pretense. The emancipation of each nation must be the result of its own efforts. Only blindness can demand the continuation of the murder until the opponents are crushed.

The welfare of all nations is inseparably interwoven. The world war which destroyed the International will surely be recognized as teaching a mighty lesson, from which the necessity of the building-up of a new International becomes clear, of an International of another kind and with a different power than that which the capitalist powers shattered with such ease in August. Only in the co-operation of the working classes of the nations, in war and in peace, lies the salvation of mankind.

Nowhere did the masses desire this war. Why should they murder one another then? In order to end it? It is said that it would be a sign of weakness for any people to propose peace. Then let all the peoples together offer peace. That nation which does it first will not show weakness but strength, and will have earned glory and the gratitude of posterity.

Among the German working people there is already a greater opposition against the war than has generally been supposed. The more it hears the echo of the call for peace in other countries, the more fiery and energetically will it work for peace.

Rosa Luxemburg, active in the revolutionary opposition in the Social Democratic party, writes:

Under the murderous blows of the imperialist groups the working class International, so recently our pride and our hope, has shamefully broken down; and, most shameful of all, the German section, which was called upon to march at the head of the world army of labor. It is necessary to express this bitter truth, not to encourage futile despair and resignation, but, on the contrary, to learn from the mistakes committed in the past and the facts of the existing situation, valuable lessons for the future. Already, after a few months of war, the jingo intoxication which animated the working class of Germany is passing away; and, although they have been deserted by their leaders in this great historic hour, their sense is returning, and every day grows the number of work-

ers who blush with shame and anger at the thought of what is going on to-day.

A SPLIT COMING IN SWITZERLAND?

Militarism and Nationalism may split the Socialist Parties in several countries. Already the split in Switzerland, one of the countries most similar to Germany in the position of its Socialists, has begun. One group of the Socialist members of the Federal Council has declared it intends to vote for the military budget. Another group intends to vote against it. But in reality the Party is divided into three parts. Those who have declared they will vote against the budget are, chiefly, not exclusively, from the French part of Switzerland. A second group, composed of Germans, also declares it will vote against the budget, but only because the governing parties of Switzerland at present refuse to grant certain conditions, which these Socialists demand as the price of their vote.

One of the leaders of the middle group, Sigg of Zurich, says that he expects to be voting for the military budget within a few years, that is as soon as the well-to-do classes consent to pay a fair share of the taxes necessary for military purposes. At a meeting in Zurich in November he said it was certainly true that the army was very frequently misused against working-people to-day—but it was to be hoped that that condition would soon be improved, and that the soldiers would soon despise an order of mobilization for the purpose of suppressing a strike, and would regard the exploiters as the "internal enemy." Sigg has served eight months in prison for anti-military utterances. He also expresses the view that the army won't remain as undemocratic as it has been, that the plutocratic caste among the officers would be abolished by the military themselves, long before present society would be overthrown: "To-day we still have the duty of voting against the ordinary military credits, and of rejecting the budget because the possessing classes refuse to undertake a thorough-going financial reform, and so leave the military burdens on the non-possessors; in a few years that will be changed. To-day we must reject the budget because the greed of the possessing classes refuses to grant the means for great social reforms, so that the military expenditures for this purpose are in a scandalous disproportion with the increasing political influence of the Social Democracy. That may all be different in a few years."

Sigg acknowledged that his stand and that of others who are temporarily and permanently against granting supplies for military purposes might lead to a split in the Party, but he said that would

be a good thing, since he was certain that both groups would continue to work for Socialism.

Another member of the middle group, Grim of Bern, is temporarily against the voting of the present military budget for other reasons. He emphasizes chiefly the attitude of the ruling class not towards the tax question but towards the use of the military in strikes: "We should act according to the decision of the 1905 Congress: the army is not being used exclusively for the defence of the country, so we should refuse to support it. The Party Congress at that time even called upon soldiers commandeered against strikers who refused to obey orders, and the Socialist members of the Federal Council must now also have the courage to make a stand against the coming howl of the Philistines. . . . The vote against the budget is not based on the wish to leave the country defenceless. We reject the budget because the popular army of the bourgeoisie does not correspond to our demands either in its goal or in its organization or in the distribution of burdens. In rejecting the budget we by no means refuse the means for the accomplishment of the guarding of the frontier. For this means were granted on the 3d of August and they voted in favor of it. If we were refused the budget we at last could get out of a contradictory situation. We free ourselves from the odium of an impossible anti-militarism which leads to nothing but confusion, and we free ourselves from the danger of becoming nothing but the captives and train-bearers of the bourgeoisie on the military field." Grimm therefore demands that the army shall be democratized before he is willing to support it. Unlike Sigg he does not expect the reforms demanded by the Socialists to come in a few years but if they do come he is pledged to support the army.

The third group, composed of a number of members of the National Council, which includes Muller, Frei and Pflueger, are in favor of supporting the budget at the present time, the last group claiming that the army is in the first place for the defence of the country and is only secondarily against the working-people.

SHALL INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM BECOME THE TAIL TO THE LABOR UNIONS?

What was hoped for did not happen. On the contrary. Where one had expected to find action to stop the war, there was found support of the war. The International of Labor, instead of opposing the war with its power, granted the moneys that were necessary for carrying on the murders. Socialists who formerly took the self-government of peoples for granted demanded annexations. Instead of opposing the outbreak of nationalist feeling and national

passions, there was a vigorous swimming *with* the nationalist current. Socialist feelings were engulfed in the swamp of "civil peace." Socialist organs praised what they had attacked for a generation. There took place, apparently, a complete transformation in the views of the working-class. . . .

And because the greatest hopes and the greatest expectations had been directed towards the German labor movement, the disillusionment caused by the attitude of its leaders and organs let loose the strongest attacks against this movement.

We believe we shall not prove mistaken if we assume that not only will the political International of Labor be completely crippled for years, perhaps for decades, but that the political labor movement in Germany has a crisis to pass through that will greatly diminish its former importance. . . .

The political labor movements of all the warring countries will have to pass through severe *inner* crises after the end of the war. The economic movement, constructed for the needs of the day, will suffer far less from the war than the political movement. Precisely because of the inevitable weakening of the political movement, the economic movement will come into the foreground more than the welfare of the labor movement as a whole justifies. It will come sooner to international connections and co-operation, because the political questions that divide the political International have far less influence within its ranks. So that the danger threatens that after the war the various labor union Internationals will take the place of the great political International of Labor. And that would bring about for Germany and all countries the same result that happened in England in 1848: The labor unions alone occupying the whole field in the labor movement.—*Translated for the N. Y. Volkszeitung.*

[If the "international" labor unions capture the international movement it will be even more nationalistic than it is to-day. This is illustrated by the violently patriotic attitude of the German unions.

[The official publication of the German Socialist Trade Union, the greatest workmen's association, reviewing the year 1914, says:

["We know that we have to hold out and we shall do so. Our confidence is based not only on the strength, organization and execution of discipline in the army, but also on the love of country that unites all Germans, without exception. If the war keeps on for months, or for years, it will merely forge the nation into more united solidarity and increase her forces immeasurably. The Germans will emerge from the world war the strongest of the belligerents."]

"NO HOPE WITHIN THE A. F. OF L."—*Debs.*

Eugene V. Debs, it is well known, is not only an industrial unionist; he favors a single "Revolutionary Industrial Union instead of a Federation of Reactionary Craft Unions." For several years he hoped to revolutionize the American Federation of Labor.

Last year he began to lose hope and favored a secession of the United Mine Workers to form the backbone of a new organization. And now he says that all the efforts of Socialists "within" the A. F. of L. are useless. "Let it go," he says, and organize a "united," "revolutionary" "working-class" union. We quote from Debs' signed editorial in the *Rip Saw* (January):

The thirty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Philadelphia in November, re-elected President Gompers, increased his salary fifty per cent., and spent most of its time in wrangling over what particular trade unions should collect the dues, and the rest of it in demonstrating that the Gompers reactionary machine was in absolute control.

The Socialists cut a sorry figure in these conventions of an organization that stands flat-footed for capitalism and will never stand for anything else. For twenty years they have been "boring from within" and their boring has penetrated about the length of a mosquito's nozzle in a ram's horn.

"Boring from within" is a mighty good thing in its proper place and that place is in the local unions, but never in a thousand years will they change the Gompers machine from one of reaction to one of revolution. The Civic Federation will see to that.

President Gompers failed to report to the convention that an attempt had been made to bribe him and consequently the Socialists did not vote this year to make his re-election unanimous. But Socialists are on record as having moved in past conventions not only his salary but to re-elect him by acclamation. It does not appear that Samuel is one bit more friendly toward the Socialist delegates on account of this "boring from within" which has been going on until the augers are worn out, but that on the contrary he is treating them with increasing contempt, and this rightly so. He knows they have no business there and in perhaps twenty years more they will come to the same conclusion.

The Gompers machine will remain what it is until it goes into the discard. There would be as much wisdom in sending Socialist delegates to the Civic Federation at its annual fiasco and attempting to convert its members to Socialism by "boring from within."

Let it go. Its own internal wranglings over craft jurisdiction will destroy it. A united working class industrial organization is what is wanted instead of a federation of craft unions.

BOURGEOIS PACIFISM

The New Republic, in reply to Lowes Dickinson—another edition of Norman Angell—makes an exposé of bourgeois pacifism which is identical with many exposés by Socialists. It need scarcely be pointed out that Socialists can endorse practically every word of the following onslaught and arrive, not at the conclusion of *The New Republic*, which advocates nationalism and militarism, but at

the very opposite conclusion—namely, that the need is for internationalization and internationalism.

The New Republic says:

Writing in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Mr. Lowes Dickinson attempts to point the moral of the war and to offer a way out. His theory is that wars are made by governments without the consent and against the interest of their subjects; they are made because the governmental mind is obsessed with the illusion that states are "natural enemies," that they have always been so and always will be, that force is the only arbiter between them. This fantasy of the governing caste, says Mr. Dickinson, is what rules the state, and through control of foreign policy and the press drags the population to slaughter. The remedy is to shatter the illusion, to assert against the criminal nonsense of the governing mind the humanity and common-sense of ordinary people.

To prove these assertions, we need not go beyond the example which Mr. Dickinson uses, the case of Russia and her desire to hold Constantinople. Mr. Dickinson dismisses this ambition with the statement that "for all purposes of trade, for all peace purposes the Dardanelles are open. And it is the interest of all nations alike that they should remain so." What he is assuming here is that it makes no economic difference whether Constantinople is under one political government or another. This is the center of Mr. Dickinson's argument, and it rests on the doctrine of Norman Angell that "political power is a consideration irrelevant to economic power."

Is it irrelevant in a case like that of the Dardanelles? The Black Sea region is already a great agricultural exporting region; it is destined most probably to become the industrial center of Russia. But to carry out goods, Russian ships must pass through a narrow Turkish strait. Mr. Dickinson says that for all "peace purposes" the passage is free. Is it?

The New Republic then points out that Turkey might set up a tariff against Russia at any moment. And here, indeed, is the cause of causes of every modern war. It then continues:

There is the case of Servia, shut off from a "window on the sea." Servia exports pigs, when she isn't fighting for the privilege of exporting them. But to export anything she has to run the gauntlet of an Austrian tariff to the north, Albanian and Greek discrimination to the west and south.

Political power is not in the least irrelevant to economic power. Mr. Dickinson has no doubt heard of a thing which we Americans call vulgarly "dollar diplomacy." European powers do not call it that, but they practice it. They call it staking out "spheres of influence," and there is nothing sentimental or illusory about it. The nation that can secure political control of an undeveloped country can decide who shall receive the mining rights and the railroad franchises, can fix railroad rates to favor its own manufacturers, can use all the methods which Americans describe as restraint of trade.

Mr. Dickinson ignores these considerations when he speaks of national antagonisms arising "because a few men of the military and diplomatic caste have a theory about states, their interests and destinies." He ignores the monopolies, the use of tariffs, the special privileges of which political power is the instrument. He does not face the fact that in every country there are exporters of goods and capital, concession-hunters and traders, who stand to gain by the use of governmental power in half developed territory. To them at least it is not a matter of indifference whether Germany is politically supreme in say India or China. Since Germany has brought the doctrine of protection to its highest point, it would make a very great difference to the commerce of other nations if Germany developed a world-empire.

Every argument advanced by Mr. Dickinson is based on the assumption of absolute free trade in the world, yet in his plan of peace he says not one syllable about how tariffs and discriminations and monopolies are to be wiped out. The conflict between Germany and England is world-wide, yet Mr. Dickinson is thinking only of rectified frontiers in Europe.

When he proposes so readily a League of Europe with a police force to carry out its jurisdiction, has he considered the possibility of civil war within the League? If Germany and Austria rebelled against the League, they would presumably be attacked on all sides. But they are now attacked on all sides. We had on this continent a league of states with a central government, a Supreme Court and an army. In 1861 some of the states seceded, and the struggle which followed, called a Civil War, was a terrible conflict. Has Mr. Dickinson faced the fact that a League of Europe would be based on the *status quo*, would be a sort of legalization of every existing injustice?

The bourgeois pacifist "presupposes absolute free trade in the world," the Socialist internationalist proposes absolute free trade in the world. He knows we shall only get there by degrees, but he knows that wars will continue until we do get there—or at least until we are well on the road.

SOCIALIST DEGENERATION?

Amos Pinchot having demonstrated the decay of the Progressive Party in *The Masses*, at least as far as that party represents progressive principles, it can be no mere coincidence that *The New Republic* brings up the question of Socialist Degeneration. It must be noted, however, that *The New Republic* uses this title ironically, for it suggests that should the Socialists abandon Socialist principles that may be a regeneration from the Progressive standpoint, since it would bring the two parties together. *The New Republic* says:

The election of 1914, like that of 1912, reveals the fact that *the Socialist party of America is ceasing to be a Socialist party, or a*

revolutionary party, or even a party of wage-earners, and is becoming a vague, ungeneralized, democratic organization. It is appealing to farmers, middlemen, and small capitalists as well as to wage-earners, is minimizing or even denying the class struggle, is ignoring the social philosophy of which the party is supposed to be the representative, and is manifesting a willingness to exchange old principles for new votes. For better or worse, the Socialist party suffers that democratic "degeneration" which the Syndicalists maintain is the fate of all political parties.

If the Socialist party were the party of the wage-earners, it would be strong where the wage-earners are many, and weak where the wage-earners are few. But it is in the great industrial states of the Union, with cities and factories and dense masses of workmen, that the Socialists are the weakest. In New York State, after more than forty years of propaganda, the Socialist party vote (1912) is only 4 per cent. of the vote of the State. In other words, only one voter in every twenty-five votes the Socialist ticket. In Massachusetts, a typically industrial state, only 2.6 per cent. of the votes are Socialist; in Rhode Island only 2.6 per cent.; in New Jersey only 3.7 per cent.; in Maryland only 1.7 per cent. In many densely settled industrial states, covered with great factories employing armies of wage-earners, the great mass of workmen hold aloof, and the Socialist party remains weak.

On the other hand, in certain agricultural states, where there are few wage-earners, and where farm owners and tenants who wish to become farm owners do not even know what wage-slavery is, the Socialist vote is comparatively strong. In Kansas, in Minnesota, in Texas, in several other preponderatingly agricultural states, the proportionate Socialist vote is much larger than in New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and other industrial states.

But it is in the newest states in the West that the Socialist vote is the strongest of all. The state with the largest proportion of Socialist votes is not New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Illinois, Ohio, New Jersey, Michigan or Connecticut—which are the eight greatest industrial states, comprising over 63 per cent. of all wage-earners employed in manufacturing—but brand-new, corn-growing, hog-raising Oklahoma. In that state 16.6 per cent. of all voters vote the Socialist ticket, or more than four times the proportion of New York and more than six times the proportion of Massachusetts. After Oklahoma the states which have the largest Socialist vote are the sparsely settled agricultural and mining states of the far West. The only states which have 10 per cent. or more of their votes Socialistic are the seven Western states, Oklahoma, Nevada, Montana, Arizona, Washington, California and Idaho.

What we find everywhere is a deproletarianization of the Socialist party, and an opening of the party doors to all sorts of voters, proletarian, non-proletarian and anti-proletarian.

EDITORS' NOTE

We shall publish in the March NEW REVIEW the answers to our call "To the Socialist Public." In the same issue will appear a very interesting article by Theodore Schroeder, "Free Speech and the War."

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