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THE SOCIALIST REVIEW

HILLQUIT'S SPEECH AT ALBANY

THE GERMAN REVOLUTION

FRENCH AND AMERICAN RAIL STRIKES

THE HOUSING CRISIS

WINNIPEG JUSTICE

ITALIAN SOCIALISM

Entered as second-class matter

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Our Contributors

W. Harris Crook, M.A. Managing Editor of *The Socialist Review,* former editor of the Boston *Forward.*

T. D. Member of a New York Research Bureau.

Francis Delaisi. Formerly correspondent of the Paris *Eclair;* correspondent for the Foreign Press Service in Paris.

Madeleine Doty. Author of "Society's Misfits" and "Short Rations."

S. E. Professor in an American College.

William Feigenbaum. Director of Publicity National Socialist Party.

Lewis S. Gannett. Represented *The Survey* at the Peace Conference; writes for *The Nation,* etc.

A. B. Gilbert. Associate Editor of the *Nonpartisan Leader,* author of "American Cities."

Morris Hillquit. Candidate for Mayor New York City on Socialist ticket. Chief counsel for defense of five Socialist Assemblymen. Author of "Socialism Summed Up," etc.

T. L. A member of the faculty in an American university.

Harry W. Laidler, Ph.D. Editor of *The Socialist Review,* author of "Socialism in Thought and Action," etc.

Winthrop D. Lane of *The Survey.* Authority on civil liberties.

H. J. Laski. Author of "Authority in the Modern State" and "Problems of Sovereignty."

A. J. Muste. Secretary of the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America.

Mary White Ovington. Chairman of the Board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Author of "The Shadow."

C. M. Panunzio. Director of the Immigration Bureau in the Interchurch World Movement.

Edmund Seidel. Formerly Editor of *The Weekly People,* organ of the Socialist Labor Party.

Art Young. Editor of *Good Morning.*

Savel Zimand. Member of the Bureau of Industrial Research. Translator of "The Future Belongs to the People" and "Militarism" by Karl Liebknecht.

THE SOCIALIST REVIEW

Vol. VIII. MAY 1920 No. 6

The German Revolution

Madeleine Z. Doty

LAST summer I was in Germany. I had been there in the fall of 1916. On the trip during the war I saw the country faced disaster. I told then of the lack of grease, of the impending starvation, of the coming revolution. I said the land began to creak and crack like an unoiled wagon. Today that picture is a reality. Thin and listless people walk the streets, the paint is peeling from the buildings, many factories are closed, the people need food and clothes, nerves are on edge, revolution and counter-revolution come and go, the nation has reached rock bottom and grinds along on the road bed. Besides the casualties of war and epidemics between 1916-1917, 763,000 died of sheer starvation. Tuberculosis has increased 50 per cent. In 1917 50,000 children between 1 and 15 years of age died for want of food.

It is on such conditions that the new order in Germany must be built. On the surface, particularly in Berlin, life seems normal. People throng the streets, restaurants, theatres and moving picture shows are crowded. Food can be had at enormous prices. But beneath this outer display is rank misery, hunger, restlessness, and despair. Many of the reported uprisings of the Reds were merely raids by desperate people on food shops.

Smoldering Discontent

It was at the end of June, 1919, that I was in Berlin. I was there the day Germany signed the peace treaty. I took a taxi and drove to the north of the city through the working class districts to see the temper of the people. As the car sped past children ran into the street and hurled sticks at me and spat after the car, and their elders muttered angrily. I was taken for a rich German. Everywhere I drove workers crowded the street. They were determined the treaty should be signed, they would have peace at any price. They feared the bourgeois government would betray them. They stood on street corners scowling. Women with babies huddled in doorways or leaned from the windows to call to the men. Children swarmed over the sidewalks. And among them walked Noske's grim young soldiers with fixed bayonets. They guarded the food stores, for many shops had been smashed and raided that day. The great market in the north was surrounded by soldiers.

As I passed a street corner I recognized a socialist friend and stopped to take her in the taxi. She was trembling with excitement. She was hurrying to a secret meeting. She had been warned that all the Independent Socialists and Spartacans would be arrested or killed that night. She did not dare return to her home. I left her several blocks further on, and she went down a side street and into a tenement where, behind closed doors, socialists were debating and struggling against the new militarism that had sprung up. As I turned to go back to my hotel a fire engine dashed by, its bell clanging ominously. There was no fire, but back and forth the engine went, its hose ready to turn a stream of cold water on the enraged people: and the bell of the fire engine had hardly died away when bing bang came the sound of shots, and a motor truck with machine

guns sped by. The soldiers fired shot after shot into the air, and the crowd fled. But this arrogant display of power did not quiet the people. As I drove away they had gathered again, scowling and more angry than before.

Back at the hotel all was quiet. The rich bourgeoisie were eating American pork and Swiss chocolate and dainty luxuries from Denmark. One meal cost a fortune. But what of that? Let us eat today, for tomorrow we die.

Prussian Militarists vs. the Red Army

It is in such a setting that we hear of new uprising in Germany, of a counter-revolution, of the attempt of Von Kapp and the reactionaries to seize power and then the rising of the workers, the general strike, and the overthrow of Von Kapp. What does it mean? Have the workers at last won? To understand the situation one must go back to the day the Kaiser fled, early in November, 1918, when the revolution came in Germany. That revolution was not the real thing. It was not even as thoroughgoing as the Kerensky revolution in Russia. It resulted merely in the overthrow of the monarchy and the aristocracy, and in the establishment of a republic fashioned after the western governments. The people wanted state socialism; what they got was state capitalism. The business men and the militarists had been enthroned. Majority Socialists were given important places in the government to disguise what had happened. They served as a shield to deceive the people. But the deception did not last. In a few weeks the workers saw through it, but they were caught in a net. There is a large middle class in Germany. Noske's army comes from this class, and from the aristocrats. Many of the soldiers are young men who have never been at the front, who are graduates from high school brought up under the old system, believers in caste. This kind of army is not likely to go over to the workers; and this army is well armed. It has big stores of hand grenades and machine guns. Slowly, against this relentless machine, the workers are rising. They are building a Red Army. The old Prussian militarists and the Red Army face one another.

The class struggle is more deadly here than in any other nation. The slaughter will be correspondingly great. Noske's militarists have been pursuing and killing all radicals. Liebknecht, Rosa Luxembourg, Kurt Eisner, Landauer, Haase, and hundreds of other leaders have been killed. In the uprising in Munich after Kurt Eisner's death, besides the 600 killed in the conflict, 500 men were lined up against a wall and shot. This is the tale everywhere. The leaders of the Independent Socialists and the Spartacans are in prison or dead.

Russian vs. German Revolutionists

The Germans are not, like the Russians, individualists. They do not hunger for personal freedom. All their tendency is towards socialization, centralization, order, and method. The workers are at heart Majority Socialists. Scheidemann was their leader, but he failed them. He sold out to the bourgeoisie. This has driven the workers to the Independent Socialists. But the Independents lack force. Many of them are non-resistants; like kindly old Edward Bernstein they believe in compromise. This again has driven the workers further to the left. The bulk of them have gone over to the Spartacans. But when the revolution is realized it will be more like state socialism than communism. It will be highly centralized. It will be a working-class dictatorship, more of a dictatorship than exists in Russia. There will be little individual freedom. Industrial democracy I believe will be subject to a central political government. If there are local soviets they will be autonomous only in name. For the German's needs differ from the Russian's. The Russian workers lived in hovels, the Germans had neat cottages with window boxes and flowers, and music and beer gardens. The German is willing to obey provided things run well, and he has comfort, order, and beauty. The

Russian wants to sit up half the night drinking tea and discussing freedom. Theoretic and dogmatic socialism will be tried out in Germany.

A Spartacan Leader

I had many talks with the few surviving Spartacan leaders. They felt the workers were not yet ready for communism. One woman, a Spartacan, a friend of Liebknecht and Luxembourg, told me her story. She had been in the left wing camp for some years. She was one of the 22 communist speakers, directed by Liebknecht, who thrilled the country. I withhold her name for her protection. I met her in 1916 and we then became close friends. Since that date until I arrived in Germany in June, 1919, I had been cut off from all communication with her by the war.

My heart beat violently as I stood at her front door. Was she dead or alive, or in prison? Then came the sound of a step and I knew she was there. There was the same passionate personality, with burning eyes and massive head with its shock of grey hair, the same passionate friend that drew me to her. But in her face were lines of sorrow, in her manner a selflessness, and I knew she had gone through tortures.

When we could speak my first question was, "Where is the revolution? What has happened?" and she bowed her head.

"Temporarily it is at a standstill," she said. "We have been hounded, imprisoned, and killed, until there are none left to fight. I have been in prison." "But," I ventured, "the world talks of a Socialist Republic in Germany."

She smiled grimly. "It is a lie," she said. "There isn't an atom of socialism. The monarchy has gone, a republic has come, but it is a capitalist republic, a capitalist republic that is more deadly and relentless than the monarchy. In the first days of November, 1918, when the uprising came, that was a time of glory. Then the people swept all before them, they could have had everything. The power of Liebknecht and Luxembourg was electric. The masses flocked to them. All the old evil forces gave way. A day, or a half day more and the communists might have won. Then Liebknecht and Luxembourg were murdered, brutally murdered without trial. Scheidemann and Noske knew the power of the communists, and feared them. At first Scheidemann joined with the communists. In the early days we were all together. Scheidemann saw it was the way to win the people, and the people didn't understand. They thought Scheidemann stood for socialism, and that socialism had come, and so Scheidemann was elected. But from the first his power waned. He feared Liebknecht and Luxembourg and they were murdered. Then the capitalists took heart. They saw the bourgeoisie and the peasants were with them. They got behind Scheidemann. They offered him their strength. They made him their tool. They turned the revolution of the people into a capitalistic and militaristic republic."

The same evening that my friend told me these things, we walked through the main streets of Berlin. I saw the Kaiser's Palace and adjacent buildings riddled with bullets. I saw the barbed-wire entanglements and the soldiers with fixed bayonets guarding every public entrance. We came up Unter den Linden to the Thiergarten, and on beyond to the big open space in front of the Reichstag, and there in the stillness of the night, she told me of the first days of the revolution.

The November Revolution

"It was just here that it began," she said. "The people seized the Reichstag; just after the Kaiser fled, the great square was packed with people; at the foot of this statue of Bismarck we began the speaking. A man had spoken and then I was called for. They pulled me up on to the statue. I stood at the foot of that figure of a man bearing the great globe of the world on his back, and on the globe stood a *matelot*, a sailor, waving a great red flag. The sailors were always our best revolutionists. And suddenly, as I faced the great crowd, not knowing what I

should say, I swept my hat from my head and cheered, and the crowd cheered with me, until the place rang with one great cry. And when I had finished my speech, a man rose to speak. But he had only begun when a bullet whizzed by. Then shot after shot poured into the square. We saw that the old Junker officers had come down side streets with automobiles, and they had machine guns on the automobiles, and they shot into the crowd mercilessly. We turned and fled. My daughter was with me and in front of us was a man. As we ran the man fell. My daughter stopped to help him up, but he was dead. He was a stranger. He had nothing to do with the revolution. I have seen so many killed, I have seen so much blood, it is hard to talk of it. But the people held the Reichstag and the revolution went on.

Liebknecht and Luxembourg

"Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg had been let out of prison. At first Liebknecht was too weak to speak. He stood up in the carriage that drove him from prison on October 24th, and he tried three times to speak. At last his voice came. Never were Liebknecht and Luxembourg so great. He was the fire and passion, she the brains of the movement. We called her 'the Madonna of the Idea.' She wrote the communist program. Every time they spoke the enthusiasm grew greater. Then came the day of the elections for the National Assembly. Liebknecht advised the communists to join in the election and nominate their candidates. But 60 out of the 75 Spartacist delegates from all over the country refused to have anything to do with the Assembly. Liebknecht gave way to the opinion of the majority. But it was the signing of his death warrant. From that day Scheidemann and Noske knew that unless Liebknecht was killed they were lost. So one day without any warning, without the allegation of any offense, Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg were seized and led before the chief army staff at the Café Eden. The staff was made up of the old trained and brutal militarists. They could find nothing against their prisoners, but they ordered them to be sent to jail pending further examination. To the side entrance of the Café Eden Liebknecht was led, and as he stepped out alone some soldiers sprang forward and hit him on the head with the butts of their guns. He was knocked down unconscious. Then he was put in an automobile and driven to the Thiergarten. When the car got there he had regained consciousness, and he was told that the car had broken down and he must step into another. As he staggered to the ground, he was shot through the head and died instantly. The soldiers left his body in the Thiergarten and drove off. Later the body was found and taken to the morgue.

"It was fifteen minutes after Liebknecht had been taken from the Café Eden, before Rosa Luxembourg was brought out of the main entrance. What had happened to Liebknecht was known, but no attempt was made to protect the slender little woman. She stood in the doorway for a moment knowing her fate. Then the soldiers rushed upon her. With the butts of their guns they beat her upon the head. Unconscious she was carried into the automobile. When they had driven a little way the soldiers saw that she was dead, and one of them shot her. At the Cornelius Bridge which crosses the canal, the men found some barbed wire. This they bound round and round her body and then threw the body into the canal. One of her little slippers came off. The soldiers kept it. That night they had an orgy. They drank their wine out of her slipper. We have buried them side by side. His funeral came first. It was a long time before we found her body.

The Noske Reaction

"The death of Liebknecht and Luxembourg enraged the people, and made them more determined than ever. We couldn't hold them back. When Scheidemann and Noske saw they had accomplished nothing by their murders, they turned on the people. They gave up all pretence of socialism, all pretence of decency. They imprisoned thousands. They

imprisoned and killed people without any trial. In the Kaiser's time there were at least trials, there was some attempt at justice. Now there is nothing. No one is safe. Noske has taken militarists, the old order with the old ideas, and equipped them with hand-grenades. They go out joyfully to slaughter. There is hardly one of the well-known communists who hasn't been imprisoned or killed. On March 28, 1919, soldiers came to my door. Eight of them seized me. They are really cowards, so many men for one woman. They searched my flat, turned out all my papers, but found nothing. I had hidden the communist documents. But though they discovered nothing, and I have never preached violence, and they had no evidence against me —they carried me off to jail. They didn't bother with a trial. I knew any minute I might be killed. One of my best friends, two days before, had been killed within the prison walls without trial. When I got inside the prison, I seized my hat in my hand. I thought my gray hair might protect me, and I heard one of the soldiers say, 'Don't shoot her, she's an old woman.'

"It was my first prison experience. I didn't know it was so horrible. I was treated like a beast. I was ill with bronchitis, but they made me take a hot bath and then put me in a cell with the windows wide open, and they gave me no covers. I couldn't eat the food. For seven days and nights I never slept. I grew very ill, and my daughter was allowed to see me. She is a doctor in a big hospital. She is not a communist. Through her influence I was sent to a Sanatorium, and after several weeks I was allowed to come home. But my prison commitment says I will be arrested if I speak publicly or take any part in politics. I fear my husband or my children have promised that I will not carry on any further work, but of course, I have given no such word. I must go on. But at present it is useless. It is not the time. The leaders are in prison, or dead, and the people are not yet ready for communism. The peasants must first be converted. We are making no attempt to gain control. The government knows this, but it pretends we are. It stirs up riots among the people. It does this that it may slaughter and imprison us to the last man.

The Two Armies

"There are two armies forming, Noske's army with the militarists, the Prussians, the White army,—and the army of the workers, the Red army, miserable, half fed, but filled with mad rage. Just now Noske is strong. There may come even greater reaction. A Kaiser might be put on the throne. But not for long. The people are awake now. They will never submit again. They will go out in their blind rage to battle, women and children as well as men. There will be bloody slaughter. The people cannot be held in check. We who might have organized, quieted, and led them, are being killed. We are helpless. When there is a spontaneous uprising of the people, we cannot leave them to destruction, and we come forward then and speak for them, and try to help them. But soon there will be none of us left. The government is bringing chaos and destruction upon Germany."

My friend ceased speaking and we turned and walked to her home. Underneath the trees in the Thiergarten, ragged soldiers lurked. Crime is rife in Berlin. The next day we heard there had been two robberies and a murder in the very place where we had stood.

German life has two sides today. The skeleton horses of Berlin and the fat little ponies from Rumania trotting side by side are symbolical of it. On the top side strut Noske's insolent young soldier boys, with only the faint beginnings of a moustache; and through the side streets lurk the ragged soldiers of the Red army, soldiers who fought in the war, soldiers who are now begging. In the restaurants and cafés sit the bourgeoisie eating, eating, and at the windows peer the hungry, miserable people from the north. It cannot go on. The new uprising is the beginning of the end.

The French Railroad Strike[1]

Francis Delaisi

Translated by Lewis S. Gannett

FRANCE, following Great Britain and Italy, has had her railroad strike, a normal phenomenon of the economic crisis stirring the old world, and an opportunity to measure the strength of the opposing forces.

The revolutionary minority which declared the strike directed it less against the railroad companies than against the conservative union leaders, seeking to win the leadership of the labor movement and to prepare strikes in other industries, which, paralyzing economic life, would open the way to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The railroads accepted the test in the hope of breaking the strike and of discharging the revolutionaries. At first the government supported the railroads, mobilizing the civil population and the press in their behalf, and attempting military mobilization. But the military mobilization failed, and the government turned to the conservative labor leaders, satisfied the economic demands of the men, thus detaching the rank and file from the extremists, and ended the strike.

The Strike in the Press

Foreigners following the railroad strike in the newspapers must have thought that France was a singularly chivalrous land, in which the workers, the capitalists, and the government all fought like Don Quixote for honor alone, for the press presented the origin of the conflict in the following curious fashion:

Campanaud, a worker at Villeneuve-St. Georges, was called to a meeting of the Executive Committee of his union at Dijon on February 23, and asked his superiors for permission to go. His chief, not having been informed officially that Campanaud was a member of the committee, refused to grant it. Campanaud declared: "You leave me but two alternatives, to obey my union or to obey the company; I will obey the union." When he returned from the meeting his chief punished him with two days' suspension. The Villeneuve shop workers struck spontaneously; other shops followed, and the union quickly ordered a strike on the whole line. From Paris to Marseilles and Nice the workers quit work and the trains stopped.

The officers of the National Federation of Railroadmen then went to the government and asked arbitration. M. Millerand replied: "If the workers will go back to work first, I will examine their grievances." The Federation replied: "If the companies will revoke the punishment of Campanaud, the workers will return." The government, considering that this condition was an attack upon its dignity, refused, so the Federation ordered a general strike.

The Real Causes

In reality, this was merely the occasion of the outbreak. The real causes of the conflict lay much deeper. They lay in the struggle of the railroadmen against the companies, and the fight of the extreme syndicalists against conservative leaders.

The railroad workers had been uneasy for months. Because of the steady increase in the cost of living, they asked a minimum wage of 8,800 francs, 1,200 francs more for those who lived in Paris (where living is dearer), and the usual 720-franc "indemnity for the high cost of living" which the government grants all civil servants. These demands had been submitted to an Arbitration Commission presided over by M. Tissier, but the Commission had been sitting for months and had reached no conclusion. It was understood that the increases, when finally fixed, should date back to July 1, 1919, but the workers feared that this concession was only a means of delaying the decision. Further-

[1] This article appears in *The Socialist Review* through the courtesy of the Foreign Press Service.

more, they asked a clear-cut recognition of the union. The officers of the Federation of Railroadmen, conservative and conciliatory men, had been collaborating with the Tissier Commission, but because the commission had reached no conclusion, the discontent was as sharp against the union officers as against the government.

The revolutionaries constitute a small minority among the railroadmen as in all the French unions,[1] but they are very active. They have always believed that a small group of courageous men could seize power if they chose the right moment for an insurrection. In the old days they believed in political insurrection by building barricades in the streets. Today they believe in economic insurrection by means of the general strike. At the time of the metal strike last June they dreamed of launching a general strike of railroadmen, miners, and longshoremen, which would be the beginning of the revolution, but this attempt failed because the national union leaders opposed it.

The railroad directors were not unaware of this movement, and they were not displeased with it. Throughout the war and the period of demobilization they had taken a conciliating position. They had promised wage increases (always postponing the date of the increase), and had conciliated the union leaders. Discipline was somewhat relaxed. But the November elections brought a thoroughly conservative majority into the Chamber, and the moment seemed propitious for re-establishment of absolute authority over the employes. With the assured support of a conservative parliament they felt that they could easily break a strike and then discharge all employes suspected of revolutionary tendencies.

They prepared for the battle ahead of time. Two weeks before the Campanaud incident,[2] M. Le Trocquer, the Minister of Public Works, offered a draft bill requisitioning automobiles and other means of transportation in case of a strike, and providing for mobilization of the personnel in case of resistance. M. Noblemaire, Director of the P.L.M. Railroad (Paris-Lyon-Mediterranée), made a long speech in the Chamber, pleading the cause of the railroads and attempting to show that the transport crisis was caused by state control during the war and by the extreme demands of the employes. This speech was loudly applauded, and was reproduced with approving comment in the entire press. Public opinion, parliament, and the government seemed ready to assure the victory of the companies.

This was the situation when Campanaud was dismissed. The revolutionaries seized the opportunity. Midol, secretary of the union workers on the P.L.M., issued the strike order from Dijon. According to the union statutes only the National Federation, which has its headquarters at Paris, has the right to call a strike. The extremists knew very well that the conservative national officers would oppose the movement, so they started the strike without them.

The companies replied by an announcement that all workers who struck would be discharged immediately, and that they would never be taken back. The government, too, acted promptly. The Minister of Public Works declared that a strike so irregularly called was not an economic strike, but a revolutionary movement, and that in such circumstances the first duty of the government was to insure the necessary continuity of traffic. He declared that he would use all available means to restore authority and that the government would sustain the companies with all its power. The Chamber approved this energetic resolution by an enormous ma-

[1] The revolutionaries carried 108,538 out of a total of 245,208 votes at the last congress of the National Federation of Railwaymen in May, 1919, and believe they now have a majority of the total membership, which now exceeds 300,000. *Trans.*

[2] The railroad men had been pressing for a settlement of their wage demands for more than a year; and months before, the date February 10 had been set for a strike if the demands were not granted. It was in view of this threat that M. Le Trocquer introduced his bill, and it was the abandonment of it that whetted the resentment of the rank and file of the railroad men against their hesitant leaders. *Trans.*

jority, and the press supported the government.

The Strike Complete

The vast majority of the workers obeyed the strike order launched by the extremists. In a few days the stoppage was almost complete on the entire line of the P.L.M. It was a first success.

The extremists decided to spread the strike to the other lines. A general strike order, however, could be given only by the National Federation, and its officers wanted to end the strike as soon as possible. They asked the government to arbitrate. The government, obviously in accord with the companies, set the preliminary condition of an immediate return to work. The National Federation could not promise a return to work, because the workers had quit work without consulting them.

M. Millerand refused to arbitrate, and this gave the Bolshevists their opportunity. Some time before a federated union of all the railroadmen of the Paris region had been formed, and the extremists had won control of it. Paris is the centre of all but one of the French railroads and domination of the Paris Union gave an opportunity to act upon the railroadmen of all the lines. Announcement that the P.L.M. had discharged 800 strikers provoked general irritation, and when the government refused to arbitrate, the Paris Union forced the hand of the leaders of the National Federation, who, fearing revolt in their organization, called a general strike affecting all the railroads.

The public authorities decided to adopt unusual measures against this unexpected extension of the movement.

Attempts to Break the Strike

In accordance with the program worked out early in February, the government requisitioned automobiles and trucks of all sorts to assure the supply services. It announced measures of food conservation and restriction in the restaurants, which naturally disturbed public opinion and prejudiced it against the strike. Premier Millerand, speaking in the Chamber, appealed to all good citizens to help him break the "revolutionary movement." A curious civil mobilization of the bourgeoisie took place. Members of the aristocracy pushed freight cars about the yards; society women volunteered to sell railroad tickets; Red Cross nurses volunteered to check baggage, students for various tasks. The "Union of Ex-Soldiers"[4] in a manifesto reproduced by the entire press offered the support of its 400,000 members. The Association of Railroadmen-Soldiers launched a similar appeal. So did the Catholic Railroadmen. But very few members of these organizations presented themselves for service.

The government organized a recruiting bureau to utilize these volunteers. More than 15,000 people were enrolled and assigned to various services. Nevertheless, this improvised labor was not very useful. Technically trained people are needed to operate locomotives and man switches. Urged by their directors, the students at the Arts and Trades School and at the Central Technical School volunteered; but there were few of them, and despite their theoretical knowledge they lacked practical experience.

The railroadmen knew that it was to their interest to avoid any conflict which might give the government an excuse for violent methods of repression, and that the untrained volunteers would be inadequate to their task and would soon become tired. Knowing that nothing would prejudice the public against them more than to have the supply of food and milk for children and hospitals cut off, they offered to take the necessary steps to feed the capital. The General Federation of Labor offered to organize a service of supply under the supervision of the Strike Com-

[4] There are several associations of ex-soldiers in France. The largest, the "Republican Association of Former Combatants," presided over by M. Henri Barbusse, announced that it was "wholeheartedly" with the strikers, and the "Federation of Workers and Peasant War Cripples" expressed "its deepest sympathy" with the railroad men. The "Union of Ex-Soldiers" is a reactionary group. *Trans.*

mittee, and the newspapers reproduced a picture of a locomotive bearing a large sign: "Authorized by the Union." But the public authorities and the railroad companies hastened to refuse this offer.

The railroadmen were not intimidated by the students and bourgeois strike-breakers, nor by the hostility of public opinion and of the press. Only one railroad, the *Nord,* refused to take part in the general strike, its union officials declaring that they did not wish to force the people of the devasted regions into famine.[5]

The Mobilization Order

The government resolved upon military mobilization of the railroadmen. In war-time the railroadmen are mobilized at their jobs to assure movement of troops and supply of the armies. The chiefs wear officers' stripes and the employes red arm-bands with indications of their rank. Refusal to obey orders means a court-martial, and refusal to work is considered desertion and may be punished by forced labor or by death. M. Briand, then Prime Minister, broke the first railroad strike in 1910 by a mobilization order. The railroadmen feared the pitiless courts-martial, and returned to work.

As a beginning M. Millerand ordered the mobilization of three classes of the active service. If the railroadmen should obey it would mean the end of the strike; the discharge of the leading agitators would be maintained and the absolute authority of the companies reëstablished. If on the other hand many of the railroadmen should refuse it would prove that the military organization could not be used in peace-time to settle civil disputes and the example of indiscipline thus given might prove bad for the army as well.

The Order Is Ignored

Before the war the military apparatus made a great impression, but after five years of war most of the soldiers had returned from the front with a profound scorn for peace-time military discipline and its superannuated formalism. While they were buoyed up by the idea of national defense they grumblingly accepted it, but now that the war was over this discipline seemed absurd. It seemed an abuse of power to put the instrument of national defense at the service of the railroad companies.

In many of the little stations where the railway employes were isolated and directly menaced by the gendarmes, the men obeyed, but in the big centres which are the keys of railroad traffic, disobedience was almost complete. At Lyons, according to *Le Temps,* the railroadmen piled up their mobilization orders in the union headquarters. Several hundred strikers in large centres such as Orleans, Perigueux, Limoges, and Marseilles refused to accept the registered letters. In certain cities the attempted mobilization exasperated the few who had stayed at work into joining the strikers.

The extremists who had launched the general railroad strike had already induced the metal workers', miners', and longshoremen's unions to pass resolutions endorsing the strike. The General Federation of Labor had been forced to declare that it would support the railroad strike with all its power, in case of need by a concerted action of all the other industries. Partial strikes had broken out spontaneously in the coal mines of the Pas-de-Calais. There was danger of a general stoppage of the factories of all France. Wholesale repression might have been the signal for a general uprising. The government had no alternative but to retreat. M. Millerand was not unaware that the revolutionaries represented a small minority of the workers and that they had carried the mass with them only because the purely economic demands had been too long neglected. Satisfaction of these economic demands was sure to detach the enormous majority of the railroadmen and leave the extremist general staff without its troops.

[5] Nevertheless, the labor press estimated that fully half its workers struck. The general strike at present (April 1) complete in the heart of the devastated district shows where the sympathies of the people of that region lie. *Trans.*

Negotiations Begun

The leaders of the National Federation of Railroadmen and of the General Federation of Labor asked nothing better than to negotiate with the government. The strike had been declared in spite of them, and in part against them. They wanted time for their "Economic Council of Labor" to study and work out a plan for labor management of public services. M. Millerand had waked up the Tissier Commission at the very beginning of the strike, and had asked it to hurry up its study of the railroadmen's demands.

As if by magic the companies, the railroads, and the Federation agreed to accept M. Millerand's arbitration. The Prime Minister established the following basis of agreement: the wage scale would be fixed immediately by the Tissier Commission, on which sat representatives of the workers, of the companies, and of the government; union rights would be guaranteed; and a project of nationalization of the railroads would be studied in collaboration with the "Economic Council of Labor" (which had been formed under the auspices of the General Federation of Labor); and there would be no discharges because of the strike. The General Federation ordered a resumption of work on all the lines, and the Chamber, by an overwhelming majority, approved the government for having compromised, just as a few days before it had approved it for declaring that it would never compromise. The mass of the railroadmen returned to work, and public opinion, happy at seeing the crisis past, approved.

The Extremists Disappointed

There was dissatisfaction, however, on both sides. At the extreme left the revolutionary agitators were furious, not so much against the government or the companies as against the leaders of the Federation who by compromising had cut short the movement and had caused the collapse of their plan of a revolutionary strike gradually embracing all industries. The companies were angry at being forced to withdraw the discharges. Their principal purpose had been to purge the personnel of its revolutionary elements. They attempted to get around the arbitration decision of the government by maintaining on various pretexts the discharge of the leading agitators. The revolutionary leaders in turn used this as a pretext for continuation of the strike. In many of the large centres the workers refused to return until the discharges had been declared null. The government, fearing a continuance of the strike, finally forced the companies to yield.

The revolutionaries had attempted an industrial mobilization aiming at the dictatorship of the proletariat; the railroad companies had hoped that military mobilization would restore their absolute authority. Both were disappointed. The obvious conclusion was that a policy of negotiation and collaboration should be substituted for violent struggle. M. Millerand himself drew this conclusion when he declared to the Chamber: "It is a contradiction that we should have universal political suffrage in the republic and absolute monarchy in the factory. Collaboration of employers and employes is every day more necessary."

Doubtless there will be difficulties before this collaboration is realized. On the morrow of the strike the Chamber, hoping to prevent repetition of such strikes, voted the principle of compulsory arbitration. The General Federation of Labor refuses to accept it. It sees a solution in nationalization of the railroads, but nationalization of a new sort, in which the railroads will be administered neither by representatives of the stockholders nor by a state bureaucracy but by delegates of the employes and technicians, by delegates of the business men and shippers, and by representatives of the public authorities. There is a vast gap between these two points of view, but the government has agreed to discuss the new railroad régime with the Economic Council of Labor, and the principle of collaboration being thus accepted, one may hope that France may find its way to industrial democracy.

The Housing Crisis

T. D.

WHEN labor strikes for better wages and conditions the constitutional guarantees against involuntary servitude are often forgotten under the plea of the general welfare of all the people, and coercion is frequently used to force the workers back to work. The means adopted may be hastily drafted vagrancy or anti-loafing ordinances, work or fight laws, injunctions under the Lever Act, or an industrial relations act like that of Kansas. Whether the action be *en masse* or individual, "legal" means can be found to deal with the situation satisfactorily.

When, on the other hand, capital strikes and refuses to lend a hand, no law may be invoked to coerce it. The constitutional guarantees stand. Private property may not be taken without "due process of law" nor without "just compensation." Capital cannot be forced into use unless it is assured a "reasonable" return, the market rate of interest. It cannot even be forced to remain in use where it already is, should there be reason for the belief that a better return can be secured by transfer to another field, no matter how necessary its use in the former and how unnecessary in the latter occupation.

The State Steps In

If for some reason a socially necessary enterprise becomes unprofitable, capital refuses to remain in that enterprise unless given a guarantee of a reasonable return by means of a subsidy or otherwise. The alternative is for the state to step in and to take over the enterprise or to develop the enterprise from the very beginning. Thus it is that governments operate such socially necessary utilities that offer no monetary return on the investment as schools, bridges, street cleaning, and sanitation. With the exception of waterworks, and in some cases of gas and electric light plants, the profitable public utilities are left to private initiative. From this situation arises the fiction that public operation is costly and inefficient.

When the East River bridges in New York City made the ferries unprofitable, the city first subsidized those most needed, and finally took them over altogether. According to a report of the present Commissioners of Plant and Structures, the Staten Island ferries have cost the city government since 1905 $2,000,000 more than was received in revenues.

New York Subways

When the pressing need for transportation facilities made an underground railroad necessary, private capital refused to undertake the task. No one had sufficient vision to realize what a profitable enterprise it would prove to be, although the opportunity had been presented to several big railroad men. Accordingly, the subway had to be constructed with public funds. Although the city suffered no monetary loss from that project, it is facing a loss of approximately $18,000,000 annually as a result of the contracts of 1918 under which the dual system is being constructed. Now the street railways generally have become unprofitable, their owners are in very many cases not only willing but anxious to sell out to the municipalities for public operation if only they can unload them at inflated valuations.

Housing Shortage

What has been true in these instances is now true of housing. As a result of the falling off of housing construction during the war, the shortage of housing facilities everywhere is so striking as to threaten a crisis. In New York City the shortage is estimated at 50,000 apartments. There is excessive overcrowding. Families are forced into "rat holes" unfit for habitation by beasts, much less by human beings. The only vacancies that still exist are for the most part in dwellings fit only for demolition. Rents have

been increased to unheard-of levels, so that the cost of shelter is taking an unduly large proportion of the family income and causing real suffering in numerous instances.

In spite of that fact there is little or no construction going on, and the situation is becoming more acute. Trouble is predicted for next fall, and those on the inside are warning their friends to keep out of the city. The various rent bills passed at Albany will at most merely assist tenants in existing dwellings. As the real estate interests truly say, they will not help along new construction. If anything, they may tend to have the opposite effect. What is needed more than anything else is construction, until the supply catches up with and passes the demand.

If, however, real estate operators and speculative builders refuse to enter the field and provide the housing that is admittedly required, what else is there left to do except for either the state or municipality to step in? Accordingly, we find

(1) In Great Britain and elsewhere, housing schemes are being carried forward under government auspices.

(2) The Housing Committee of Governor Smith's Reconstruction Commission suggests a constitutional amendment permitting the extension of state credit on a large scale for housing construction, possibly by the establishment of a general loaning institution for that purpose and an enabling act empowering cities to construct and operate housing facilities.

(3) One of the most conservative members of the board of estimate and apportionment has proposed the appropriation of $10,000,000 for the construction of dwellings on city-owned real estate and the renting of them to the citizens on the basis of a low return sufficient to make them self-supporting.

(4) Realty interests heartily approve such a municipal housing program.

The most curious feature is the last. Not only is there no opposition to the entrance of the city government into the construction and operation of housing, but there is actual approval of such a policy. Stewart Browne, the president of the United Real Estate Owners' Association, recently addressed a letter to the *Times*, in which he suggests a three-year building program of "workers' houses" by the city, to be rented on a 5 per cent. basis.

"I believe the city has power under the 1913 Home Rule bill to build and rent housing. If it started with, say, an issue of $5,000,000 of bonds, I have no doubt that there are sufficient public spirited citizens who would guarantee these bonds in such manner as would exempt them from the debt limit. Unless the state or city takes a hand in new housing there will be mighty little new housing for workers in the next few years."

What is the explanation for this curious state of affairs? Why will public spirited citizens guarantee to take up 4½ or 5 per cent. bonds, and yet will not undertake to put their capital into construction themselves? Why is not private initiative manifesting itself?

Housing vs. Industry as Investment

Even the newcomers and speculators who rushed into the real estate field have not yet manifested any considerable anxiety to enter upon new construction projects. They have been content to purchase property already in existence. Why is this so? What is the difference between purveying food, clothing and luxuries, and furnishing shelter that leads to such different results in the face of apparently similar conditions?

The difference lies in the relation between the total fixed capital investment involved and the annual turnover of that investment. In most manufacturing and merchandising enterprises, a very large annual business can be done with a relatively small capital investment. The annual turnover may vary from two to as much as fifty times a year. Annual profits are possible that are several times the actual capital investment. It is nothing unusual to find a capital of $5,000 increase to $25,000 in a single year. With a relatively small fixed capital investment, it is a comparatively simple matter to liquidate if the necessity arises. Should there be a prospect of lower prices, it is merely a matter of the application of good merchandising principles to keep from being squeezed.

With housing as with public utilities it is

the other way. According to the federal census statistics, the telephone industry, with a fixed capital investment in plant and equipment amounting to $1,500,000,000, had a total revenue from all sources amounting to less than $400,000,000 during the year 1917. It will be seen that it takes nearly four years at this rate to get a single turnover. With a capitalization well over a billion dollars, the traction companies of New York City had gross revenues of only $110,000,000 during 1919. Even if it be conceded that one-half of the capitalization does not represent investment, which is the most liberal concession that could be made, it will be seen that the turnover is once in five years. Assuming that 5 per cent. is a fair return, it would require one quarter of the total revenue merely to pay fixed charges. The Interborough subways alone represent an actual outlay by both city and company of about $300,000,000. For the present fiscal year, the revenues will amount to $30,000,000, only one-tenth the investment. It is doubtful whether the revenues can ever exceed $45,000,000 at the present rate of fare. This means a turnover of capital once in seven years at best, and fixed charges at 5 per cent. for both interest and amortization of capital of from 50 to 33 per cent. of the annual revenues.

Slow Turnover of Capital

Housing is similar to the public utilities with respect to the slow turnover of capital and excessive burden of fixed charges. Improved real estate is usually worth six or seven times as much as the gross annual rental. Put conversely, the rental is usually about 14 to 17 per cent. of its value. This means a turnover of capital once in six or seven years, and consequent fixed charges amounting to about one-third the gross annual rental.

Realizing the part played by the original cost of construction, it is easy to see why investors and speculators fear to enter upon construction at a time of high costs, and why lenders hesitate to loan more than 55 per cent. of the amount involved in a housing venture. They fear that prices of materials and wages may come down in the next two or three years. Hence, unless they can earn a sufficient profit to enable them to amortize a material portion of the invesment within the next few years, they will be unable to meet the competition of dwellings constructed at materially lower costs. There are no unusual profits several times the investment to be made annually from *operating* improved real property. Large profits in the real estate field come from speculative buying and selling and from a realization of the unearned increment; rarely from operating and renting. A gentleman desiring to invest $100,000 recently went to several real estate firms seeking a piece of property on which they would guarantee to net him an annual income of 4½ per cent. over a period of ten years, after making all allowances for expenses and depreciation. They could not offer him a single apartment house that would meet his conditions. They did show him any number on which they assured him he could make a huge profit within a short time by increase of rents and resale.

Unloading on the Public

Hence it is that not only are the wise realty men not building to any extent, they are not even buying except for speculation and immediate resale. The situation is similar to a bull boom in Wall Street. The innocent and inexperienced investor is being coaxed into buying. Everything possible is being unloaded upon his shoulders, so that he may be left to "hold the bag" when the crash comes. Not satisfied with that, tenants are practically being clubbed into purchasing the apartment houses in which they reside on the so-called "portional ownership" plan lest they be left without a roof to cover them. This has been especially noticeable in the higher priced types of apartment houses, although the movement has been extended to those occupied by the middle class. Most, if not all, of the construction now going on is intended for such tenant ownership. "Garden apartments" that could formerly be

rented must now be purchased for tenancy. Furthermore, an extensive "buy-your-home" campaign has been inaugurated in the suburbs.

It might be said that this fear is wholly unwarranted, especially as regards housing. It is not as simple a proposition to produce shelter as it is to produce the other necessities of life. It would seem that there will be a good renting market for several years ahead. The feeling persists, however, not only in the construction industry, but in most others, and the psychology that expresses itself in this fear will probably of itself play a large part in bringing about the state of affairs expected.

Government Housing

This is the situation we are facing. This explains why the government was forced to organize a housing corporation to construct dwellings for workers in the new industrial cities that sprang up during the war. It explains why it is that whatever housing is now going on in Great Britain is being done directly under the auspices of the national or local governments, and why the same must be done here. That is the reason for the approval rather than opposition of the realty interests toward municipal and state housing programs.

It seems, therefore, that nothing remains except for the municipality and state to speed their programs, not upon the scales contemplated, but upon a scale sufficient to meet the actual existing shortage. Private capital refuses to take the risk. Organized society must do so. Whether it will again permit "private initiative" to enter the field of furnishing its housing needs once the crisis has passed will depend upon whether organized society will have seen the light in the meantime.

The "New Freedom" in N. Y. State

Winthrop D. Lane

OUT of the turbulence of its recent raids, inquiries, eavesdropping and official snooping, the far-famed Lusk committee of the New York legislature has at last emerged, bearing the shining tablets of its wisdom. Upon these tablets are written five bills, the purpose of which is to stamp out those "seditious activities" to investigate which the committee was appointed a year ago. These bills have already been introduced into the assembly and their passage is understood to be assured. A naïve person might have supposed that the intimate contact which the committee has had with the insurgent mind during the past twelvemonth would have given it some grasp of the causes and psychology of discontent.

Certainly its experience has been educational, if any could be. It has carted away, and presumably examined, whole truck loads of socialistic documents; it has had in its possession the greatest works of the greatest independent thinkers; it, or its agents, have sat at the feet of Rand School instructors; it has met scholarly and informed leaders of radical thought face to face, on the witness stand, and has been privileged to read their minds as it would read an open book; it has become familiar with the Communist Manifesto and the Second and Third Internationals; it has surveyed the whole congeries of radical movements from the dawn of the factory system to the imprisonment of Eugene Debs. It has done more than that. It has junketed throughout the state, and has been within earshot of exploited industrial centers and disease-ridden tenement districts. It has peered into the faces, or could have peered into the faces, of men and women who are victims of the social system that has caused the unrest which it was attempting to analyze. It has known, or has had opportunity to know, every phase of modern "radicalism." If ever there existed an opportunity for cap-

italist statesmanship to show an appreciation of the causes back of current criticism of the social order, that opportunity lay open to the Lusk committee. Yet it has remained as apparently ignorant as it began. Surely socialists and others who have been at such pains to assist in the education of the Lusk committee had a right to expect something more from their labors than the result that now lies before them!

The Five Bills

That result may be almost wholly summed up in the word *repression*. The committee's proposals seek to impose the shackles of censorship, ostracism, and criminal prosecution upon those who hold so-called "radical" opinions. The committee does not realize that a movement which is forced to ply its purposes in the dark is both more seductive and more difficult to watch than one which moves freely in the light of day; it does not realize that every martyr to a cause makes ten disciples. It has resorted to the outworn and mediæval device of driving the legitimate critics of existing institutions underground.

The first of its bills (S. 1274) is entitled an act "in relation to licensing and supervision of schools and school courses." Its language is important:

> "No person, firm, corporation, association or society shall conduct, maintain or operate any school, institute, class or course of instruction in any subjects whatever without making application for and being granted a license from the university of the state of New York. . . . The application for such license shall be accompanied with a verified statement showing the purposes for which the school, institute or class is to be maintained and conducted, and the nature and extent and purpose of the instruction to be given. *No license shall be granted* for the conduct of any such school, institute, or class unless the regents of the university of the state are satisfied that the instruction proposed to be given will not be *detrimental* to the public interests. There shall be paid at the time of the granting of such license a fee of five dollars. . . . (Italics mine.)

The bill exempts from these requirements all public schools, all schools maintained by religious denominations or sects *recognized as such at the time of its adoption*, all incorporated educational institutions and all institutions admitted to membership in the University of the State. Violation is a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine not exceeding $100 or imprisonment not exceeding sixty days.

What would be the effect of this bill, if passed? In the first place, it would put into the hands of a body of officials *elected by the legislature* and representing the social and economic *status quo*, the power to crush all schools and classes having for their purpose the teaching or study of any doctrines "detrimental to public interests." This would, of course, be interpreted to include socialism. But the bill would go much farther than that. The licensing censorship that it would set up would extend to all workers' educational undertakings—to classes conducted by labor unions as well as to more formal enterprises. "No person, . . . association or society shall conduct . . . a class." During a strike the law could be easily used to prevent those who were staying away from work from meeting in a hall, as strikers frequently do, for the purpose of listening to a lecture on some subject in which they were interested. Even more, its scope would extend to all clubs and classes held by civic agencies, such as social settlements and neighborhood houses. Although these might not be considered "detrimental to public interests," the requirement of a license fee from each class would quickly make the total burden of taxation considerable; for New York city settlements alone, according to an estimate submitted to the legislature, it would amount to $20,000 at the outset and $4,000 annually thereafter. Nor would the bill stop there. It would reach out into the community and compel every poor music teacher, every girl who ekes out a living by teaching language or mathematics, and every young man who seeks to earn an education by tutoring, to pay $5 for every group of two or more that he or she might undertake to teach. The bill means that or nothing.

Qualifications for Teachers

The second of the measures (S. 1275) relates to the qualifications of teachers. It provides that each teacher in the public schools must obtain a certificate stating that he "has shown satisfactorily that he will support the constitutions of this state and of the United States, and that he is loyal to the institutions and laws thereof." The judges of his "loyalty" are, again, the members of the state board of regents, who are to make the rules in conformity with which the commissioner of education is to issue the certificate. Moreover, "any act or utterance" showing that the teacher will not support the constitution, or that he is not loyal, becomes ground for revoking a license once issued. The bill provides that no teacher without such a certificate may be employed after January 1 next.

This suggestion has been likened to the spirit of Prince Metternich and the Carlsbad resolutions of one hundred years ago, by means of which it was sought to check the supposed tendencies to revolution in the German universities after the defeat of Napoleon. Those resolutions read:

"The confederated governments mutually pledge themselves to remove from the universities or other public educational institutions all teachers who, by obvious deviation from their duty, or by exceeding the limits of their functions or by the abuse of their legitimate influence over the youthful minds or by propagating harmful doctrines hostile to public order or subversive of existing governmental institutions shall have unmistakably proved their unfitness for the important office instrusted to them."

A Secret Police Force

The third bill (S. 1272) empowers the attorney-general of the state to establish in his office a bureau for the investigation and prosecution of violations of the criminal anarchy law. The attorney-general is also empowered to employ "such investigators, translators, stenographers, process servers and clerical and other assistants" as may be necessary; these persons are to be regarded as his confidential agents, exempt from civil service regulations. Investigators, translators and process servers are to be given the powers of peace officers. The sum of $100,000 is appropriated for carrying out the provisions of this act. Its evident effect would be to set up within the state a body of secret police who would be able to continue the kind of activity which the agents of the Lusk committee have engaged in, with the added power of prosecuting for crime.

The two remaining bills are of a different sort. One (S. 1273) sets forth that the commissioner of education may provide for schools and courses of instruction "in connection with factories, places of employment or in such other places as he may deem advisable, for the purpose of giving instruction to foreign-born and native adults and minors over the age of sixteen years." The courses of instruction are to be prescribed by the regents, and must include English, history, civics and other subjects "tending to promote good citizenship and to increase vocational efficiency." Two hundred thousand dollars is appropriated for this work. The other bill (S. 1276) merely provides for the training of teachers to give such instruction. These measures are of the same general sort as much other recent educational legislation and might not be regarded as inimical except for the company they keep.

One of the first results that will follow the passage of these bills will probably be an attempt to close the Rand School of Social Science. Should this be successful, we may yet be treated to the spectacle of the faculty of that school carrying on its work in cellars, garrets, or behind locked doors, where the czar—pardon me, the members of the Lusk committee—will know nothing of what is being taught. This is what it means to crush "sedition" in America in the twentieth century.

THE SOCIALIST REVIEW CALENDAR

Owing to pressure on our space arising from the extra articles on Albany and the Rail Strike, we are compelled to hold over the Socialist Review Calendar to next issue.

Winnipeg Justice

W. Harris Crook

IN the middle of May, twelve months ago, the city of Winnipeg was completely tied up by a general strike, lasting till the end of June. Arising out of a local strike of the metal workers, the general sympathetic strike—for the right of collective bargaining and union recognition, refused to the metal workers—spread to many other Canadian cities, including Toronto and Calgary, before it ended in Winnipeg. The Winnipeg press ceased publication, but a daily bulletin was published alike by the Strike Committee and by the well-to-do anti-labor "Citizens' Committee."

Every effort to label the strike "Bolshevist" and "foreign" was made by the Citizens' Committee and the Canadian press. Feeling between "aliens" and returned soldiers was stirred up, but did not prevent a large number of returned men, under leaders like R. E. Bray, from taking the side of the strikers. The police, while remaining on the job, refused to sign an anti-strike pledge and were largely replaced by ex-soldiers and volunteers.

In spite of strong feeling on both sides and frequent incitement (by the Citizens' Bulletin) to violent methods of suppression, there was no disorder of any kind for several weeks. Finally, on June 10 and 21, riots broke out, leading to many casualties. The strike leaders were secretly seized at dead of night and rushed off to the Stoney Mt. Penitentiary and there held without bail for several weeks. These were the men against whom indictments were brought and whose trials have been proceeding since last November.

The Indictment

Of the ten leaders charged with conspiracy and seditious utterance, not one was alien to the British Empire. Two were Canadian born, two Scottish, and the remainder English by birth. Two, William Ivens and J. S. Woodsworth, are ex-Methodist ministers. One, F. J. Dixon, is a member of the Manitoba legislature and a famous singletaxer; two others, John Queen and A. A. Heaps, are Winnipeg aldermen.

The indictment preferred against all but Woodsworth and Dixon consisted of seven counts.

(1) Conspiracy to bring into "hatred and contempt and to excite disaffection against the government, laws, and constitution of the Dominion of Canada" and of the province of Manitoba. The promotion of hostility between class and class—employers and employes, is part of the count, though in the Crown counsel's speeches any existence of distinct "classes" in Canada was denied!

(2) Responsibility for the Walker Theatre meeting in Winnipeg December 22, 1918, and that held in the Majestic Theatre of the same city January 19, 1919; "as a result of said meetings unlawful assemblies and riots took place" in Winnipeg (in June, 1919!). Responsibility for the western labor convention held at Calgary, Alberta, March 13-15, the publication of "seditious" literature (*Western Labor News*, strike bulletins, etc.!); and for the calling of the general strike in May, 1919, were part of this count.

(3) Paralysis of business and industry in Winnipeg, whereby "constituted authority was challenged and usurped" (i. e., strike committee permits for food and milk delivery and garbage collection!).

(4) Endangering the lives of Winnipeg citizens (i. e., possible intimidation of non-strikers, inconvenience caused by strike, etc.).

(5) Undermining and destroying the confidence of the Winnipeg citizens in the Dominion and Manitoba laws and government, all "intended to be a step in a revolution against the constitutional form of government in Canada."

(6) The attempt to bring about a Soviet form of government in Canada through general strikes.

(7) Exposure to damage of property in Winnipeg and the depriving of all citizens of "right to conduct themselves and their businesses in such manner as they were lawfully entitled to do."

The First Trial

Russell's case came first, in the late fall. Robert B. Russell had been a machinist till

February, 1918, when he became the business agent for the local union of his trade. Along with others of the accused he was invited to speak at the alleged seditious meeting in the Walker Theatre December 22, 1918, and he it was who moved the resolution there presented demanding withdrawal of Canadian troops from Russia. At the Calgary convention of western labor, held March 13-15, 1919, he represented the Winnipeg Trades Council and spoke once only. His presence at and joint responsibility for the Calgary Convention (with the one big union as its underlying idea) was one of the counts in the indictment. It was Russell's union of metal workers that began a strike on May 1, in turn leading to the sympathetic general walk-out of two weeks later. Even Mayor Gray of Winnipeg, one of the witnesses for the Crown, admitted under cross-examination that the cause of the strike was "the right of collective bargaining and the gaining of a living wage."

The Russell trial was of importance, inasmuch as evidence there obtained was used subsequently against the other accused leaders, and also in that his conviction gave strength to the Crown's case against Ivens and the rest. Judge Metcalfe's charge to the jury in the Russell case is full of naive expressions of opinion. "A seditious intention," according to this judge, "is an intent to incite people *to take the powers of government into their own hands.*" "If collective bargaining," declared the judge elsewhere in his charge, "means thereby the workers of Canada may enforce upon the employer a recognition . . . and if such a condition of affairs *would make it more easy for those who control or desire to control labor* . . . to tie up industry from coast to coast . . . *to make a strike efficient* . . . that is, collective bargaining so that a revolution by a strike might be brought about more easily, *it was seditious* . . ." (Italics writer's.) Because there were no labor conditions in Canada approaching those "existing in England at the time of the Chartist" movement, Judge Metcalfe plainly felt there was no call for labor unrest of the type involved in this case. "Propaganda of unrest, of discontent," in short, seemed to be highly incriminating evidence in the eyes of Judge Metcalfe.

Russell belonged to the Socialist party of Canada and admitted that "if belonging to a political party with the hope of overturning the government by constitutional means was a conspiracy, then he was guilty," but he denied ever advocating force or unlawful means. In his closing remarks, after sentence of two years at Stoney Mt. Penitentiary had been imposed upon him, Russell declared: "If the court had grasped the true conception of the trades union movement, in which there are no leaders, but only individuals acting for the rank and file, it would have been realized that I only fulfilled those duties."

One-sided Evidence

Throughout this and the subsequent trials the court refused absolutely to allow any evidence against, or discussion about, the famous Citizens' Committee to enter, though it was the contention of all the accused that the only violence in the whole strike was caused by their efforts.

Evidence by Crown witnesses showed that in the riot of June 21 the N. W. Mounted Police used ball cartridges and fired without warning and without waiting to see if the crowd would run if blank cartridges were used. On the other hand, Sergeant Fred Coppins, V. C., also of the Mounted Police, denied entirely the widely published story that in the preceding riot of June 10 he was pulled off his horse by four Austrians and trampled under foot. Another chief sergeant of the "Mounties" described attacks made by mobs on (labor) meeting places or upon foreign-speaking workers, adding, "I didn't help the boys. They didn't need help. *I was in the first row with them.*" Judge Metcalfe at this time declared "the public of this city had better understand that when they think they

have as much right on the street as a policeman they are very much mistaken, *and any remark to the contrary is contempt of this court.*" (Italics writer's.)

Another Crown witness, Dave Scott, who had worked for over 25 years on the Winnipeg *Free Press*, admitted that "everything possible to avoid a strike was done"; "the strike was called to bring about collective bargaining and a living wage." "Everyone connected with the strike whom I knew was endeavoring to keep law and order in Winnipeg. I heard many instructions given to preserve law and order. They said 'We want peace.' They were saying 'Do nothing, do not do anything that will cause trouble.' *That was their attitude throughout.*" (Italics writer's.)

It transpired in the trial that books such as Karl Kautsky's "Class Struggle" and Plato's "Republic," found in the homes of accused, were put in as evidence of seditious literature, inasmuch as both were banned by Canadian laws! It was also brought out that if a man was not born or naturalized in Canada he could be deported without trial by jury, even if British born, under a law rushed through the legislature on June 6, 1919. Under that law the leaders who had been taken secretly to the penitentiary would have been quietly smuggled out of Canada but for the subsequent outburst of public feeling.

Dixon's Acquittal

In the cases subsequent to Russell's, F. J. Dixon was accused of seditious libel (the editing of the Strike Bulletin after the arrest of Ivens, its regular editor). He called no witnesses, but pleaded his own case against three of Canada's ablest lawyers. Though Judge Galt in his charge to the jury declared "this was one of the most infamous conspiracies I have ever known in Canada," and that "the strike was illegal from the very start," the jury, after forty hours' deliberation, returned a verdict of *not guilty*. As a result, the case against J. S. Woodsworth, also accused of seditious libel (one count of which was the printing of two verses from the prophet Isaiah, and another count the quoting of Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson and the British Labor Party's program!) was dropped by the Crown.

That the judges themselves were at odds is seen when Judge Galt's unequivocal declaration on the illegality of the general strike is compared with that of Judge Prendergast, who asserted that the chief Crown counsel "was going very far in saying the strike was illegal."

The Trial of the Seven

In the trial of the remaining seven men, the Crown counsel did not stop at fact, but even accused Ivens of sympathy with Tom Mooney, "that bomb thrower," as though, declared Ivens, "President Wilson had not asked for amnesty and a fair trial for Mooney." At another point an article was adduced by the Crown as cause for a riot; "the blood of the man who was shot is upon the head of the writer of that article," only to be met by the writer's proof that the article was written *two days after the riot!*

On March 27, 1920, the jury verdict upon the remaining seven accused was delivered in highly dramatic circumstances. It was first mistakenly reported that the jury had found the defendants not guilty, and a wild cheer rose from the crowded court. Judge Metcalfe instantly ordered the court cleared, but at the announcement of the real verdict of guilty (upon all but R. E. Bray and Alderman A. Heaps) the spectators rose in wrath, shouting their opposition and "menacing the sheriff and his deputies" (N. Y. *Times*, March 28). Queen, Ivens, Pritchard, Johns, and Armstrong were declared guilty of conspiracy and sedition; Bray, the ex-soldier, guilty merely of committing a common nuisance (i. e., taking part in leading the strike); while Alderman Heaps was declared not guilty on all counts. Bray was sentenced to six months, and the others to one year's imprisonment. A Canadian labor convention to protest with all vigor against the verdict was called for April 11.

Is There Room for a Labor Party?

William M. Feigenbaum

WHAT should be the attitude of the Socialist Party toward the Labor Party, now in process of formation in many parts of the country? Samuel Gompers and the official council of the American Federation of Labor vigorously denounce the workers who are organizing a political party, and the workers retort, writing in reply what might well be a socialist leaflet for its resolute stand for independent political action on the part of the workers.

The socialists were the first to urge the workers to organize politically. Slowly, painfully they built up an organization, acquired some political power, and directed attention to that organization as the proper place for the workers. In certain cities the organized workers coöperated with the Socialist Party. This was true of labor in Milwaukee, in Minneapolis, in Chicago (upon occasion) and in Los Angeles (on other occasions). Certain sections of the workers in New York have constantly worked with the party. In other cities the Socialist Party has been indorsed by organized labor.

The now almost forgotten McNamara incident stirred the socialists to a renewed insistence upon the correctness of their stand. The McNamara brothers were high officials of an International affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. They followed the "no-politics-in-the-union" policy made famous by their chief. They found themselves against a blank wall. Socialists lost no time in pointing out the sterility of this policy, and the necessity for political action.

The Schmitz Affair

If the workers organized parties separate and distinct from the Socialist Party what attitude would the socialists take? The answer is at hand in the actual experience of the socialists in California in 1902, who saw the foundation of a Union Labor Party in San Francisco headed by Eugene E. Schmitz, who said that at last the workers were in politics. Many socialists united with that party because they felt it would be wrong for them to stand in the way of workers who were taking socialist advice and organizing a bona fide party of the workers on their own account.

The controversy over that question raged bitterly for a few months. Then it suddenly died out. Schmitz was elected Mayor of San Francisco, was convicted of corrupt practices and was sent to jail. For some time thereafter, when the question of a labor party, separate and distinct from the Socialist Party, was raised, socialists would say, "Look at what happened in San Francisco"; that settled it, for some time at least.

But the question would not down. That Schmitz happened to be dishonest did not alter the real issue. Suppose that labor began to do what was done in England, organize a labor party on a large scale and with an honest purpose? History repeated itself again in New York, when the unions officially went into politics through the Central Federated Union as an adjunct of the Tammany machine. And again, socialists said, "Behold! When the workers enter politics, they get snarled up in the meshes of the old parties!" And again the still small voice kept asking, "What if the workers *did* take the advice of the socialists, and went into politics as an organization, not as tails to Tammany kites, but on their own account?"

The War

The war came. The socialists stood by their convictions. They were loyal to their consciences, and for their loyalty they were made the objects of a torrent of abuse. Socialists, the capitalist press said, were "discredited" in the eyes of the people. "The principles of socialism are all right," the papers declared, "but the socialists—the traitors! Now the *real* socialists, for example"—and so on. With the war came many other questions. Labor proclaimed loyalty to the government.

Labor suspended its struggles for better conditions while the war lasted. Labor was rewarded by honorable "citations." Labor was told to keep away from the socialists, who, unlike the socialists of Germany, France, and Belgium, refused to stand by their government.

The Labor Party

The war came to a close, and with its conclusion came more problems. The labor truce was over, and the plutocracy addressed itself to the task of making up for the months when labor was treated semi-decently. New grievances and more grievances appeared day after day. The workers, however, had learned something. They began to feel that they had been betrayed. They felt this more keenly when they were confronted by regiments on asserting their right to organize.

Once again they considered the question of politics. They asked who betrayed labor, and realized that it was the judges who issued injunctions, the governors who sent regiments, members of cabinets who sent major generals to strike districts, major generals who declared for martial law. Labor was betrayed by Republicans and Democrats who held their power through votes alone. Labor determined to go into politics in all earnestness. "But," said the socialists, "here is the Socialist Party! We have been telling you for years that this would happen. We are your party. Look at our record—is it not the record of a *real* labor party?" "Yes," replied the leaders of this new move of the workers. "We know that you speak the truth. But you socialists are discredited. You mean well, but no one will listen to you. Doesn't the New York *Times* say so?" The socialists replied that they were "discredited" only with the enemies of labor, and that the workers would see what their fine record of alleged "patriotism" during the war would accomplish for them the moment they impinged upon the interests of the profit-taking class. Samuel Gompers roundly condemned both sides, the socialists on the ground that they were "economically unsound, socially wrong and industrially an impossibility"; the laborites— on general principles.

A national convention of the Labor Party was held in Chicago in November. Victor L. Berger said humorously of this convention that 75 per cent. of the delegates were socialists—the rest of them were police agents and government spies. This is not true, of course, but it is a fact that the closer the convention came to the Socialist Party position, the better the delegates liked it; that the speeches cheered most loudly were made by socialists who delivered regulation socialist campaign speeches; that, as the speeches drifted away from what might be heard any day in a socialist meeting, the delegates lost interest. This was true from the beginning to the very end of the convention. Why then, Socialist Party workers asked of leading delegates, should there be a separate Labor Party organization when the socialists were already organized? "Ah!" came the response, "the workers don't like the international position of the socialists; they like the principles of the socialists, but they don't like the socialists!

The Internationalism of the S. P.

The answer came at two points in the course of the convention, when just these two subjects were touched upon. At one time a speaker was maundering along, telling about the great contributions that somebody had made to something. "I believe in America for the Americans," he said to a little smattering of bored handclapping, "and Russia for the Russians." Then the vast gathering sprang into life. The delegates and visitors were on their feet, cheering, shouting, throwing hats into the air for many minutes. They were miners and railroad men and farmers, and the socialist position was their position. At another time a resolution was read, demanding instant amnesty for all political and industrial prisoners. At the mention of the name of Eugene V. Debs, the chief figure in the socialist movement, representing just that which the Labor Party supporters asserted had put the Socialist Party "in bad" with the workers, another demonstration broke out,

comparable only to the old party convention demonstrations, when the mention of a candidate's name is cheered by a planted "claque." But this demonstration came from the heart; it was spontaneous; it was magnificent. It was a tribute to the one man who in his single person symbolizes the "unpopular" position of the Socialist Party.

Chicago Elections

There remained, therefore, but the one final test, the trial by (electoral) battle. Nowhere has the test been made under fairer conditions than in Chicago. In that city, the powerful Chicago Federation of Labor, headed by the popular and aggressive John Fitzpatrick, launched a labor party. A weekly paper was started under able editorship, a paper that is not only a credit to the Labor Party, but one that would be a credit to any radical movement. Its editor, Mr. Robert M. Buck, is as clean and fair a man as may be found anywhere. He instantly took up the cudgels for the "unpopular" causes of the workers—the organization of labor, political liberties, amnesty, and recognition of Soviet Russia. That paper has become the organ of the projected national Labor Party. In Chicago, many local unions joined the Labor Party in a body, union men through their dues contributing to the party organization. Many unions make a subscription to the party paper a part of their dues.

There have been three elections in Chicago since the launching of this movement. In every case, Labor Party candidates have contested offices with socialist candidates. In every case, the alleged superior appeal of the Labor Party was made to the workers—and likewise the "unpopular" socialist appeal. In the first election, the fight was for Mayor. The Labor Party had as their candidate John Fitzpatrick. The socialists had no one but a loyal and devoted socialist comrade, with no appeal at all except the appeal of the Socialist Party. He, also, was a labor man, a worker in the shops. In that election, many socialists, believing in the dogma that they had set up, that is, that the Socialist Party could not "appeal" to the workers, voted for Fitzpatrick to make good their dogma and the vote was 24,079 for John Collins, and 55,990 for Fitzpatrick. But it was noticed that the total vote for Collins and Fitzpatrick together was something of a decrease over the whole socialist vote at the previous election when the socialists were just as "unpopular"; that the Labor Party had not gained new recruits, but had split the workers' vote and had driven many voters away from independent workers' politics.

Splitting the Vote

That was not all. In the various wards where the Socialist Party had been strong, just enough Labor Party votes were cast, and just enough voters were alienated from independent working class politics by the separation to defeat the socialists in the two formerly strong socialist wards. In the 9th and the 15th wards, socialist Gibralters in the past, the result shows that it was the Labor Party appeal, unsuccessful in gathering many votes, that wiped out working class representation in Chicago's City Council. Of course, in those wards, the socialists outvoted the laborites, 4,990 to 742, and 2,861 to 1,788. It will be remembered that that election was during the first enthusiasm of the promoters of the party, while the Socialist Party was in the throes of a depressing factional fight that dissipated most of the energies of the party members.

A few months later, with the Labor Party members still enthusiastic and the socialists still in the throes of a factional fight, another election was held. This time, however, there was nothing to be voted for except minor officials, and no attractive candidate like Fitzpatrick to divert attention from issues to personality. The Socialist Party was still "discredited." Socialists were still "Bolsheviks" in the capitalist press, and there was a perfect opportunity to test out the correctness of the Labor Party contention that workers would vote for socialism, but not for the Socialist Party. The vote was very light. The Socialist Party vote

for two judges was 20,715 and 20,187; while the Labor Party polled just half—10,192 and 10,171.

Decline in Labor Vote

A few months later there was still another election. The paper of the Labor Party was growing. The editor, in recognition of his excellent services, had received an increase in salary and the assistance of two associate editors. There was no financial stress to harrow. The party organization was perfected in ward after ward. The socialists continued to be "in bad." Their regularly elected members in Congress and the New York legislature had been denied seats by the plutocracy. Here was an opportunity for still another test of the efficacy of the labor appeal as opposed to the socialist appeal—with the cards again stacked in favor of the Labor Party. Both organizations appealed for votes on the basis of their principles—not for men. Both parties had most of their candidates thrown off the ballot on technicalities. The Socialist Party had 14 candidates out of 35 wards while the Labor Party had 15. The socialist vote was 16,845,[1] while the Labor Party polled 11,626. The socialists polled some 12 per cent. of the total vote of the wards in which they were placed—and in some of the strongest socialist wards there was no candidate at all. In 10 of the wards there were both socialist and labor candidates. In four there were socialist, and no labor men, while in five, labor and no socialist nominees. In those ten wards, the socialist vote was 9,806, and the Labor Party vote, 5,328. Furthermore, in the 15th ward, with an aggressive socialist campaign made impossible by the depressing schism, the laborites made a strong fight for one of their leaders. They made their fight as strong as they could—and the result was that many workers didn't vote, while the socialist received 2,129 votes to 423 for the laborite.

[1] The official count adds over 1,000 to the socialist vote and 1 per cent. to the party's percentage of the vote cast.

Here were three tests under conditions most favorable to the Labor Party. In each case they failed. They entered socialist sections, and split the labor vote. The workers' psychology is this, that if they want what socialists advocate they can go to the Socialist Party and obtain it. And they are going to the Socialist Party; nowhere else. There is no need to go elsewhere.

Gompers has won. He has succeeded in paralyzing the Labor Party idea long enough and now it cannot take hold. The time is ripe for a labor party. There must be a labor party. Without a labor party all is lost. And there *is* a labor party. It is the Social-Party.

Correction

In the March issue of *The Socialist Review* we carried a striking article by Walter N. Polakov on "Organized Sabotage." We regret the title gave an impression contrary to the intention of the writer. Mr. Polakov writes: "The whole trouble of our industrial situation is that it is *un*organized, and my analysis aimed to prove the disorganization, the lack of industrial competency, and the anarchic grabbing of all one can with 'the devil taking the hindmost.' To give it the qualifying title of 'organized' was to credit those who ride to the fall with intelligence they do not possess."

Our attention has been drawn, moreover, to the following errors: Page 200, 2d column, "A ton of coal represents two days of a miner's life." *Days* should of course read *hours.*

Page 201, 2d column, "nearly $12,000,000, which, if saved, would be enough to increase present wages of every worker in the industry by something like $2,000 per year!" *$2,000* should read *$200* (precise figures about $254—there being about 47,250 workers in the blast furnaces).

Page 202, 2d column, "we see that 54 per cent. more ore goes into the preparation of pig iron." *54* should read *.54* or just over half of one per cent.

Page 205, 2d column, "one-fourth of all employes receive only $1,400 per year." *One-fourth* should read *one-third.*

The Traction Fight in Minneapolis

T. L.

ON December 9, 1919, the city of Minneapolis held a street railway franchise election. The company's interests were decisively beaten in spite of a long and most uneven campaign. The features of this contest and especially of its social and political implications are sufficiently significant to the student of public affairs to justify a brief account.

The company controlling the Minneapolis street railways has had its war-time and post-war-time troubles, but, unlike many of the companies in other cities, it has not been allowed to raise its fares above the traditional nickel fixed by the franchise. About two years ago the company began to agitate for legislation permitting it to advance the fare from five to six or seven cents. The question came before the city council and the daily papers favored this proposal. Nothing, however, came of this and subsequent attempts of the same kind, except that the city council suggested or permitted various economies and relief, such as the skip-stop and the elimination of jitney bus competition, while the company also introduced some economies and safeguards on its own account.

As the city failed to furnish relief, a bill was introduced in the 1919 session of the state legislature providing that rate-making power for street railways be transferred from the city to state commissions which, according to the press, would be less prejudiced in matters of local concern. This bill failed of passage, and, in the summer of 1919, another plan for relieving the situation was evolved, and agreed to by the city council committee on transportation and by the street railway company. In the meantime the company had kept up a constant broadside of publicity in regard to its finances and its needs and had pointedly hinted at bankruptcy as the only alternative to financial relief.

Proposed Franchise

The new plan centered around a renewal of the franchise, which expires July 1, 1928. It proposed that the old franchise be surrendered at once; that the proposed new franchise run for a period of twenty-five years; that the city council, in conference with the company, determine the quality and quantity of the service, and that more than fifty miles of track extensions and much new equipment be provided, nominally under the direction of the city council. Under the terms of the franchise, purchase of the street railways by the city might also be carried out upon a three-fifths mandatory referendum vote of the citizens, but only in case the state legislature sanctioned the assumption by the city of an additional bonded indebtedness sufficient to cover the cost—two conditions which it might have been exceedingly difficult for the city administration to fulfill.

The street railway company was, in its turn, to receive a guaranteed net income of seven per cent. on a valuation of $24,000,000 *before any of the above-mentioned improvements and extensions could be compelled in behalf of the public! It was also to have the right to raise its fares to the point where this income would be assured.* In addition a reserve fund of 2.75 per cent. on the capital, an amortization fund, a stabilizing fund, and other items were to be deducted before improvements would become compulsory.

Opposition of the Mayor

The mayor, a former insurance man, elected as a "loyalty" candidate to replace a socialist mayor a year ago, and by no means suspected of bolshevist tendencies, announced early in the proceedings that he would oppose the proposed franchise on the grounds that the franchise valuation was some $8,000,000 too high and that the guaranteed net income should be six per cent instead of seven per cent. It was understood that the masses of the people, perhaps the majority of the vot-

ing population, were behind him; but since they had no adequate organs of publicity to represent them, they were comparatively voiceless. There was also a strong minority in the city council opposed to the new franchise, including seven socialists and three non-socialists. Every daily newspaper in the city favored the franchise and numerous business men's organizations and paid agents constantly worked for it. The one significant and powerful organization opposed to it was the Working People's Nonpartisan Political League—the labor organization corresponding to the National Nonpartisan League among the farmers of the Northwest.

The Defeat of the Franchise

As there were not sufficient votes in the legislature to pass the franchise over the mayor's veto, it was proposed that the franchise be submitted to the people for referendum vote, thus taking it out of the hands of the mayor. The mayor fought this proposition through the courts even to the point of taking an appeal before the supreme court, but the city council was sustained in all essentials. Accordingly the franchise was submitted to the voters of Minneapolis on the bitterly cold day of December 9, and was literally snowed under by a vote of 30,382 to 23,137. Despite the coldness of the day, the vote totalled only 3,000 less than the vote for mayor more than a year ago. It proved two things conclusively—that the people were deeply interested in their public affairs and that they were in agreement with the mayor rather than with the city council and the street railway company.

The Press

This result is all the more interesting on account of the dearth of publicity given to the opposition forces. The newspapers published the formal statements of the mayor's side of the question tucked away toward the back of the paper or in small headlines, while the items favorable to the franchise seemed to be given space on the front page. Also the street railway company, which was making a strong fight for the adoption of the franchise, published a weekly "Traction News" which it kept in generous quantities in holders on the cars. A propaganda organization, called the "People's Franchise Bureau," with a very strong affection for the franchise, showered the voters with literature through the mails and published frequent page and half page advertisements in the daily papers. This organization apparently had plenty of money with which to "educate" the public with regard to the virtues of the proposed franchise. The day before the election the opposition set forth their views in a full page advertisement and prior thereto they sent out a circular warning the people against a hasty vote. Both sides held debates and open forums on the question for ten days or two weeks before the vote was taken.

The Company's Position

The "People's Franchise Bureau" put forth the most favorable possible aspect of its claims. They asserted (but did not guarantee) that the maximum fares would be six cents, with a charge of 5.4 cents for tickets in lots. They sent out an expensive map showing proposed extensions. Furthermore, they brought into the discussion the loyalty issue. In a full page advertisement they asked: "Which side are you on? This side or this?" On one side, favoring the traction franchise, they placed all the virtuous people, and, among its opponents: "The I. W. W., the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Townley Nonpartisan League. All striving to make a political football of the street railway franchise so that they can force a chaotic condition on Minneapolis streets."

"The Haves and the Have-Nots"

And yet a majority voted against the franchise. The disloyalty imputation, declared one prominent citizen, "is too much of a challenge for me. I guess I shall have to vote No." And apparently many more who did not belong in the prescribed categories felt and did likewise.

A careful analysis of the vote by precincts in relation to the demographic and economic characteristics of the voters produces some interesting results. Three wards, ordinarily known as socialist strongholds, gave a majority against the franchise in every precinct, some of the precinct majorities running as high as six to one. These voters were in the main foreign born workingmen. They came from Scandinavia, Poland, Bohemia, Germany, Hungary and Russia (Jews). The affirmative vote came almost entirely from two sources—the wealthy residence districts and the small apartment houses where dwell retailers and clerical employes. Two precincts in which are located the leading apartment hotels for wealthy and upper middle class people went overwhelmingly for the franchise. The hill and lake districts, on the west side, in which most of the expensive residences are located, gave a majority of from five to one, to two to one for the measure, according to the extent to which they were free from the invasion by the lower middle class and the workers.

The Company Employes

Those who had incomes from investments and those who held clerical and managerial positions in the larger business establishments, were for the most part in favor of the franchise, while those who worked for wages or were not otherwise directly identified with the interests of big business were primarily opposed to it. There were, however, some exceptions worth noting. For instance, the data seems to indicate that the employes of the street car company voted very largely for the franchise. This was true despite the fact that a semi-lockout of a minority of employes who attempted to organize a union two years ago had embittered many of them. For more than a year, however, the company had been "making up" to its employes and had helped to "educate" them in various ways. One of the reasons for the employes' support of the franchise was, doubtless, the expectation of better wages, if the franchise won.

Further Analysis of Returns

The facts also show that the "People's Franchise Bureau" erred in stating that the opposition to the franchise came from I. W. W., socialists, bolsheviki, and other radical elements—unless, indeed, the whole of the middle and lower middle classes is becoming infected with this disease of radicalism. In the residence and family apartment house districts, practically every precinct inhabited by people of moderate incomes—those properly described as middle and lower middle class—was opposed to the franchise. Likewise, practically every precinct inhabited by well-to-do and wealthy people—upper middle and upper classes—favored the proposal. Moreover, the tabulations show that there was a gradual diminution in the majority against the franchise as the economic and social position of the voters improved, until the majority was transferred to the other side at the dividing line between the middle and upper middle classes, the affirmative majority increasing rapidly as the economic condition improved in the upper classes. So regular was this transition that it is a thing to gladden the heart of the maker of graphs and curves. This fact was illustrated even in little things. Wherever a railroad cut through a well-to-do residence district, thus decreasing the desirability of the neighborhood for residence, and bringing in workers as occupants, the curve swings rapidly toward the negative majority.

Since the election there has been much talk in certain quarters about "socialistic" propaganda, as a cause for the defeat of the proposed franchise. Some have even seen the specter of a socialist administration rising on the horizon a year hence. In one thing they are right: the vote was a pretty definite alignment along economic class lines. A flood of publicity and suggestion, much of it aimed at intimidation, did not prevent an overwhelming majority of the people of Minneapolis from protecting their public economic interests as they saw them.

Can Representative Government Represent?

S. E.

IS it true, as liberals claim, that democratic institutions are fitted to do justice to the conflicting interests in a society? If such institutions are representative, what precisely do they, or can they, represent? This question must be considered in the light of our previous analysis[1] of the genesis of political desires. Do representative political institutions function in such a way that these desires are satisfied, and, if so, is that a sufficient vindication of these institutions? Let us focus on these questions the results of our discussion thus far.[2]

We have set up in opposition to the rule of sweetness and light pictured by the liberal a less lofty but, as we maintain, a truer conception of political life. We found ourselves obliged to represent human beings as determined in their political behavior by instinct, habit, sentiment, prejudice, tradition, and interest rather than by the deliverances of reason and conscience, although these latter terms stand for mental processes which are not to be ignored. We saw that human nature is very plastic when it comes to the organization of these factors and their expression in political behavior.

Although we took these constituents of the will-side of human nature as providing the premises of political thought, we could find no warrant for the belief that political conclusions would normally be concordant therewith. Man's intellectual capacities are too limited and his training in systematic thinking too meagre for such a result to accrue. Although man is a thinking animal, he is most certainly not a logical animal. Most of his thought processes are alogical and rarely, in complicated matters, hit the mark at which they are aimed.

The consequence is that he will, within limits, play almost any rôle that people who are in a position to manipulate him desire him to play. It was found, further, that those identified with the *status quo* are in a position to do that, through their control of the machinery of communication and discussion. They prevent a large proportion of the subordinate class from ever understanding their true position; prevent differentiated groups within the class from realizing the unity or harmony of their several interests; and cause the subordinate class, or a large proportion thereof, to believe that their deliverance can come under the very order of things that condemns them to a servile position.

Representation

Now, representative political institutions cannot annul the attitudes and opinions thus generated. If these institutions function according to the liberal theory, they but express and give effect to the attitudes and opinions inculcated by the class in power. The liberal theory would thus turn out to be a monstrous thing, and representative political institutions would stand condemned as machinery for the systematic commission of injustice.

But our analysis cannot stop here, since democratic political institutions are never fully representative of the interests which, according to the theory, they ought to serve. They may be either better or worse than those interests, either compensating for or aggravating further the corruption of the constituencies whose organs they are. Moreover, the acts of government have a reflex effect on the constituencies themselves, and this may be for better or for worse.

It is not to be supposed that the acts of a democratic government will all be on one side, that they will be invariably good or bad. These terms are of course used in a relative sense, with the wishes of the electorate, however created, taken as the criterion of the good. Let us not, in this usage, forget the points scored in our previous discussion. The outstanding result of that discussion was a demonstration that electoral mandates in a demo-

[1] *The Socialist Review*, April, 1920.
[2] *The Socialist Review*, February, March, and April, 1920.

cratic society, where the machinery of communication and discussion is under the assured control of the ruling class, will as a rule be mandates in the interest of that class, or at least not seriously subversive of that interest. Are those mandates faithfully executed as a rule, or are they not? Does the machinery of government relax or does it strengthen the control of the ruling class?

Promise vs. Performance

It would be a rationalistic error to suppose that there is any very close correspondence between the mandate and the performance. Judges, legislators, and executives are as human as are other churchgoers and newspaper readers, and only a little, if any, less susceptible than is the average man to the alogical influences brought to bear by these agencies. If the mandate given to judges, legislators, and executives is distasteful to any interest in a community, then those sharing that interest will seek to have the execution of the mandate defeated or modified. And our own American system of government is so beautifully checked and balanced that if one department of the government at a given time takes its mandates too seriously, there are ample grounds for assuming that some other department will not. This is not to say that those working against the execution of the mandate will always succeed, as by a fortuitous combination of circumstances all the branches of the government may be determined to carry out the mandate, or a certain branch may have it in its power to force the co-ordinate branches to come up to the letter of the mandate, if not to its spirit.

There are many instances in our history when the mandate has been faithfully executed. I think we should have to admit that Mr. Roosevelt during his Presidential period did on the whole carry out the country's mandates to him, and himself largely created a number of mandates in the public interest. Mr. Wilson has stimulated mandates and in some cases executed them. These exceptions do not, however, prove a great deal. No order of society is a static order. Change is inevitable, whether for good or ill, and change will always find some one in power to interpret and defend it. Progress and reaction are cumulative and prepare the way for a society different from that which fostered them. The Roosevelts and the Wilsons, and for that matter the Tafts and the McKinleys, have a revolutionary as well as a reformist significance. But although they may minister in their way to a fundamental reconstruction of the social order, their immediate influence will fall far short of such a consummation. They may modify the relationships between classes, but do not revolutionize them. The efforts of the more forward-looking among them are nevertheless to be put down to the credit of representative government.

Power of Ruling Group

Are their efforts exceptional? The reply must be yes. Performance rarely squares with the promise. But it may be better than the promise, as well as worse. Which is it, in the long run, and which class profits by it? The reply must be that it is generally worse and that the class in power profits by the mandate's defeat. For it is notorious that in this country the two dominant parties are brought into power on the strength of promises for progressive reform, but that the promised reforms are almost never realized in any substantial way. It is inevitably so. The ruling class has the means of defeating such mandates just as it has means of preventing the mandates themselves from being too radical. It has a loyal press, to confuse and outwit the electorate; it has an army of retainers to defeat unfavorable legislative measures and to secure favorable court decisions; it has a thousand ways of compassing the defeat of administrative officers who would enforce the law to its detriment.

But, it will be said, the other side also has its means of influencing governmental action in the way desired, and the efforts of the two sides will largely balance each other. There is truth in such a claim: reformist groups are able to secure many approximations to the mandates of the electorate and to defeat many

intended violations thereof. But no competent observer can doubt which of the two sides has the better resources at its disposal for determining the outcome nor where the balance of victory usually lies.

The High Cost of Living

An indefinite number of examples could be cited. To take just one: Political parties and party leaders have in recent years repeatedly promised reductions in the cost of living and they all have failed as repeatedly in making good the promise. We have, for example, President Wilson's "vicious circle" of high wages causing high prices and the workingman being told that he cannot on that account profit by wage increases. A sincere and intelligent friend of the workingman would have constructed the vicious circle to mean that high prices signify lower (real) wages and that therefore prices must in some way be reduced or restrained from soaring higher. And if the private price-fixers had allowed their government to do so, this could have been accomplished. But the vicious circle was applied in such a way that the bituminous coal barons, for instance, earned profits ranging from fifteen to two thousand per cent., while the bituminous miners received far less than a subsistence wage—with this arrangement officially blessed by the government. When the coal miners asked for bread, they received logic as hard and cold, and as stupid, as a stone. No thanks will be due the government if in the end they succeed in getting the bread they demand.

Obscuring the Issue

It will be said also that public officials have every reason to make good on their promises as their continuance in power will largely depend on it. This claim, too, has truth in it. When performance is at a larger remove than usual from promise, so that "the people" cannot be fooled into believing that an approximation to promise has been achieved, then the people will turn one set of officials out of power and bring another set in.

Again, however, the class in power can prevent too much mischief from being done. The press can so befool the voter that he will not often know whether he has been "sold out" or not. The outcome will largely be determined, not by the facts in the case, but by an assiduous playing up of half-truths and actual lies until the real truth is discernible to but very few. Lying is not only a European power, as has been pointed out, it is a world power as well, and a most formidable power at that. This is not to say that the spokesmen of the ruling class, whether or no they be newspaper men, are more mendacious than others: they see what their class bias will let them see and are perhaps as veracious as others in reporting what they see. But the point is that the ruling class has the means of getting its lies and its half-truths accepted as the real truth, whereas its opponents have not.

Lack of Standards

Public officials can thus be quite effectually shielded from the punishment of their sins by the people who aided and abetted them in their wrongdoing. Two circumstances make this deception of the public easy. The first is the extraordinary complexity of modern governments and, correspondingly, of the functions they are supposed to serve. This renders any very confident appraisal of their work impossible to any but the trained investigator, and we have not hitherto insisted, as we might have done, on the competent authoritative appraisal which an expert might make. (Were we to do so we may be sure that vested interests would at once adapt themselves to the innovation).

The other circumstance is the lack of real standards whereby to test the performances of a given party or set of government officials. The level of performance has been so low that a basis for an illuminating comparative study is wanting. Performance fluctuates around the level actually established in the past and, measured by that level, the dominant parties are of approximately equal competency. This condition is one for which the ruling class itself is largely responsible. It has so consistently and successfully opposed a governmental performance squaring

with the electoral mandate, that the dominant parties are all incorrigibly delinquent, and the people have come to believe that it must be so in the nature of the case.

It would take us far afield to consider remedies which have been proposed for or actually applied to this situation. If I were to attempt to sum up in one sentence the reasons why they have all so largely failed, I would say that it is because they have all operated (whether actually tried out or only advocated) in a *medium* (to employ a term taken from the physical sciences) largely determined by the very class whose power they were designed to restrain. The ruling class had after as well as before any new remedy was tried the same facilities for determining the political attitudes and opinions of the mass of people; the same facilities for seducing, punishing or destroying political leaders and public officials; the same facilities for befooling the public as to the performances of the party in power or the promises of a party whose power was to be established.

Extensions of the suffrage, popular election of senators, graduated income taxes, initiative, referendum and recall, direct primaries and nominations, corrupt practices acts, the short ballot, "municipal research" have none of them, and for this reason, seriously menaced the position of the ruling class. These innovations have at the most resulted in but moderate social and economic reforms. They have not had, and could not have had, any immediate revolutionary significance. The class in power, because it is in power, can operate these methods more skilfully and successfully than can an opposing class or group. This class with its control of the press and other media of communication and discussion, its unrivalled facilities for controlling partisan, legislative, administrative, and judicial action practically determine the outcome of an issue before it comes up for a formal decision.

If perchance the opposition scores a point against it, it immediately recoups itself in some one of the many ways always open to it. The class is richer and more powerful than ever before. Higher wages exacted by workingmen offer an opportunity of reaping greater profits than before by a differential increase in prices. If it is proposed to regulate prices or rates, the class moves heaven and earth to defeat the proposition; but if it is partially successful, it imposes through cajolery, misrepresentation and threats of sabotage its own standard of profits on the price-fixers. We could go through the entire list of "reforms" and make a similar analysis for each one of them.

Molding Minds

The truth of the matter is, the ruling class is society's *mentor* and *deus ex machina* in one. It dominates social psychology and operates the social machinery. To put it differently (for the point is worth laboring), the class in power forms the minds of the people. It is in the position of an educator who has a free hand in carrying out his ideas. This is not to say that the ideas of the ruling class do not change and become more humane, if not more just.

We except from this general analysis that portion of the subordinate class, including the intellectuals, whose thinking is not done for them by the ruling class and its official mentors. They constitute the "saving remnant," the nucleus of the revolutionary party, the resolute minority that will eventually sweep away the *deus ex machina*, and the crowd *mentor*, and inaugurate in power a new class—a class, it must be confessed, which will in its turn be a new mentor and *deus ex machina*, but one which, because of its historical position, will be juster than the old.

The conclusion must be that democratic political institutions do not, and indeed cannot, accurately represent the expressed wishes of their constituencies. Just as the class in power largely determines the wishes of the constituencies themselves, and prevents them from being too radical, so it intervenes before these wishes, however determined, are translated into action, and secures a result even more consonant with its interests.

Nonpartisan League Politics

A. B. Gilbert

THE Nonpartisan League has thus far been occupied almost entirely with the struggle against the control by special privilege in the states where it is organizing the farmers. It has taken no part in any national movement except to elect congressmen from its organized territory, and to offer resolutions on a few general principles of national economy.

The League is not a third party as so many people outside of League territory appear to think, but nonpartisan, as its name implies. The farmers get together in this organization regardless of party, and endeavor to nominate their candidates on the old party tickets and elect them over the machine candidates. Farmers can thus belong to the League without leaving their party, and this constitutes a strong argument with many of them. In North Dakota, for instance, the farmers who, before the advent of the League, were overwhelmingly Republican, have simply taken their party away from their economic enemies.

Prospects

The League has such splendid prospects of carrying several states this fall that it is doubtful if its leaders will see their way clear to introduce an element of confusion in the minds of the farmers by directly helping to form a national third party ticket. The League does not have sufficient press facilities to explain and offset all of the old party appeals and other propaganda which the controlled press could then bring to bear to injure the local prospects of the League.

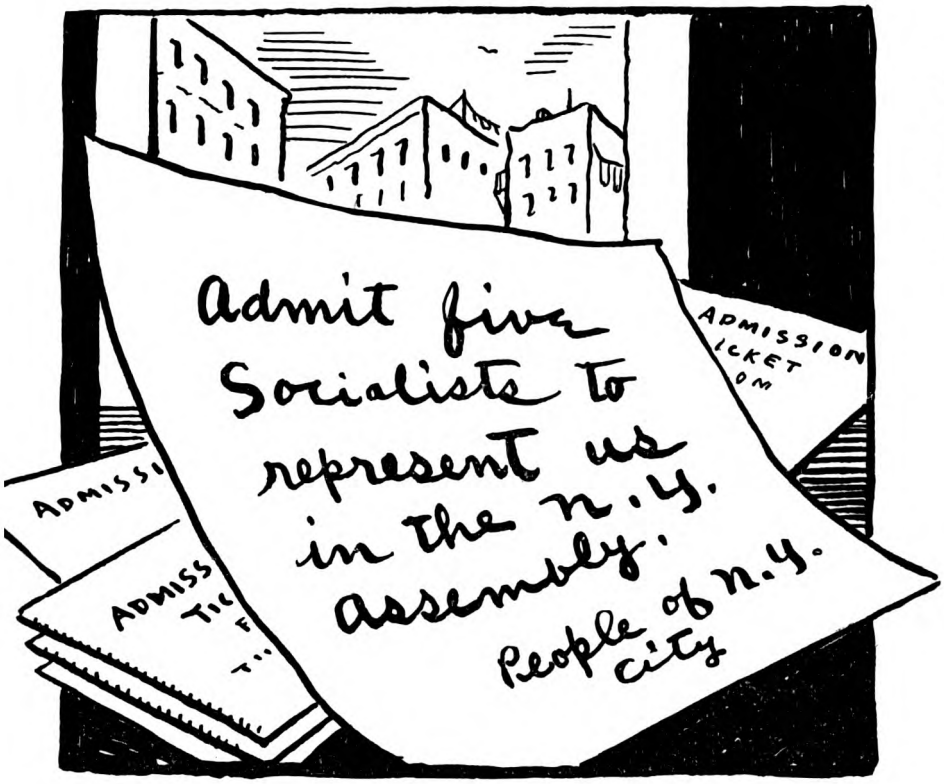
Both the Nonpartisan League and the Working People's Nonpartisan League refrained from joining the labor party movement at the convention in Chicago last fall for these practical reasons. They did not think it wise to abandon their nonpartisan principle.

A National Ticket

This does not mean, however, that either of these organizations is going to endorse any machine nominations on the national Republican or Democratic tickets. A good third party national ticket, led by candidates who stand for public ownership of utilities and of the great national resources and for heavy taxes on inheritances and incomes to pay off the war debt, and who have not been connected with the extremists, might obtain a heavier vote in League territory than anywhere else in the Union.

Personally, I am anxious to see a farmer-labor party come into existence in the Eastern states. The farmers there are not organized as we are, and if the progressives have something to rally around this fall, a beginning can be made for success in 1924. In states having the primary I believe the workers in the city and the farmers in the country should do their best to apply our plan of capturing old party nominations. With success they will receive many unchangeable party votes, and if they are defeated in the primary, the independent ticket is still available.

[In the February issue of *The Socialist Review* an editorial note appended to A. B. Gilbert's article, *In North Dakota,* quoted the N. Y. *Times* as asserting that most of the laws passed in the special session there described in Gilbert's article had been declared unconstitutional by a four to one decision of the N. D. Supreme Court. Mr. Gilbert corrects this footnote by explaining that the court decision only declared unconstitutional the clause that made these new acts ***measures of emergency***. They will all become actual law after the expiration of the legal period of time. This important correction is but one more evidence of the grave unreliability of the great press on movements to which it is hostile.—*Editors.*]



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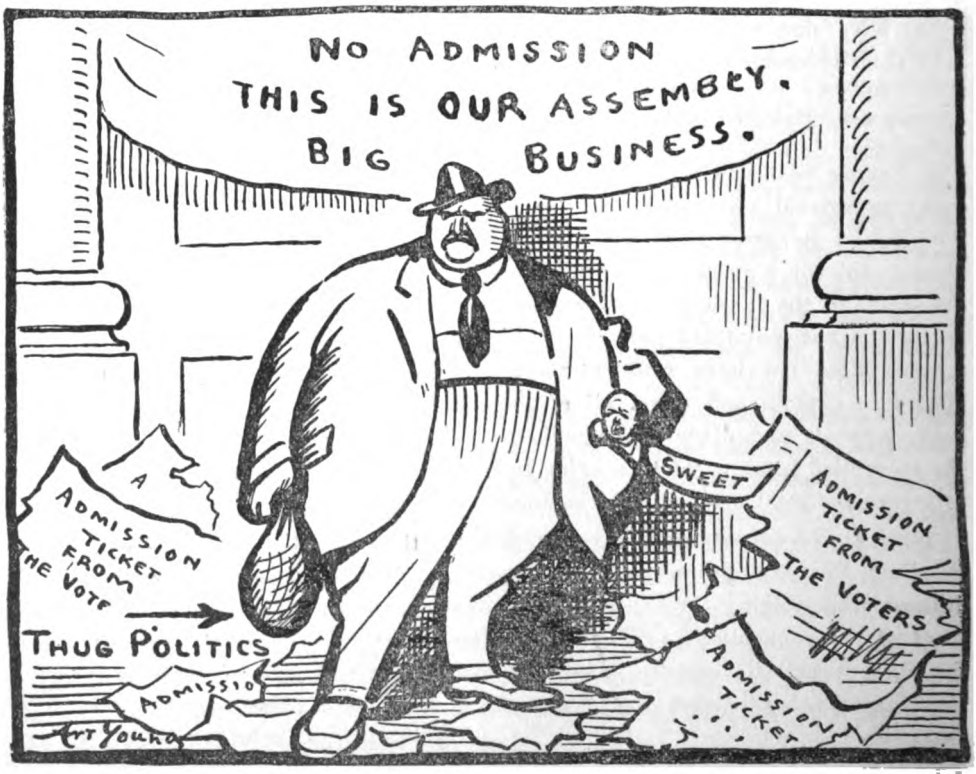

THE SOCIALIST REVIEW

Published Monthly by the

INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Room 914, Educational Building, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Editor, HARRY W. LAIDLER. Wesleyan.
Managing Editor, W. HARRIS CROOK. Oxford.

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Albany

EARLY on Thursday morning, April first, the New York Assembly, after a continuous session of twenty-three hours of rhetoric and venomous invective, expelled the five socialist Assemblymen originally suspended on January 7, the opening day of the 1920 session. By an identical vote of 116 to 28 Louis Waldman, August Claessens and Charles Solomon were expelled in succession. Samuel De Witt and Samuel Orr, though elected for the first time this session, were expelled by a vote of 104 to 40, majority leader Simon L. Adler and a few of the Assemblymen changing over, inasmuch as they held there had been no incriminating evidence against these two men save mere membership in the Socialist Party.

The expulsion occurred after the Judiciary Committee had on March 30 issued a majority report (7 out of 13 members) recommending the expulsion of all five on the ground of disloyalty and of affiliation with the Socialist Party of America, itself "a disloyal organization composed exclusively of perpetual traitors." The report also advocated the enactment of laws denying to all socialists the right of the ballot. Five out of thirteen on the Judiciary Committee voted to reseat the suspended men, viz: Blodgett of Schenectady, Pellett of New York, Stitt of Kings, all Republicans; Bloch of New York and Evans of the Bronx, Democrats.

The Debate

"Throughout the proceedings ran the evidence of the war hysteria which alone made such a revolutionary proposition as the reading out of politics of a political party possible.

"Besides the affair's length, an outstanding feature was the fact that the kind of prohibition which exists in Albany does not prohibit. Never was there a better 'irrigated' debate than that of the last twelve hours.

". . . it seemed at times as if every man one met had a bottle of old-time whiskey on his hip and was ready to share it. The cloak room of the Assembly reeked of alcohol, and most of the breaths one encountered in the lobby were redolent of the still." (George Wood, *N. Y. Globe* staff correspondent, April 1).

"A Democratic filibuster was responsible for the all-night session of the Assembly. The Democrats were willing to spend the time up to midnight in windjamming, as they wanted the day passed before a vote could be taken, so that Governor Smith would not put the party on record either for or against the Socialists by calling a special election. At midnight (March 31), the time for calling an election expired, unless there should be an extra session. The result of such an election, it is admitted, would be the return of the five Socialists to Albany—" (Joseph J. Jordan, *N. Y. Evening World* staff correspondent, April 1).

Colonel Roosevelt made an unimpassioned and much belated plea that the charges against the Socialist Party of disloyal action during the war and of intent to overthrow the Government by force had never been proved. "In no case," said the Colonel, "does the record show that they violated or urged

violation of any law put forward by the country for the effective prosecution of the war. . . . We have established no case against the Socialist Party." The defection of many Democrats to the side of Speaker Sweet seemed due to a wildly spreadeagle speech by Martin McCue, Tammany ex-pugilist.

What the Expulsion Means

The New York *World* (Democrat) having plegded its aid to the re-election of the ousted five, declared: "No more lawless act was ever committed by a lawmaking body than that which stains the record of the New York Assembly. In all the history of representative government there is no other instance of a political party's expulsion from a legislative body. Individual members have been excluded on one ground or another, but in this case a lawfully constituted political party was brought before the bar of the Assembly and denied representation on the ground that its platform was objectionable to the majority.

"None of these Assemblymen had been accused of crime. None of them had been charged with any offense whatever under the laws of New York. No Grand Jury had ever indicted them. No District Attorney had ever prosecuted them. The political party to which they belong is a legal party under the laws of this State. The Socialist members who have been expelled were as legally qualified as Speaker Sweet himself and as regularly elected."

Former State Attorney-General William Schuyler Jackson speaks of "the vicious and unlawful methods of the prosecution" and adds "the whole proceeding was the most abominable and disgraceful thing in the history of our Legislature. It was an assassin's knife, plunged into the vital principle of representative government while loud mouths and shaking fists proclaimed allegiance."

The *N. Y. Tribune,* no lover of socialism, has to admit that "the Socialists stand as the champions of constitutionalism and orderly processes of law." "The Socialist Party" states the *N. Y. Evening Post,* "has been expelled into tens of thousands of new votes for the next Legislature." Charles E. Hughes, calling the ouster vote "nothing short of a calamity," believes that "those who make their patriotism a vehicle for intolerance are very dangerous friends of our institutions." The Albany *Knickerbocker Press* closes its editorial on "A Crime against America" with the words "Speaker Sweet and his followers have stabbed Liberty in the back."

The Next Step

The Sweet party, which has, superficially, won so overwhelming a victory, seems unwilling to rest content with the mere expulsion of a minority group from the Assembly and the consequent temporary disfranchisement of tens of thousands of New York voters. On April 7 Republican leader Walters presented two measures to the Senate at Albany designed to keep the Socialist Party off the ballot. One bill will exclude "a member of a political organization . . . which advocates, maintains or declares for principles . . . which would tend to destroy, subvert or endanger the existing government of the United States or the State of New York" from the right to hold any civil office of the state or of any municipal corporation or political subdivision thereof. Whoever already holds such office and has agreed with his political organization that he will resign office upon request of such organization, shall thereby forfeit his office. Provision is made that when information is presented to him, the Attorney General is mandatorily ordered to institute proceedings in the Supreme Court to restrain a person thus "disqualified" from entering upon his office, or to compel him to forfeit his office!

Along with this direct action against all party Socialists goes the indirect attempt of the Lusk Committee (described fully elsewhere in this number by Winthrop Lane) to suppress all liberal or radical educational efforts in New York State, and to form a new secret spy service for New York.

On the other hand, an undoubted reaction

is setting in against the autocracy of the present Assembly's rulers, even on the part of such groups as the New York State League of Women Voters, led by such well-known non-socialists as Mrs. Frank A. Vanderlip and Mrs. George D. Pratt. Speaker Sweet's persistent opposition to all welfare bills of any type and the valiant support his opposition receives from Mark Daly, lobbyist for the New York State Associated Manufacturers, are proving slightly too much of a good thing even for life-long non-socialists. The Lusk Committee bills may yet prove the last straw that breaks the back of the New York State camel!

In a statement to American workers issued on April 5th from Chicago the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party points out how the trial was "reminiscent of the black days of the Inquisition. The Speaker brought the charges and selected the jury. The jury, except for one member, had already voted to unseat the accused assemblymen. The latter were denied a bill of particulars. Statements and writings were introduced which were spoken and written when the accused were mere boys. Perjured testimony was introduced, and refuted by unimpeachable witnesses. The record of the proceedings was 'doctored' for consumption by readers of the newspapers.

"The Socialist Party will not be driven underground by its enemies. It will not allow itself to be manœuvered into a secret organization persecuted by the enemies of the workers. Instead of being driven underground, we shall drive these treacherous oligarchs into the obscurity of private life.

"The real enemies of mankind are revealing their treachery. They seek to close the doors of the legislative halls to workingmen, to establish a dictatorship of the exploiting classes, and to strangle all efforts of organized workmen for more leisure, security and freedom."

W. H. C.

The Vacation on the Railroads

Savel Zimand

In the last few months three of the basic industries of the country—steel, mining and transportation—were paralyzed by the rank and file of the American labor movement, and this against the advice and action of their leaders. In the steel industry, 367,000 men went on strike on September 22, despite the instructions given to them by their leaders to delay action, and in the mining industry the men continued the strike after the leaders had asked them to obey the injunction. In the transport industry we had the unauthorized strike of the maintenance of way employees, embracing 250,000 men, and that of the shipyard workers of the New York Harbor. The tie-up on the railroads is the latest and perhaps most important manifestation of new tactics in the labor movement of America.

A survey of this railway "vacation" discloses similarities with the other fifty or sixty unauthorized strikes of last year. The same demand for higher wages and better living conditions, and the same dissatisfaction with the leaders of the unions for not having taken a firmer attitude towards the employers—this summarizes all the great mystery about the last railroad strike. There are no I. W. W., communist, or any other plots, or even any mild tincture of Socialist agitation in it. Even a General Wood could see that much. To the strikers most of the radical papers are so many foreign names, whereas weeklies such as *The Saturday Evening Post* or *Collier's* are their regular reading matter. Revolution may be a familiar word to a great many, because after all, by far the greatest number are good Americans, and come from 1776 stock. They seem to know more about baseball and other native sports than about revolution. In a word, we have to do with an American crowd who have been taught that they have a right to a good living if they do a good day's work. And the boys who have volunteered to run the trains will realize what a good day's work means for an engineman or brakeman.

I was privileged to see some of them at their club. The "outlaws" were just plain people, just as the rest of us. In the club-room a service flag with many stars adorns one of the walls, and the

other three are covered with pictures of landscapes and presidents of the United States. A young brakeman was banging on a player piano, and another one was beating on his tambourine "Over there, over there," a favorite of the "Bolshevik" strikers. Of course, popular songs were heard too, but "Over there" was in greatest demand. The only difference between this social club of plain folks and other social clubs in large cities was that rocking chairs, waiters and good air were entirely missing. Prohibition, however, was strictly observed. But, of course, it is only a trainmen's club, and this is the way the men spend their vacation, while the daily papers have them commit all kinds of hold-ups.

I was waiting for Mr. Edward McHugh, the great Mogul of the strike, chairman of the executive committee. Men who interviewed Lenin and Trotzky, others who have seen the revolutions abroad, some who have worked for labor for years, representatives of radical papers, not to mention the number of reporters of the daily press—all were waiting, and all were trying to get access to this man who became a mysterious stranger over night; all without success. Some thought him to be a second Bill Haywood, others made him out to be one of the alleged hundred thousand of Lenin's agents in this country. And then as he arrived, and I was standing face to face with him, I discovered that he was just like the rest of the men. He chews his tobacco, smokes his "Fatima," and enjoys a baseball team when he has the time to spare.

In a little room eight by six—his executive mansion—he talked to me for about four hours, explaining the conditions which brought about this strike or "walk-out," as he puts it. "It was very spontaneous," he said. "It came to us all at once." The situation has been growing from bad to worse. The boards who have been appointed to improve our conditions have not acted. We are called to work at times as much as twenty-four hours a day. The joker in the eight-hour law is that it can be evaded. By punching the clocks ten minutes before the expiration of the sixteen-hour limitation, the men are made to work sometimes as much as eight hours longer. "That makes twenty-four hours," he added, "and you know, it is too much to work twenty-four hours. As for wages, it is impossible to support a family on five dollars a day."

The men feel they have had a raw deal, and rebellion against their employers and their own grand officers they considered as a last resort. Before the war, promises were made that the situation would be improved. Then the war came, and the government took over the railroads. Again, promises and promises. During the war, no strikes occurred. The men never dreamed of embarrassing their government. The war was over, and all were saying to themselves that now their demands would receive serious consideration. Instead, they received the Esch-Cummins bill. According to the men, their own grand chiefs did not act. Watchful waiting was their policy. No determination, no real understanding of the great unrest among the rank and file; and wherever they saw the feeling of discontent coming to the surface, they tried to suppress it in the germ.

The great powers with which the officers are invested, the lack of referendum and recall in the organizations, and the triennial conventions made it impossible for the rank and file to reorganize their own unions in the light of democratic principles. They saw that their own government did not help them, their own organization was of no use to them as long as it was in the hands of a small clique, and that their employers offered all kinds of excuses against granting them a living wage. And so they recurred to the solidarity of their fellow-craftsmen to improve their lot. It was a bold move to make. Without funds, without a national organization backing them, and knowing in advance that the powers that be and the press would be against them, they relied on the simplest and at the same time the most difficult form of action: to "take a vacation." Each of them trusted the other to do the same, because they knew, what the outside world did not, that the discontent was so great that a match laid in any part of the country would spread the fire quickly, and that without any prearrangement a general vacation on the railroads would begin.

According to a telegram of April 18 from Philadelphia in the New York *Call*, the only paper which was able to secure real news of the strike, the new Labor Board agreed to take up the demands of the strikers immediately. The railroad managers agreed not to make any discrimination against the men, and dealt with the insurgent leaders. This, if true, is a victory that means the early rewriting of their archaic constitution in the light of new developments; that the initiative, recall and referendum will be introduced, and that the contracts under which the men work will be made with their approval, and not at the discretion of the officers at the top.

An editorial of *The Evening Post* on April 17 claims that this strike "has shown that a mass movement of working men cannot take the place of regular unions." In reality, this strike seems to have proven the "sticking power" of the ranks even if the new Labor Board can finally afford to ignore them.

The Two Internationals

Lewis S. Gannett

THE struggle between the partisans of the Second and the Third International in the socialist parties of western Europe is fundamentally a struggle between the policies of reform and revolution. It is complicated by the universal sympathy which the Russian Revolution has won for itself among the workers of western Europe, and which has been in part transferred to the new International which has grown up under its ægis.

The Second International, founded nearly forty years ago, embraced almost all the various shades of socialism when the war broke out. There was no real opposition to it. When the various national sections, with the exceptions of the Italian, Russian, and later the American, supported their respective national governments with the same uncritical fervor as marked the bourgeois parties, some of the individuals who remained internationalists hoped that the bureau of the old International, temporarily lodged in Holland, might take up the fallen torch. They hoped in vain. The two international socialist conferences which were held, at Zimmerwald and Kienthal, in Switzerland, in September, 1915, and April, 1916, were held rather in spite of than because of the officials of the old International. The Stockholm conference, which it did attempt to engineer in 1917, proved an abortion.

In all the continental countries during the war there grew up a party of opposition within the socialist party. These parties were at first merely internationalist or pacifist, but as time passed they developed into outspoken revolutionaries. The forty or fifty men and women who participated in the Zimmerwald and Kienthal meetings were the germ of the Third International. Among them were Nicolai Lenin of Russia, Modigliani and Lazzari of Italy, Ledebour and Adolph Hoffman of Germany, Fernand Loriot of France, Robert Grimm of Switzerland, Henriette Roland-Horst of Holland. The Swiss and Italian parties sent official delegations to these conferences.

The Berne Conference

In February, 1919, the long-delayed meeting of the Second International finally occurred at Berne. The Swiss and Italian parties abstained from attendance. Resolutions endorsing the league of nations and affirming liberal principles to govern the settlement of territorial questions at the Peace Conference were adopted; the question of responsibility for the war was long and earnestly discussed; and a resolution affirming the principles of democracy in terms expressly designed to discredit the Russian Soviet Republic was approved by the overwhelming majority of those present, being kept from a vote only by the diplomacy of the Chairman, Camille Huysmans of Belgium. Only the Norwegians, Greeks, Austrians, and the French majority, dissented.

Subsequently a delegation from the Second International hung about the corridors of the Peace Conference, occasionally presenting platonic resolutions to more or less important officials. The implied condemnation of Bolshevism at Berne, the sycophantic attitude at the Peace Conference, and the absolute failure to take any steps toward breaking the blockade of Soviet Russia discredited the Second International in the eyes of the workers of Europe.

The Moscow International

In March, 1919, a group of dissenters met at Moscow and inaugurated the Third International. As a matter of fact, it began with no real organization. The "representatives" of the western countries who appeared at its sessions were mostly revolutionary individuals who had drifted to Moscow. But it had a faith, and faith is infectious.

The Italian Socialists were the first of the western socialist parties to declare express

adherence to the Third International. The Swiss Executive voted to adhere, but a party referendum, by a narrow vote, rejected the decision. The membership did not, however, vote to return to the Second International, and the Swiss party remained isolated for months. The various Balkan parties followed the Italian lead. So did the Norwegian party. The separate Communist parties of Germany, Sweden, Holland, and the United States naturally joined. The British Socialist Party, the Workers' Socialist Federation, the Shop Stewards' Council, the Irish Socialist Party, the Independent Labor Party of Scotland, all joined—but these are small organizations, and the mass of British labor remained aloof.

The Revolt Against Berne

The German Independents and the French Socialists were the key parties. The bitter opposition of the German Independents to the Right Socialists of the Ebert-Noske-Bauer school led them first to declare that they would not remain in the Second International if the Right Wingers were permitted to stay, and finally, in December, to withdraw, calling for a conference with other "social revolutionary" parties to prepare fusion with the Third International. The French followed in February.

Neither of these parties has yet joined the Third International. Their leaders have felt that it was still too sectarian and have feared that it would seek to impose program and policy upon them. Many of them, especially Jean Longuet, the French leader, fear a division of the socialist world, weakening the power for action. They have therefore called a meeting of western revolutionary parties, to be held in Switzerland this summer. The German resolution read as follows:

"The Congress decides to leave the Second International, a step which excludes participation in the proposed Geneva Conference. The Independent Socialist party is in accord with the Third International in the desire to realize socialism by the dictatorship of the proletariat on the basis of the councils system. A working-class International capable of action must be created by the union of our party with the Third International, and with the social-revolutionary parties of the other countries. Therefore, the Congress instructs its Central Committee immediately to enter into negotiations with all these parties on the basis of the program of action voted by the party, in order to bring about this union and so to make possible a purely working-class International which in the struggle of the working class for freedom from the chains of international capitalism may be a decisive factor in the world revolution. If the parties in the other countries do not agree to enter the Moscow International with us the Independent German party will have to enter alone."

The Swiss and the French are thus far the only parties to answer their call. The French majority, closely pressed by the enthusiastic partisans of immediate adhesion to the Third International, secured the passage of the following resolution by a two-thirds vote at the Party Congress late in February:

"The Congress, resolved upon immediate action, instructs the Party Executive, while maintaining contact with the national sections of the western parties, without delay to enter negotiations with the qualified organisms of the Third International and to prepare, in accord with the Independent Socialists of Germany, the Swiss and the Italian parties, a conference to group fully all parties resolved to maintain their action upon the basis of the traditional formulas of socialism, with the parties forming the Third International."

The Italians promptly announced that they would not participate. They had already joined the Third International. The Left Wing of the French Socialists has consistently declared that the hesitation of the leaders is because they do not really want to join the Moscow organization and at heart are loath to abandon the coalition ministerialists who dominate the Second International —men like Branting, now Premier of Sweden; Vandervelde, Belgian Minister of Justice; Henderson, Stanning and Albert Thomas, former cabinet ministers in Great Britain, Denmark and France. There is much truth in this view, but the surge of the labor movement on the continent of Europe is unmistakable, and the adhesion of the French and German Independents to Moscow seems inevitable.

Not a Fourth International

It is a mistake to refer to the Conference they plan as a Fourth International. If the men who hold it cannot find a basis for fusion with the Third International their cohorts will join without them.

What of the other European parties? The ministerialists—the Swedish, Danish, Belgian, Czecho-Slovak, Austrian and German Right Socialists, would not be allowed to join the Third International so long as they collaborate in bourgeois ministries, and they, with the British Labor Party, remain the nucleus of the Second International. But the Belgians and the German Kaiser Socialists will be poor bedfellows, and Sweden already has a strong Communist Party opposing the ministerialists.

The sectarian purism of the western Communists may prove a temporary obstacle to the reunion of proletarian forces. Apparently the smaller the party, the more it insists on purifying itself of all taint of moderatism. The Dutch Communist Party (led by Wynkoop) will resist the admission of the Dutch Socialists (led by Troelstra) to the Third International. The so-called western committee of the Third International which recently met at Amsterdam protested even the inclusion of the French. The Austrians, condemned to moderation by reliance on Entente supplies, are ready to follow the Franco-German lead but uncertain that they will be allowed to do so. But such difficulties will probably be smoothed out.

The line-up, based upon the most recent decisions available and allowing in one or two cases for the inevitable influence of the French and German Independent action, will then be as follows: for the Second International—British Labor Party, Belgian Labor Party, German Social Democrats (now the smaller group of German Socialists), Swedish, Danish, Czecho-Slovaks, a minority of Bulgarians, Georgians, Finns, etc. For the Third International—Russians, Ukrainians, Poles, Esthonians, Lithuanians, Latrans, Roumanians, Bulgarian majority, Jugo-Slavs, Greeks, Norwegians, Swedish minority, Italians, Swiss, French, German Independents, Austrians, Dutch, Spanish, British minority groups, and Americans.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,

Of

The Socialist Review

published monthly, at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1920.

State of New York, } ss.
County of New York. }

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared W. Harris Crook, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Managing Editor of the Socialist Review, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:
Publisher—Intercollegiate Socialist Society, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
Editor—Harry W. Laidler, Room 930, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
Managing Editor—W. Harris Crook, Room 914, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
Business Managers—None.

2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock.)
Intercollegiate Socialist Society, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City; membership approximately 2,000. The principal officers are: President, Florence Kelley, 44 East 23d Street, New York City; 1st Vice-President, Evans Clark, 62 Montague Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 2nd Vice-President, H. W. L. Dana, 105 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Mass.; Treasurer, Albert De Silver, 98 Joralemon Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (if there are none, so state.)
There are no known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is ————. (This information is required from daily publications only.)

W. HARRIS CROOK.
(Signature of editor, publisher, business manager, or owner.)

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 22nd day of March, 1920.

M. A. Fowler,

Notary Public, Kings Co., No. 2; Certificate in New York County No. 12; Register No. 10,008.
Commission expires March 30, 1920.

Socialism in Italy[1]

C. M. Panunzio

ITALY became politically united in 1870. Shortly thereafter Massimo d'Azelio, eminent patriot and thinker, remarked: "Now that we have made Italy, we must also make Italians." Socialism seems to have been the first to answer the challenge, by undertaking the definite task of "making Italians" by freeing them from economic servitude.

Garibaldi, the famous hero of the "red shirt," whose enthusiasm and military prowess had contributed so largely to making a united Italy possible, seems to have been one of the first to see the socialist vision for Italy. During the wars of independence he was animated with a spirit of nationalism; but, after 1870, he "devoted himself to a lofty conception of humanity—he, the unwearying champion of justice and liberty, foresaw the fusion of all nations into one people."

Between 1870 and 1875, impelled by his ardent words, thousands of men embraced the principles of the International as understood by French communists, some of whom had gone to Italy upon the suppression of the Commune in Paris in 1871. These believed that liberty was only of value in proportion as it was applied to the practical aspects of life. Some of the most eminent men of Italy became followers of this theory, among whom were Melio Covelli, economist; Carlo Cafiero, wealthy Neapolitan, who devoted his entire wealth to the propagation of socialistic doctrines; Enrico Malatesta, unquenchable flame of high ideals; Andrea Costa, foremost among early leaders; and later Saverio Merlino and Filippo Turati.

Sporadic Uprisings of Seventies

The first decade, 1870-1880, was in the main given over to sporadic revolutionary demonstrations. In 1873-74 uprisings took place in Romagna, Emilia, and Apulia, all of which, being premature, were promptly and easily suppressed by the authorities. In 1877-78 Malatesta and Cafiero made an attempt to put the "Propaganda of the Deed" of Paul Brousse into operation among the peasants of the Province of Benevento where several villages were pillaged. The attempt came to naught, as might have been foreseen; meantime socialism was acquiring the reputation of being synonymous with violence and crime. Bakounin, who was personally directing these movements, finally realized the futility of attempting—especially at such an early stage—a social revolution. A considerable group of Italian socialists accepted Bakounin's conclusions that his former tactics would only serve to defeat the whole program of socialism.

"Propaganda of the Deed"

In 1880-81 a definite contest took place between those who advocated the "Propaganda of the Deed" and those standing for "gradual and peaceful" reform. The question was—should Italian socialism adopt the methods of anarchism and syndicalism or those of parliamentarism? The former, which constituted the smaller group, was headed by Malatesta. They embraced the purely negative and destructive philosophy of Bakounin and the worship of the abstract theory of liberty. The latter group, headed by the indomitable Andrea Costa, accepted parliamentarism as the only practical means of achieving the socialist goal. Costa won out, and, elected deputy from Imola in 1881, he became the first socialist deputy and the foremost parliamentarist of the early days. He and his followers immediately set themselves to the concrete task of organizing the masses for economic and social reform through labor unions and legislative action.

During these first two decades of its history, socialism in Italy engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the authorities. Costa, the quick-witted and able son of Ro-

[1] One of two articles on Italian Socialism.

magna, was often tried for political crimes, imprisoned and exiled for his political ideas. In the course of one of these proceedings, "with that winning impetuosity which was peculiar to him, Costa proudly addressed the President of the Court, saying, 'I would not for anything change my bench of accused with your gilded chair. You persecute us, you arrest us, you condemn us, but we change your courts into tribunes to propagate our ideas.'"[2]

Socialist Party Organized

By the beginning of the third decade of its history, Italian socialism had taken definite shape and, in 1891, the first Socialist Congress was held and the Socialist Party of Italy was organized.

In that same year Filippo Turati established in Milan the first socialist paper, *La Critica Sociale*. The young party included some of the most eminent men of Italy, among them Lombroso, the noted criminologist, and Ferri, his devoted follower. The latter became one of the most powerful leaders and later the founder and editor of *Avanti*, which remains to this day the official organ of the party. Ferri was master of a most powerful and scathing oratory, of a facile pen, and of a vast fund of scientific knowledge dealing with the conditions of the masses—all of which he dedicated without reserve to the socialist cause. During the first decade of the life of the Socialist Party he was the one outstanding figure.

Government Persecution

No sooner had socialism assumed an organized form than it called down upon itself and upon all progressive thinkers of the country some of the most cold-blooded persecutions which any body of men have ever suffered. First came the merciless attack of Crispi, who in 1894-95 was determined to put the young party out of existence. Then followed the repression of Marcus di Rudini, the aristocratic, calculating, skeptical Sicilian, whose iron fist was determined to crush the growing babe of socialism while it was yet in its infancy.

Meantime Italy was passing through grave days. The people of southern Italy and Sicily, especially, hard pressed by the injustices and the economic privations of years and finding no relief in the new government, formed themselves into *Fasci dei lavoratori*, or farm laborers' unions, and arose in rebellion. In 1893-94 revolutionary uprisings of no mean character took place. With the outbreak of the Spanish-American war in 1898 a high tariff was put in force which caused a great deal of privation among the people. Again the people revolted; buildings were sacked, the little hateful wooden huts of the custom officers found at every cross road were set on fire; masses of people moved aimlessly, knowing not what to ask for. While the sovereigns and high state officials were celebrating the Jubilee of the granting of the Constitution at Turin, most threatening demonstrations were taking place in the main towns of Lombardy, Emilia, and Romagna. Serious conflicts took place between soldiers and peasants.

Things moved from bad to worse; the fire kept spreading.

One day, in an encounter between the police and the people in Pavia, Muzio Mussi, son of the mayor of Milan, was killed. When Milan heard the news it became a boiling cauldron. Forgetting party affiliations, republicans and socialists, radicals and clericals rose as one man in terrible revolutions all over the country. It was the most critical uprising which Italy had ever seen since it had become a nation. In Milan alone several hundred were wounded, 82 were killed; thousands were imprisoned and court-martialed throughout Italy and a state of continuous siege was forced upon parts of southern Italy.

General Pellou was chosen by King Humbert as Premier to be the strong hand to deal with the situation. Pellou had often sided with the liberals and at times with the radicals, but now he became a hateful oppressor. Instead of turning his attention to

[2] Underwood: *United Italy*, p. 146.

much-needed social and economic reform and instead of purifying the government of its corruption, all of which would have dealt with causes, he initiated a police crusade against the radicals, the like of which had not been seen in Italy for years. The persecution went much further. Under the pretext of suppressing subversive parties, the authorities threw a wall of restriction around all citizens alike. It restricted the holding of meetings, interfered with trade union activity, with freedom of press and of speech, and with every form of advanced thought.

Never has a small group of men shown greater fortitude or courage than did Italian socialists in this crisis. They knew that the authorities were acting contrary to the principles of the Constitution, so they stood firmly on their rights. They simply insisted in a semi-passive way and with that indomitable patience of which the Italian masses are such masters, upon the liberties provided in the Constitution. Thereby they won their victory! And these persecutions instead of crushing socialism helped it in a more effective way than had even its own propaganda.

Obstacles to Socialist Growth

But Italian socialism had to overcome obstacles more insuperable and formidable than the persecutions of the political parties. These lie in the very nature and character of the Italian people. Italian idealism has made it exceedingly difficult for socialism to hold the attention of the people to the more or less materialistic or practical questions of economic and social advance. Italian individualism, with its hatred of united action, has seriously retarded the organization movement. Again, the Italians have been so wrapped up in the ideals of national unity and with the work of freeing Italy from the yoke of Austria as to become deaf to all other appeals. In addition, socialism had to begin with a laboring population, nine-tenths of whom were illiterate peasants.

The only allies of Italian socialism—if such it had—were the extreme poverty of the people, the burdensome taxation, the remains of feudalism, and the factions in the regular parties. The progress which the party has made is shown in the number of votes it has polled and in the steady increase in the number of deputies it has sent to the Chamber.

	Votes	Representatives	
1892	26,000	6	
1900	175,000	32	(fusion with Bourgeois and Radicals)
1904	320,000	27	
1909	339,000	40	
1913	960,000	59	

Accomplishments

More important than its numerical advance, however, are the far-reaching reforms which socialism has been able to effect. Historians of various shades and beliefs agree that to the Socialist Party are due all the major reforms of modern Italy. "It cannot be denied that the socialists have been indefatigable in their efforts to obtain the liberty of the press, the right to hold meetings, and free speech."[3] Richard Bagot, a keen student of Italian life, who professes to detest socialism, says "Italian socialism, which is rather constructive than destructive, has played a not inconsiderable part in laying foundations for that public opinion in Italy which has recently burst into life with such magnificent and irresistible force."[4] To socialism also is due the credit of having been responsible for the official recognition of trade unionism, the Chamber of Labor, for the phenomenal development of the coöperative movement, and for the extension of the franchise until it is now practically universal.

Meanwhile the Socialist Party had to face other conflicts. In 1902, at the famous Congress of Imola, the question of revolutionary tactics again came up for settlement. Ferri stood for these as against Turati who held out for parliamentarism. The question came up to a vote and Ferri was defeated 417 to 275.

[3] Zimmer and Agresti, *New Italy*, p. 30.
[4] Bagot, *Italians of Today*, p. 224.

War in Tripoli

In 1912 another epochmaking event took place. Italy was at war with Turkey in Tripoli, and the question was what stand should the socialists take on the question of supporting the government in its war aims. Bissolati, one of the cleverest and most powerful socialists, stood for the support of the government in its war enterprise. He and a group of followers were expelled from the party. They formed a Reformist Socialist Party. At the time it seemed almost disastrous for the Socialist Party in Italy, for of its 88 deputies no less than 16 joined the newly formed Reformist Socialist Party.

But the Official Socialist Party, as the Socialist Party has been known since 1912, weathered this storm in a most remarkable manner and it found itself at the outbreak of the World War stronger than ever before, stronger in its ranks and principles; stronger in part because of the serious storms it had faced. It had outranked those who stood for violent revolution; it had braved the great persecutions of the strongest of Italian governments; it had steered the course of definite, practical progress without adopting the "propaganda of the deed." And though sadly crippled by the serious split it still moved on. What happened at the outbreak of the World War; what position the party took in relation to it; what it did during the war; what led to the unprecedented socialist victory of 1919—these will form the subject of an article which is to follow.

Industrial Action

A. J. Muste

THE most important and most immediate task before the American labor movement is the organization of the workers in the great basic industries into unions, of the industrial rather than of the craft type, having for their aim the thorough democratization and socialization of industry. In my opinion it is not likely that industrial action alone can bring about a new order. Industrial action is, however, indispensable.

(1) It is through industrial unions such as are suggested above that under the present system the maximum of improvement for the worker can be attained and something approximating constitutional government in industry be established. Under constitutional government the employers and employes in an industry meet under an impartial chairman elected and paid by the two parties, in order to draw up the code under which the industry is to be conducted. Such a code will set forth the hours of work, the wages, the method of payment (by time or results), sanitary conditions in the shop, number of learners or apprentices and the conditions under which they are to be hired and trained, conditions under which workers may be hired and discharged and disciplined (insuring for every grievance a hearing before as impartial a body as can be constituted), the standardization of the raw material used, protective devices for machinery, provision for continuity of employment and special provision for periods of unemployment, and finally, the machinery for enforcing this code.

Many of these matters are dealt with at present by state and federal legislative bodies, and to some extent this may be desirable. In the main, however, they should be worked out by those actually engaged in each industry (even worked out so far as details go by those employed in each shop), for the following reasons.

The Worker and His Shop

First, because in this way the industrial code is worked out by those directly concerned and not by lawyers only remotely affected by the laws they make for industry. This, of course, also implies that in the former case the code is worked out by those who know something about what they are doing. Efficient democracy surely means that in every sphere of

life the men concerned shall so far as possible work out their own salvation, and not have salvation — or damnation — imposed upon them; it means, moreover, self-determination for individuals and groups.

In the second place, if the workers share directly and actively in making and administering the industrial code, they receive thereby a training in democracy which the masses of our industrial workers do not get at the present time. They do not really function as citizens in our political state, partly because the questions dealt with by state and federal legislatures are remote from their life, partly because they feel that politics are in the hands of "machines" and that it is no use for the thinking individual to try to function with reference to them, partly because the sources of information about political matters are poisoned, and of course no one can function as a citizen in a democracy unless he can get fair information on the issues about which he votes.

On the other hand, every worker knows a good deal about his job and his shop, and he is deeply interested in them. Here he can function as an intelligent and responsible citizen. It is of the utmost importance that our workers should get the opportunity to do so.

It need hardly be remarked that all this implies that the individual worker does not stand alone, but is organized in a powerful, democratically managed union, through which his mind can express itself and his power be felt.

Necessary for Peaceful Transition

(2) If the transition from the present industrial system to a coöperative commonwealth is to be made peacefully and with a minimum of waste, the workers in the great basic industries must be organized in industrial unions of some kind. Great unions capable of functioning on a national or international scale, as great corporations do, and also federated with each other so that in each community the essential services are organized, can form an alliance with production engineers, the "scientists of industry." They can bring increasing pressure to bear upon profiteers, reducing profit without necessarily destroying prosperity. And if the present financial system collapses. they can carry on industry for the common good.

Unless the workers are organized in strong and responsible unions their revolt against the iniquities, the slavery, of the present system is bound to be marked by the disorder, violence, and bitterness of unorganized mass movements. Similarly, if they are not thus organized, the collapse of the present system, which may come sooner than we think, will find no agency capable of carrying on production and therefore will bring on a period of chaos and intense distress.

(3) This leads naturally to a brief final observation. Should a new order be established and the new order find itself confronted with the task of defending itself against those who sabotage it and seek by violence to destroy it, the main reliance of the workers in that struggle will be on unions capable of carrying on production. War is today primarily waged on the economic field. A coöperative commonwealth having the basic industries not organized and hence functioning poorly, if at all, will have on its hands a fearful struggle to maintain itself against the forces of reaction. With its basic industries organized and functioning, it cannot be seriously threatened.

ATTENTION!

The "Social Problems Club" of C. C. N. Y. will hold a supper at the Yorkville Casino on May 15th, followed by a symposium on "Democracy and Education," in which Scott Nearing, Judah Magnes, Frank Harris and others will take part. College students are particularly urged to attend. Tickets, $1.50 each, may be secured from Emil Schlesinger, 1321 College Avenue, New York City.

BOSTON COMRADES should drop in at the Socialist Party State headquarters at 530 Tremont Street. Hospitable welcome to all *Socialist Review* readers.

Was Marx a Sectarian?

Edmund Seidel

MARX is so often summoned as authority for policies which divide and harm the socialist movement and which make for separate sects that an examination of his position on this subject should prove useful.

Marx was a student and a scholar, but he was more than that. He was a man of action. His activities in the Communist League and in the International Workingmen's Association brought him into vital touch with men and affairs, and demanded the adoption of a practical line of action. He was compelled to apply his philosophy to concrete events and particularly toward the development of a working-class movement following the lines of his philosophy.

Did Marx proceed in the spirit of a sectarian? A sect implies factional, separate existence, often carrying with it a smack of narrowness and bigotry. A sectarian is distinguished by his circumscribed views; dogmatism is one of his characteristics.

Engels on American Conditions

Engels on January 27, 1887, in a letter to Mrs. Wischenewetzky, sums up the attitude of himself and Marx:[1]

"The movement in America, just at this moment, is, I believe, best seen from across the ocean. On the spot personal bickerings and local disputes must obscure much of the grandeur of it. And the only thing that could really delay its march would be the consolidation of these differences into *established sects.* To some extent that will be unavoidable, *but the less of it the better.* And the Germans (i. e., the German socialists in America) have most to guard against this. *Our theory is a theory of revolution, not a dogma to be learnt by heart and to be repeated mechanically.* The less it is crammed into the Americans from without, and the more it is proved through their own experience—supplemented by the participation of the Germans—the deeper it will sink into their flesh and blood.

"When we returned to Germany, in the spring of 1848, we joined the Democratic Party as the only possible means of gaining the ear of the working class; we were the most advanced wing of that party, *but still a wing of it.*

"When Marx founded the International he drew up the General Rules in such a way that all the working-class socialists of that period could join it—Proudhonists, Pierre Lerouxists, and even the more advanced sections of the English trade unions; and it was only through this latitude that the International became what it was, the means of gradually dissolving and absorbing all these minor *sects,* with the exception of the anarchists, whose sudden appearance in various countries was but the effect of the violent bourgeois reaction after the Commune and could therefore safely be left by us to die out of itself, as it did.

"Had we from 1864 to 1873 *insisted on working together only with those who openly adopted our platform,* where should we be today? I think all our practice has shown that it is possible to work along with the general movement of the working class at every one of its stages without giving up or hiding our own distinct position and even organization, and I am afraid that if the German-Americans choose a different line they will commit a great mistake." (Italics ours.)

Engels's references here to "established sects," and his statement that "the less of them the better," sufficiently indicate the Marxian attitude on the question of sectarianism; Marx and Engels would have none of it. The further references to "dogma," the ridiculing of it, establish beyond peradventure of a doubt that these leading Marxians were anything but dogmatists. Their application of theory to practice was not dogmatic; it was practical.

Nor are the remarks of Engels on this point an isolated instance. He says the same thing in a letter which he wrote to Mrs. Wischenewetzky on December 28, 1886.[2]

"It is far more important that the movement should spread, proceed harmoniously, take root and embrace as much as possible the whole Amer-

[1] See *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friederich Engels, Karl Marx u. A. an F. A. Sorge und Andere,* p. 248.

[2] *Ibid.,* pp. 242 ff.

ican proletariat, than that it should proceed from the beginning on theoretically perfectly correct lines. There is no better road to theoretical clearness of comprehension than to learn by one's own mistakes, *durch Schaden klug werden.* And for a whole large class there is no other road, especially for a nation so eminently practical and so contemptuous of theory as the Americans. *The great thing is to get the working class to move as a class;* that once obtained, they will soon find the right direction, and all who resist, H. G. [Henry George] or Powderly, will be left out in the cold with small *sects* of their own. Therefore I think also the Knights of Labor a most important factor in the movement which ought not to be pooh-poohed from without, but to be revolutionized from within, and I consider that many of the Germans then have made a grievous mistake when they tried, in the face of a mighty and glorious movement not of their own creation, *to make of their imported and not always understood theory a kind of alleinseligmachendes* (only-road-to-salvation) *dogma. Our theory is not a dogma, but the exposition of a process of evolution,* and that process involves successive phases." (Italics ours.)

And in a letter which Engels wrote to F. A. Sorge on May 12, 1894, just about a year before Engels's death, we find him returning to this subject in the following words:

"The Social Democratic Federation here shares with our German-American socialists the distinction of being the only parties which have succeeded in reducing the Marxian theory of evolution to a *rigid orthodoxy,* to which the workers are not to work themselves upward through their own class feeling, but which they are to *swallow forthwith and without development as articles of faith.* That's why both of them remain *mere sects,* and come, as Hegel says, from nothing, through nothing, to nothing." (Italics ours.)

With the foregoing citations from a Marxian before him, the reader will hardly be in any doubt as to the Marxian attitude on sectarian existence in the labor movement. The reader will see that Marxism, as enunciated by Engels, was opposed to the formation of sects and all that thereby hangs. Lest any carping critic, however, fall back on the plea that Engels was not Marx, and argue that Engels's attitude is not a presentation of Marx's, we shall cite Marx himself on the subject.

Marx in "Communist Manifesto"

Marx's attitude on the point is revealed in the *Communist Manifesto,* which he wrote along with Engels. We get the attitude in the opening paragraphs of Section II of the *Manifesto* which read:

"In what relation do the communists stand to the proletarians as a whole?

"The communists do not form a *separate* party opposed to the other working-class parties.

"They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole. . . .

"The communists, therefore, are on the one hand practically the most advanced and resolute section of the *working-class parties of every country,* that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate results of the proletarian movement." (Italics ours.)

The passages cited in the foregoing state a position which clearly makes against separate sectarian existence; the passages reflect rather a position stated by Engels in the letters quoted above. The attitude is further illustrated in a concrete manner in Part IV of the *Communist Manifesto,* the opening paragraphs of which read:

"Section II has made clear the relations of the communists to the existing working-class parties, such as the Chartists in England and the Agrarian reformers in America.

"The communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present they represent and take care of the future of that movement. *In France the communists ally themselves with the social democrats against the conservative and radical bourgeoisie,* reserving, however, the right to take a critical position in regard to phrases and illusions traditionally handed down from the great Revolution." (Italics ours.)

The passages here enumerated are those written by Marx, and they indicate the practical manner in which he operated with his principles. They show him taking the movement of labor as he found it and operating with it, as Engels states, but at the same time operating upon it. We see this confirmed by Engels in his preface to the English edition of the *Communist Manifesto,* written in

1888. In that preface we again read the line of action that Marx followed. Engels states that in these words:

"When the European working class had recovered sufficient strength for another attack on the ruling classes, the International Workingmen's Association sprang up. But this Association, formed with the express aim of welding into one body the whole militant proletariat of Europe and America, *could not at once proclaim the principles laid down in the Manifesto.* The International was bound to have a program broad enough to be acceptable to the English trade unions, to the followers of Proudhon in France, Belgium, Italy and Spain, and to the Lassalleans in Germany. Marx, who drew up this program to the satisfaction of all parties, entirely trusted to the intellectual development of the working class, which was sure to result from combined action and mutual discussion. The very events and vicissitudes of the struggle against capital, the defeats even more than the victories, could not help bring home to men's minds the insufficiency of their favorite nostrums, and prepare the way for a more complete insight into the true conditions of working-class emancipation. And Marx was right." (Italics ours.)

Sects in the Labor Movement

It cannot be said that Marx's position on the question here presented was laid down in the *Communist Manifesto,* a document which he wrote in 1847, and that he subsequently outlived that position. The fact is that he proceeded along the identical lines in 1864—sixteen years later—when drawing up the rules for the International. And seven years after this—that is, in 1871—Marx in a letter to one F. Bolte, in America, revealed himself upon the matter of the International, and incidentally upon sects, in line with what has already been stated in the different extracts here quoted.[3]

"The International was founded in order to set up the real organization of the working class in place of the socialistic and half-socialistic *sects.* The original statutes as well as the inaugural address show this at the first glance. Contrariwise, the Internationalists could not have asserted themselves if the course of history had not already destroyed *sectarian* existence. *The development of socialist sectarian existence and that of the actual labor movement are in inverse relation.* As long as sects are justified (historically) the working class is still too unripe for an independent historical movement. As soon as it attains this ripeness *all sects are essentially reactionary.* Meanwhile, in the history of the International, there was a repetition of that which history everywhere shows: the antiquated seeks to assert and to establish itself again within the newly-won form.

"And the history of the International was a continual struggle of the General Council *against the sects* and the amateur attempts which strove to assert themselves, within the International, against the real movement of the working class. This struggle was conducted against the individual sections in the congresses, but much more so in the private transactions of the General Council.

"As the Proudhonists (Mutualists) in Paris were the co-founders of the Association, they naturally, during the first years, directed the affairs at Paris. In opposition to them there naturally developed collectivist, positivist, etc., groups at Paris.

"In Germany—the Lassalle clique. I myself, during two years, corresponded with the ——— Schweitzer, and have proved irrefutably to him that Lassalle's organization is only the *organization of a sect* and as such is hostile to the organization of the real labor movement striven for by the International. He had his 'reasons' for not comprehending." (Italics ours.)

Lenin's Interpretation

Lenin, who is often quoted in support of a sectarianism in the socialist movement, strongly supports this contention that Marx and Engels cared little for dogma. He says:[4]

"'Our theories are not a dogma, but a guide for action,' Marx and Engels always insisted. They justly ridiculed the learning by heart and mere repetition of 'formulæ' which at best can only serve to indicate general problems whose form is necessarily altered by the concrete economic and political conditions at each period of historical process."

The record, as presented in the foregoing, shows that Marx was neither sectarian nor dogmatic, and in this respect it provides a commentary upon those who presume to act dogmatically in his name. At the same time the record should dissolve the "bogey" that has been created in the minds of many who may have been kept from reading Marx because of the misinterpretations of his would-be disciples. The study of Marx will amply repay the efforts sincerely made.

[3] See *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen, etc.,* pp. 38-9.

[4] Lenin, *Towards Soviets,* p. 8.

The Albany Trial—A Digest[1]

Tuesday, February 3d. Peter W. Collins, employed for many years by the Knights of Columbus to lecture against what he conceived to be socialism, was the first witness. Mr. Collins contended that the Socialist Party advocated violence, that it was opposed to the trade union movement, to marriage and religion, to prove which contentions he introduced a number of articles from the *International Socialist Review.* Mr. Stedman urged that this testimony be stricken out, as the publishers of this journal, Charles H. Kerr and others in control, for a number of years had been out of sympathy with the Socialist Party, and that no connection had been established between the writings quoted and the Socialist Party or the assemblymen.

Samuel A. McElroy, a police inspector, and Lieutenant Arthur E. Ehlers of Brownsville declared that, during a street car strike in Brooklyn, they had heard Assemblyman Solomon shouting, "Pull the scabs off the cars!" (which testimony the assemblyman afterwards contradicted); and that, during a May Day parade, Solomon had suggested that the ordinance against the carrying of red flags was unconsitutional, and wanted the police to test the constitutionality of the anti-red flag ordinance by arresting one of the paraders.

Miss Chivers Testifies

The next witness was Ellen B. Chivers, a stenographer of New York, and member of an anti-socialist league, who declared that, in April or May of 1917, she had attended a street meeting of Assemblyman Solomon on Ninth Street and Sixth Avenue, Brooklyn; that a detachment of about fifteen soldiers at one of the meetings had asked Solomon to lend them his platform for recruiting purposes, and that Solomon replied, "Huh, the gutter is good enough for you. . . . I would not let you wipe your dirty feet on it."

Later in the evening, Miss Chivers continued, a band passed on a trolley car, struck up the Star Spangled Banner, stopped before Solomon's stand, and "Mr. Solomon turned up his coat collar, put on his hat, and pulled it over his eyes, spit on the American flag, and sat down."

On cross-examination, Miss Chivers stated that she had not mentioned the incident to anyone until the week before her testimony; that three policemen had been present at the meeting but had not interfered with Solomon, and that a red flag had been displayed at the meeting alongside of the American flag. In the beginning of her testimony, she stated that she was "going on eighteen years of age"; at the conclusion she swore that, in 1917 [nearly three years before], she was nearly seventeen.

Wednesday, February 4th. In view of the inability of the prosecution to obtain corroboration of the statements of Miss Chivers, Maurice Bloch of the Judiciary Committee moved that the testimony be expunged from the record, but the motion was denied. Walter R. Hart, who admitted his bitter opposition to socialism, testified that he had heard Solomon state that he was a revolutionary socialist. Mr. Stanchfield asked for the production of the New York *Call* of February 10, 1912, claiming that the *Call* had an article therein headlined, "To Hell With the Flag."

Mr. Stanchfield Apologizes

Thursday, February 5th. Mr. Stanchfield apologized for conveying the impression that the *Call* had printed a headline, "To Hell With the Flag." The article referred to, written by Mr. Perin, began with the words, "Respect the Uniform, honor the Flag!" and denounced the use of those in uniform against the working class. The article was objected to on account of its remoteness, but the objection was overruled. Peter W. Collins continued his testimony, claiming, among other things, that 70 per cent. of the members of the Socialist Party were aliens.

The prosecution during the week also introduced evidence to the effect that the former socialist assemblymen had voted against military appropriations.

Friday, February 6th. Senator George F. Thompson, of Niagara, issued an attack on Speaker Sweet, declaring that "the party management of the state . . . apparently has turned its back on the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence, and the principles of Lincoln."

Monday, February 9th. Assemblyman McLaughlin, a Democratic member from the Bronx, moved in the Assembly that the socialist assemblymen be given immunity from questionings regarding their votes or other official acts while in the Assembly, on the ground that the Constitution of New York State provides that "for any speech or debate in either house of the Legislature the members shall not be questioned in any other place." He cited a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, which declared that members of the House of Representatives be accorded such immunity.

Wednesday, February 11th. William W. Pellet, Republican of New York, member of the Judiciary Committee and of the Lusk Committee,

[1] The first month of the trial was summarized in the April issue, pages 304-308, the testimony of Mayor Lunn being one of the concluding features of this summary.

proposed before the Judiciary Committee the dismissal of the charges against the five socialist assemblymen on the ground that insufficient evidence had been introduced. His proposal was denied.

The public was informed that Charles J. Tobin, an Albany attorney representing the Brady water power interests, was treasurer of the committee which was sending press matter regarding the trial to the state papers.

Gilbert E. Roe during the day made an unsuccessful effort to have stricken from the record the major portion of the evidence submitted by the state, on the ground that the state's attorneys had failed to connect the five assemblymen or the Socialist Party with it, and in other instances had failed to differentiate between socialists and communists. He declared that there was nothing in the record, when the immaterial matter was stricken out, "except the Socialist Party platform, which we have known for years, and some more or less intemperate political speeches to which no importance attaches."

Roe on Revolution

In dealing with the right of a people to preach revolution the attorney stated:

"The Declaration of Independence, after stating that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed and that the real function of government is to secure the people in the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, declares: 'Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.'

"Now, the mere fact, sirs, that some people, if they pursue legal means, desire to work fundamental changes in our government—aye, even if they desire to abolish it and substitute some other form of government, in its place laying a foundation as they think best, it is no evidence that they are disloyal to their country and no evidence that they should not have a seat in this body after they have fully talked out and discussed the principles. I am not saying that that is the purpose of the Socialist Party, but I am saying that any party, any citizen—socialist or anyone—has the right to go that far.

"President Wilson in the last issue of his *New Freedom* said on page 244: 'I want you to read a passage from the Virginia Bill of Rights, that immortal document that has been a model for declarations of liberty throughout the rest of the continent.

" 'That all power is vested in, and consequently derived from, the people; that magistrates are their trustees and servants, and at all times amenable to them.

" 'That government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the people, nation, or community; of all the various modes and forms of government, that is the best which is capable of producing the greatest degree of happiness and safety, and is most effectually secured against the danger of maladministration; and that, when any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, inalienable and indefeasible right to reform, alter, or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal.' "

In regard to violence Mr. Roe declared: "I think Lincoln correctly draws the line with regard to violence: 'Violence, in my opinion, only becomes admissible or permissible when the civil processes no longer operate. As long as the citizens of this country can go to the ballot box and elect their representatives and have those ballots counted and have those representatives seated to represent the people in the law-making branch of this state, they have no occasion to resort to violence; but when those functions of government are destroyed what, let me ask you, is there left to a people who are determined to remain free and independent and masters of their own fate?'

"It has been said that the Socialist Party opposed the war. They were entitled, I contend, to their opinion. General Grant in his *Personal Memoirs* (second edition, 1895, pages 82-34) says: 'For myself I was bitterly opposed to the measure [annexation of Texas] and to this day regard the war which resulted as one of the most unjust ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation. It was an instance of a republic following the bad example of European monarchies, in not considering justice in their desire to acquire additional territory. . . . The occupation, separation and annexation [of Texas] were, from the inception of the movement to its final consummation, a conspiracy to acquire territory out of which slave states might be formed for the American union . . . even if the annexation itself could be justified, the manner in which the subsequent war was forced upon Mexico cannot . . . It [Texas] might have been obtained by other means. The Southern rebellion was largely the outgrowth of the Mexican War.'

"Surely it is no evidence of disloyalty or lack of love of one's country if one goes to extremes to fight the possibility of war; or, when war is declared, if one takes the position that it should be terminated by speedy and honorable peace and not by fighting until the last man and the last dollar of the country are used."

"These five young men," he continued, referring to the socialist assemblymen, "have gone through that period campaigning, making speeches, advocating their principles, not dodging what they had to say, and yet with all the vigilance of the government, there has never been a man to rise up and say, 'These men should be arrested.'"

Mr. Roe asked that the Yiddish pamphlets, which, he declared, had not been connected with the Socialist Party, the record of the conviction in the American Socialist Society's case, the Communist Manifesto, the testimony of L. C. A. K. Martens before the Lusk Committee, and the letters from Lenin, as well as the advertisements and letters appearing in the New York *Call* be excluded from the record. The motion of Mr. Roe was denied.

Thursday, February 12th. Following the presentation of the case, the attorneys for the prosecution issued a brief condemning the socialist assemblymen for pledging themselves not to vote appropriate moneys for military and naval purposes, and for promising to take directions from the dues-paying members of their "locals" or executive committees. The brief accused the Socialist Party of being "a revolutionary party, having the single purpose of destroying our institutions and government, which they abhor, and substituting the Russian Soviet government or the proletarian government," and of advocating "mass action" and "the general strike." It intimated that the assemblymen had rendered themselves amenable to the terms of the espionage act, and declared that loyal members of the assembly should exclude these "enemies of the state."

The five assemblymen issued a statement implying that their unseating should be placed at the doors of the traction interests of the state. They declared that they had gone to Albany prepared to fight the traction interests, and claimed that the New York Railways Company admittedly issued securities in 1911 for over nineteen million dollars in excess of the physical value of the properties. They also denounced the Interborough Rapid Transit Company for its financial operations.

During the entire prosecution, the Albany *Knickerbocker Press* printed a full, stenographic report of the trial, thus spreading the accusations against the socialists broadcast throughout the state. The editor of the paper vigorously opposed the action of Speaker Sweet, and also proposed to print the testimony of the defense in full. Pressure, however, was brought upon the publisher of the paper to discharge the editor, and during the entire defense the *Knickerbocker Press* carried each day scarcely a column of press matter concerning the testimony of the socialists as compared with six or seven pages devoted to the charges against them.

Wednesday, February 18, and Thursday, February 19th. Morris Hillquit on the stand contradicts much of the testimony presented by the prosecution. (To be summarized later.)

Friday, February 20th. Otto Branstetter, executive secretary of the Socialist Party, testified regarding the party's mechanism. He declared that "the Socialist Party was perhaps the original Americanization people;" that it had started naturalization schools and appointed naturalization committees in state and local organizations as far back as ten or twelve years ago; and that it had published leaflets on "How to become naturalized" in many different languages and conducted classes in English and Americanization. He asserted that the party did not interfere with unions in calling strikes, but generally aided them by publicity after strikes had been called and that it favored industrial as opposed to craft unionism.

The National Executive Committee consisted of seven members—six American-born, one foreign-born and naturalized. As far as the witness knew, there had never been an alien on the Executive Committee, with the exception of John Spargo, born in England, and but recently naturalized. In 1908, when the party took a census, 71 per cent. of the membership, according to the witness, had been found to be native-born, a large proportion of the remainder being naturalized. "Practically the same proportions exist at the present date." "There has never been a time in the history of the party," the witness continued, "when the English-speaking branches did not have a majority, and usually a very large majority, of the membership."

He stated that in the English-speaking branches practically all the members were American-born, and certainly 99 per cent. of them were citizens. In a number of them, as in the Finnish, Bohemian, and German, 60 per cent. and more of the members in these language branches were naturalized citizens. "It is safe to say that never at any time in the history of the party has the number of non-citizens been even as great as 10 per cent. of the total membership."

Questioned as to the distribution of the members of the party, Secretary Branstetter stated: "Our membership is larger generally in the industrially developed states. In the South it is comparatively small. There is no recognized organization in North Dakota or Florida, on account of recent party controversies. There are organizations in South Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee. The Socialist Party reaches and seeks members and adherents among the better educated and more

intelligent members of the working class. We do not reach and secure the support of what we call the 'slum proletariat,' the downs and outs in the city; the beggars, the vicious criminal red-light elements are not supporters of the Socialist Party.

Mr. Branstetter declared that when he was secretary of the party in Oklahoma, there was a larger proportion of home-owning farmers in the party than of tenants, due to their greater leisure and education. In Oklahoma, with 2.4 per cent. of the population foreign, socialists received 16 per cent. of the vote, while in New York, with 30 per cent. foreign population, the party received from 3 to 4 per cent. of the total. In 1916, seven of the nine states in which socialists obtained more than 10 per cent. of the total vote were west of the Mississippi, and 20 per cent. of the 26 states which gave to socialists 5 per cent. or more of the total were in the West.

No attempt was made, according to the witness, to pass upon the literature of the foreign departments. The party did not control in any substantial way the policy of any socialist periodicals other than the *American Socialist* and the *Eye Opener,* and, as the Executive Committee was located in five states, it could not exert any direct supervision over the articles printed in the latter papers.

Dealing with the alien Mr. Branstetter mentioned 11 states where a few years ago aliens were able to vote for state officers, upon their declaration of intention to become citizens, and six other states where they were privileged to vote before becoming citizens. In Wisconsin socialists supported the repeal of the law which permitted one to vote before becoming a citizen. One of the reasons given for this action was that foreigners who had been in America but a short time usually voted the Republican and Democratic tickets. The witness cited the recent provision in the Socialist Party Constitution requiring that "all applicants to the party promise to apply for citizenship papers within three months." On account of the split in the party the witness testified that the dues-paying membership had dropped from 118,000 in the spring of 1919 to 24,000 in the fall, but had later advanced.

The witness declared that a person belonged to the working class "so long as he draws his principal income, his livelihood, from the sale of his labor power," and "when he begins to draw his income from investments, from the ownership of property which other people have to use, the ownership of the means of production, then he is a member of the capitalist class, even though he may continue personally to superintend or direct his factory or his mill, although he may continue to do useful and necessary work in the conduct of his industry." While the party tolerated a wide latitude in regard to opinion, the witness asserted that it "excluded the advocacy of opposition to political action as a weapon of the working class."

Mr. Julius Gerber, Secretary of the Socialist Party, New York City, testified that from 93 to 95 per cent. of the members of the New York local were citizens, while the percentage of citizenship in New York City in 1915 was about 68 per cent. A member must be in the party for three years in New York County, he stated, before being eligible for membership on the Executive Committee. Mr. Gerber also testified that he had never known of any aliens elected to the local or state executive committee, that certainly there were no alien enemies. The State Executive Committee, he declared, had given instructions to the socialist assemblymen in only one instance, namely when they asked the assemblymen to favor a referendum on the question of prohibition.

Dealing with the workings of the primary law, Mr. Gerber testified that in 1916 a petition was filed in behalf of the candidacy of Assemblyman Cuvillier on the Socialist Party ticket. Mr. Cuvillier, according to the witness, stated that the petitioner was known to him and could be vouched for by him.

Assemblyman Cuvillier. "Mr. Gerber, you are under oath, aren't you?"

A. "I am."

Q. "You said that my name appeared on the primary ballot as a socialist candidate for member of the assembly, didn't you?"

A. "Yes, sir."

Q. "That is all I wanted to know."

Mr. Hillquit. "You have known that."

Assemblyman Cuvillier. "That is all I want to know."

Several others who testified concerning the program and ideals of socialism were Norman Thomas, who declared that socialism was not antagonistic to religion; Algernon Lee, who explained the socialist attitude toward private property, public ownership, etc.; Seymour Stedman, who recited the facts concerning prosecutions against the socialists during the war, and the three socialist assemblymen, August Claessens, Charles Solomon, and Louis Waldman, who dealt with their activities as members of the New York Assembly. A digest of the testimony of these, of Morris Hillquit and of one or two others will be given in a later issue of *The Socialist Review.*

H. W. L.

The Case for Socialism

Morris Hillquit[1]

THE Socialist movement is about 70 to 75 years old in its modern phases. It has produced a literature of hundreds upon hundreds of volumes in all modern languages. The Socialist movement in the United States is almost half a century old. The present party is 20 years old. It has had numerous conventions, national, state, and local. It has adopted hundreds of official proclamations of all kinds. Its press is large. Take, for instance, the *Call* that has been cited here so often. It is a daily. There are 365 editions of it every year. It is in its 13th year of existence. Consequently it has published, roughly, about 4,500 numbers. Each of them contains an average of from four to five editorials or contributed articles. Consequently that paper alone has published about 20,000 different editorials, expressions, and contributed articles. Now, this is only one paper. The Socialist party at all times has had an average of about 100 papers, daily, weekly, monthly, in English and other languages supporting its policies. Imagine how many statements of all kinds have been made.

Millions of Socialists' speeches have been made in this country within the last couple of decades. Now, here is my point. Every indiscreet statement that creeps into our literature, our press, or our public forum, every foolish, irresponsible statement—and such are bound to occur occasionally—are at once seized upon by our professional opponents, the anti-Socialist leagues, the National Civic Federations, and they are immortalized; they are printed, and transmitted from book to book and from paper to paper and then all are collected and turned over ready-made to a Lusk Committee or any other committee that investigates great social problems, and learned counsel on the other side, I make bold to state, has practically every incriminating utterance of any kind ever made by the Socialist party or any of its subdivisions or any of its members or any of its adherents or of anyone who ever calls himself a Socialist. They have it all, and what do they produce before you, twenty, thirty, forty utterances, and they ask you to judge the character of the Socialist party by these. What becomes of the millions, the thousands and hundreds of thousands of other expressions of the Socialist party which are perfectly proper and which are not brought up here?

We Socialists differ somewhat from other political parties in our first, and cardinal, assumption, which is that organized government everywhere has for its primary object and function to secure the physical, mental, moral, and spiritual well-being of its members. We do not consider the government as a mere policeman, sitting there over us and passing upon our daily quarrels. We believe the function of the government is more substantial, more vital; and in that we really do more than endorse, and perhaps extend, the very well-known declaration which the founders of this republic have made popular all over the world, and that is that the object of every government and of every people is to attain and maintain the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. To us, they are not phrases to be recited glibly on the Fourth of July. To us, this declaration is a living truth. What we mean when we assert the right of the people to life is the right of the people actually to live; not merely to breathe, but to have the means of sustaining and maintaining their lives; to have food, to have clothing, to have shelter, to have all the means to sustain modern civilized life.

When we speak of liberty we do not mean merely a condition outside of jail. We mean by it actual political and economic independence; the freedom of men from men; the equal freedom of all in so far as such freedom is compatible with the existence of organized government.

And when we speak of the right to pursuit of happiness we mean the right of every man, woman, and child in this country and every other country to life, to sunshine, to air, to enjoyment, to amusement, to the blessings of civilization; to the products of arts and science. We mean by it the right to enjoy life as fully, as nobly, as the best members of our community are privileged to do. And starting out with these premises we say that neither our government nor any other modern government has at all achieved those fundamental objects or functions for which they have been organized.

Take our own country, the United States, and there we probably have the most striking illustration of this proposition. Here is a great and powerful country, 3,000 miles wide, 3,000 long, blessed with every element of natural wealth. The land is abundant, mostly fertile, it produces products of every clime, practically, and produces them in abundance. We have inexhaustible wealth of metals and minerals and forests; we have coast lines on both sides from one

[1] Excerpts from his speech for the defense, March 3, 1920, before the Judiciary Committee of N. Y. State Assembly, Albany.

end of the country to the other. We have ports, we have waterways, and we have an alert, active, capable population of over 100,000,000, of whom the vast majority is capable, ready and eager to lend a hand in the production of the wealth required for the sustenance of the life of the nation. We have developed the modern processes of wealth production to such an extent that we can produce today ten times, in some cases 100 times, more than our fathers or forefathers could with the same effort, and we have an industrial organization the like of which history has never known.

But our country, our industrial systems, are not organized rationally. In fact, they are not organized at all. It is not the people of the United States, the one hundred million men, women, and children who constitute that people, that own the United States. Why, more than 70 per cent. of the people of the United States owe their ability to walk on the streets of the country, to live in the houses of the country, to special license which is given to them by the landowning class. And the great masses of the American people, as the great masses of the people in every modern country, by submission to this small class of industrial autocrats, work or starve, according to the dictates of that class. If a time arrives when it does not pay the owning class to continue the industries of the country, they are not responsible to anybody for continuing them. They shut their factories, their mines and mills, they throw millions of workers out of employment, cause the direst poverty, because it suits their business ends, and the whole country stands there, impotent, powerless to interfere with this industrial autocracy.

"America is Ours"

Gentlemen, bear in mind once and for all we take the position that America is ours just as much as it is yours; that America is ours just as much as it is that of any other class of persons or individuals in this country. These men here, these five Assemblymen under charges, come here as representatives of many thousands of workingmen who have given probably their youth, probably the greater part of their lives to the enhancement of the wealth and prosperity of this country, who have been instrumental in building up this country, in making it what it is, great and powerful and prosperous, and these men have a right to say today that the wealth which they have helped create be equally or at least equitably distributed and that the workers have a proper share of it. They are not going to quit this country. They propose to stay. They propose to contribute the best that is in them for the advancement, for the benefit, for the betterment of this country and also for the bringing in of a better, juster social system of wealth production and wealth distribution.

The Class Struggle

The condition of the small class owning the country, and a large populous class working for it, has created what we have referred to in the evidence, from time to time, as class struggle, and we have been foolishly charged with fomenting that class struggle. Do you know, gentlemen, we are the only political party that not only is not fomenting class struggles, but tries to eliminate all classes and all class struggles. But the fact of the matter is that, under present conditions, there is nothing but the struggle of classes in the country. It exists between employer and worker everywhere, whether it expresses itself in strikes or walkouts or blacklists or not at all; or whether the personal relations between employer and employe are very bitter, or on the contrary very friendly. The fact of the matter is that the employer, under present conditions, must see to it that he makes proper profits, must see to it that he pays as little in wages as he possibly can, to get as much out of his worker as he possibly can. It is the law of present economics. It would mean economic extinction if he were not to follow it. The worker who has nothing but his labor power must, whether he likes or not, see to it that he gets every dollar of wages he can; that he conserves his energy—his only commodity—as much as possible; and between these two opposing and different interests there is, and must be, a constant conflict.

There is warfare between employer and employe; there is a constant competitive warfare between capitalists of different classes, and within each class separately. And there is the same antagonism between landlord and tenant; there is the same antagonism between producer and consumer. It is not a uniform system operated for the benefit of all the members of the community. It is a system of war and violence, where each is engaged in war against all, and all against each.

Domination by Wealthy Few

The capitalist classes, the most powerful classes, in order to maintain their supremacy, go into politics and see to it that their interests are in the control of the government in all its departments as much as they can. All we have been hearing and saying about political corruption and machinations in this country in the last decade have had their mainspring in this desire of the privileged classes to maintain their privileges against the people; and all the corruption of our schools and of our presses and of our public institutions had their mainspring in the same source.

This is not a mere Socialist contention. No! It is borne out by the naked facts and conditions in this country. Only so far back as 1914 the Industrial Relations Commission, a Commission appointed by the President of the United States, composed of men who may be considered more or less neutrals in the class war, and at any rate not Socialists, speaking of certain industrial communities dominated by corporations, said: "In such communities democratic government does not as a rule exist except in name or form, and as a consequence there now exist within the body of our Republic industrial communities which are virtually principalities, oppressive to those dependent upon them for a livelihood and a menace to the peace and welfare of the nation."

Two million people, says the report in brief, who would make up a city smaller than Chicago, own 20 per cent. more of the nation's wealth than all the other ninety-eight millions of the country. There is at least one individual, one out of the 100,000,000, who owns approximately one billion dollars in wealth. The average wealth of the working people is $400 per head. Hence, this one individual owns as much as two million and one-half workers in the country. And bear in mind, gentlemen, that was the report in 1914, before the war. Since that time conditions have become incomparably worse and the contrast very much greater. In that year there were only seventy-five hundred millionaires in the United States. Today we count about thirty-five thousand.

The Socialist Remedy

The Socialists propose as a remedy for this evil the nationalization of the country's principal industries. They say it is altogether wrong; it is immoral, if you like, to allow such a vital function as feeding the people, maintaining them in health, to be carried on by a group of irresponsible capitalists for their private profit and their aggrandizement without any reference, without any concern for the men, women, and children who have to be fed day after day, and who often die from mal-nutrition. We say it is an absolute wrong to allow the great industry of clothing, of sheltering the people of this country to be carried on by individual capitalists or profiteers for their own private interests and pleasures. It is the duty of every self-respecting, rational people organized in a proper way and on a civilized basis, to take these life-sustaining agencies out of the hands of private individuals, out of the hand of speculation, out of the chaos of competition that rules and ruins at the same time and turn it over to the people to organize it properly, to organize it rationally, scientifically, to organize it with a view of eliminating the waste, to organize it with the view of producing the maximum of wealth and distributing it as equitably as possible among all of the people. This is the program of the Socialist party. It is nothing we have adopted just here or within the last years. It is the program upon which our party was founded many, many years ago. It is the program which has been underlying all of our activities, all of our duties ever since the existence of the Socialist party. And if you want, you may call that a revolutionary program. It is revolutionary and in that sense, we the adherents of that program, we Socialists, are revolutionists. We don't object to this term. We glory in this term. And so long as the end sought to be accomplished by us is commendable, is for the welfare of humanity, we don't care how you label it.

The Ballot vs. Violence

On the question of violence, in connection with the Socialist transformation, or revolution, in our method of propaganda, we have made it perfectly clear that we wish to introduce a radical, economic, and industrial change. A change of this kind cannot be introduced by conspiracy. It cannot be introduced by acts of daring or violence of the minority. Why? Because it means a process primarily of social or economic evolution. If it is a question of an old-time revolution, having for its aim the deposing of one sovereign and electing or appointing another sovereign, or even for that matter, deposing a dynasty and proclaiming a republic, perhaps a few conspirators may undertake the task and get away with it; but to transform the economic basis of our society; to turn over all the principal industries of the country, and to organize the whole working community as a public instrumentality for the operation and management of such industry, how can that conceivably be accomplished by conspiracy or by violence?

Now, of course, there are cases where there is no way except the way of violence for political changes: for instance, monarchies in which there are no parliamentary systems of representation, no ballot boxes to introduce innovations in governmental systems. Say, Russia, under the Czar, even before the days of the Duma. What kind of change could the people of Russia accomplish politically, economically, or otherwise, except by overthrowing the Czar, and they could not vote the Czar out of office because they couldn't vote. They could throw him out only physically. Where there is nothing but a system of repression, violence will change that system.

Let me give you another example. There was our own revolution. What was the situation there? The majority of the people of the colonies wanted certain changes, at first not even independence;

later independence from England. Could they accomplish it peacefully? No. Why not? Because they had no vote. They could not determine their own destiny. They were a subject colony. Their policies and their life were directed from England. Consequently they could only emancipate themselves by a physical act, by simply saying "We shall no longer be your subjects," and walking away and taking the consequence of a war. It was not by political methods because political methods did not exist.

At the same time we cannot be blind to the fact that in actual practice revolutions, changes—fundamental, governmental, and economic changes—have been accompanied by violence. We say that in most cases the violence has come not from the victorious majority but from the defeated minority. In most cases it has been forced upon the majority, I might say practically in all cases, and we have cited a number of cases to you. Now, we say the Socialist Party is not the party of nonresistance and we say further, the hypothesis having been placed to us, that if a majority of the people of this country were to vote for a Socialist change in the form of government and the capitalist minority were to attempt force to prevent them from coming into their lawful inheritance, we would repel or advise repelling such force by force. Did you expect a different answer? Would any American make a different answer? No. And that is all there is to the theory of violence in the Socialist movement. It may well happen that the classes in power in one country or another will refuse to yield the control of the government to the working class even after a legitimate political victory. In that case a violent conflict will necessarily result, as it did under somewhat similar circumstances in 1861; but such spectacular and sanguinary outbreaks which sometimes accompany radical economic and political changes are purely incidental. They do not make the social transformation.

"Mass Action" and General Strike

Mass action or mass petition occurs quite frequently in our phraseology. What we mean by it, gentlemen, is the opposite of what you impute to us. We distinguish between mass action and individual action. Mass action is organized action of the people. Political action is mass action. Organized strikes are mass action. Individual attempts, individual assassinations, individual attacks, individual acts of sabotage are not mass action, and we deprecate them. The mass action we have in view is the legal organized action of large masses in the community.

The general strike is very often used, has been used abroad for the purposes of enforcing parliamentary action or political action, and I can well imagine such concrete instances now. Let me give you this hypothetical instance. A labor party is now being formed, at least in some parts of the country. Suppose the workingmen of any state got together and said, "We want to form a party of our own; we are not satisfied with the way these representatives of the old parties are legislating on labor matters. We want our own representatives to come into legislative bodies and to voice our demands, our aspirations, our sentiments. We want them to speak for us by our mandate, and suppose an election is held and being confronted with all sorts of election frauds of the most brutal manner, they still manage to elect a few of their representatives, and those representatives come to the legislative body and their working constituency is waiting and watching hoping that there at last their own direct representatives will speak for them in the halls of the Legislature, and suppose a big capitalist in the same Legislature thereupon gets up and tells them, "Look here, gentlemen, I don't approve of your program, of your principles, of your platform. Get out of my legislature." I say this would be eminently a case where the workers would be justified in declaring a general strike until such time as their constitutional rights are actually accorded to them.

Freedom of Opinion

It was never intended upon the declaration of war or any other great national emergency that all thoughts of these great people in this great Republic should stop; all democratic institutions should come to an end, and the destiny of 110,000,000 persons should be placed in the hands of one individual, no matter how exalted. We proceeded upon the assumption that it is not only the right, but the duty of every citizen in a democracy like ours at all times, and in connection with all measures, to use his best judgment, and if he honestly, conscientiously thought that a measure enacted was pernicious or against the interest of his country, of his fellowmen, that it was his right and his duty to do all in his power to have it righted, to have it changed, to have it repealed, to have it undone; and we had ample authority in all the precedents in this country for that general theory, that the greater the crisis, the greater the danger of expressing a position, the higher the call of duty to brave that danger. It is the arrant political coward only who supinely submits to what he in good faith considers a crime. In connection with the War of 1812, Mr. Daniel Patten, representative of Virginia, said in 1813:

"It is said that war having been declared, all considerations as to its policy or justice are out of the question, and it is required of us as an

imperious duty, to unite on the measures which may be proposed by them (that is, the Government), for its prosecution, and we are promised a speedy, honorable, and successful issue. Do gentlemen require of us to act against our convictions? Do they ask that we should follow with reluctant step in the career which we believe will end in ruin? Or do they suppose that while on the simplest subject an honest diversity of sentiment exists, in these complicated and all-important ones, our minds are cast in the same mold? Uniformity of action is only desirable when there is uniformity of sentiment, and that we must suppose will only exist where the mind is enchained by the fear which despotic power inspires."

And with reference to the Mexican war, the proposition was stated still more clearly by Mr. Charles H. Hudson, of Massachusetts, who said:

"Has it come to this, Mr. Chairman, that a President can arrogate to himself the war-making power, can trample the Constitution under foot, and wantonly involve the nation in war, and the people must submit to this atrocity and justify him in his course or be branded as traitors to their country? Why, sir, if this doctrine prevails, the more corrupt the administration is, if it has the power or the daring to involve this nation in a war without cause, the greater is its impunity, for the moment it has succeeded in committing that outrage every mouth must be closed and everyone must bow in submission. A doctrine more corrupt was never advanced; a sentiment more dastardly was never advocated in a deliberative assembly. Gentlemen who profess to be peculiar friends of popular rights may advance doctrines of this character and they may be in perfect accordance with their views and feelings and in conformity with their democracy; but I have too much of the spirit which characterized our fathers to submit to dictation from any source whatsoever, whether it be foreign monarch or an American President."

Attitude on the War

The Socialist Party has consistently, emphatically and at all times opposed the war; it has been opposed to the entrance of the United States into the war, and when the United States entered the war it has been in favor of a speedy cessation of hostilities, of a speedy peace. It has still been opposed to the war as such.

The only party that still remained a peace party in American politics was the Socialist party. Knowing these precedents, construing the general spirit of American public rights, as we have stated them, we viewed our entry into the war unbiased, unhampered by any public sentiment. We thought it a great calamity. We knew that at the time we were about to enter the war that about six million human beings had been slaughtered on the battlefields, a greater number than was ever destroyed in any war or the wars of any century, I believe, in the past. We knew that all Europe was in chaos, going to ruin and destruction, and we thought, "What will this entry of the United States in this war mean? It will add to the conflagration; it will subject thousands, hundreds of thousands, and if it continues long enough, millions of our boys to slaughter; make millions of American widows and orphans; destroy our wealth; destroy our industrial life; destroy this nation industrially; destroy it morally; it will breed hatred in our ranks as it has bred hatred in Europe; it will not accomplish anything good, nothing certainly commensurate with the degree of sacrifice required."

We did not believe that human civilization or the human spirit would be advanced by this war. We could see nothing but a colossal carnage brought on by the commercial rivalries of the people in Europe. We could see in it nothing but the greatest blot upon human intelligence and we said, "Here are we, the United States, about four thousand miles away from the seat of this insane carnage, a powerful people, powerful in wealth, powerful in authority, a people that has set out to create a new civilization on this hemisphere, a people that has turned away from the intrigue, from the machinations of the old world. Here is our opportunity; let's stay out while this insane carnage goes on. Let us preserve all our resources, all our strength, in order to render it plentifully to the distracted nations of Europe when the carnage is over and reconstruction and reconciliation and rebuilding is in order."

Now that the war is over and ten millions or more human beings have been directly slaughtered and many more millions killed by the ravages of epidemics, now that all Europe is in mourning, now that the greater part of Europe is starving, succumbing, bringing up a new generation of anæmic, under-nourished weaklings, now that we behold the ruins of our civilization, *we are unable to rebuild the world.*

The Prohibition Analogy

The declaration of war was an act of Congress. The 18th amendment was an act of the sovereign people in the highest type of legislation. What did the Democratic Party say? We are unalterably opposed to prohibition by Federal amendment. We said, We are unalterably opposed to the war which is declared. Did you say anything different except that the Democratic Party felt more strongly on drink, and we felt more strongly on the war? Otherwise, is it not the same philosophy? You believed it to be an un-

reasonable interference with the rights of the states as guaranteed by the constitution. You felt the imposition of the ideas of an active minority against the wishes of the great majority of the American people. That is just what we say. We said the Congress of the United States had been stampeded into the war by the active minority of war agitators, and we are haled before your Bar to answer for it. You declared for a speedy repeal, we declared for a speedy peace.

War Debts

War debts today mount into the billions and billions, requiring annual interest of many billions. Barring the small employers and bondholders, who hold a very small minority of it, the vast bulk of it is in the hands of the very rich. Now, what does that mean, gentlemen? Forget the terms, bonds, interest, and all other legal terms. Take the institution into consideration and it means this: that we have, on account of the war, created a certain class or certain classes all over the world which hold a mortgage upon their fellow men; that every year the workers and the people of every country must produce billions to pay interest on these bonds; that when we are gone, when our children are born and grown up, they will have to work in order to pay the interest on those bonds to the children of those who are happy enough to hold them. We have created a new class. We have created a new form of bondage by these unprecedented loans, and as a measure of self-protection, I say mankind would, in my opinion, and I believe in the opinion of a great many non-Socialist authorities, do well to repudiate them all, except small holdings, and start out afresh.

The International

The Socialist party is not an anti-national party. Socialists recognize the existence of nations and their right to exist as nations, and also the great cultural contributions of nations as nations to the civilization of the world; in fact, the Socialist party has always stood for the right of nations to maintain their own unhampered independence. I think there is not a movement in the world today which was as warm and consistent a friend of the Irish movement for national independence, and has been for Polish independence before the statesmen of Europe and America ever were made to be aware of the existence of such a problem; and the same thing applies to the aspirations of all nationalities to independent national existence, such as Egypt, or India, or any other countries similarly situated. But the fact that we recognize the national existence and national rights does not limit our interest to one nation in each case. We recognize that today a nation is no longer a rounded-out, separate entity. It has become, whether we are aware of it or not, a member of the international community.

Socialism is international, it is true. It is international in the sense, first, that its platform, its program, its ideals and aspirations are substantially the same in every country. It is international inasmuch as it coöperates with similar movements in every other country practically, in joint discussion of any problems, as congresses; occasionally in material support of the Socialist movement if any country is engaged in a particularly important fight. It is international, finally, in the sense that we have a vision of an international federation of free socialist nations, which eventually will come to exist and guarantee the well-being and the national security, the national existence and the peace of all nations.

But, gentlemen, that is not a peculiarity of the Socialist movement. If Socialism is international, so is capitalism, so is banking, so is commerce, so is industry, so is science, so is art, so is all modern life. We exist today as a part of the International Fraternity of men everywhere, and even governmental functions are becoming more and more internationalized.

Analogy of the Catholic Church

Let me remind you that it is not only industrial labor that is international, but also religion and also the church, and that a very notable example of it is the Catholic Church, which is one definite international organization, actually claiming authority—spiritual authority, at any rate—over its members in all countries of the world, and actually having a supreme Pontiff to direct the spiritual policy all over the world. I can think of nothing more impressive to show the danger of this line of attack[1] than a little paragraph in a letter written by my good friend and sturdy opponent, a thorough non-Socialist, a good American citizen, the Reverend John A. Ryan, when he said:

"Possibly my desire to see your personal cause triumph"—meaning this cause before you—"is not altogether unselfish. For I see quite clearly that if the five Socialist representatives are expelled from the New York Assembly on the ground that they belong to and avow loyalty to an organization which the autocratic majority regards as inimical to the best interests of the State, a bigoted majority in a state, say, in Georgia, may use the action as a precedent to keep out of that body regularly elected members who belong to the Catholic Church, for there have been majorities in the Legislature of more than one southern state that have looked upon the Catholic Church

[1] That Socialism was international and therefore un-American.—[EDITOR.]

exactly as Speaker Sweet looks upon the Socialist party."

Soviet Russia

We do not attempt to force a form of government upon the United States which is not suitable to the genius of its people. We do not approve of any attempt to force a form of government upon Russia, which is not suitable to the genius of its people. We sympathize with the Russian workers, the Russian peasants, the Russian Socialists, the Russian Communists in maintaining their Soviet government. Why? Because it is a Soviet government? Oh, no. Because it is a government of their own choosing; because it is a government of the workers and peasants, of the people.

We do not believe in this political nursery tale that it is a form of government forced upon the people of Russia by Lenine and Trotsky, or any other handful of agitators. We believe it is a form of government which has evolved from conditions in Russia, and which the Russian people have adopted instinctively and have adhered to. We believe that if in the 28 months of its existence no counter-revolutionary powers within, no military powers from without, have been able to disrupt it, there must be reason for its existence. We do not believe for one moment that the government which is entirely arbitrary, which is fictitious, which is forced upon a people, will endure under the conditions under which the Russian Soviet government has endured; and we say, therefore, that we believe that is the government which the Russian people have chosen for themselves and under which they are likely to work out their eventual salvation. And because we believe in it and we express our sympathy with it, we are opposed to any external attack upon it.

Conclusion

I cannot see how you can possibly refuse to seat these five men and at the same time comply with that part of the Constitution which specifically prohibits from adding any additional test or qualification for members of this House other than that contained in the Constitution and recited in the oath of office. In order to unseat these men y u will have to reverse yourselves in your unanimous decision in the Decker case, in which you have expressed the position to my mind very soundly, and at any rate very clearly.

And I will say to you in conclusion, throughout all these weary days of testimony, we have been trying to be helpful to the Committee; we have not withheld anything in our possession. We have freely submitted to your Committee; we have answered all questions; we have stated our creed; we have stated our platform; we have stated our methods. We have given you all facilities to arrive at a proper conclusion. Let me be frank with you. If we had been guided only by a question of political advantage, we might have sabotaged this proceeding a little; we might have goaded you a little into a decision against us, for from a political point of view I cannot see anything that would benefit the Socialist party more than an adverse decision. For remember, gentlemen, we are a rival political party. Your political mistakes are our political gain. Your political ruin will be our political upbuilding, and we cannot conceive of a more flagrant political mistake, of a more flagrant political and moral wrong than the unseating of these five men.

I can see clearly in my mind the procession of events which led up to this proceeding, the slight infractions of law in the prosecution of radicals, of dissenters, of so-called disloyalists, who claim to be the real loyalists. First it was a question of overlooking a little detail in the law and getting a conviction where a conviction should not be had under ordinary circumstances. Then it was the imposition of sentences which in ordinary civilized times would be considered atrocious for purely nominal offenses. Then it was a little mob rule, and overlooking it kindly, conveniently. Then it was the rounding up of radicals. Then it was the deportations of radicals. Then it became a mania, and every individual in this country who had any political ambition or any political cause to serve, saw in this great movement an occasion to get in and cover himself with glory, and one by one popular adherents of the type of Ole Hanson, and others, arose and the number of those who envied them their laurels and sought to imitate them was legion.

And then finally, unexpectedly, like a blow, a sudden, stunning blow, came this action of the Speaker of the House in connection with these five Socialists. It was overstepping the limit somewhat. It has caused a reaction somewhat, and to that extent it has done good. But let me say to you, gentlemen, it is absolutely inconceivable that in times of normal, rational conditions, any such proceeding would have been undertaken, and it never has been.

Socialists have been Socialists of the same kind as they are now, all the time, many, many years. They have been elected to various offices and they have been allowed to hold office. These very members, or a majority of them, have been in this House, last year and the year before, after their attitude on the war had been made public and was generally known, after these various manifestoes dated from 1916 had been adopted, after these regulations written in 1919 and 1918 had been published—these men were allowed to occupy their seats. Their seats were never questioned.

Attempts were made on the part of one or another individual to bring about their unseating. It was frowned down and squelched by the very same Speaker of the House. And I say it is only the morbid, political psychology which prevailed in this country a short time ago that made this proceeding possible.

Now, gentlemen, this will pass. We will return to normal conditions. And I say if in the meantime you should unseat these Assemblymen, while these normal conditions will be restored, that stain upon our democracy will never be washed off, never be removed. That precedent once created will work towards the undoing of the entire constitutional, representative system so laboriously built up and upheld in this country.

Book Reviews

Socialism Today

Socialism in Thought and Action. By Harry W. Laidler, Ph.D. 1920. 546 pp. N. Y.: Macmillan.

Mr. Laidler's book ought, I think, to serve a distinctly useful purpose. It will serve the undergraduate as a guide to the problems with which socialism deals; and it will direct his attention to a literature to which insufficient attention is devoted in his university career. As a book it suffers from two distinct faults. In the first place it tries to cover too much ground. No one can write a competent survey of every aspect of socialism in a moderate-sized volume. That, indeed, is a tribute to socialism itself; for it marks its progress to the permeating hold it has now obtained upon every nook and cranny of the body politic. The book attempts, in the second place, a treatment of the most recent events in the socialistic movement at a time when the evidence for anything more than a bare and jejune statement of congressional resolutions is simply not available. No one, for example, can hope from the facts at American disposal competently to estimate the situation in France. The event there depends upon a system of impalpable forces which a few paragraphs can hardly even indicate. Yet this desire to be abreast of the last tremor of opinion has led Mr. Laidler to sacrifice precious pages which could have been more usefully devoted to his main theme.

Yet the book transcends these deficiencies. It shows, even to an outsider, what immense justification there is for a faith in the prospects of socialism. If an analysis were to be made of definitely constructive proposals today before the world it is to socialism that by far the larger part would, if the analyst were honest, be traced in parentage. The economic interpretation of history—at bottom the basic hypothesis of socialism—has proved without exception the most suggestive method of analysis in our time. The technique of social control comes more and more to approximate to the socialist demand. The old individualism is so dead that not even the evasions of its exhausted adherents can bring conviction to themselves. That does not mean that capitalism is moribund. One who studied merely the growth recorded in Mr. Laidler's book would be misled if he felt himself entitled to optimism. Not even the growing possibilities of Russia ought to conceal from us the fact that the possibilities of a capitalist revival are evident on every hand. The attractiveness of guild socialism and such novelties does not displace the hard truth that the engines of the state are still at the disposal of men like Judge Gary. The socialist movement in America has still to face frankly the problem of the news supply. The New York *Call* is admirably courageous; but it does not carry the news, and until it does it can hardly hope to displace agencies like the New York *Times* and the Boston *American* from three or four hundred thousand homes. Fast as national control proceeds, the definition of a status for the worker on public utility enterprises proceeds faster, and in that background the emergence of a genuine industrial feudalism would not be matter for surprise.

I know too little of the work done by the Intercollegiate Socialist Society to have the presumption to offer it advice. But I should judge, as a university teacher, that it could hardly undertake a more useful function than the elaboration of certain arguments in Mr. Laidler's book. The larger part of socialistic literature is, its classics aside, of little use in the present situation. One needs books that will do for modern America what men like Webb and Graham Wallas have done for England. I admire the tenacity which struggles with a monthly review; but I think a series of competent studies would go further and deeper. There is too much uncharted idealism among the youth of America to be left without compass and map.

H. J. LASKI.

Concerning Russia

Lenin: The Man and His Work. By Albert Rhys Williams. N. Y.: Scott & Seltzer. 1919.

The Russian Republic. By Col. Cecil L'Estrange Malone, M. P. N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace & Howe. 1920.

Fighting Without a War. By Ralph Albertson. N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace & Howe. 1920.

Russia is so plainly the greatest drawing card of public interest that one can hardly be surprised that a flood of books, good, bad, and mostly indifferent, should threaten the public with a mental "wash-out." In spite of prolonged Allied censorship and propaganda, this most important topic of the time has at length forced itself into public notice, producing a plethora of "personal investigations," "first-hand sketches," or hastily gathered impressions of the Russian Industrial Republic now so evidently a *fait accompli.*

Albert Williams' book is a composite work. The major portion contains his own impressionistic silhouettes of Lenin's personality, the remaining section including excerpts from Raymond Robins' descriptions and from Arthur Ransome's striking outline of Lenin as "a happy man . . . of joyous temperament." The few last pages are devoted to bitter attacks upon this Russian master-mind by such comrades of anti-Bolshevism as General von Hoffmann, who imposed the Brest-Litovsk treaty on Russia, and John Spargo, who, not having met Lenin as had Williams and Ransome, dubs him "coldly cynical, crassly materialistic, utterly unscrupulous, repudiating moral codes and sanctions as bourgeois sentimentality. . . ." Albert Wililams, on the contrary, like other actual visitors to Petrograd or Moscow, remarks upon Lenin's extreme asceticism; his ability to feel the sufferings and joys of the common people because he himself so carefully endures rations and living conditions closely approximating to theirs; his great self-composure in most critical moments; his practicality of mind and, above all, his tremendous faith in the ultimate soundness and wisdom of the multitude of his people, the Russian peasants and workers. When revolutionary enthusiasts declare their everlasting loyalty to the republic, he calmly asks them what they have done and are going to do—deeds not words being his unwritten motto. When some workers desire Lenin to nationalize their factory, he asks them vital questions on production to test their technical knowledge of the plant. To their reply that they do not know Lenin tells them to go home and work on these matters, and to return to him when they are capable of running their own factory.

The Russian Republic is a longer book, but of far less value to the hasty suburban reader who has to absorb his literature along with his commutation ticket. Colonel Malone, a British aviator and now member of Parliament, writes with unnecessarily irritating detail of his journey to Russia in the fall of 1919. His book badly lacks a careful analysis or chapter arrangement. It consists of a day to day record of train departures, hotel seeking and tea drinking, with only brief interviews and observations sandwiched in like a thin layer of jam between very dry slices of bread. Save to corroborate the previous evidence of Ransome and Isaac Don Levine and the subsequent cables of Lincoln Eyre and Arthur Copping, this book serves little useful purpose for American readers, though it may have aided the British movement against the blockade of Soviet Russia.

Of different quality in every way is the short, intensely interesting account of the Allied military intervention in northern Russia. In *Fighting Without a War,* Ralph Alberston (Y. M. C. A. Secretary throughout the Archangel expedition) attempts to correct the "gross misinformation" regarding that expedition which American and British censorships succeeded so well in producing among the Allied peoples. Albertson remained even after the withdrawal of the "Yanks" in June, 1919, until the last man of the (British) expeditionary force was withdrawn in September, 1919.

It is bitter reading for any self-respecting British or American democrat, a tale of men forced to fight for a cause never explained by their governments, against a people with whom their governments were never officially at war, with little plan or support from their home bases —outnumbered and outmanœuvered though never outfought. Albertson's warm appreciation of Russian hospitality, generosity, and sincerity is in great contrast to the British officers' constant epithet of "swine" applied to the Russian soldiers they were supposed to be commanding. "Handed to England and forgotten" was the feeling among the American soldiers, "men daily facing death for a cause unknown, without patriotic background or personal interest, and under the insistent domination of officers of another nation [Great Britain] who looked down upon them and talked about them discreditably."

Albertson shows vividly how Bolsheviki were "made to order" in Archangel by British militarists and Russian monarchists—not by hunger, as is commonly supposed. Forced conscription of Russian labor followed highly unpopular conscription of Russians for soldiering—both by an alien nation—and then, on the top of all the disaffection so caused, "night after night the firing

squad took out its batches of victims" suspected of sympathy with the Bolsheviki. Finally, the new British army, which had arrived in Archangel with loud sound of trumpets in June, 1919, when the last "Yanks" left, was compelled to beat a hasty and undignified retreat. Yet "neither British labor nor the Bolsheviki drove the British army from north Russia. It was the peasant population of north Russia that did this." The Russian regiments deserted *en bloc* to the Bolsheviks, and the people of north Russia supported their desertion, hating and fearing the Allied military intervention as much as they had originally welcomed it. Albertson writes of prisoners taken and plundered by their Allied captors, of the importation of Chinese to Archangel and their training (in British uniforms) to fight the Bolsheviki; of the wholesale looting of the hospitable Russian villages and towns by Allied troops; of the hysterical execution of one out of every ten men in a Russian regiment because "the men had not mutinied, but *might*, and something had to be done." He tells how the British drove down the Russian ruble to almost no value in north Russia and then proceeded to pay their Russian levies with the money they had thus made worthless; how this and the English propaganda "made Bolos daily," and how finally "suspicion, recrimination, tale bearing, jealousy, hatred of Russian for Russian is the harvest our intervention has left behind it." Albertson describes the growth of bitter contempt and mutual misunderstanding between British and Americans that was so marked a product of this intervention in north Russia—perhaps the gravest result of all the serious errors committed by Allied "statesmen" in the Russian tangle.

This little book of 140 pages, read at a sitting, but unforgettable for many a day, is full of valuable information, all the most vital of which was from his own personal and careful observation. As Ralph Albertson was twice cited by the British and decorated by the (anti-Bolshevik) Russians, this indictment of Allied statesmanship cannot be discounted by easy jibes of pro-German or pro-Bolshevik. His disclosures are mostly new and first-hand, in brief and readable form. His book should be in the hands of all who care for Russia.

W. HARRIS CROOK.

White Democracy!

Darkwater. By W. E. B. Du Bois. N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace and Howe. 1920.

Dr. Du Bois, in his books *The Souls of Black Folk* and *Darkwater* has rendered a unique contribution to English literature. Never before we believe has any writer described in such vivid, intimate fashion the soul life of a circumscribed, persecuted race, and he has done this in English whose beauty wrings praise from his most hostile critics. This second volume of essays, while not always equalling the first in power, has chapters in the writer's noblest style and contains an immediate appeal to the public today. There is an able discussion on the Negro and labor, on the colored soldier and his part in the war, on the Negro in Central Africa with a program for the establishment of an African State, and a notable and refreshing talk on domestic service. The essays are interspersed with story and poem, among them the two magnificent prose poems that appeared many years ago in *The Independent*, the Credo and the Litany of Atlanta—the latter written during the riots, while the writer, who was in Alabama when the trouble broke out, was on his way to his home, not knowing whether he should find his wife and child dead or unharmed. "Sit not longer blind, Lord God," he cries, "deaf to our prayer and dumb to our dumb suffering. Surely thou, too, art not white, O Lord, a pale, bloodless, heartless thing!"

It is in sudden words like this, in swift pictures thrown out to us in the midst of a quiet debate, for no one can debate more quietly when he wishes, that Dr. Du Bois shows his rare genius. In the first chapter, an autobiographical sketch for which we are deeply indebted, he describes his happiness at his success in his work. "I was bursting with the joy of living. I seemed to ride in conquering might. I was captain of my soul and master of fate! I willed to do! It was done. I wished! The wish came true." And then an incident unforgettable for him or us. "I remember once, in Nashville, brushing by accident against a white woman on the street. Politely and eagerly I raised my hat to apologize. That was thirty-five years ago. From that day to this I have never knowingly raised my hat to a southern white woman."

The writer's story of the colored woman and her treatment by the white race is fraught with passionate earnestness. "I shall forgive the white south much in its final judgment day; I shall forgive its slavery, for slavery is a world-old habit; I shall forgive its fighting for a well-lost cause, and for remembering that struggle with tender tears; I shall forgive its so-called 'pride of race,' the passion of its hot blood, and even its

dear, old, laughable strutting and posing; but one thing I shall never forgive, neither in this world nor the world to come: its wanton and continued and persistent insulting of the black womanhood which it sought and seeks to prostitute to its lust. I cannot forget that it is such southern gentlemen into whose hands smug northern hypocrites of today are seeking to place our women's eternal destiny,—men who insist upon withholding from my mother and wife and daughter those signs and appellations of courtesy and respect which elsewhere they withhold only from courtesans."

There are swift but finely drawn sketches throughout the volume of colored men and women who have come to the front despite the handicap of race: Coleridge Taylor, lucky to have been born in England; Harriet Tubman, freer of slaves, entering the slave states again and again at imminent danger of liberty and life; Soujourner Truth. One feels a quickening of the pulse at the tales of courage. To run the race despite handicaps, in the face of persecution, knowing also that no success will bring the longed for, full recognition of manhood: this is the highest heroism.

Darkwater is not merely the story of the Negro. The success of Dr. Du Bois' writing lies in the fact that it describes something universal. Every other persecuted race (and today as never before we learn their number) quickens with tragic memories at his words. Here is the story of the circumscribed Jew, of the Hindu, of the dark peoples whom imperialism holds in subjection. It is the story, too, of the child, who, quite innocent of wrong, is punished for the violation of some convention of which he is ignorant. It is the old story of the undeserved human suffering, doled out by the world's victors who enjoy the cruel display of their power.

"A flood of Negro blood, a strain of French, a bit of Dutch, but, thank God! no Anglo-Saxon," so Du Bois describes his heritage. We bow to his sarcasm as we see the cruel, often ridiculous part the Anglo-Saxon plays in this book. An educated white gentleman becoming livid with anger because a black woman sits in the Pullman car in which he has bought a seat; a white man crying to a little black child who wanders into the wrong waiting-room at the station, searching for its mother: "Here, you damned black——"; and in the background millions of white men and women nodding approval at the system which countenances these things. This is the picture. Is it more cruel or more ridiculous? It is hard to tell, but this we know, it is today the greatest disgrace that the Anglo-Saxon has builded in America. It is a heritage from that slavery that until fifty-three years ago made of the vast majority of our black folk chattels to be bought and sold; and until it is done away with it makes every effort on America's part to establish justice in other countries a cause for cynical laughter among the wise.

MARY WHITE OVINGTON.

The Venal Press

The Brass Check. By Upton Sinclair. Published by the author. Pasadena, Cal. 1920.

In explanation of the title of his latest and most courageous book, Upton Sinclair asserts that "The brass check which serves in the house of ill fame as 'the price of a woman's shame' is both in its moral implications and its social effect precisely and identically the same as the gold and silver coins and pieces of written paper that are found every week in the pay envelopes of those who write and print and distribute capitalist publications." In support of this assertion the author takes "the witness stand in the case of the American public versus journalism." There follows a chronological statement of the newspaper incidents in his own life; incidents crowded with a vivid array of evidence, but arranged without climax or proportion. The episodic beads are too heavy for the chronological chain—and the result is a jumbled series of press reactions on the Gorky mission, the 1907 panic, the Helicon cooperative experiments, suppression of his article "The Condemned Meat Industry," and the Colorado Coal Strike. Marshalled under certain important headings such as (1) News Suppression, (2) News Distortion, (3) News Fabrication or Invention, the narrative would gain in emphasis and coherence.

From the evidence in the case, Sinclair passes to the "causes of things"—to an exposure of the "Empire of Business" in its relation to the profession of journalism, defined by him as "the business and practice of presenting the news of the day in the interest of economic privilege." By ownership of the press, ownership of its owners, advertising subsidies and direct bribery, this "Empire of Business" is revealed as maintaining a "control of news and public opinion more absolute than any other monopoly in any other industry." A few independent men of means or a few independent steel manufacturers are not a menace to the money trust or the steel trust, but "it does destroy the news trust if there is a single independent newspaper to let the cat out of the bag!" Such statements are not new to the reviewer or to the thinking public; nor are all of the facts new; but what *is* new and arresting is the multiplicity of these facts, and the authenticity of the evidence cited in their support.

The Brass Check is rescued from purely destructive criticism by the last section entitled "The Remedy." Sinclair places some confidence in the passage and enforcement of certain laws designed to punish the mendacity of the press; as if the forces so sharply delineated in the foregoing pages would ever permit the enforcement of such laws! The movement toward state or municipal newspapers is likewise encouraged, but his main plea is for "a hand and brain union . . . of all men who write, print, and distribute the news, to take control of their labor," and thereby ensure their papers serving public not private interests. He pleads, moreover, for a weekly journal of truth-telling entitled *The National News*, carrying no advertisements or editorials, "a record of events pure and simple," control to be vested in a board of directors composed of religious, political, and social liberals, and of representatives of large organized groups such as Federations of Labor, Women's Clubs, Catholic and Protestant Societies, etc. In such a solution there are many weak points. Suppose the Empire of Business boycotted *The National News;* would the *News* be able to secure paper from the paper mills or parts of printing presses that became damanged or broken from the machinery manufacturers? And what if a Burleson should refuse second-class privileges?

The effectiveness of the facts in *The Brass Check* for the average reader, not to mention a hostile critic, is seriously marred by the intermittent "bow-wowings" of the writer, the seizing "of the sharp sword of contemporary fact" and the "thrusting it into the vitals of one of these monstrous parasites which are sucking the life-blood of the American people!" Can the author bring to the tragic theme of the prostitution of modern journalism no language but that of the yellow press? The people have been too deeply betrayed by the illusions of language not to demand the facts without the fireworks.

MILDRED CLARK CROOK.

Books Received

The Casual Laborer and other Essays. Carleton H. Parker. N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace and Howe. 1920.

Darkwater. W. E. B. DuBois. N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace and Howe. 1920.

Economic Democracy. C. H. Douglas. Harcourt, Brace and Howe. 1920.

Nationalization of the Mines. Frank Hodges. London: Leonard Parsons. 1920.

The Nonpartisan League. H. E. Gaston. N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace and Howe. 1920.

Parliament and Revolution. J. Ramsay Macdonald. N. Y.: Scott and Seltzer. 1920.

Taxation in the New State. J. A. Hobson. N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace and Howe. 1920.

War Administration of the Railways in U. S. and Great Britain. Frank Dixon and Julius H. Parmelee. (Under Carnegie Endowment for International Peace). N. Y.: Oxford University Press. 1920.

The First Three Issues

December 1919

Francis Ahern, "Australia Will Be There."
W. Harris Crook, "Boston Police Strike."
Arthur Gleason, "Labor the Unready."
Felix Grendon, "Freedom in the Workshop."
Harry W. Laidler, "Present Status of Socialism in U. S. A."
Jacob Margolis, "Crisis in the Steel Industry."
Edwin Markham, "The Peril of Ease."
Chas. P. Steinmetz, "Socialism and Invention."

January 1920

B. N. Langdon-Davies, "When the Devil Was Sick."
Marion Eaton, "South American Notes."
Louis P. Lochner, "Why Mexico?"
Henry Neumann, "American Imperialism."
James Oneal, "The Case for Political Action."
John Nevin Sayre, "American War Prisoners."

February 1920

S. E., "Has Liberalism Failed?" (A series.)
A. B. Gilbert, "In North Dakota."
John Haynes Holmes, "The Committee of 48."
Jessie W. Hughan, "Changing Conceptions of the State."
Isaac A. Hourwich, "The Czar's Police."
Alice Riggs Hunt, "Hungary Under Bela Kun."
Harry W. Laidler, "Guild Socialism."
F. W. Pethick-Lawrence, "Europe's Financial Chaos."
Herbert J. Seligmann, "The Negro in Industry."
Louis Untermeyer, "Lenox Avenue Express."
Emile Vandervelde, "The Belgian Elections."

The I. S. S. June Conference

"Forces Making for Industrial Democracy: Should They Co-operate?"

Each year the Intercollegiate Socialist Society holds a six-day summer conference at which the members of the Society and their friends have the opportunity of combining serious and vital discussion with a joyous comradeship in the out-of-doors. For the mornings and evenings the best possible speakers are obtained to present the subject of each day's program, after which the conference is thrown open to questions and the general exchange of ideas. The afternoons are given over to recreation.

This year the last of June, from Tuesday, June 22d to Monday, June 28th, has been selected for Conference Week. Those who attended last year's conference will be glad to know that the Society has been fortunate in again securing "The Inn-in-the-Hills," Highland on the Hudson (opposite

Poughkeepsie), New York, for conference purposes.

There is a rough-hewn but up-to-date main building, or rustic bungalows on the shore of the lake, to house the guests. There is rambling country all around, with hills to climb, woods and fields to explore, and winding inlets and sun-lit pools to navigate, most of all there is warm friendship, and new knowledge and inspiration to carry back to our work.

This year, with the tremendous growth of the Socialist and Labor movement in Europe, and the birth and development in our own country of many and various groups looking towards the advancement of Industrial Democracy, the one logical question for the conference to consider seems to be that of possible coöperation among radical groups. While several speakers of particular note have thus far been secured for the conference, the program has not as yet been completed, and merely the topics will be here set forth.

Program:

Subject: FORCES MAKING FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY: SHOULD THEY CO-OPERATE?

Tuesday evening, June 22, 8 o'clock, and Wednesday morning, June 23, 10 to 12:30 o'clock.

RUSSIA. Before the consideration of this subject, a brief survey will be given of the significant developments during the last year in the movement leading toward industrial democracy. In dealing with Russia, an attempt will be made to analyze and appraise, as far as possible, the achievements of the Soviet Government during two and a half years, and much authoritative information is assured. Among other questions to be discussed are: To what extent are various groups of radicals in Russia now coöperating with each other? What is the Moscow International?

Wednesday evening, June 23, 8 o'clock.

GERMANY. What is the relative strength of the Majority Social Democrats, the Independent Socialists, and the Spartacans? What is the strength of the Workingmen's Councils' movement? Is the ultimate program of these groups similar? Wherein do their tactics agree? What is their relation to the Russian groups? What were the social achievements of the Ebert government? What were the underlying causes of the Kapp *coup d'état?* What are likely to be the immediate future developments of Socialism in Germany?

Thursday morning, June 24, 10 to 12:30 o'clock.

GREAT BRITAIN. What is the relation between the trade unions, the British Labor party, the Independent Labor Party, and the other Socialist groups? Are the trade unions consciously headed toward industrial democracy? What is their attitude toward the general strike for political purposes? What rôle is the intellectual playing in the British Labor movement? What are the chances for a Labor Government in England, and what would such a government mean? What stand are the British and other Socialist groups in Europe taking in regard to the Second and Third Internationals?

Thursday evening, June 24, 8 o'clock, and Friday morning, June 25, 10 to 12:30 o'clock.

THE OLD AND NEW UNIONISM; CO-OPERATION. To what extent is the labor movement in the United States consciously directed toward a complete change of industrial ownership and control, rather than toward mere betterment of conditions? What are the recent developments toward radicalism within the A. F. of L.? in the Railway Brotherhoods? in the clothing industry? among the miners, the steel workers, etc.? Is the industrial unionist idea gaining headway? What is the status of the I. W. W.? What are the advantages and dangers of the recent remarkable growth of the coöperative idea in the ranks of organized labor? What is the significance of labor education?

Friday evening, June 25, 8 o'clock, and Saturday morning, June 26, 10 to 12:30 o'clock.

RADICALS OF THE RIGHT: NONPARTISAN LEAGUE, THE LABOR PARTY, COMMITTEE OF 48. Are the programs of these movements reformist or revolutionary in character? What are the underlying forces giving birth to these movements? Does their existence divide or strengthen the radical movement in its fight against special privilege?

Saturday evening, June 26, 8 o'clock, and Sunday morning, June 27, 10 to 12:30 o'clock.

SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST GROUPS. What is their present status in the United States? What are their immediate prospects of growth? In what way are they differentiated from each other and from the groups of the Right? Should they welcome or discourage the formation of the groups of the Right? In what respect, if at all, should they adopt new tactics?

Sunday afternoon, June 27, 2:30 o'clock.

SYMPOSIUM: TO WHAT EXTENT IS CO-OPERATION POSSIBLE AND DESIRABLE AMONG THE VARIOUS FORCES AIMING AT A LARGER MEASURE OF INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES? Are the differences between these groups so great as to justify competition on the political field, in the face of the attack of the reactionary forces

in America? If coöperation is possible, what should be its nature? Could a common program be worked out? Is the kind of coöperation evidenced in the British Labor Party applicable to conditions in the United States?

Sunday evening, June 27, 8 o'clock.

Program to be left open temporarily for some particularly timely subject.

Monday, June 28. OUTING.

Further details regarding accommodations, rates, etc., will be gladly furnished to members and friends of the Society who will send names to the I. S. S., Room 931, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

I. S. S. Elections

The new Executive Committee elected by the membership of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society to hold office for the coming year is composed of the following men and women: President: Arthur Gleason; First Vice-President: Evans Clark; Second Vice-President: Jessie Wallace Hughan; Treasurer: James W. Alexander; Secretary: Harry W. Laidler; other members of the Committee: Florence Kelley, Norman Thomas, Roger Baldwin, Vida Scudder, Helen Phelps Stokes, H. W. L. Dana, Albert de Silver, Winthrop D. Lane, Mary R. Sanford, Louise Adams Grout, Alexander Trachtenberg, Charles Zueblin, Caro Lloyd Strobell, Louis Boudin, Darwin J. Meserole, Lewis Gannett, Robert Dunn, Louis Levine, Walter Fuller, William P. Montague.

The officers were elected by the Executive Committee from among their own members at the annual meeting on April 5th.

College Notes

The meetings of the "Social Science Club" of the University of California are being devoted this term to the subject of Russia. Catherine Russell, the secretary, reports that a very successful meeting was held recently with Professor Kann of the Russian Department as the speaker.

A charter was granted to the Boston University chapter at the April meeting of the I. S. S. Executive Committee. The charter members are: Solomon Chiplovitz, Eino H. Freiberg, Ida Rifka Horblitt, Eli Kogos, Max Nayman, Ida Paly, Bessie Shapiro, Sadie Shapiro, Joseph Sweet.

Sixteen members have signed up with the Liberal Club recently organized by Harry Ostrall at Brooklyn Polytechnic.

The C. C. N. Y. "Social Problems Club" now numbers over 400 members. A committee from this organization is planning a "Soirée" to which other college groups in the vicinity of New York will be invited.

The Cornell Chapter has ambitious plans for an "I. S. S. House."

The Contemporary Club of Harvard [illegible] staged an interesting debate between Sco[illegible]ing and Professor Wiener, with Professor [illegible]wain of the Department of Government as [illegible]man. The subject was "Resolved: That C[illegible]ism as an Economic System is Superior to [illegible]ism." Between 500 and 600 students att[illegible]

Another live group at Harvard, the S[illegible] Liberal Club, has arranged an excellent se[illegible]lectures on "An Analysis of the Russian [illegible]ution." Robert Wormser, with the help o[illegible] or two other students, drew up the program, which he raised the money by going to lib[illegible] members of the alumni. Speakers thus far [illegible] been: Baron S. A. Korff, Assistant Governor G[illegible]eral of Finland under the Provisional Gov[illegible]ment of Prince Lvoff and Kerensky, on "The [illegible]tory of the Russian Revolution," and Gre[illegible] Hankin, formerly in the service of the Ke[illegible] government, on "Philosophical Principles of [illegible]shevism." Other speakers scheduled are: Al[illegible]der Zelenko on "The Russian Coöperative [illegible]ment," Professor I. A. Hourwich on "The [illegible]nomic Situation in Russia," Captain William [illegible]ter Pettit on "Russia and the Allies," and Co[illegible] G. Roustam Bek on "Why Allied Interve[illegible] in Russia Failed."

Mr. Samuel Nissenbaum is organizing a cha[illegible] of the I. S. S. at the State Normal Schoo[illegible] Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

The Wisconsin chapter is now the largest [illegible]ated chapter in the country, with close to [illegible] members. Officers for the second semester are [illegible] follows: Johnston G. Craig, president; Colin [illegible] Welles, vice-president; Margaret A. Emmerli[illegible] secretary; P. W. Voltz, treasurer. The Execu[illegible] Committee consists of the following members: [illegible] B. Forsberg, Norman Reiton, Robert Lyons, D[illegible] Berger, and David Weiss.

Recent speakers at the Camaraderies of [illegible] New York Alumni Chapter have been Cap[illegible] W. W. Pettit on "Misinformation Regarding R[illegible]sia," Myran Louise Grant on "French Contine[illegible] Imperialism," Norman Hapgood on "Candida[illegible] and Issues in 1920," Norman Thomas on "[illegible] Religion of Radicalism," and Robert Minor [illegible] "The German Revolution."

The schedule for Harry Laidler's speaking t[illegible] through the Middle West included addresses b[illegible] fore classes and other college groups at the Uni[illegible] versity of Pittsburgh, Ohio Wesleyan University, Ohio State University, University of Illinois, Rockford College, the University of Wisco[illegible] and the University of Michigan; and meeti[illegible] various civic and labor organiza[illegible] burgh, Cincinnati, St. Louis, C[illegible] Cleveland, Buffalo, and R[illegible]