

August  
First

# New Review

Ten  
Cents

A CRITICAL SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

VOL. III. 10c. a copy Published on the first and fifteenth of the month. \$1.50 a year No. 11

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## "Laborism" Triumphant?

**S**ILENTLY, relentlessly, class war convulses England. "Civil Peace" does not prevail, nor are the unions acquiescent to government dictation, as in Germany. British labor is not simply fighting to retain the rights threatened by war measures; it is consciously and unconsciously fighting to secure a part, a dominant part if possible, in the government of the nation.

The strike of 200,000 miners in Wales, their triumph over the government and its Munitions Act, demonstrate the acute character of the struggle and the power of labor. That Hervè should characterize the strike as "treason not only against England, but against France and the rest of the Allies," proves his war-mania, but does not alter the central fact: *the strike was directly caused by the mine operators' desire to starve the workers and crush their organization, The National Federation of Miners.* This was in line with the policy of the whole Capitalist Class of England, which is using the war as an opportunity to deprive the workers of the rights and power secured by the struggles of many years. The miners showed their "treason" by making 217,000 enlistments, 20 per cent. of the total recruits and 50 per cent. of the miners of military age, according to Prime Minister Asquith himself; while the mine operators showed their "patriotism" by selling coal to the people and the government at prices that have aroused universal protest. Fortunes are made, while the workers starve and the nation trembles.

The miners gave the operators three months' notice of the intention to strike if their demands were not granted. The operators used the war as a pretext to deny the miners the right of making new agreements in April. The miners demanded an increase in wages to meet the high cost of living, and pointed out the damning fact that the operators were making profits of 50 per cent. to 100 per cent. A member of the London County Council characterized the finance of the mine owners as "robbery," and said that one of the companies which had offered him shares was paying dividends of 50 per cent., and expected to pay 100 per cent. dividends for 1915. According to Sir Arthur Markham, "the price of coal in Wales has now been advanced by from 70 per cent. to 100 per cent., but the miners in the meantime have not received a penny increase in wages."

The original demands of the miners included nothing of a political nature; but when the government threatened them with the Munitions Act, which makes striking a heavily punishable offense, they demanded that the Act should not apply to them. The first time this Act was applied was against the miners, and failed utterly of its purpose. The government met defeat, as it met defeat in the Clyde strike.

The coalition government was organized chiefly for the purpose of putting through the Munitions Act and the National Register Bill. The passage of the Act was preceded by a tremendous and vicious

agitation against labor. Lord Landsdowne, secretary for war during the early stages of the Spoilation of the Boers, in a speech in the House of Lords last March emphasized two points, and only two: *the urgent need for further statutory safeguards for employers' profits, and the government's duty to deal sternly, fearlessly with discontented workers—"the enemy within our gates."*

The Munitions Act was intended to meet the situation in the interests of the Capitalist Class and the National Defense, and aroused labor protest everywhere. *Justice* criticized it caustically:

"One of the reasons which always, and with some reason, has been put forward in defense of the British domination in Egypt is that we have done away with the forced labor or Corvée of the Fellaheen. . . But now our government, with its slap-dash tyranny, has introduced here the Turkish Corvée of Egypt for the benefit of English workers. . . This Munitions Act, as it stands, places the workers of Great Britain at the mercy of the class which dominates us to an extent not yet fully understood."

The passage of the Act was preceded by an event of great significance. This was the consultation on the munitions problem between representatives of the unions and Lloyd George, who took these men into his confidence. About the meaning of this event the *Labour Leader* is specific:

"The Trade Unions may be congratulated on their sudden recognition as a Fourth Estate. For that is what it really means, at least in Labor affairs. We shall see if the Trade Unions will have the strength to maintain the greatness which has been thrust upon them."

The whole situation provides an opportunity, a magnificent opportunity, for British "Laborism" to secure recognition as a part of the governing class. This is not clearly stated by the *Labour Leader*, but the implication is obvious:

"It will be some months yet before it is finally decided whether Trade Unionism will emerge from this war having won its rightful place in industry or whether it will sink into the permanent destitution of Lazarus at the rich man's table. We have no hesitation in saying that Trade Unionism has an opportunity just now which may mean the saving of this country from the heavy penalties of peace. If the Trade Unions drift as they have been drifting since last August, then the opportunity will be lost. Then we may expect the advent of forced labor and the long night of the servile State."

A few days prior to the miner's strike, J. H. Thomas, M. P., and assistant secretary of the National Union of Railway Men, warned the government that labor would revolt if all efforts were not directed toward defeating the enemy:

"I therefore say to those in authority: Stop this fooling. It is senseless talking to workers about unity unless you set the example yourselves.

"You passed the Defence of the Realm act and also the Munitions act with a view to bringing to the work of the country all sections of people. Apply the principles and penalties of those acts to the top as well as to the bottom.

"Having spoken quite plainly and fearlessly of what I know to be the feeling of large masses in the country, I still say that the war is so important, the issues involved so vital to the future of democracy, that I would say to the workers: 'Let us continue to set these people the example. Let us continue to give of our best, so that when the history of the war is written, and, I hope, victory recorded, it will never be said that the working classes of this country failed to respond to their duties and responsibilities.'

"If those who are paid to run the nation fail to realize their duty, you may depend upon it the time is not far distant when the workers themselves will rise in revolt."

The indications now are that the war will leave the working class, as represented in organized "Laborism," stronger economically and politically, than any other class in England. The working class has the power and seems intent upon using it for its own class advantage. But there is nothing revolutionary about the workers of England. Their purposes are defined along strictly nationalistic lines; they seek a position of dominance *within the nation* and for conservative purposes. Yet it is one of the momentous social phenomena of the war—momentous in the measure that "Laborism" triumphs in its ends.

LOUIS C. FRAINA.

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Published by the New Review Publishing Association

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

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

# Current Affairs

## First Anniversary of the War.

**W**HEN this issue of the NEW REVIEW reaches our readers, the great world-war will have lasted a year, and the chances of the being over soon seem to be now less than ever before. Among the many surprises of this greatest of all historical conflicts is its long duration.

When the war broke out, people generally expected a short war. Germany,—both official and unofficial,—expected a short war, for obvious reasons: the war was planned and entered into on the supposition that it would be a short one. The premises upon which this plan was based were simple enough. Germany had the hugest and the most perfectly ordered war-machine the world has ever seen,—a war-machine ready to strike at a moment's notice. Her opponents had nothing which could even remotely measure up to it. Even France, whose army was fairly efficient, was not in a class with Germany as to the size, equipment, and readiness of her military apparatus. If France could be crushed before Russia became ready, that would not only settle the final outcome of the war, but also its duration. For the crushing of France would be the virtual end of the war. In order that the war may be won France must therefore be crushed *swiftly*. And as the war *must* be won, France *shall* be crushed *swiftly*, and the war be over in no time.

Germany's opponents also expected a short war, but for different reasons; reasons less substantial by far than those on which Germany based her calculations. The principal one was that Germany couldn't possibly "fight the world" for very long. Then there were those who believed that "the world", including Germany, could not stand the appalling slaughter of modern warfare for any great length of time; nor our capitalistic system the terrible waste of wealth and property. Most of us will recall Hyndman's prediction that if the war lasted for six months capitalism would break down and Socialism take its place.

Well, the war has lasted twice six months and Socialism isn't here yet. Nor is the end of the war in sight. In fact we seem to be further away from it than we were a year ago. The reason is apparent: the Socialists were not the only ones who were mistaken in their calculations. Germany made the mistake of underestimating either the power of resistance of France or the state of preparedness of Russia. Also, the military value to her opponents of her brutal attack upon Belgium, and of her avowed intentions to establish a world-empire ruled by her Mailed Fist. Germany's opponents, on the other hand, underestimated the marvellous power of or-

ganization. The belief that Germany could not "fight the world" was based on the antiquated notion that "in numbers there is strength". This war has proven beyond any shadow of a doubt that "organization's the thing".

And that's why the war is likely to be a long one; Germany's wonderful organization is such as to insure to her the lead over her opponents for a considerable time to come. On the other hand, Germany's opponents possess most of the elements necessary for organization, and the progress of the war has taught them, or will teach them, the inevitable lesson of utilizing these elements so as to construct an organization efficient enough, at least when added to their superiority of numbers, to beat back Germany's onslaught. This war will therefore not end until Germany has recognized her failure and given up her fight for world-supremacy. Although it may be broken up into a series of wars, like the Napoleonic Wars, by Germany's initial successes, which may compel her opponents to conclude a temporary peace on her own terms.

Unless, indeed, the German Working Class should wake up to the realization of the fact that it has no interest in Germany's domination of the world. Such a realization would put an end to the war without much further ado, as it is Germany's working class that constitutes the chief element of strength in her wonderful organization.

How much longer this war should last, is, therefore, distinctly a matter which is "up to" the workers of Germany.

## The Beginning of the End?

**I**T LOOKS very much as if we are witnessing the beginning of the end of the great Social Democratic Party of Germany as we have known it until recently—the Socialist Party feared by its foes and loved by its friends as no other Socialist Party in the world. The collapse of the greatest political organization of the working class will be among the most important and disheartening results of the great world-war. Nevertheless it became quite inevitable, the moment the supporters of the war gained control over it. That the Socialist Party of Germany could go on forever supporting this most criminal of wars without energetic protest from its own membership, including as that does some of the best men in the international socialist movement, was, of course, quite impossible. But any such protest, when accompanied by action even of the mildest kind was sure to lead to a complete break-down. The German Socialist Party derived considerable of its strength from its sense of discipline. But it is this very principle of discipline,—carried to the extent of raising it to the importance of an end in itself instead of merely a means to an end,—which was to prove its undoing.

When the war broke out the party was divided on the question of the proper policy towards the war,—the majority was in favor of “standing by the nation” now that the war was on, while a strong minority was in favor of continuing the opposition to the war. In any other country this would have shown itself at the first test, that of granting the first war-credits, the majority voting for them and the minority against. Not so in Germany. The greatest crime known to a German Socialist is that of a breach of discipline. Not a single socialist deputy therefore dared to vote against the war-credits in open session of the Reichstag, after the party caucus had decided in favor. Party unity was put above principle.

The results were most unfortunate. The world at large gained the impression that the entire Socialist Party of Germany had turned nationalist-imperialist. This turned every lover of freedom and justice into an enemy of Germany. From the actions of Germany’s ruling classes there might be the hope of escape in the German proletariat. But who shall save us when the entire German Working Class has become military-mad? Obviously, the only salvation lies in the destruction of Germany, or at least Germany’s military supremacy. A nation whose Socialists could be *unanimous* for such a war must evidently have something radically wrong about it. It is a danger to all free development, and must at least be kept safely in check if not actually subdued. This conclusion inevitably followed the supposed unanimity of the German Socialists in supporting the war. The explanation of Jules Guesde on assuming office as a member of the French Cabinet that he considered it his duty to fight against *traitor-workmen* was no mere hypocritical phrase. It voiced, in fact, the sentiments of many socialists who had not been carried off their feet by the nationalistic tide which the war unloosed.

A necessary consequence of the impression of German Socialism thus created abroad will be the loss of the German Party’s hegemony in the International Socialist Movement for many years to come, if not forever. There will, of course, be many who will consider this one of the few blessings of the present war. This view has been frequently expressed, among others by writers in the NEW REVIEW. But to the present writer the loss to Germany of her hegemony of the International is among the great misfortunes of the war. The German Party has always been a great power for good in the International Socialist Movement, and her leadership will be sadly missed.

But the worst effects of the supremacy of Discipline to all other considerations now show themselves in the demoralization of the German Party organization, the unity of which it was supposed to

preserve. The breach of discipline could, of course, only be deferred. It had to come in the end. But the longer it was suppressed the more its destructive effect when it came. The party having been unanimous for the war in the beginning, all opposition to the war was treated by the party authorities and the supporters of the majority as opposition to the party itself. On the other hand, opposition to the war necessarily assumed the form of opposition to the party. And as the opposition to the war is bound to grow, the party is becoming demoralized as an organization. And the more the attempts to invoke the power of the God Discipline the greater the demoralization. For discipline when put above principle has very much the same effect as the Deacon’s art in building the famous one-hoss shay. It will keep the organization together for a long time, but then,—

“How it went to pieces all at once,—  
All at once, and nothing first,  
Just as bubbles do when they burst.”

Whether or not the German Socialist Party has already gone to pieces, it is under present conditions impossible to tell. But it looks very much like it. Here are a few of the facts:

In Wurtemberg there is a formal split, with a dual organization; and it looks very much as if the majority of the membership is in secession. The deputation in the Prussian Landtag is split in two, and the factional fight is extremely bitter. The Berlin *Vorwaerts*, the central organ of the party, is in opposition to the official policy of the party. Recently some five hundred of the most active men in the party, among them editors, members of parliament, organizers, etc., have addressed to the national executive committee and the Reichstag delegation an open letter demanding a change of policy. This letter is couched in language which had not been used in inner party discussion in Germany within the life of the present generation. More recently still, Kautsky, Bernstein, and Haase have united in a manifesto similar in substance although couched in milder language. The importance of this last document cannot be overestimated. Not only because of the importance of the men who signed it, but also because of the change of attitude which it shows. Kautsky and Haase were opposed to the policy of the majority from the beginning, but submitted out of respect for His Holiness Discipline. Now they are in open rebellion. Bernstein was originally with the majority in voting the war credits. He, too, is now in open rebellion.

The spectacle of the great German Social Democracy going to pieces is a sad one. And yet, there is hope in all this. Not for the German Social Democracy as at present constituted, but for the German Socialist proletariat; and with it for the proletariat of the world.

L. B. BOUDIN.

# Class War and the International

By Rosa Luxemburg

[Before she could finish this article, Rosa Luxemburg was sent to prison to serve a sentence for anti-militarist agitation. It appeared in *The International*, a magazine started by Franz Mehring and Rosa Luxemburg, and suppressed by the censor upon the appearance of the first issue.]

**T**HE German Social Democracy handed in its political resignation on August 4, 1914. On the same day the Socialist International collapsed. All attempts to deny this fact or to conceal it merely serve to perpetuate the conditions which brought it about.

This collapse is without a parallel in history. Socialism or imperialism—this is the alternative which summed up the political life of the various labor parties of the world during the past decade. In Germany especially it has formed the basis of countless programs, discussions and publications. One of the chief purposes of the Social Democracy has been the correct formulation of thought and sentiment with regard to this alternative.

With the outbreak of the war the word became flesh; the alternative changed from a historical tendency to a political situation. Face to face with this alternative as a fact the Social Democracy, which had been the first to recognize it and bring it to the consciousness of the working class, struck its sails and without a struggle conceded the victory to imperialism. Never before, since there have been a class-struggle and political parties, has there existed a party which, after fifty years of uninterrupted growth, after the attainment of a preeminent position of power, has thus by its own act within twenty-four hours wiped itself off the map.

The apologists for this act, Kautsky among them, maintain that the whole duty of Socialists in time of war is to remain silent. Socialism, they say in effect, is a power for peace, not against war. But there is a logic of events none can elude. The moment Socialists ceased to oppose war they became, by the stern logic of events, its supporters. The labor unionists who have discontinued their struggles for improved conditions, the women who have withdrawn from Socialist agitation in order to help minimize the horrors of war, and the Socialist party leaders who spend their time in the press and on the platform securing support for the government and suppressing every effort at criticism—all of these are not merely maintaining silence. They are supporting the war as heartily as any Conservative or Centrist. When and where was there ever a war which could exhibit a similar spectacle?

Where and when was the disregard of all constitutional rights accepted with such submissiveness?

Where was there ever such glorification by an opposition party of the strictest censorship of the press? Never before did a political party sacrifice its all to a cause against which it had sworn again and again to sacrifice its last drop of blood. The mighty organization of the Social Democracy, its much praised discipline, gave the best proof of themselves in the fact that four millions of human beings allowed themselves to be hitched to the war chariot at the command of a handful of parliamentarians. The half-century of preparation on the part of the Socialist party comes to fruition now in this war. All our education of the masses make them now the obedient and effective servants of the imperialist state. Marx, Engels and Lassalle, Liebknecht, Bebel and Singer trained the German proletariat in order that Hindenburg might lead it.

Our official theorists are not without an explanation of this phenomenon. They are perfectly willing to explain the slight disagreement between their actions of today and their words of yesterday. Their apology is that "although the Social Democracy has concerned itself much with the question as to what should be done to prevent war it has never concerned itself with the problem as to what should be done after the beginning of hostilities". Ready to do everybody's bidding, this theory assures us that the present practice of our party is in the most beautiful harmony with our past theories. The delightfully adaptable theory is likewise ready and willing to justify the present position of international Socialism in reference to its past. The International treated only the question of the prevention of war. But now, "war is a fact," and, as it turns out, after the outbreak of war Socialists are to be guided by entirely new principles. After war has actually begun the great question for each proletariat is: Victory or defeat? Or, as an "Austro-Marxist" explains, a nation, like any other organism, must preserve its existence. In plain language this means: The proletariat has not one fundamental principle as scientific Socialism heretofore maintained, but two, one for peace and another for war. In time of peace, we are to suppose, the workers are to take cognizance of the class-struggle within the nation and of international solidarity in relation to other countries; in time of war, on the other hand, class-solidarity becomes the dominant feature of internal affairs and the struggle against the workers of other countries dominates the proletarian view of foreign relations. To the great historic appeal of the Communist manifesto is added an important amendment and it reads now, according to Kautsky's revision:

"Workers of all lands unite in peace and cut one another's throats in war!" Today, "Down with the Russians and French!" tomorrow, "We are brothers all!" For, as Kautsky says in *Die Neue Zeit*, the International is "essentially an instrument of peace," but "no effective agent in war."

This convenient theory introduces an entirely novel revision of the economic interpretation of history. Proletarian tactics before the outbreak of war and after must be based on exactly opposite principles. This presupposes that social conditions, the bases of our tactics, are fundamentally different in war from what they are in peace. According to the economic interpretation of history as Marx established it, all history is the history of class-struggle. According to Kautsky's revision, we must add: except in times of war. Now human development has been periodically marked by wars. Therefore, according to this new theory, social development has gone on according to the following formula: a period of class-struggles, marked by class solidarity and conflicts within the nations; then a period of national solidarity and international conflicts—and so on indefinitely. Periodically the foundations of social life as they exist in time of war. And again, at the moment of the signing of a treaty of peace, they are restored. This is not, evidently, progress by means of successive "catastrophes;" it is rather progress by means of a series of somersaults. Society develops, we are to suppose, like an iceberg floating down a warm current; its lower portion is melted away, it turns over, and continues this process indefinitely.

Now all the known facts of human history run straight counter to this new theory. They show that there is a necessary and dialectic relation between class-struggle and war. The class-struggle develops into war and war develops into the class-struggle; and thus their essential unity is proved. It was so in the medieval cities, in the wars of the Reformation, in the Flemish wars of liberation, in the French Revolution, in the American Rebellion, in the Paris Commune, and in the Russian uprising in 1905.

Moreover, theoretically Kautsky's idea leaves not one stone of the Marxian doctrine on another. If, as Marx supposes, neither war nor the class-struggle falls from heaven, but both arise from deep social-economic causes, then they cannot disappear periodically unless their causes also go up in vapor. Now the proletarian class-struggle is a necessary aspect of the wage system. But during war the wage system does not tend to disappear. On the contrary, the aspects of it which give rise to the struggle of the class become especially prominent. Speculation, the founding of new companies to carry on war industries, military dictatorship—all these influences tend to increase the class differences dur-

ing time of war. And likewise the class rule of the bourgeoisie is not suspended; on the contrary, with the suspension of constitutional rights it becomes sheer class dictatorship. If, then, the causes of the class-struggle are multiplied, strengthened, during war how can their inevitable result be supposed to go out of existence? Conversely, wars are at the present time a result of the competition of various capitalist groups and of the necessity for capitalist expansion. Now, these two forces are not operative only while the cannon are booming; they are active in peace as well, and it is precisely in time of peace that they influence our life in such a way as to make the outbreak of war inevitable. For war is, as Kautsky loves to quote from Clausewitz, "the continuation of politics by other means." And the imperialist phase of capitalist rule, through competition in building of armaments, has made peace illusory, for it has placed us regularly under military dictatorship and has thereby made war permanent.

Therefore our revised economic interpretation of history leads to a dilemma. Our new revisionists are between the devil and the sea. Either the class-struggle persists in war as the chief life-condition of the proletariat and the declaration of class harmony by Socialist leaders is a crime against the working class; or carrying on the class-struggle in time of peace is a crime against the "interests of the nation" and the "security of the fatherland." Either class-struggle or class-harmony is the fundamental factor in our social life both in peace and war.

Either the International must remain a heap of ruins after the war or its resurrection will take place on the basis of the class-struggle from which it took its rise in the first place. It will not reappear by magic at the playing over of the old tunes which hypnotized the world before August 4. Only by definitely recognizing and disowning our own weaknesses and failures since August 4, by giving up the tactics introduced since that time, can we begin the rebuilding of the International. And the first step in this direction is agitation for the ending of the war and the securing of peace on the basis of the common interests of the international proletariat.

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# Internationalism in the United States

By Charles A. Beard

RACE pride and prejudice have been among the chief sources of social and international conflicts since the beginning of recorded history. Even in the most primitive societies racial characteristics are sharply marked; indeed, one might almost say the more primitive the society, the deeper and more bitter the race hatreds. Herbert Spencer relates how the priest of a semi-barbaric tribe thanked his god that of all the tribes in his quarter of the world only one was to be saved from everlasting hell fire and then gave added thanks that it was his tribe which was so favored. The Greeks called all outsiders "barbarians." The Romans boasted that their "citizenship" made all the world bow. In the nineteenth century we heard *ad nauseam* of "Anglo-Saxon superiority," and "Anglo-Saxon supremacy," in connection with "bearing the white man's burden," while getting possession of the black man's lands. Now, it is Pan-Slavism and Pan-Germanism, and a distinguished sociologist has gone so far as to hold that when race pride and prejudice disappear the race is on the way to death. The cosmopolitan who refuses to hate an Englishman, Frenchman, German, Russian, Serb, or Italian as such is not only in bad form, but an enemy of his race.

And yet we in the United States have demonstrated before our eyes daily the folly of much that passes for race pride and patriotism. Daily we see about us English, Scotch, Irish, Germans, Italians, Russians, Serbs, Bohemians, French, Jews, and representatives of all the other warring nationalities of Europe. We carry on business with them, we dine them in cafés, we meet them in social intercourse, we engage in politics with them. In the second generation we see the "cultural" badges of distinction, developed by centuries of sharp separation in Europe, largely disappear, and we find identical economic processes and methods of living producing something approximating a single type—known as the American. Economic intercourse cannot be carried on where race hatred constantly obtrudes. The instinctive repulsion which the representative of one nationality feels as a result of centuries of cultivation must be inhibited because it "interferes with business." A few years of inhibition establishes a habit. However deep seated the original prejudice, the habit begets indifference, and indifference is the basis of democracy.

Of course, it will not be contended that all the

racial prejudices have disappeared in the United States among the Europeans who have come to these shores. It was hardly to be expected that the deep seated emotional tendencies cultivated through tens of centuries could be uprooted in less than one century. Moreover there are many agencies for keeping alive those prejudices even after allegiance to the former nation has been surrendered. The barrier of language is not altogether broken down and the presses of the respective nationalities once established thrive upon the maintenance of the original characteristics. Churches with their endowments and paid priests become economic institutions which serve to perpetuate the distinction on which they are founded. Politicians attempt to gain advantage by fanning the fires of race prejudice, but fortunately they are not often very successful. But with all these forces at work to preserve separatism, the melting pot is slowly merging the races that come to the United States into one nationality.

The hopeful thing about it all is that economic necessity can overcome the deepest prejudices nourished by ages of assiduous cultivation. A Jewish employer will not keep an Irish foreman who cannot properly handle Italian laborers! An Italian boss who cannot keep his men working comfortably along side of a gang of Czechs will soon find himself out of a job. A German clerk who cannot keep his composure while selling nitrates to a British subject is soon an applicant for another position. A floor walker of British origin who cannot smile pleasantly to a German customer and display the courtesy appropriate for a drawing room is speedily called to the office to draw his final pay. And so it runs throughout the myriad ramifications of our daily economic intercourse.

There is a tradition of course that the United States was founded and dedicated to all nations of the earth and it has long been an American boast that the gates are opened to the oppressed and heavy laden of every land. To a certain extent this tradition and this boast have their justification, but economic causes underlie them both. Before the American Revolution nearly all of the immigrants came from the British Islands, but Pennsylvania was largely recruited from Germany, because the proprietors, the Penn family, needed settlers to fill up waste lands which would have otherwise been worthless. After the war of independence, the nascent capitalistic group of which Hamilton was the head,

in seeking to build up American industries, had to find skilled artisans and to convince the opposing agrarians headed by Jefferson that the growth of industries would not draw labor from the farms and thus make higher wages in agriculture. Long afterward, when the Irish began to come in great numbers, the country was entering upon the great railway building era and needed tens of thousands of strong-armed "Paddies" to build road beds and lay rails. Then after the Civil War the might up-swing of the iron and steel and other industries called for more men than the British Islands could furnish, and so the streams of immigrants began to flow in from all the other nations of Europe. Economic advantages drew from this side and meager economic opportunities drove from the other side. The wages system was independent of the blood that flowed in the veins. New England, the home of the "pure" Puritan became the home of all the races of the earth. When a member of Congress was taken to task for voting for a wide-open immigration which spoiled the "strain," he replied confidentially that "We kill a hundred thousand men in industry every year, and we must have others to fill their place." This was a brutally frank expression of the economic necessity that broke down the original strain.

## Progressivism "In Action"

By Austin Lewis

**I**T will be remembered that William English Walling wrote some years ago a book entitled *Progressivism and After*. In this book he endeavored to show that the tendency was towards a gradual broadening of the base of government, the result of which as far as can be seen at present, would be the admission of organized labor as a recognized portion of the governing classes.

In California where the Progressive movement has possibly developed more rapidly than elsewhere, this tendency has become exceedingly marked. The beginning of the tendency dates from 1911, and there have been three sessions of the California Legislature under the Progressive administration. This Progressive administration has now come to an end by the passing of the non-partisan act which ends party government in the State of California.

How far labor has profited by the Progressive administration may be seen from the following list of the enactments of the forty-first session of the Legislature. Mr. Paul Scharrenberg, the Secretary-Treasurer of the California State Federation of Labor, regards these as decidedly pro-labor measures, heading them in his report, "What Labor Got From the Forty-first Session."

1. A better Workmen's Compensation Act (first) by having the law apply to occupational diseases as well as to industrial accidents. (Second) by removing the ninety-day limit from the time in which employers are required to furnish medical and surgical treatment.

2. Removal of the "property qualification" of jurors. This will make it possible to select jurors from all classes of people regardless of their "tax-paying" abilities.

3. A \$40,000 appropriation for University extension work. This is the first time the California Legislature appropriated funds for the specific purpose of bringing the great work of our State University into the homes of the working people.

4. A \$50,000 appropriation for Free State Employment Bureaus under the control of the State Labor Commissioner. Also a law placing a maximum upon the fees collected from the working people by private employment agencies. Also new legislation giving the Labor Commissioner further power to regulate and supervise private employment agencies.

5. An improved Child Labor Law; raising the age limit of dangerous occupations, prohibiting children under ten years of age from engaging in street trades, and making other minor improvements.

6. A semi-monthly payday law. Not as far-reaching as it should be, but a good beginning.

7. An improved Labor Camp Inspection Law, and a \$10,000 appropriation for its enforcement under the Immigration and Housing Commission.

8. A new law providing for the prompt Payment of Wages. This legislation became necessary when the present law upon that subject was declared unconstitutional.

9. A law providing for State supervision of tenement and lodging house inspection. Heretofore this subject has been left entirely to the various counties and municipalities, as a result of which policy there was neither regulation nor inspection in many sections of the State.

10. A law creating the office of "Public Defender" in each county at the discretion of the respective boards of supervisors.

11. An improved law definitely prohibiting the issuance of coupons, scrip or other non-negotiable paper or checks, for wages to become due; the present law applies only to wages already due. Also a law prohibiting managers, superintendents and foremen from accepting fees or "presents" from employees; the present law covers only the employer and not his representatives.

12. A law giving labor unions further protection in the use of their labels by making misrepresentation or imitation of labels a misdemeanor.

13. A law placing under the jurisdiction of the Railroad Commission or the Industrial Accident

Commission every employer who makes deductions from the worker's pay envelope for so-called "hospital service." Also providing that funds thus collected shall be used exclusively for that purpose.

14. A law regulating Private Detective Agencies and requiring a bond of \$2,000. Also a law regulating the treatment of prisoners or persons in the hands of the authorities; commonly known as the bill "to abolish the third degree."

15. An anti-usury law. Limiting the rate of interest which may be legally charged by pawnshops and others. This represents the first real effort in California to curb the pernicious activities of the loan shark.

Of the above list Number Two, which removes the "property qualification" from jurors, while new in the State of California, exists elsewhere.

Number Ten which creates the office of a public defender in each county, at the discretion of the respective boards of supervisors, is very valuable, as has been shown in the history of the City of Los Angeles.

However, the backward counties in all probability will not recognize this law, as it is not compulsory, and the unskilled migratory laborers will still be in a disadvantageous position.

Labor has profited enormously by the foregoing legislation, and organized labor has undoubtedly received recognition as a part of the governing system of the State of California. No better proof of this is needed than the \$50,000 appropriation for free State employment bureaus, which bureaus are placed in the control of the State Labor Commissioners.

# Organized Labor A Business?

By M. Rhea

**T**HE revolt of the miners in Butte was not a revolt of labor against capital, but a revolt of labor against the labor leaders. This attack upon organized leadership, and the unwarranted interference with their economic interest produced a conflict where, for the first time in labor history, the leaders of organized labor demanded that society as represented by organized government murder certain refractory members of the "rank and file" in order that organized labor leadership, as represented by those in power, might be sustained.

After the revolt one of the demands formulated by the miners was that President Chas. H. Moyer and the Executive Board, resign and a new one elected. Mr. Moyer then came to Butte in an effort to patch things up. When he arrived he had with him a number of armed men who were acting as his body guard. To this body of private gunmen a number of irresponsibles were added in Butte. At least some of them were ex-convicts and some were thought to be men engaged in the easy and respectable occupation of "sticking up" passing pedestrians in unlighted portions of the city. About twenty deputy sheriffs were added to this private army, similiar in character to those valiant patriots who so nobly defended the dignity and honor of Idaho and Colorado. With this body as a nucleus a meeting contrary to the advice of the Butte city administration, was held at the Miners' Hall. It was this body of private gunmen who, without just provocation, fired into the crowd, killing Mr. Noy and wounding two others.

After the shooting a riot ensued during which the Hall was dynamited. The labor leaders, headed by Mr. Moyer, fled the city in terror. Two things might

have been done that night: the city, the city failing then the county, could have cleared the streets by use of rifle or cannon. It would have been necessary to have killed at least one hundred men. Or the policy could have been used that was used and the disturbance quieted without the further loss of life.

A conference was held by Moyer and his crowd at the Placer Hotel. It was decided to see the Governor, and a meeting was arranged for that evening. Those important to this narrative present were Governor Stewart, Mr. Moyer, Attorney-General Kelly, and Mart. M. Donohue, President Montana Federation of Labor.

An incident in the political life of Montana must here be given for the reader to understand Mr. Donohue's interruption of Mr. Moyer during the conference with the Governor, and in their wishing the Governor to do certain things without them really having asked him to. During the Eleventh Session of the Legislature a military bill, far more drastic than the customary one, was presented by Dr. D. J. Donohue, of Glendive. As soon as notice of its introduction had been given by Dr. Donohue he gave a copy of the bill to Mart. Donohue, President Montana Federation of Labor, and asked him to go over it and if there was anything in it that was objectionable to organized labor that it would be changed. President Martin Donohue had a copy of the bill in his possession for twenty-one days. When he returned it he asked that two very slight changes be made. This was granted. The bill contained ninety-seven glaring conflicts with our state and national constitutions, ranging in importance from the suppression of free speech to execution without trial. No member of the Legislature, or

at least not many, had been asked to vote against it. Organizations of labor throughout the state were not notified that such a measure was pending. There was no agitation against it. When the vote was being taken Burton K. Wheeler, the leader of the house, came on the floor and heard mention made of a "military bill". Never having heard of such a measure he sought President Donohue whom he found smoking in the lobby.

"Has organized labor any objections to the military bill up in the house?" Wheeler asked.

President Donohue cited a section that prohibited members of organized labor from making faces at the militia when they were on duty or parade.

"Is that the only objection to this bill?" Wheeler demanded.

"Yes," said the man whose grasp of fundamentals is so profound as to lead him to believe that the economic power of labor can best be expressed by making faces.

"Then I am going back in and vote for it," Wheeler said, and the man who could have defeated the bill in a minute went in and voted for it.

Labor was aroused as it never was before. Donohue issued a statement denouncing the bill and stating that it had been slipped through during the last few hours of the session and all unbeknown to him. The measure was put to a referendum vote and defeated five to one by the conservative general public. But I digress most shamefully.

After the introductions and conventional pleasantries had been exchanged, Mr. Moyer said:

"Mr. Governor, the Western Federation of Miners is a corporation doing business in the state of Montana. Our business is the maintenance of an office in Butte, the collection of dues from miners working in the camp, and the fulfillment of our contractual obligations with the different mining companies of that camp. This, owing to recent disturbances, caused, if not actually brought about, by the inefficiency of the county and city administrations of Butte and Silver Bow County, we are unable to do. We therefore come to you, as Governor of the state, and ask that you give us the protection of the state while we are discharging our regular and lawful business."

*Governor Stewart:* "Just what kind of protection do you refer to?"

*Mr. Moyer:* "I want sufficient protection to transact the business of the Western Federation of Miners in a peaceful and legal manner."

*Gov. Stewart:* "But just what kind of protection?"

*Mr. Moyer:* "What kind of protection have you got?"

*Gov. Stewart:* "I have no protection outside the state militia. We have no state constabulary or other force that could be sent."

*Mr. Moyer:* "Then in Montana it is necessary to stand idly by and see our property destroyed?"

*Gov. Stewart:* "No, but I would first have to know what kind of protection was desired."

*Mr. Moyer:* "If Hennesey's store or an Amalgamated mine was being attacked by a mob what kind of protection would you send?"

*Gov. Stewart:* "I wouldn't send any until it had been requested."

*Mr. Moyer:* "I am requesting—"

*Gov. Stewart:* "—but not specifying."

*Mr. Moyer:* "Do you think it right that a man who is being robbed should, when calling for help, be made to specify what kind of help he desires?"

*Gov. Stewart:* "No, but our constitution provides that the militia may be ordered out only after they have been requested. In order to send the militia someone has to ask for them."

*Mr. Moyer:* "I do not think that is fair—"

*Gov. Stewart (Impatiently):* "Do you want me to send the militia?"

*Mr. Moyer:* "Yes."

*Mr. Mart. Donohue (Rising quickly to his feet in agitation):* "Mr. Moyer, you are not asking for the militia but are merely asking for protection."

*Mr. Moyer:* "Yes, I am merely asking for protection."

The following day Mr. Moyer was interviewed by an investigator for the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, and he repeated, only more forcibly, what he had said when in conference with the Governor. All of the local officials of the Butte Union, as well as President Donohue, and Mr. Lord, head of the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor, were present and agreed with everything Mr. Moyer said.

In addition to reiterating what he had said to Gov. Stewart, Mr. Moyer said:

"By God, it is not right that I should be forced to ask for the militia. The Governor is not a fool. He knows that the local authorities cannot protect us and he also knows that under those circumstances it is the duty of the state to furnish it. He has but one kind to furnish."

*Investigator:* "But supposing he refuses to act until you do specify— Will you eventually ask him for the militia?"

*Mr. Moyer:* "No."

*Investigator (The matter had already been referred to President Wilson):* "Will you request President Wilson for federal troops?"

*Mr. Moyer:* "Yes."

*Investigator:* "And if he refuses to send them?"

*Mr. Moyer:* "I will arm a body of men myself and go into Butte and transact our business. If this state or nation is not big enough to protect me in the lawful conduct of my business then I must become the law unto myself."

# The S. P. Taboo on Fusion

By Isaac A. Hourwich

IT is not often that I have the good fortune to be on the same side with Mr. Victor L. Berger. I therefore deem it a pleasant duty to endorse his proposed enabling act for the disfranchised members of the Socialist Party. His motion to remove the ban against fusion between the Socialist Party and non-Socialist parties was discussed at the recent meeting of the National Committee of the Socialist Party and received nine affirmative votes. It is safe to say that among the majority which voted down his motion there were some who could not help seeing the force of his arguments, but would not back him up because in their respective bailiwicks the Socialist vote is too small to be reckoned with in practical politics. While they could gain nothing by lining up with Mr. Berger in favor of fusion, they were sure to invite upon their own heads the righteous indignation of all believers in sacred tradition. This, however, is only temporary defeat. Mr. Berger is correct in his prognostication that "if these tactics [the anti-fusion policy] are not soon changed, the American proletariat will . . . have to find another political expression for its ambitions and conceptions."

It is preposterous to claim that a Socialist voter has no concern in the current issues of politics, except in so far as he can register his vote for Socialism. Fifteen years ago, during the second Bryan campaign, when the annexation of the Philippines was the main issue, and the voters were to decide whether or not the United States should enter upon the road of Imperialism, Mr. Debs declared from the stump that Imperialism and anti-Imperialism were merely capitalistic issues, in which the wage-earners were not concerned. Is there anyone so blinded by party regularity who would to-day maintain, in the sight of the European slaughter, that the wage-earners as a class have no concern in the issue between Imperialism and anti-Imperialism?

I have no intention to stain Mr. Berger with my own iniquity. He feels quite confident that "no class-conscious Socialist will ever advocate 'fusion' with any capitalist party." His proposition deals specifically with a local situation. In Wisconsin and some other states the German system of elections has been introduced. The primaries correspond to the German *Hauptwahl*, in which all parties are permitted to nominate candidates, and the election in November to the *Stichwahl*, in which only the two candidates who have polled the highest pluralities are to be voted for. If the Socialist candidate has been eliminated, Mr. Berger would enable the party to declare in favor of one or the other of the capit-

alistic candidates. But that is not the whole plan.

"Why should we be forbidden to accept their indorsement before the primary?" asks Mr. Berger, meaning the indorsement of "those who are willing to go with us a great part of the way—the part still far before us—even though they are not willing to go the entire length to our 'final aim'."

This definition is broad enough to include the Progressives, the La Follette Republicans, the Bryan Democrats, etc. Mr. Berger's plan would enable the party "to accept their indorsement before the primary," which would mean in practice that Socialist candidates would be permitted to run on "capitalistic" tickets in the primaries. In consideration of such an indorsement the Socialist Party would support in the election some of the candidates of the capitalistic parties.

Don't call it "fusion," that would be profanity to orthodox Socialist ears. Call it "bloc," as they have it in continental Europe, or don't give it any name at all,—what is there in a name?

It is plain, however, that the principle of the thing is the same, whether we have the German system of elections, as in Wisconsin, or the French system, as in New York. Under the New York primary law, every Socialist voter may register for the Socialist party primaries, which are not an organization caucus, but a public election under the supervision of the election authorities. After the Socialist Party vote has thus once been counted and it has been ascertained that the Socialist candidate for the Court of Appeals has been practically eliminated from the contest, though his name will still appear on the official ballot, what object is there in voting for him once more, on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November? Every argument advanced by Mr. Berger in his editorials in favor of fusion in Wisconsin holds true in New York.

Mr. Berger traces the anti-fusion provision in the constitution of the Socialist Party to the sentiment which prevailed among the former Populists in the west, and to inheritance from the Socialist Labor Party. Here is where his memory fails him, and in the interests of historical accuracy I have occasion to set him right.

When the Social Democracy of America was organized by Mr. Debs, with the co-operation of Mr. Berger, in 1897, a number of Populists, including some office holders under the Populist-Democratic fusion administration of Kansas, joined the new organization. One of them, Mr. Clemens, the Supreme Court Reporter, was among the delegates at the convention of the Social Democracy of America in

Chicago in 1898. There were with him many other delegates who opposed the plan of turning the Social Democracy of America into an independent political party, as such action would lead to a break with the Populist Party, which at that time was still in power in some western states. Shortly before that convention the Populists of Milwaukee fused with the Democrats at the spring election of the year. Mr. Berger and his local of the Social Democracy of America had the city of Milwaukee placarded with posters denouncing the Populists for it. There was strong sentiment against Mr. Berger at the convention by reason of his anti-fusion stand. This sentiment was one of the contributing causes of the split, which resulted in the organization of the Social Democratic Party by the bolting faction.

Mr. Berger was chosen with four others, to serve on the temporary Executive Committee of the newly created party. That committee was to enter into correspondence with all locals of the Social Democracy of America, in order to bring them into the Social Democratic Party. A party platform was hastily adopted, and the Executive Committee was instructed to draw up a constitution and to submit it to the membership, to be adopted by a referendum vote. That was done next year, but the vote was so meagre that the temporary Executive Committee declared it inconclusive, and left the matter of adopting a party constitution for the convention which was to be held at some indefinite time in the future.

In the summer of 1899, after a disastrous strike of the New York street car employees, the Central Federated Union called a convention of labor organizations for the purpose of organizing an Independent Labor Party. I was instrumental in inducing the Social Democratic Party organization, of which I was then an active member, to send delegates to that convention. The platform of the Independent Labor Party was drawn up by me. I dare say, it was as clear-cut a Socialist document as has ever been written, and with a change of one or two phrases in the platform committee, it was unanimously adopted by the convention. There was a minority in the Social Democratic Party organization, however, who were opposed to any sort of fusion with the heathen. One of them privately informed the Executive Committee of the action of the New York local. Upon this information, without asking the local for any explanation, the Executive Committee, of which Mr. Berger was the leading spirit, peremptorily ordered the local to withdraw from the Independent Labor Party, or to consider itself suspended from the Social Democratic Party. The local obeyed the order—I resigned from the Social Democratic Party.

As the Social Democratic Party had no constitution, there was, previous to that incident, no rule in that party against fusion. The action of Mr. Berger and his colleagues on the temporary Execu-

tive Committee established a precedent against fusion. It was only two years later, when the Social Democratic Party formally united with the "Kangaroo" or *Volkszeitung* faction of the Socialist Labor Party, that the constitutional provision of the Social Labor Party against fusion was embodied in the constitution of the present Socialist Party. Thus Mr. Berger is now complaining against the law of his own making.

Mr. Berger has not considered the theoretical foundation of the anti-fusion policy. I have treated this subject in the NEW REVIEW,<sup>1</sup> on the basis of population statistics, and I will briefly summarize here the conclusions of my article.

The present policy is assumed to be the expression of the class-struggle in politics. The Socialist Party aspires to be the party of the wage-working proletariat. Still the industrial wage-working proletariat forms but a minority of the self-supporting population of the United States, and for a generation to come it is likely to remain a minority. If the Socialist party is to be an uncompromising class party of the wage-working proletariat, it will for a generation to come (and probably longer) remain a minority party, powerless to attain any of its ultimate aims or immediate demands by its own representation against the united opposition of all other social classes (or groups, if you prefer).

To win over its side the non-proletarian and transitional classes of the American people, the Socialist party will have to adapt its platform and principles to the views and interests of these classes.

The European plan of fusion on candidates is quite the reverse of the American policy: no party is required to trim its principles in obedience to political expediency. The effect of this form of "political trading" is only that two or more minority parties by combining become a majority and apportion among themselves the places on the ticket. In Switzerland they call it "voluntary proportional representation."

Were this form of political compromise not tabooed in the United States, the Socialist party could dispense with trimming the principles of International Socialism to suit the farmers, the anti-Chinese and anti-Japanese fanatics of the Pacific Coast, the Negro-haters of the South, and the reactionaries of the A. F. of L., while at the same time it would be assured of its due share of representation in Congress, in the state legislature, and in the municipal administration. Moreover, such fusion arrangements with the political parties of the transitional social groups would offer a direct method of influencing legislation, which would exert much greater pressure upon those parties than the menace of the growing Socialist vote.

<sup>1</sup>) Social-Economic Classes in the United States—the NEW REVIEW, March 8, 15 and 22, 1913.

# Forbidden Stories

By Elsie Clews Parsons

NOT long ago a noted American jurist confided to the public that as a boy he had promised his father not to read a novel until after he left college. His father, a Presbyterian minister, was probably of one mind with the royal chaplain who wrote three centuries earlier: "Especially keepe them from reading of fayned fables, vague fantasyes, and wanton stories, and songs of love, which bring much mischief to youth." And undoubtedly both the Rev. Mr. Hughes and the Rev. Hugh Rhodes would have agreed with the reverend gentleman whose letters to a young lady a Connecticut attic once yielded me. In one of the effusions he writes that "a passion for poetry is dangerous to a woman. It heightens her natural sensibilities to an extravagant degree, and frequently inspires such a romantic turn of mind, as is utterly inconsistent with the solid duties and proprieties of life."

That romances do bring mischief, that they are inconsistent with duty and propriety is a belief not limited to divines or even to civilization. The Chukmas, Dravidians of Southeastern India, allow only religious songs to be sung near their villages. Love songs, they say, demoralize the girls. Love songs descriptive of illicit relations are never sung among the Omaha before women. From women "of the better class," their very existence is concealed. These "woman songs" are always put into the mouth of a woman, a woman who violates every rule of Omaha etiquette by betraying her fondness for a man or by begging her lover to elope with her. Here is the free translation of one of them:

Daduna—I have made myself known, the!

Daduna—I have made myself known, the!

Last night when you sang I uttered your name,  
the!

Daduna—I have made myself known, the! hi.

"Who is it that sings?" the! they said, and I  
sitting there, the!

"Wagutha is passing," I said, the!

It was your name I uttered, the! hi.

Alice Fletcher and her Omaha partner La Flesche have taken pains in this account, but as a rule ethnographers give us but meagre information about the songs or stories taboo to the women or children of primitive peoples. Stories are made up for their benefit, we know, goody-goody stories with a Sunday-school point, stories suggestive of the supernatural disaster awaiting the wayward or disobedient. Graver stories about the supernatural we know, too, the stories the men themselves believe

in, seem to be deemed unfit sometimes for the ears of the uninitiated, i. e., the women and children.

But whether expurgated editions are given them or no versions at all we are rarely informed. Generally speaking folklorists have been careless about observing the circumstances under which stories are told, and particularly inobservant have they been about the degree of inhibition caused story-tellers by the presence of women or children.

If we knew more about the taboo primitive romanticists may have set upon their stories, it might enlighten us, I surmise, about our own attitude, the attitude of our own Elders towards "fiction." The story the Blackfellow or Hottentot would not consider *jeune fille* might have some likeness with the story we ourselves account "improper," unfit for women's ears, "of much mischief to youth."

And yet alluring as the ethnographic parallel is, here as ever, we should not stretch it. There may be many primitive peoples destitute of stories their Elders would possibly regard as demoralizing to youth.

To primitive people's life, we must remember, is an affair of status, of the stable and permanent, of the thoroughly well known condition or relationship. By a Blackfellow or Hottentot a modern novel could not be written, for not to mention other reasons, there would be nothing for him to write about, there is nothing personal in the Blackfellow or Hottentot life. Nor for that matter in the life of the Omaha—the illicit relationship their "woman" stories dwell upon is as institutional in a way as marriage. Given literary ambitions he would have to confine himself to writing law books, to compiling the very intricate rules for conduct or behavior now garnered in the memories of his tribal elders.

Novels are not law books. They do not compile the past, they describe the present, and very often they describe it not as the Elders think it ought to be but as it is. This is the secret of their iconoclasm. They are destructive because they are realistic. Realism is far more fatal to the ancient categories than propaganda. Through realism ideas become detached, dissociated, free for new combinations. Out of ideas separated from their old time setting, from their compulsive or obsessive connections, anything may eventuate. And so to the guardians of things as they ought to be, to the Elders, realism promises painful incertitude.

Once the young begin to think about life, and any novel may start them thinking, you can't tell what they will take into their heads to do next. Is it surprising therefore that realistic novels are anathema to our Elders? Or that they are so fond of substituting for them the immoralities of fairy stories or of sacred texts?

# Nietzsche

By Anna Strunsky Walling

**A** PHILOSOPHER is not necessarily the greatest of men. He may be surpassed by one who has no system to offer concerning logic and knowledge, but who incarnates in his own personality the life-principle, who finds that through him run currents of thought and feeling that are universal. Nietzsche, who was not, strictly speaking, a philosopher, was greater in his personality and in his effect upon the thought of mankind than that of any philosopher preceeding him. Life was his problem and his heart-felt interest. He emerged on the other side of history, on the other side of physical, moral, and intellectual slavery; he emerged armed with a nihilism before which nothing could remain as it was. He sounded profundities never before reached, fought an invisible conflict for the freedom of the world, and though he fell on the battlefield, attained his goal. For he quickened the life of the revolutionary movement out of which he himself had sprung.

Is it or is it not his fault that he is used by militarists and aristocrats as well and is a support of everything that is anti-social? He had cried "Human All Too Human," he had insulted democracy, attacked women, upon the weak he had superimposed the strong; he had justified hardness and gloried in it—it was the only virtue that he, sensitive to the breaking-point, recognized. How reconcile the reactionary Nietzsche with Nietzsche the nihilist and the revolutionary?

Russian Nihilism, historically descended from the French Revolution and the culminating expression of all the radical tendencies of the Nineteenth Century, was an attack on morals and conventions, in other words, a transvaluation of all values. It stood for truth to self, which was equivalent to Nietzsche's heroism in the cause of knowledge, for personal rigorism, equivalent to his austerity or hardness. It was individual and it served a social end. The Nihilists were consecrated to life. It was their revolutionary idea that the individual can part with society, with the past, and be a creator—that he must cease to be a blind tool in the hands of external forces and be one who is united with the life of mankind by virtue of his strength and self-direction and truth, one who has freed himself before he goes out to free the world. But the Nihilists were essentially social. They negated only to rebuild, and they sounded the depths of individualism only to consecrate themselves to the many. They found their lives only to lose them in the cause of humanity.

Nietzsche never realized it, but his idea of the ascending life, his will to power, his supreme individualism, were outgrowths of that democracy which

found expression in the Nihilist Movement. What does his will to power mean? Is it dominion over others, is it the subjection of others to oneself, or is it the creative principle of life asserting itself and seeking and finding expression? Is it not a struggle "to surpass," not others, but "oneself"? The Nihilists were ready to go to death for the cause of humanity. Yet like Nietzsche, they felt that the great thing was "not to cleave to anything, not even to fatherland, be it the most necessitous." When Nietzsche outlined the ascending life, did he want it for the few as opposed to the many? He did not understand what the Nihilists understood so well, that the ascending life was not largely possible in a world of waste and death, and that the sense of inviolable freedom enjoyed by oneself drives one to go out to free others. With the social and economic basis of this freedom he was not concerned, and that is why his idea of the will to power, which is a supremely social thought, takes such an anti-social form.

This biography<sup>1</sup> by his sister, in which we see him in the light of all the circumstances of his life, explains the inexplicable. He becomes as clear to us as he was to her and to himself, and we have the advantage over both of them because we see him from from the standpoint of the movement which he accelerated and inspired without being aware that it existed. One never returns alone from this personally conducted voyage around Nietzsche's inner and outer world. Forever after the spirit of a Nietzsche dwells with one, a Nietzsche whom the poor people among whom he lived in Genoa called "The little saint," a spirit of love and enthusiasm, a friend, a poet, a great Yea-sayer to life.

Schopenhauer and Wagner were the great discoveries of Nietzsche's early manhood, and no two men in the century caused each other more happiness than he and Wagner, and in the end, more suffering. The pessimism of Schoppenhauer led both him and his sister to asceticism. One must be too proud in the face of this meaningless cruel stupidity to do anything than serve; one must abdicate and give oneself entirely to others. It was as near as he ever got to a systematized social feeling, but it took its rise in a denial of life, in a Nay-saying born of despair. Just as he left Wagner because in Parsifal and all his later work "the Master" no longer stood for artistic, ascending, sensual ideas and forces, but for Christian, ascetic, mundane, and what he called, descending ideas, so in his march towards the free spaces of thought he left behind Schopenhauer. To him too the world was Will and Idea, but it was a palpitant, eternal reality nevertheless. Pessimism, pathological indifference were incompatible with his exuberant nature, with the sense of power and triumph

1) *Life of Nietzsche*, by Frau Foerster-Nietzsche, New York. Sturgis & Walton Co. Two volumes, \$8.00.

which his philosophy expressed and which he always strove to feel.

The will to power as a principle of life was the central idea of his masterpiece, *Zarathustra*. Upon the will to power he based his organization of castes with a Superman at the top. "Where I found life there did I also find a will to power; and even in the will of the servant did I find the will to be master."

It is this will to power which Socialism recognizes and upon which it places a wholly different interpretation. It is the will to power as a living principle of life that is steadily directing itself at the abolition of all oppressive power, at the destruction of castes and the resurrection and the elevation of the Superman which dwells in every man. He did not understand this because he was under the influence of the spectacle of war. It was when he was an ambulance worker in the Franco-Prussian War that he first saw manifested in the will to combat, in the will to power and mastery, and not "in the paltry struggle for existence," the strongest and highest will to life.

No man was easier to be misunderstood than Nietzsche, because, as he himself said, "There are many words that I have flavored with a new salt so that they don't taste the same to me as they do to my readers." Thus despite the fact that he left the economic and social foundation of life uncriticized his reaction against people and society is a reaction against conditions as he found them. He sought a way to escape from the evils which his mind discerned and his nature felt keenly, but for him and perhaps historically too, there was no actual movement to which to escape—only his high thought of the future, only a potent idea which existed for the Supermen, the comrades whom he so eloquently announces in his *Human, All Too Human*.

He did not have sureness of thought; his greatness lay precisely in the fact that he was not absolute, not finished, that the history of his thought-life was like the history of thought itself, which is an unfolding and a growth, which reaches the heights and depths of tragedy and joy, despair and faith.

In *Zarathustra* he says, "If you go to meet a woman, do not forget your whip!" So he is written down as a misogynist. Instead, he loved and revered women.

The much quoted saying is simply an echo of a scene in Turgeniev than whom no one wrote more nobly of woman. Nietzsche here refers to the known fact that there are women that have borne with brutality and have even at times invited it. In fact he is no more hostile to the feminist movement than Ellen Key who glories in the avakening of woman and yet fears that it makes her non-maternal. He was impious but he liked pious women, because in religion he saw them manifest emotional force,

attributes inseparable from beauty of character, idealism, and faith. He had never achieved the idea of the equality of women and men just as he had never achieved the idea of democracy, and although he was beyond good and evil he was not always successful in extricating himself from the force of traditional feeling.

About marriage he asks, "Will the free spirits live with women? On the whole my opinion is that like the prophetic birds of antiquity the modern seekers and thinkers of truth will prefer to fly alone." His reason is not anything against marriage itself, but the burden of winning bread, security, social position for wife and children."

He loved love and was drawn deeply to women. He believed in romance, the romance of a glance. He once proposed marriage to a girl whom he had but just met. He said "Human, All Too Human"; he might just as well have said "Not Enough Human."

"Every sign of contempt for the sexual life," he said, "every degradation of that life through the conception of 'impure' is a sin against all life—the real sin against the Holy Ghost of life." For woman, he wrote in *Zarathustra*, "My will is that thy victory and thy freedom should yearn for a child. Living mansions shalt thou build to thy victory and thy liberation."

He opposed ascending life, master-morality, classical art, to declining life, Christian morality, decadent art. Through him the modern man has recognized that he is between two conflicting moralities, that he is a physiological contradiction, that he squints.

This is the Nietzschean influence. He unmasked morality, the church, and all the ethics of expediency with which the lowly and the meek have been swathed. He said, better hardness, better success, better everything that brings us out of the mirk and the dark than such virtues. Better strength that can be used against others. One thing is certain, strength is not strength when it consists of the weakness of others. He said: "*Better to perish than to hate and fear, and twice better to perish than to make one's self hated and feared—this must some day become the supreme maxim of every political community!*"

"I beseech thee," he wrote, "do not slay the hero in thy soul!"

It is this heroism in the cause of truth that is the outstanding feature of his personality. The story of his life is tragic—not a tragedy of fate like Shelley's whose premature death one mourns; his is a subjective tragedy. Triumphant in having reached the world with his message, it is yet a message but half delivered and half understood, a message which consumed him even as he uttered it.

# Book Reviews

## German Philosophy and German Politics

GERMAN philosophy has already been an issue in the German war, though perhaps the general public is unaware of it. For everybody admits that the statements of the German professors have taken a prominent place in all discussions of the war; and all these statements are permeated with the standpoint of one or another school of German philosophy.

Professor John Dewey, America's leading philosopher, has considered the relation between German philosophy and politics for many years. He now publishes three lectures on the subject in the shape of a small, highly important and, on the whole, very readable book.<sup>1</sup> The timeliness of the volume will scarcely be questioned. Moreover, the book is semi-popular. Such passages as are in any sense difficult are those dealing with the complex points of German philosophy, but Dewey avoids such complexities wherever it is practicable, and the result is that both his introduction and his conclusion, together with many other passages, are highly popular.

Dewey gives the *raison d'être* as follows: "Germany is the modern state which provides the greatest facilities for general ideas to take effect. Its system of education is adapted to that end. Higher schools and universities in Germany are really, not just nominally, under the control of the state and part of the state life. In spite of freedom of academic instruction when once a teacher is installed in office, the political authorities have always taken a hand, at critical junctures, in determining the selection of teachers in subjects that had a direct bearing upon political policies. Moreover, one of the chief functions of the universities is the preparation of future state officials. Legislative activity is distinctly subordinate to that of administration conducted by a trained civil service, or, if you please, bureaucracy. Membership in this bureaucracy is dependent upon university training. Philosophy, both directly and indirectly, plays an unusually large role in the training.

"Political public opinion hardly exists in Germany in the sense in which it obtains in France, Great Britain or this country. So far as it exists, the universities may be said to be its chief organs. They, rather than the newspapers, crystallize it and give it ar-

ticulate expression. Instead of expressing surprise at the characteristic utterances of university men with reference to the great war, we should then rather turn to the past history in which the ideas now uttered were generated."

Dewey then sums up in a general way the social and political philosophy which has arisen out of German metaphysics. Perhaps the following passages will be sufficient to indicate his conclusions:

"Obedience, definite subjection and control, detailed organization is the lesson enforced by the rule of casual necessity in the outer world of space and time in which action takes place. Unlimited freedom, the heightening of consciousness for its own sake, sheer reveling in noble ideals, the law of the inner world. What more can mortal man ask?"

"The constant assertion that Germany brought to the world the conscious recognition of the principle of freedom coupled with the assertion of the relative incompetency of the German folk *en masse* for political self-direction."

We are now in a position to understand Dewey's explanation of the extraordinary reasoning and handling of facts on the part of the German professors, almost without exception, since the present war. Dewey thus explains the German professorial attitude towards mere facts:

"If the empirical facts are recalcitrant, so much the worse for them. It only shows how empirical they are. To put them under a rational form is but to subdue their irrational opposition to reason, or to invade their lukewarm neutrality. Any violence done them is more than indemnified by the favor of bringing them under the sway of *a priori* reason, the incarnation of the Absolute on earth."

That this cavalier method of dealing with facts is dangerous will occur to anyone. Dewey, as a radical democrat, is peculiarly aware of these dangers. He says:

"History proves what a dangerous thing it has been for men, when they try to impose their will upon other men, to think of themselves as special instruments and organs of Deity. The danger is equally great when an *a priori* Reason is substituted for a Divine Providence."

"Weapons forged in the smithy of

the Absolute become brutal and cruel when confronted by merely human resistance."

It is needless to add that Dewey gives copious evidence to show that his statement of German philosophy is accurate. An excellent illustration is his quotation from Kant:

"Without these unlovely qualities which set man over against man in strife, individuals would have lived on in perfect harmony, contentment and mutual love, with all their distinctive abilities latent and undeveloped."

Dewey does not fail to give us the historical explanation of the amazing backwardness and reactionary character of German philosophy. His position is indicated in the following expressions:

"In point of fact the Germans never made that break with tradition, political or religious, of which the French Revolution is an emphatic symbol."

"To Hegel, for example, the substance of the doctrines of Protestant Christianity is identical with the truths of absolute philosophy."

"The chief function of parliament [in this view] is to give the opinion of the social classes an opportunity to feel it is being considered and to enable the real government to take advantage of whatever wisdom may chance to be expressed."

This latter interpretation of the German philosophers' view of parliament, it will be observed, is exactly the same as that held by von Bülow, for nine years Prime Minister of Germany.

Finally, Dewey shows that German philosophy has led to a defense of war. He summarizes the view of Fichte as follows:

"That war demands self-sacrifice is but the more convincing proof of its profound morality. It is the final seal of devotion to the extension of the kingdom of the Absolute on earth."

The war-like and reactionary views of Hegel are more familiar. Dewey summarizes them as follows:

"Bernhardi writes wholly in the Hegelian sense when he says that to expand the idea of the State into the idea of humanity is an Utopian error, for it would exclude the essential principle of life, struggle."

Only one nation at a time can be the latest and hence the fullest realization of God."

"Particularly against the absolute right of the present bearer of the world spirit, the spirits of the other nations are absolutely without right.

<sup>1</sup> *German Philosophy and Politics*. By John Dewey, Professor of Philosophy in Columbia University, New York: Henry Holt and Company. \$1.25.

The latter, just like the nations whose epochs have passed, count no longer in universal history.'"

Dewey's final conclusion as to the relation between German philosophy and German politics is brilliant:

"If an *a priori* philosophy has worked at all in Germany it is because it has been based on an *a priori* social constitution—that is to say, on

a state whose organization is such as to determine in advance the main activities of classes of individuals."

The last few pages of the little book contain one of the best summaries of Dewey's own radically democratic, philosophical standpoint—and apply this standpoint to the question of war and peace in a manner highly socialistic. WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING.

## The Case For France Against Germany

I AM not acquainted with the chauvinistic literature of France, and cannot determine how typical Paul Vergnet may be. But the dominant trait of his chauvinism is its *non-aggressive* character.

German chauvinism is aggressive in purpose and usually aggressive in language. Even where its proponents tangle themselves up in "defensive" arguments, the peculiar and damning fact is that their method of defending Germany always implies aggression upon other nations. It isn't sufficient for a German chauvinist to argue that Germany must defend itself against attack, prepare for attack; but that attack upon others is a defensive measure. Vergnet, on the contrary, counsels no aggression, dreams no dreams of conquest, but simply and grimly points out to France the menace across the Rhine, and urges preparation for defense.

His book<sup>1</sup> was published in France in 1913 as a warning to his countrymen. It might therefore be dismissed as the work of a French Colonel Frobenius, were it not for its genuine defensive character, its essentially moderate tone and thoroughly documented method, and the justification of recent events. The comparative unpreparedness of France proved that the nation as a whole did not fully realize the German menace.

It has its faults. Vergnet sees insult and menace in German action where insult and menace are imaginary. It is a case of national neurosis, of that hysteria of fear which was a powerful psychologic cause of the war. His treatment of the Morocco crisis is silly—he is astounded, shocked, that Germany should lay claim to Morocco. He does not even attempt to prove this claim invalid: it is in itself criminal and preposterous.

As a whole, however, the book is an exceedingly important analysis. Its material, chiefly citations of representative German opinion, is comprehensive and vital. Vergnet advances and conclusively proves three propositions:

1.—A general propaganda of aggression in Germany, directed particularly

at France and England, had gradually won over the mass of the people to its aggressive purposes, even Democrats and Socialists succumbing.

2.—The Pan-German League ("All-deutscher Verband") and the Pan-German movement generally, have for two decades controlled German politics, threatening the Kaiser with revolution unless he followed out their mandates, which he has usually done in spite of temporary recalcitrance. [A responsible German Socialist, in the *Neue Zeit*, recently stated and proved that the Pan-Germans have been for many years the directive factor in German politics.]

3.—Germans generally see an economic cause and an economic necessity for war, and believe that war is indispensable for their economic development. Vergnet cites a typical utterance from the *General Anzeiger*, an independent Frankfort paper (June 8th, 1913):

"Germany's great development demands new outlets. It is only by a war that we shall be able to overcome the opposition of other nations. Our successes in peaceful competition in most spheres of human activity are what will inevitably precipitate war.

"It is a profound error to believe, as we often hear, that nations can live side by side indefinitely in peaceful rivalry. All competition is a necessary struggle in the life of nations."

Were this an isolated utterance, it would be unimportant. But where it is shared by the most influential men and papers of Germany, as Vergnet shows, where it becomes a national obsession justified by history, science, philosophy and economics, its danger to the peace of the world is obvious and menacing, and fully justifies the warning of Vergnet.

L. C. F.

## What Will Become of "the Americans"?

DO you want to read a book which "goes a long way toward answering the questions: What is an American? What will become of the American people?" Take it from the Frederick A. Stokes Company that *Still Jim* is such a book.<sup>1</sup> You would never know it by reading the book; but the Stokes company are said to be most reliable and it must be so.

Letting that pass for the present, *Still Jim* should be popular. It is all about a very serious and decent young chap with *such* a high sense of honor and *such* an indefinable power, if you know what we mean, etc., etc. And he's in love, and she marries the other fellow, the unworthy one, who cheated in the Marathon, etc., etc. It all comes out right in the end, too.

"Still Jim" became a great engineer in the reclamation service, and he always remained true to the "Anglo Saxon ideals," if you know what we mean, of his New England forbears. Possibly you can't actually understand what we mean, but you can *feel* it, or you're supposed to, when you read the book. He puts an Irish saloon-keeper out of business, for instance; and just as the Irishman is getting ready to wallop him, "Still Jim" comes at him with that indefinable something (maybe it's an Anglo Saxon ideal) and the Irishman realizes how beautiful it is to be licked by such a noble New Englander.

It's just like that all through the book. When the grafters get up a meeting to boom Fleckenstein for Senator, and all of Still Jim's enemies come out to can him, somebody gets up just in the nick of time and explains how noble Still Jim is after all. That, of course, changes the whole face of things and the meeting decides to jump on Fleckenstein instead. You can't understand how it all happened but it was just wonderful.

There is a lot of sociology in the book, too, if you know what we mean. Still Jim was threatened with a strike of the rough-necks once, but he sent out and got a movie machine and a pool-table and paid for it out of his own money. After that, the malcontents used to like to work overtime, to show their appreciation of their good boss's sacrifice—just like rough-necks always do, or would do if they knew how to live up to a popular novel.

What is an American and what will become of the American people? Why, they'll read "Still Jim" and think it's great.

C. W. W.

<sup>1</sup> *France in Danger*, by Paul Vergnet. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$1.00 net.

<sup>1</sup> *Still Jim*, by Honore Wilsie. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co. \$1.35.

# A Socialist Digest

## Revolt Against The Official "Peace Programme" of the German Party

THE "peace declaration" of the German Social Democratic Party is being severely criticized by the radical minority. This declaration, among other things, says that "the majority of the Socialists both in England and France favor continuing the war until Germany is completely conquered."

Kautsky points out in *Die Neue Zeit* of June 11th that this is a perversion of the truth. And Kautsky's statement was subsequent to the Party declaration, which was written early in May, the publication being postponed because of Italy's entrance into the war. Kautsky pointed to the London resolution of the British and French Socialists declaring against "a war of conquest" or "the political and economic crushing of Germany." These phrases were well-known to the writers of the manifesto. Kautsky points out that they were known to David against whom his article is directed. When the German Party majority declares then that the British and French Socialists favor the complete conquest of Germany it either accuses them of deliberate falsehood or commits a deliberate falsehood itself.

Kautsky, Haase and Bernstein were by no means satisfied with the party's merely verbal proclamation of peace. They therefore issued a declaration in which they say that the statements of high authorities, such as the king of Bavaria, that the war is to be a war of conquest, should be answered by something more positive than empty words. What they suggest is clearly a refusal to vote any further money for the war. They suggest this in the expression that the Socialists, having declared against war of conquest on August 4th last, cannot afford any longer to "stand beside" those who are working for conquests. They say that the declaration of August 4th would be stamped as a lie, "if the German Social Democracy in view of these declarations from the circles of the ruling classes should allow themselves to be satisfied by mere statements of academic desire for peace; we have learned too clearly that not the slightest attention is paid to such expressions." They continue:

"What certain among us have feared has become more and more evident. The German Social Democracy is allowed to grant the means of war but is coolly

ignored in the most fateful decisions as to the future of our people."

The German Party Executive was evidently very much disturbed by this declaration as they immediately held a meeting in which they passed a resolution condemning it. The Party Executive does not fail to point out the essential meaning of its chairman and its two leading thinkers, namely, that it demands that the previous Parliamentary tactics of the Party [the voting of the war budgets] be abandoned. This new declaration is uncalled for and endangers the unity of the Party.

Haase's attitude is more completely shown in a speech recently made in Leipzig in which he renewed in more detail his accusation that the war had become a war of conquest. The Leipzig Socialists apparently were with Haase. He said:

"One should remember that even a week before the beginning of the war there was not a single comrade who would have considered the voting of war credits as a possibility. . . .

"If it is true that we had to grant the war credits in order to prevent the invasion of the enemy then the Social Democracy must recognize that its whole policy up to the fourth of August was a false one. Before that, in spite of all accusations of a lack of patriotism, we refused all money for army and navy. On a previous occasion the phrase 'cannon in exchange for popular rights' had aroused great indignation. [Haase refers to the statement made in a speech by Wolfgang-Heine, Socialist member of the Reichstag, some years ago]; but now cannons had been granted even without obtaining popular rights. It is entirely erroneous when those in favor of the voting of the war credits refer to Bebel, Engels, and Liebknecht. They never favored the granting of the war credits. In 1870 Bebel and Liebknecht abstained from the vote and after the second of December, when the purpose of conquest became clear they voted against further credits. The situation is similar today."

Kautsky's views are carefully expressed in *Die Neue Zeit*. Kautsky attacks a recent book of David entitled *Social Democracy in the World War*. He says:

"David, in his book, once more celebrates the patriotism of Bebel. In doing

this he cannot avoid mentioning the conduct of Bebel and Liebknecht in the Franco-German War. He seeks to escape the difficulty which this gives him by pointing out that they had not refused the war credits but only abstained from the vote.

"David himself points with satisfaction to the Servian and Russian democracy who refused war credits. It does not occur to him to accuse them of lack of patriotism on that account: 'Any criticism of the attitude of the Russian Socialists would be a mistake.' Why? Undoubtedly after the war had once broken out, Russia and Servia were also in danger in case of defeat of invasion and of losing territory. But our Comrades in Russia had to do with a government 'the breaking up of which was regarded as the indispensable condition of all progressive development,' and besides, the Russian government was the attacker and not the attacked, [i. e., according to David].

"Now the Socialists of Servia explained their refusal of the budget otherwise, and the Russian Socialists also by no means regarded their government as being exclusively guilty. But let us lay this aside. In any case, David concedes by his own argument that the refusal of war credits is by no means the same thing as lack of patriotism or indifference to the laying waste or diminishment of his own country. He hardly means to affirm that the Servian and Russian Socialists wish the harm of their country."

Kautsky, Bernstein, and Haase are supported by a remarkable manifesto of two hundred well-known Party members, these being signatures hastily gathered together under the existing difficulties of censorship and military law. Even under these conditions the manifesto was signed by ninety-five Party officials, twenty-six editors, fifteen Reichstag- and Landtag-Members, and eighteen labor union officials. [Signatures have since increased to seven hundred.] It is a word of warning to the Executive of the Party and of the Socialist Reichstag Group. The Manifesto follows in full, translated from the "Berne (Switzerland) *Tagwacht*":

"On August 4th, 1914, the parliamentary as well as the ex-parliamentary leadership of the German Social Democracy inaugurated a policy that means not only the failure of the Party in an incomparable historical moment, but an increasingly harsh deviation from its former principles.

"The fateful effects of this deviation remorselessly rendered out from the external into the whole internal policy of the Party that henceforth ceased to exist as an independent factor. The recognition of 'Civic Peace' (Burgfrieden) was the cross upon the grave of the class struggle which cannot be carried on in official and parliamentary secret conclaves, nor by means of a backstairs policy according to the model of capitalistic trickery.

"The majority of the Party in the Reichstag evaded every serious contest, even the struggle for the freedom of organization, for the electoral reform. It declined even to move for the abolition of the state of siege and thereby changed the forced negation of fundamental rights into voluntarily acquiesced in, only subsequently expressing through its spokesman the abject hope that possibly an alteration of the Censor might be obtained by advocating such a course before the Kaiser.

"From session to session the hopes were encouraged and delayed that the policy of the Reichstag faction might change. And ever we were disappointed anew. The month of May brought the complete breakdown.

"It had become increasingly plain that the war does not serve the defense of national integrity. Its character as a war for imperialist conquest has become ever more obvious. Increasingly, open confessions to the policy of annexation took place. In addition to utterances of wirepullers of capitalism came announcements of powerful capitalistic economic organizations, resolutions of the ruling bourgeois parties, and in February the address of the President of the Prussian upper chamber—unanimously approved by the body—in which it was stated that an immediate peace on the basis of territorial integrity of Germany was possible, but that the continuation of the war for purposes of conquest was necessary. Even this address did not prevent the majority of the Social Democratic faction from voting anew the milliards of war credits and the budget, too.

"The very great mass of the party members at home and in the field of war expected that the faction in the Reichstag would at last now in May, after the long months of a terrible war, the end and result of which could not be foreseen, manifest in a forcible and unmistakable manner the demand for a speedy end of warfare and give expression to the determined will for peace on the part of Social Democracy, according to the resolution of the Stuttgart Congress explicitly approved by the German party convention, demanding that war should be utilized in stirring up the masses in the class struggle

and thereby working for its speedy ending.

"The expectations of the masses again remained unfulfilled.

"The majority of the faction failed here entirely, just as it had found no word of protest against the *violation of Belgian neutrality*; just as it declined to raise its voice against the *torpedoing of the Lusitania*; against the principle of retaliation that leads to a contesting cruelty race and trap the civic population deeper and deeper into the horrors of the war.

"The full significance of this position of the majority of the faction appears from the fact that it was authoritatively aware of the object the government had in its war policy. The imperial character during the session of May 28th had proclaimed unequivocally the war of conquest, and the faction knew that part of his program meant the open annexation of Russian and French territory and the concealed acquisition of Belgium under the label of forcible annexation. It was now urgent to make a Social Democratic reply to this proclamation. But the Social Democratic majority of the faction—aside from the inconsequential phrases mentioned—found it only opportune to renew its connivance to the policy of August 4th, that is its subserviency toward the government and the ruling classes, all that in spite of the fact that Count Westarp with the aid of the bourgeois parties—even supported by members of the Social Democratic faction—had just given the Socialists a taste of his Junker-ship by his coup of a vote of confidence in the government. In the face of the alarming fanfares of conquest of the conservative and liberal spokesmen the fraction offered only a renewal of its former standpoint and the appeal to the same chancellor whose aims at annexation were revealed before the eyes of the whole world.

"Here was the most urgent occasion for cutting loose at last from the war policy of the government, for offering the strongest opposition to it. It was imperative now to stand up for the most rigid maintenance of Socialist interests and the proletarian-international peace aims; what took place, however, was a renewed pledge to the policy of 'going through', a repeated solidarity declaration with the ruling classes and the policy of the government.

"In the year 1870 the Social Democratic deputies were also separated by keen differences; but they were united against the government as soon as its plans of annexation dared to appear in the open. Today we have before us the official program of annexation in the part of the government and of all

bourgeois parties. And yet, the majority of the faction is satisfied with some non-consequential phrases about peace and the policy of annexation, following it up with pledging itself all the more emphatically to the policy of 'going through.'

"With that the period mark is put after the nefarious evolution that set in August 4th. The faction of the Reichstag to which also belong the majority of the members of the Party executive, has given up the resistance to the imperialistic policy of conquest. And not merely from simple weakness and joy in the 'Civic Peace' (Burgfrieden), but because an important part of the Reichstag's faction—like some of the faction in the Prussian Diet and other influential comrades—cling to this policy of conquest with full realization of it, in consistently developing the policy of 'going through,' that is, the cutting up of peoples unrelentingly.

"With particular bluntness this party current found expression a few days ago in the Baumeister International Correspondence (I. K.), which is supported by the General-Commission that has likewise exceedingly powerful influence in the Reichstag faction. It approves of Schiffer's judgment regarding Ebert's address: the emphasis on the policy of 'going through' is asserted to be its essential significance and the faction would not be swerved from its course regarding the final aim of the war by any differences of opinion in that regard—a construction enthusiastically approved by the majority of the faction in the session of May 29th. And it is insisted on that there is no objection to the method of forcible 'economic incorporation' that is the disguised annexation of Belgium!

"In the hand of the German Social Democracy still rests the power for a decision of world historic importance. The Independent Labor Party of England that cast its important weight into the scale of peace has just now demanded with decisive emphasis the public statement of the English terms of peace at the same time taking up the struggle against the policy of annexation by either the Triple or the Quadruple Alliance. Hervé and his followers are facing a steadily increasing movement among the French Socialists, a movement for an early peace without annexation or 'attachment,' a movement that they try in vain to silence. The example of the Italian brother party makes our hearts beat higher. From England, from France, from Italy, Socialist voices for peace come to us with increasing insistence. The further development of the Socialist struggle against the war in those countries depends essentially on the position taken

by the German Social Democracy. If the leadership of the German Social Democracy continues to drift along in the wake of the policy of annexation, if it does not at last seek safe ground upon the territory of the international proletarian struggle against the war and the imperialistic lust for spoilation then it misses the last opportunity to free itself from the whole responsibility for continuing this war as a merciless war of annihilation until the peoples lose their last blood so that the coming peace will only mean preparation for a new world war.

"The present moment imperatively demands immediate action.

"We *caution* against the continuance of the policy of August 4th and May 29th. We know that we express the conception of a large part of the party membership and of great strata of the population when we demand that the faction and the party executive at last without hesitation call a halt to the ruination of the party, *abrogate the 'Civic Peace'* (Burgfrieden) and begin along the whole line *the class struggle according to the principles of the programme and the Party resolutions, the Socialist struggle for peace.*

"The responsibility for everything that will come otherwise falls upon those who have driven the party upon the downward path and want to keep it there."

## The Italian Socialists vs. the German

THE Italian Socialists are unwilling to attach any value to the peace professions of the German Party as long as that Party continues to vote money to a government which has more or less openly declared for a war of conquest. In a recent meeting of the executive committee of the Party, the following resolution was adopted:

"The Party Executive declares in the most decisive and energetic way that the attitude of the Social Democracy in Italy can in no way be cited by the German Social Democracy as a justification of its conduct, a conduct which is completely lacking in Socialism. The Party Executive hopes that the majority of the German Party, in full agreement and harmony with the bold position of Comrade Karl Liebknecht and the other opponents of the war, will find the strength in this sad hour to inaugurate a manly action tending towards the vindication of the Socialist position of the proletariat and the creation of a future out of which the International will rise up again."

## French Socialist Peace Movement

JEAN LONGUET, whom Jane Addams has rightly described as the leader of the French peace movement, has sent the NEW REVIEW the important resolutions passed by the Executive Committee of one of the leading local federations which go to make up the French Party, the federation of the Limoges pottery district. The action of this federation is to be considered by a special meeting of the French Party to be called this month. The leading parts of this very important peace declaration are the following:

"With anguish we call attention to the state of exhaustion and of ruin in which our country will be plunged if the war lasts months more.

"Let it be understood that we do not demand peace at any price. We do not propose, for example, to leave Belgium and the occupied French regions to the invaders.

"Is it intended to postpone peace until the crushing of German militarism, which, like all other militarism, can only disappear by the action of the working class acting within each nation? Shall we proclaim that a treaty with Germany will be made only on the day when the German people will have had its fourth of September, will have overthrown its emperor, and founded a republic? Is it proposed not to end the war until it will be possible to force the central empires of Europe to liberate the nationalities that they are oppressing while countries allied with us maintain other nationalities as subjective races?

"Are we then disposed to accept a humiliating peace, a peace at any price? No, we do not wish to go to the end in that direction either. What we demand is that the Socialist Party shall lend an attentive ear to whatever peace proposition from whatever quarter it may come, it being understood that the territorial integrity of Belgium and France cannot be contested in the bases of discussion."

It is certain that none of the peace efforts of the most extreme pacifist factions among the Socialists has gone further than this. In fact, even the British Labour Party stands pledged to an indemnity for Belgium, which this group of French Socialists is ready to surrender. Moreover, it will be noticed that they make no demand whatever as to Alsace-Lorraine.

The question is then, how large a following has this peace movement among French Socialists? All that we know up to the present is that two of the largest labor unions, the metal workers and the building trades, are in favor of participation in a Socialist

peace conference. It seems likely there have also been other numerous indications of strong pacifist tendencies in the Federation of Labor. It is safe then to conclude that the pacifist movement is very strong in the French labor unions. But the Socialist Party is by no means confined to labor unions. This undoubtedly accounts for the fact that the pacifist tendency in the Party as a whole, up to the present, has been and remains exceedingly weak. No important Socialist leader has as yet advocated peace at the present time. It may be doubted. Certainly Longuet, who is an editor of *L'Humanité*, does not go as far in that direction as the Limoges federation. And there is no reason to suppose that he privately favors peace on terms they propose.

In its meeting of July 14th the National Committee of the French Party was for the continuation of the war. It declared unanimously in favor of a plebiscite in Alsace-Lorraine:

The resolutions declared that the party sought, with the remainder of the nation and with the nation's allies, "the liberation of the territory of heroic and loyal Belgium and the invaded regions of France as well as justice for Alsace and Lorraine".

"Today" the resolutions continued, "after eleven months of war, the Socialist Party of France is unable to conceive of an enduring peace that is not based upon the following:

"First—Nationalist principles, including the willingness to abandon all policies of annexation, and the re-establishment of the right inherent in the oppressed peoples of Europe to dispose of themselves and return to the nations from which they were brutally separated.

"Second—Absolute respect for the political and economic independence of nations.

"Third—Organization of obligatory arbitration, permitting also the limitation of armaments; democratic control of engagements entered into by Governments, and an international police."

The cable says nothing of a Belgian indemnity, but there can be little doubt that it was mentioned. The blame for the war, formerly placed on the capitalism and imperialism of all countries is now—for the first time—put upon Germany.

"The resolutions review the origin of the war, recalling the anti-war declarations of German and Austrian Socialists, and place the responsibility for the war on 'execrable dreams of hegemony, which aimed to place Europe under the heel of the most brutal, the most aggressive and the most unscrupulous imperialism.'"

## If Peace Were Made To-day

**U**NDER the above title *The New Statesman* publishes the following statement of the probable results of an early peace:

"Evidently no indemnity would be forthcoming from the Central Powers, and even if they retroceded all Belgium to King Albert, as we should be in honor bound to insist, the cost of making good the havoc wrought there would fall upon us, while the French and Russians would bear the heavy cost of that wrought in their territories. The Balkan questions, even if no territory passed, would all be solved in an Austro-German sense. Serbia would, in the light of her experience, have no alternative but to enter the Austro-German orbit. The other Balkan States would follow suit in varying degrees. Turkey would become—or continue to be—a German Egypt. The enormous German fleet, intact and with no loss even of prestige, would remain in the Kaiser's hands, as an advantageous starting-point for fresh Anglo-German naval rivalry. Such conclusions may be fixed with some certainty, and beside them more doubtful points—whether Germany would conceivably give France Metz in exchange for Luxemburg, whether she wants Libau and a piece of the Baltic provinces, whether she would make any deal with Russia over the exit of the Black Sea, or what would be the Austro-German policy in regard to Poland—may be left out of account as not affecting the main results.

"Now these results would be two—a great strengthening of militarism throughout the world and a great strengthening of Germany. Militarism would be strengthened, because it would have proved a tremendous success. The Central Empires, vastly inferior to their adversaries in wealth and population, and certainly not their superiors in traditional race-bravery, would have won in virtue of a single quality—readiness for war. To the striking demonstration already given of the big gains, which such readiness makes possible at the beginning of a conflict, would be added a no less striking demonstration of the impossibility of recovering them. On paper the Allies are, of course, strong enough to recover all that they have lost. If, nevertheless, in practice—through the limits to human endurance, the impatience of democracies, or the insensate follies of newspaper government—they failed to do so, the moral for every country that cares to keep its independence would be (since victory at the outset had been shown synonymous with final victory) to cultivate

an instant readiness for war beyond even what Germany has done. Under this impulse future armaments would far outstrip past. The main, if not the whole, burden of questioning and resisting the world supremacy of Germany would fall on Great Britain. On that object the whole of our national energies would of sheer necessity have to be concentrated. With a War Debt the highest in the world, and the indemnifying of Belgium added to it, we should be driven to institute conscription, and at the same time to face a costlier naval rivalry than ever. The United States would, at its peril, refrain from doing likewise. Further, since militarism had shown itself so much more efficient under a bureaucratic despotism than under systems of political liberty, there would be a heavy and rapid slump in the latter—perhaps their disappearance.

"The enhanced prestige of Germany would be a parallel development. Our failure to carry our Continental Allies through to victory would have made it difficult for us to get or keep any future Allies on the Continent. Russia would revert to the old Three Emperors Alliance, France and Italy would fall in behind it, or drop out of the running altogether. The German aim—to unite the Continent under one hegemony—would within a few years be achieved, and a hegemony with such resources would have no difficulty in building our Navy out of the water and reducing us to the common subjection."

*The New Statesman* then suggests a possibility—already mentioned by Bernard Shaw—that must especially interest Americans:

"To hope that we might yet be saved by the New World's redressing the balance of the old would be to credit the New World with a foresight in foreign affairs which it has so far shown no signs of possessing."

No doubt a defensive alliance with Great Britain is highly improbable—in case of British defeat. Is there the same assurance that we shall not have an aggressive alliance in case of British victory?

*The New Statesman* concludes with a more startling suggestion, that the Belgian indemnity, the plebiscite in Alsace-Lorraine and the whole program of the Allied Socialists could be abandoned if permanent peace could be assured:

"If all the Powers, including Germany, would consent as part of the terms of peace to the establishment of some definite supernational authority able to give to every State reasonable security in future against the actual

or hypothetical aggressive designs of its neighbors, then we might conclude peace to-morrow."

## The German Plans for Conquest

**T**HE new movement against the government in the German Party cannot be understood without the evidence which has convinced them that the German government is determined upon grandiose plans of conquest. We refer, of course, to the movement represented by Kautsky, Bernstein, and Haase, chairman of the Party, and not to the ambiguous peace proclamation issued on the 30th of June.

The New York *Volkszeitung* says that all non-socialist parties of Germany are striving to greater or less degrees for annexation, even including the liberal and radical *Frankfurter Zeitung*. But the chief evidence of the tendency of the government to conquest is the pressure openly exerted upon it by each and every one of the leading business organizations of Germany. On two occasions, the 10th of March and the 20th of May, these organizations have issued a statement to the government of the results that they desired and expected from the war. The organizations include:

The Agriculturist League, The German Peasants' League, The Central Association of German Manufacturers, The League of Manufacturers, The Imperial German Middle-Class Association.

The program of the 10th of March included: First, the conquest of a colonial empire; second, the annexation of Belgium; third, the annexation of French territory to the River Somme; the iron mines of Briey; the forts of Verdun and Belfort; the French coast of the Channel; and of the coal lands of the Department of the North and Calais; fourth, an indemnity from France of such a size that the economic resources of the above-mentioned territory would fall into German hands; fifth, annexations in the East including a part of the Baltic Provinces and territory lying south of it; the extension of West Prussia, Posen, Silesia; sixth, a war indemnity from Russia which in large measure would have to be brought about through the handing over of land.

The *Volkszeitung* remarks that the government has shown itself to be not unsympathetic to these plans and points out that the Chancellor declared for a war of conquest in the Reichstag session of the 28th of May.

# Correspondence

## "Class Struggle" and "Class Consciousness"

To the NEW REVIEW:

**W**E are oppressed by the tyranny of Words. Most of the wrong thinking is caused by the use of ambiguous words or by the confusion of facts with guesses. So many men travel on a pivot. It is difficult to convince them there are more points of view than one. If you don't see things as they see them you're troubled with Astigmatism. The Socialist movement suffers much from this malady. Many of our quarrels have been over words and phrases.

"A Motion to Substitute" by Mrs. Edward Russell is a polite invitation to call in our opinions, look them over, and examine our terminology. Two phrases or statements she "nominates for the dump heap are 'Class Struggle and Class Consciousness.'" The objections raised against these words are very much like the objections raised by our Catholic brethren—they are "un-attractive, unsound, unnecessary"; their use alienate many who might be with us. She would substitute for "Class Struggle" and "Class Consciousness" phrases more refined, more exact, "Force of Capital" and "Force of Labor." Words, after all, are supposed to do something more than "conceal thought." Our critic writes "Class Struggle and Class Consciousness" as if they were ossified formulæ dropped from the clouds or evolved from the inner consciousness of a metaphysician, whereas both have risen from deep social-economic causes.

Isn't it a strong use of language to use these phrases as if they were beliefs to be accepted or rejected at will? Is not all history, as interpreted economically, the history of Class Struggles? Some of our most orthodox historians are coming to see this. Why then, if the Class Struggle is a fact, why blink it? An ugly truth is better, by far than a beautiful lie.

What of it, if "reference to the Class Struggle arouses antagonism in an American audience"? American audiences have surely much to learn. The United States is the most backward country on earth on all matters pertaining to social evolution. No people are so smug, respectable and mentally complacent. They want none of your theories about society. With comfortable self-satisfaction, they declare only the incompetent are dissatisfied. Didn't the American citizen work his way up unaided? Pursue him with facts about

modern business and politics and he will retort that the wicked like the poor are always with us; human nature, you know, can't be changed. It has taken "American audiences" even a decade to learn that Socialism is not Anarchy; they are just getting used to the word that spells hope for mankind. But they still shy at other words they do not understand. "Revolution" must be 150 years old before the "daughters" will honor it. "Materialistic conception" gives many the creeps. "Proletarian," "Bourgeoise," "Wage-slaves," shocks the average American patriot. As for the "Red Flag," "it has no place in American society"—so declare American respectables.

But this is nothing new. It took a century and over to convince "American audiences" that chattle slavery was a brutal infamy.

Because Socialists seek to arouse the workers to a *consciousness* of their servile condition in society, why should they be charged with rousing class hatred? As Eugene V. Debs says, "We didn't make the struggle between the capitalist class and the working class, but it's there, and it's *our business* to uphold our own interest if we don't want to go under." Men, women and children are being murdered daily in American industrial hells because it is cheaper to kill them than to protect them. Who are responsible for this shameless brutality? The greedy, plundering, profit-mad, state-protected capitalists, whose one life function is to live from the labor of others. When Mrs. Russell declares "it is not the class of capital against which we must wage war, but the force of capital," she merely hints the possibility of stopping the robbery of the workers without hurting the feelings of the robbers.

The idea that substituting the words "Force of Capital and Force of Labor for Capitalist Class and Laboring Class," would bring Socialism a little nearer, implies a magic quality of certain words over other words. Such Arcadian simplicity must come as a surprise to the striking coal miners—victims of the class struggle—now rotting in Colorado Bastiles!

"Substituting" one phrase for another will not help the Socialist movement. We need to understand. Spite the boasted intelligence of "American audiences," their learned proclivities and their masks of conservative broad-mindedness, they are two generations behind modern science; their mental processes are mediæval, while their thinking—sociologically speaking—is

on a par with the cave man. The methods of the Socialist Party to educate the workers have, hitherto, been very much like Billy Sunday. The co-operative commonwealth was to be ushered in over night. "Socialism in our time" is the screech of one Socialist weekly. Vote the ticket and swell the sub-list and the trick is done. No wonder some of us believe a change of phrases will make friends and work wonders. The function of the thinker—and every Socialist should be a *thinker*, not merely a believer—is to direct, to point out the way; not like politicians to discover what the crowd wants, regardless of the results to be obtained. The Socialist subscribes to the sentiment expressed by Engels shortly before his death:

"We are as yet at the very beginning of things." GEO. N. FALCONER.  
Salt Lake City.

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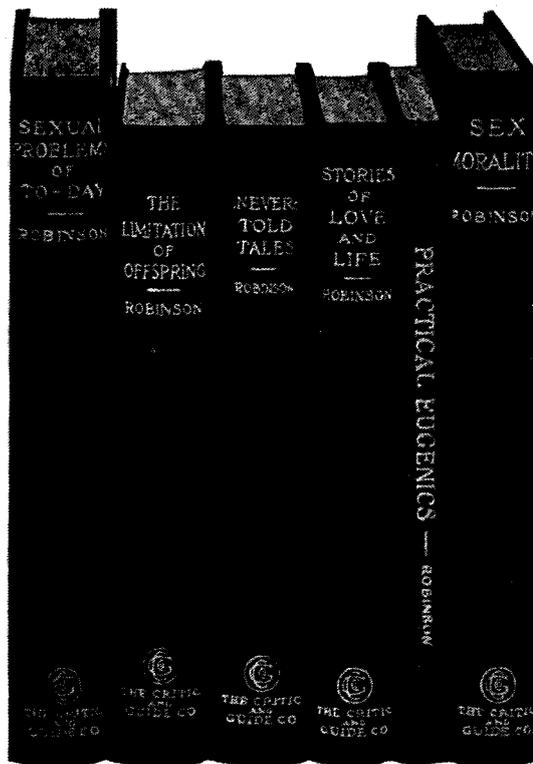
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