THE SOCIALIST REVIEW

ORGANIZED SABOTAGE

(The Steel Magnates Exposed)

WALTER N. POLAKOV

THE RÔLE OF THE INTELLECTUAL

HENRI BARBUSSE

PASSING OF 2ND INTERNATIONAL

HIRAM K. MODERWELL

THE GERMAN GENERAL STRIKE

SIDNEY WEBB AND BRITISH LABOR

THE TEACHERS' UNION

IMPRISONED BY BOLSHEVIKS

"OUR 'GENE"

CARTOONS BY ART YOUNG

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Contents

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THE SOCIALIST REVIEW

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The Rôle of the Intellectual

Henri Barbusse

"Our first task is the education of the masses," said Rosa Luxemburg at the Congress of the Spartacists—who, nevertheless, resolved upon immediate revolution, despite her and despite Liebknecht. The Bavarian, Levien, said the same thing in the declaration that he tried to make on the eve of his execution, in that night when his every minute was counted. And above the tumult of little voices, the bleeding silence of those supermen repeats their message to us.

The radicals of today are only a vanguard before the immense multitude which is all-powerful and uncertain and which ignorance may render maleficent. Ignorance is a chasm which lurks treacherously in the path of the beauty of the apostles. Liebknecht was killed by the German people.

Doubtless a radical and even permanent change may be brought about by the force of a small minority. Like all things risky, it may succeed. We realize what a formalistic and hateful barrier to progress are the present-day constitutions; we know how the exactions and brute arrogance of the powers-that-be embitter the despair of the people, how the life that is carved out for them drives them to revolt; we are aware that the possessing and directing classes do not fight with arguments, they fight with lies or with weapons; and we know, too, that we all are beset by supreme economic catastrophes. Nevertheless, it is the duty of those who understand not to base their reckoning on these formidable facts, which, after all, are accidents, but despite every obstacle to achieve the revolution in *men's minds*.

If truth is to come true, we must first believe in it; we must rise to it above the prejudices, traditions, and legends with which the oppressors of mankind have enveloped and cemented their oppression, across the blockade of thought which imperial capitalism maintains in every nation; our minds must break themselves of the habit of haziness and sloth; we will even say they must lose their affection for evil.

The Power of Ideas

Most creatures, neither really bad nor really good, know that they suffer and feel vaguely deep down in themselves that society must be badly constructed, but they murmur: "You cannot change anything with words. . . ." On the contrary, we intend

to change everything with words and ideas, just because those who thus believe in the ideal without believing in its power form the majority of living beings and could give it force if they would. If this monstrous state of affairs is to be ended, it must be faced, that is to say, condemned, in the thought of everyone or almost everyone. *If the new order—for the great human misery compels us to call new that which is eternal—is to reign in this chaos, it first must reign in men's minds.*[1] The universal change which must come in human affairs—or else we die—requires a universal comprehension; it requires such a rectification of the common consciousness as to make it admit superbly that in almost all if not all cases our directing principles and social beliefs should be the opposite of what they are. The mission of those who know is to give intelligence to ignorance as others give life to matter, and the truth will enter into the crowd and will fulfil itself.

The Group "Clarté"

There are many intellectuals in the world who have grasped the importance and urgency of their mission. Unfortunately they are so separated that their voices are drowned; isolation lessens the effort of each and the accomplishment of all.

The time has come when all this scattered goodwill should be fused in one will. A few months ago the group "Clarté" was formed, with the organization of the struggle against ignorance as its function.

This group has just said: "In the tragedy of these present days, no one has a right to live apart from public affairs. Each should add his effort to the common effort, by simple honesty of mind and heart, and for his personal interest, and do it with a bold, pure spirit, insatiable and free."

It has announced: "Here is present-day society, with its mechanism and geometric figures; here is what it has done and what it always will do if we let it; here is what it has killed and what it will kill; and this is why it always has done and always will do the same."

It has declared: "There is a doctrine of salvation, which is the clear and simple doctrine of reason and morality. It insists upon eternal truths. It points out the only solid bases of common life. It is in integral opposition to the homogeneous and integral capitalist conception. It seeks out causes and origins, and begins at the beginning. Here are the great impeccable and revolutionary outlines of the true order; and here are its consequences in all lines of human activity. Believe in this belief that it may actually exist!"

To speak only of its essential principle, the work of the group "Clarté" consists of this propaganda, multiplying the idea, maintaining it free from deformation and compromise, independent of events and dominating them so long as the idea has not descended from the clouds to people the earth. It is a positive and hence a calm work of education.

[1] Italics are editor's.

The union of these men is in itself an act. Their alliance has permitted the free spirits to discover that they already are many, and has taught them how rapid and fertile will be their unified propaganda for the brotherhood of all brotherhoods.

But many though they be, these defenders of bleeding humanity against bloody capitalism, they are not yet enough. I know what miracles revolution may achieve, but despite extraordinary things, despite what already has been achieved, despite everything, it is unthinkably absurd that they are not the majority.

A Diary

From the inside track

January 21

Admiral Sims today charged the Navy Department with gross incompetence during the war. To be exact, he made 77 specifications of official incapacity and muddleheadedness.

The Senate promptly appointed an "Investigating Committee" (the 99th committee in this session alone). Hardened onlookers call it the Whitewashing Brigade.

A high official of the "American Admiralty" (as the *New York Times* now calls it), assured me that the Whitewashing Brigade might be trusted to beat all previous records for raising dust, or the Administration would know the reason why. He added that the Senate Committee might debate the 77 specifications in public; but in private the chief subject of inquiry will be: "Who told Admiral Sims 'not to let the British pull the wool over his eyes'?"

I heard another interesting statement. It came from a Senator who said: "Mark my words, they'll *get* Sims, even if they have to let some of the truth out of the bag in order to do it."

January 27

A Secret Service officer (one of Chief Flynn's right-hand men), said nervously to a friend of mine today: "I wish they wouldn't give it that name. The only other ark I ever heard of was Noah's ark. The people in it were the only ones who got off scot free when the Big Downpour came. And the Bible says that after the flood was over the Lord delivered the whole earth into their hands."

January 29

Bureaucrats in Frank Hedley's office have not yet recovered from Mr. McAdoo's candid admission that, while he controlled the Treasury, he knew of any number of war profiteers who made 2,000 per cent. and got away with it. They (the bureaucrats, not the profiteers) feel sorely aggrieved because the Treasury Department did not even tip them off. Consequently, the gross receipts of the Traction Trust for 1919 only reached the sum of one hundred mil-

lion dollars—not within a thousand per cent. of Mr. McAdoo's superlative figure.

As one Interboro director was overheard saying to another in the cloakroom of the Metropolitan Club: "The worst of it is, unless our Public Service Commission gets the legislature to come across with an eight or ten cent fare, we'll have no redress whatever."

February 3

At Albany, while the trial of the five socialist assemblymen was in progress, I sat beside one of the Bureau Chiefs who collected "intelligence" in Paris for Colonel House, intelligence which the President received with the hospitable remark: "I prefer not to hear anything that will break up the mold of my mind."

To return to Albany. A European newspaper correspondent said to the Bureau Chief beside me: "How does the League of Nations make the world safe for democracy?" The Bureau Chief (who became a socialist in Paris) replied: "Only three people have ever known. One is Clemenceau—and he is now politically dead; the second is an English professor who had to arrange Lloyd George's marginal notes on the Fourteen Points—and he is now in a lunatic asylum; the third is President Wilson—and he has forgotten it."

February 12

Still at Albany. I asked the same witty Bureau Chief how Speaker Sweet dared treat a man of Charles E. Hughes's prestige so cavalierly. He replied: "How would Niagara treat a cockleshell? Mr. Hughes represents the decent professional 'independent' element that believes in helping the wage earner *in* his poverty, but not *out* of it. Speaker Sweet represents Big Business, or that section of Big Business whose motto is: 'Self-help, and the devil take the hindmost.' Mr. Hughes's protest is the last gasp of the 'independent.' Therefore, it will have the same effect on the equanimity of Speaker Sweet as tickling the dome of the Capitol would have on the repose of the Capitol's chief janitor and staff."

February 16

Treasonable and seditious assertions by various shades of "Reds" to the effect that the Constitution and other famous charters of American liberties are dead as door nails, have at last stirred the Administration to action. Yesterday, in the presence of a brigade of motion picture men (whose 100% Americanism none dare impugn), Secretary of State Lansing opened the steel safe where the Constitution is kept buried. (Messrs. Selznick, Zukor, Loew, Griffiths, De Mille, and Lasky were among the witnesses.)

To these guardians of Americanism the Secretary exhibited the original Constitution by way of proving that the precious document is not yet defunct. The sight was as welcome to the motion picture men as a corpse is to a coroner.

Mr. Lansing punctuated the historic occasion with a speech on civil liberty. It was a touching speech.

Two of the cinema men wept as he called the Constitution "the Bulwark of our Rights." At this point, a camera man beside me whispered wildly: "But what about the Bulwark of our Lefts?" The excitement had clearly gone to the man's head, and, dreading a scene, I edged away from him. Luckily, nobody else appeared to have heard him.

Meanwhile, a State Department clerk had dug down beneath a pile of Supreme Court decisions, Espionage Acts, Labor Injunctions, etc., and had exhumed the notorious Declaration of Independence. By chance, Mr. Lansing's eye lighted on the vulgar passage which affirms that when a government becomes destructive of the people's life and liberty *"it is their duty to throw off such government."* . At the sight of these offensive words, Mr. Lansing covered his blushes with his toga, and collapsed at the base of Jefferson's statue, which all the while gurgled hoarsely.

PORCUPINE.

Atlas

Viola C. White

Age after age the Titan held,
Through blinding snow and thunder-rack,
Temple and forest, field and mine.
He held the earth upon his back.

Earth's people of importance came;
They peered sagacious o'er the rim
Where through the shadow Atlas loomed,
To see what could be done for him.

One said, "The man should stand erect
And view the stars with lifted head."
"How can he stand erect, when earth
Is on his back?" another said.

"His hours are profitless and long.
He ought to have a book down there,"
One argued. "If he moves his hand
To take a book, can you declare

Where earth will drop?" a fourth replied.
"This is no tale of fays and elves.
If earth drops, gentlemen, we drop,
For we are on the earth ourselves."

They ceased. Portentous on their ears
As a world's death, as a world's birth,
Up the steep dark the Titan spoke:
"And shall I always hold the earth?"

Organized Sabotage

Walter N. Polakov

For several years past, industrial engineers have realized that most industrial establishments are conducted with an amazing degree of inefficiency. Individual experiences with a variety of concerns have led them to the belief that mismanagement, waste, and inefficiency are the general rule rather than the exception. It was not until very recently, however, that this opinion was verified by facts established by a new method of study.

With the fundamental assumption that *industry must produce goods,* the questions now asked are:

1. Is the productive equipment used?
2. Are the natural resources conserved?
3. Is the labor-power wasted?

The answers are obtained from facts easily accessible and are simply represented as *comparisons between what has been done and what should have been done.* The method followed in the first case was to discover the number of machines actually running out of the total number installed; in the second case, to estimate the amount of material actually consumed and to compare it with the amount which would have been sufficient; and, in the third case, to compare the number of hours the men are requested to stay at work with the actual time it takes to do the work.

Profit versus Service

During the famous hearing on freight rates before the Interstate Commerce Commission, industrial engineers testified that at least $1,000,000 a day was wasted by poorly managed railroads—this was borne out by their experiences with the Canadian Pacific and the Santa Fé railroads and served Louis Brandeis as a basis for a generalization as to the average waste. At the hearing by the Federal Trade Commission on the prices of newsprint paper, fundamental principles of sound engineering, cost keeping, and pricing were brought out rather than actual figures of loss and waste. But it was only during the war that a mechanism for collecting and representing data covering the whole industry was devised and used broadly enough to enable those studying the facts to comprehend not only the enormous sacking of human and natural resources, but to visualize clearly the extent of the organized sabotage on the part of the owners of the means of production. The foremost American engineer of world-wide fame, Mr. H. L. Gantt, draws from these data a conclusion that we have come to the parting of the ways:

> "The community needs service first . . . because its life depends upon the service it gets. The business man says profits are more important to him than the service he renders; that the wheels of industry shall not turn, whether the community needs his service or not, unless he can have his measure of profit. He has forgotten that his business system had its foundation in service, and as far as the community is concerned has no reason for existence except the service it can render."

A clash between these aims: *Extortion of profits regardless of service* as opposed to *satisfaction of needs and wants of the community* is the present-day issue. It cannot be solved until society withholds the privilege of running industries for private profit rather than for the common good. To do this *the people must be able to measure the value of the service rendered them by the industry.* In the following remarks I shall show by a specific example how the service of the iron industry is measured.

Failure to Utilize Furnaces

The productive capacity of blast furnaces in the United States is annually estimated and published by the American Iron and Steel Institute, and reported to Judge Gary. From this source of information we learn that, during the last decade, the full productive capacity of furnaces was never utilized. Thus, for example, taking the extreme in-

stances of the year of business depression immediately prior to the war and the last year of war prosperity, the output and capacity compare as follows:

	Productive Capacity	Actual Output
1914	44,405,000	23,332,244 tons
1918	49,269,565	39,054,644 tons

Looking at the subject from a different angle, we may compare not only the possible output with the actual output, but also the number of furnaces active and idle during the same time. This comparison presents the following picture:

	Blast Furnaces Working	Blast Furnaces Idle	Total
1914	164	287	451
1918	360	99	459

The percentages of existing capacity used during each year of the last decade is graphically represented on Chart No. 1.

In this connection two questions arise: (1) What is the reason for not producing iron, *i.e.*, what causes the sabotage of capital; and (2) What does it cost the community to tolerate such a state of affairs, *i. e.*, how much does this idleness cost and who pays for it?

A brief reference to the prevailing average prices of the product and the output is instructive. During the year preceding the crisis of 1908, a ton of pig iron was sold at $20.56, while the crisis brought it down to $15.96. Productivity was correspondingly reduced from 25,781,361 tons in 1907 to 15,936,018 tons in 1908. Similar dependence of output upon the prices at which it was sold remained true before and during the crisis of 1914, as well as during the war time prosperity with slight deviation during 1915, when demand jumped, but old prices kept the average low:

	Price per Ton	Tons Produced
1912.....	$12.93	29,726,937
1913.....	15.08	30,966,152
1914.....	13.42	23,332,244
1915.....	13.21	29,916,213
1916.....	16.96	39,434,797
1917.....	27.29	38,621,216
1918.....	32.50	39,054,644

Capital "on Strike"

It seems, therefore, that capital went on strike whenever prices on the market were not sufficiently attractive. Stated in another way, after years of exorbitant prices the purchasing capacity of people, being fairly exhausted, proved inadequate to purchase needed commodities as formerly even at a reduced price. We need not dwell here on the laws of industrial crises or on the theory of supply and demand. The main point is that, if more money can be obtained through the sale of fewer goods, fewer goods will be produced, quite apart from the actual needs of the people.

This system of producing for profit instead of for use tends to keep idle a large portion of productive machinery and to the utilization of such machinery only when increased output is not likely to reduce prices and diminish profits. We have seen (Chart No. 1) that, on the average, 40 per cent. of blast furnaces were kept idle during the last decade. With due allowance for necessary interruptions resulting from repairs, relinings, etc., at least 25 per cent. of productive capacity was constantly "on strike," producing nothing, offering no employment. As far as loss of production is concerned, this idleness was equivalent to a strike of all workmen in the industry every year for not less than three months!

The Consumer Pays

Now let us see the economic effect of this sabotage of capital. Whenever the production is reduced by a strike of workmen, capital is quick to unload on the consumer the losses incurred through idleness, as may be seen from the increase of prices during the strike of 1919.

	Basic Pig Iron per Ton	Bessemer Billets per Ton
Sept. 27, 1919, quot..	$27.15	$38.50
Dec. 25, 1919, quot..	36.40	48.00
Increase per ton...	$ 9.25	$ 9.50

The loss of ingot production during the recent strike was estimated at 2,500,000 tons (*Iron Age*). At this rate the cost of idle-

ness which the steel companies recovered from the country by raising prices was about $23,750,000.

It is obvious, however, that whatever may be the cause of idleness and loss of production, idle machinery costs something—rent must be paid; interest on investment must be met; depreciation taxes, insurance, watching, administration, and similar expenses continue whether or not anything is produced. Somebody has to pay these charges and the practice in industry today is to distribute all these expenses over the output actually produced. Obviously, under this sort of accounting, the smaller the production, the greater is the overhead expense. If we know how much can be produced each year and what are the total fixed charges, we can determine the charge per ton. Any higher charge is a charge for something that was not produced; in other words, compensation exacted for no service rendered. Thus the consumers were called upon to pay, on the average of last decade, $79,200,000 every year to cover ownership expenses of blast furnaces[1] that did not produce any iron whatsoever. (See Chart No. 1.) Of this amount, we estimate that at least $49,500,000 was entirely avoidable expense. Comparing this figure with that of the steel manufacturers' claim of losses due to strike (which they passed on to the people by raising prices), we can see that the idleness of capital in one department only is twice as costly as the three months' fight which Judge Gary conducted against organized labor!

The penalty that society must pay for tolerating this restriction of output by capital is enormous and the consequences are far-reaching. The fact that as large a portion of productive equipment (capital) as 40 per cent. is continually "on strike" means at one and the same time that:

(a). 40 per cent. of the men are out of employment; or, otherwise stated, that the full number of men might produce the same amount of work in six hours instead of ten.

(b). While idle labor receives no wages, idle capital receives its usual compensation, hence the buying power of the population is reduced at the same time that the surplus capital available for further investments is increased.

(c). That idle capital increases the cost of living by adding to cost the non-productive expenses, thus claiming a reward even for idleness.

(d). That production is determined not by the actual needs of the country, but by the advantages to capital from either increased or restricted production.

Under a régime where production is carried on for consumption, not for speculation and profit, the records of idle equipment will prove a valuable means for determining how much equipment is needed to satisfy the requirement for any commodity. The excess plant should be put to some other useful purpose or the least efficient plants should be discontinued.

II. Waste of Natural Resources

Another question which is of still greater importance than the misuse of equipment is that of the misuse of natural resources. A ton of coal represents two days of a miner's life, not to mention a considerable amount of work of those who make miners' work possible—machinists, railroad men, farmers, and so on all the way along. Every ton of coal wasted in incompetently or recklessly conducted industry is an irretrievable loss of a large amount of human work, of human life needlessly spent without rendering any useful service. Furthermore, fuel lost is not recoverable and at the rate we are squandering our coal resources we are committing a crime against the succeeding generations.

Nearly one-fifth of all the soft coal mined in this country is used in the iron and steel industry and its branches. The total fuel consumption in the manufacture of pig iron is represented in the following table:

[1]Idle overhead expenses per ton of steel are nearly double those on pig iron.

CHART I

Capacity of Blast Furnaces Used in U. S. A.

WORKING PERIOD 11 years PERIOD ENDING Dec. 31 1918

YEAR	% OF CAPACITY USED ON TURN (10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90)	EXPENSE OF IDLENESS				
		TOTAL	UNAVOIDABLE %	UNAVOIDABLE AMOUNT	AVOIDABLE EXPENSE OF %	AVOIDABLE
1908		68800 000	13.3	18800000	35.2	50000000
1909		40650000	18.6	27000000	9.4	13650000
1910		87750000	11.2	17460000	45.3	70300000
1911		33,500,000	12.8	21300000	37.7	62200000
1912		58500000	17.3	30300000	16.1	28200000
1913		101800000	11.5	20350000	44.0	81500000
1914		120 000 000	9.3	17600000	54.3	102,400,000
1915		575000000	18.0	34200000	12.4	23,300,000
1916		81900000	19.2	46100000	6.6	15800000
1917		86300000	19.2	49300000	6.3	16,400,000
1918		62330000	20.0	38000000	1.5	4,330,000
Average		79200000	15.8	29700000	25.0	49500000

Year	Coke Net Tons	Bituminous Coal Net Tons	Anthracite Coal Gr. Tons
1912	37,721,127	47,022	73,794
1913	37,192,287	39,008	107,318
1914	27,070,856	61,815	31,421
1915	33,224,328	104,614	86,216
1916	44,431,805	112,255	64,664
1917	44,493,316	105,253	107,603
1918	45,703,594	105,017	62,803

The remarkable part of these statistics is that the amount of fuel consumed per ton of iron made is gradually increasing, indicating that the operation is growing more wasteful every year, as may be seen from the figures below:

Year	Coke and Bituminous Coal Pounds per Ton Iron Made	Anthracite and Coke Pounds per Ton Iron	Equivalent Heat Consumed BTU Per Ton Iron
1915	2252.0	2644	35,100,000
1916	2285.3	2666	35,900,000
1917	2339.7	2961.0	38,800,000
1918	2375.2	3417.9	50,600,000

This increase of fuel consumption per ton of pig iron made is purely a waste of mismanagement; it amounts to 2,362,968 tons a year over the state of art in 1915, and represents a money value of $9,450,000.00 for coke and bituminous coal alone. Similarly, waste of mixture of coke and anthracite coal over the old practice represents a value of $850,776.00. Again, the losses due to poor practice in power houses of steel and iron plants are not less than $1,150,000.00. The total waste of fuel today, as compared with the record of 1915 is thus *nearly* $12,000,000.00, *which, if saved, would be enough to increase present wages of every worker in the industry by something like* $2,000 *per year!* Yet the preventable waste of fuel even in 1915 was estimated in excess of $15,000,000.00, so that the total waste is not less than $27,000,000.00 per year.

Loss of By-Products

The manufacture of coke is in itself notoriously wasteful. In 1912 only one-quarter of the total amount of coke was produced in ovens which permitted proper utilization of by-products. Even in 1918, when the country was sorely in need of fertilizer, ammonia, benzol, dyes, etc., 54% of coke was made in beehive ovens, which resulted in the throwing away of all of the other valuable ingredients of coal. Moreover, 10% of coal is burned in beehive ovens, while in by-product ovens no coal is lost and only half of its gas is used up in distillation.

This typical example of skimming the cream and throwing the milk away is apparent from the following figures:

One ton of coal produces the following quantities:

	In By-Product Ovens	In Beehive Ovens
Coke	1,440 lbs.	1,200 lbs.
Ammonium sulphate	22 lbs.	lost
Crude benzol	2.5 gls.	lost
Tar	9.0 gls.	lost
Gas	10,000 cu. ft.[3]	wasted

The loss of the by-product of that portion of coke which is made in beehive ovens was considerable:

	A	B	C	D
	Gas in 1,000,000	Ammonia Sulphate	Benzol 1,000,000	Tar 1,000,000
Year	cu. ft.	1,000,000 lbs.	gls.	gls.
1912	225,000	1,000	133	405
1913	235,000	1,030	118	423
1914	163,000	700	81.5	299
1915	192,500	850	96.3	346
1916	248,500	1,090	124	448
1917	232,000	1,030	116	418
1918	213,000	940	106	384

The social value of these wasted by-products may be appreciated if we take into consideration that:

A. Gas wasted, if used in gas engines driving dynamos would generate electric energy.....6,000,000 K. W. H.

B. Ammonia sulphate if used as fertilizer at 115 lbs. per acre would increase the wheat crop by.....45,000,000 bushels or, it may yield ammonia suitable for many purposes, such as refrigeration, etc.

C. Benzol if used as motor fuel would transport freight for...100,000,000 ton-miles or, may be subject to preliminary distillation and yield also per gallon, .5 lb. solvent, .1 lb. naphthaline, some toluol, dyes, drugs, photo developers, etc.

D. Tar if used for road surfacing, roofing, extraction of disinfectant, coal brickett-ing, etc., is of large value for the country.

If we attempt to interpret in terms of dollars these industrial losses, which, under the present economic conditions, the owners think it more profitable to throw away, we find that:

Value of unrecovered by-products:

	1918	1917
Gas at 90c per cu. ft.	$198,000,000	$209,000,000
Ammonia Sulph. at 3c per. lb.	282,000,000	32,700,000
Benzol at 28c per gl..	29,680,000	32,480,000
Tar at 3c per gl.....	11,520,000	12,540,000
	$267,400,000	$286,720,000

This, of course, represents no mean amount of human energy dissipated, made unavailable for any useful purpose. As far as wages are concerned, this amount of money could be put into pay-envelopes instead of being wantonly burned.

A similar illustration may be obtained from consideration of metallic losses in the industry. The domestic consumption of iron ore, both in tons of total use and in tons for every ton of pig-iron made, is as follows:

Year	Consumption of Ore, Briquettes, etc.	Per Ton Iron Made
1915	55,137,000	1.843
1916	73,102,982	1.856
1917	71,121,116	1.847
1918	71,983,356	1.853

Comparing again the last year on record with the 1915 performance, we see that 54 per cent. more ore goes into the preparation of pig iron, which means, other things being equal, that more transportation and handling is needed to produce the same quantity as was hitherto produced.

During recent years the so-called duplicating process gained popularity in steel

[3] 5,000 cu. ft. used in process. Data from Smithsonian Institution.

making because its use made it possible to double the output per man and correspondingly to reduce labor cost and overhead charges. This race for cutting the pay roll is entered at the expense of losing metal. In the straight open-hearth process, metallic losses are about 8 per cent., whereas, in duplexing, the losses in Bessemer converters are nearly 7 per cent., and in subsequent open-hearth treatment about 5 per cent., the total loss being thus 11.65 per cent. In other words, about 4 per cent. of the metal is thrown away in dust, splashes, and shot in slag in order to pay less for labor. This loss in 1918 appears to be 155,000 tons of steel, 465,000 car-miles of freight, 100,000 tons of fuel, etc.

Summing Up the Waste

Summing up the losses of this class we see that it pays under the present régime to waste natural resources at a rate, expressed in dollars, exceeding one-third of a billion per year.

Losses due to:	Amount
Efficiency lowered below past average	$ 27,000,000
Unrecovered by-products	270,000,000
Fuel for beehive ovens	12,000,000
Reheating and poor practice in melting	28,000,000
Metallic losses	7,000,000
In other miscellaneous processes	21,000,000
Total annual loss	$385,000,000

In Chart No. 2, we represent graphically the values and relative magnitude of coke used for metal melting, for coke making and the principal by-products wasted in beehive ovens in the United States during 1918.

Finally, the present location of furnaces in their relation to mines, both iron and coal, as well as relative location of steel mills and furnaces is such as to render another proof that the industry is carried on, not for the purpose of rendering beneficial service to society, but to secure pecuniary advantages from the special privileges.

III. Wasting Human Life

The last question of the misuse of labor-power and the waste of human energy is already answered, in so far as the building of nearly twice as many plants as may be necessary to satisfy existing demand results in the withdrawal of a large amount of human power from useful occupations. This has the inevitable consequence of working productive labor for correspondingly longer hours than would have been necessary if, instead of building idle furnaces, the men had been employed in producing needed commodities. Again, as we have seen, mining and transportation of fuel and ore that are burned away and wasted at a terrifying rate, render the work of over 100,000 men utterly useless for society. Moreover, the losses of such conduct of industry if expressed in monetary units are enormous, but, not being realized, are not available for compensation of labor. Hence, the long hours and low wages are inseparable from this wasteful, incompetent conduct of industry for profit alone.

This fact in turn involves an internal contradiction, in so far as these long hours and low wages are tending further to reduce profits. It has been demonstrated in countless instances, both in steel and other industries, that low wages invariably result in high cost of product and vice versa. Similarly working more than eight or even six hours a day tends to accumulate fatigue at such a rate as to make losses in productive economy materially greater than the cost of an additional crew of workmen. Our diagram, Fig. 3, clearly represents the accumulation of industrial fatigue in an industrial community as measured by the amount of electric power used from the power station for various industrial purposes. The loss of vitality on Friday after four days' gradually increasing fatigue is notorious.

Yet the ignorance of the industrial (in actual fact financial) directorate and of their hired management is amazing. In the midst of the war a Pittsburgh steel mill erected 500 beehive ovens, thus criminally increasing an already enormous waste, at the same time seeing nothing in the way of a better use of human power. Instead of increasing productivity by relieving fatigue, the actual hours of employment were increased as follows:

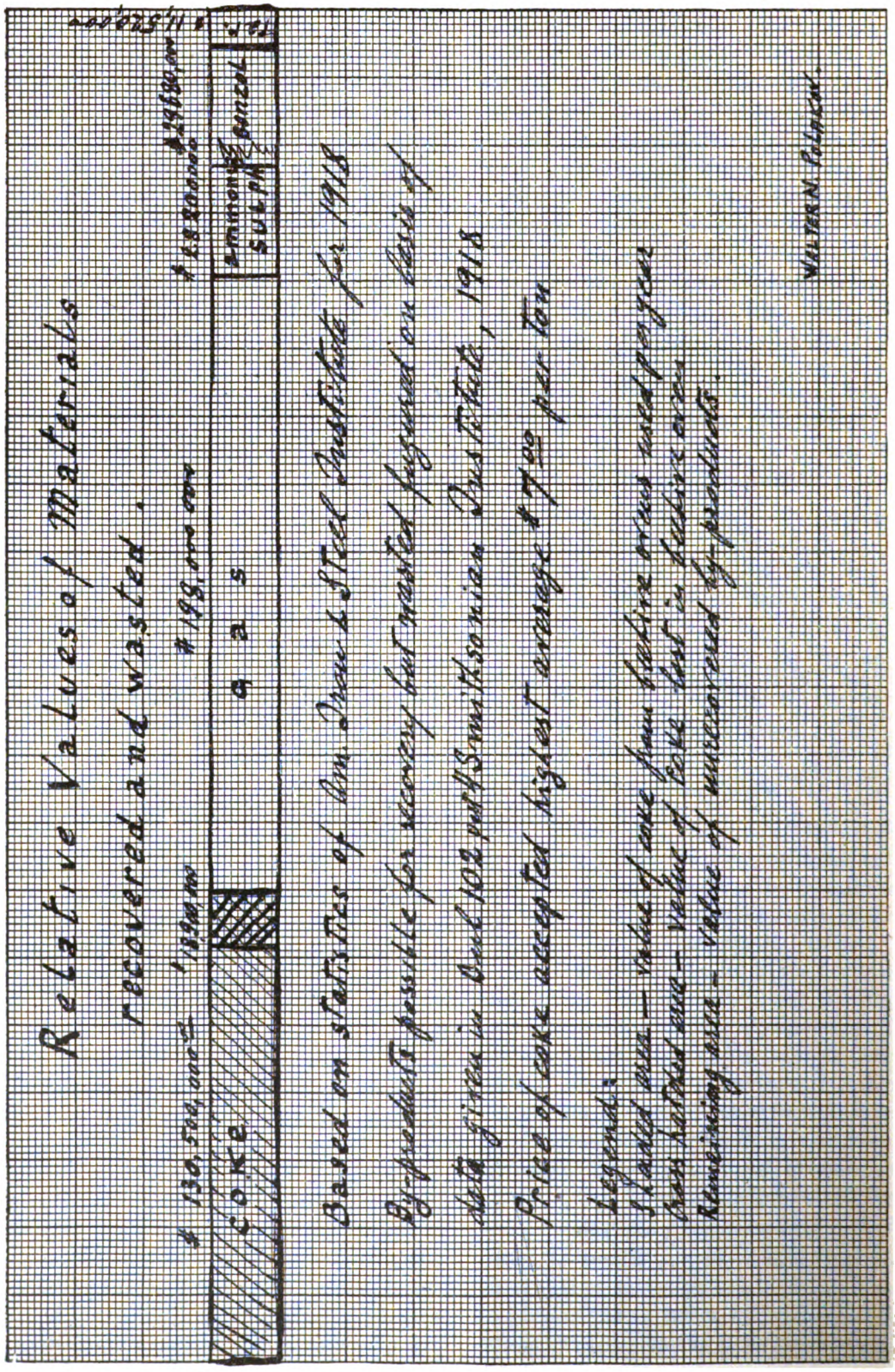


CHART II.—Waste of By-Products

	Average working hours per week	
	in 1914	in 1919
Common labor.....	70 hours	74 hours
Other employees.....	57 hours	66 hours
All classes of employees	66 hours	68.5 hours

The wages at the same time falling behind the increased cost of living as may be seen from the table below:

Year	Dun's Index Number	Half Monthly Wages Paid	Wages Necessary to Correspond With Increased Cost of Living
1917	169.56	$46.39	$46.89
1918	229.34	61.81	62.52
1919 (June)	237.68	63.67	64.80

This means a deficiency in wages of $12,000,000 per year, while increased fuel consumption per ton of iron saved would alone be enough to cover it, and the elimination of beehive ovens would produce enough value to increase the wages by an additional $309,000,000.

It seems, again, that sacrifice of human life, health, and limbs is steadily increasing:

Year	No. of Accident Cases	No. of Killed or Permanently Disabled
1915	13,940	459
1916	21,537	882
1917	58,854	1,791
1918	54,601	1,705

While these losses of resources, of time, of life, etc., are utterly unnecessary, easily avoidable and readily convertible into new values that may serve society and make all of the principal industrial ills unnecessary, the management of industry today sees only one way to approach their aim: higher dividends on invested money—lower wages and longer hours.

It has been determined that the rock bottom minimum cost of mere subsistence (not even "living," but slow death), is $1,575 per workman's family a year, while the average earning of all employees of steel workers was only $1,870. But an average is meaningless if it dumps together foremen and higher paid specialists. One man getting $7,200 a year will leave to 40 families only $4 a day to live on if this average is to be maintained. As the number of skilled men and specialists, together with better paid foremen, etc., receive an average of $2,100 per year—(in itself only a minimum of decent living)—the remaining groups, *i. e.*, one-fourth of all employees, receive only $1,400 per year. This means slow but sure devitalization of our industrial community; a "blockade" within which there is slow starvation, despondency, misery, disease, and degeneration.

The Way Out

The solution of this grave problem, the way out of this vicious condition where waste pays and dollars are more valuable than human life and happiness, is in the direction of competent leadership of industry. It means the substitution in industry of service to society instead of the fleecing of society for the profit of captains of industry. It means the elimination of waste and the conservation of production for the service of humanity, and this aim cannot be realized so long as production is conducted for speculation rather than for use.

Hence the first three steps in this direction should be:

1. Abolition of special privilege to waste human life and natural resources.
2. Inauguration of industrially competent leadership and direction of industry for the benefit of society.
3. Production and distribution of commodities at cost according to actual needs.

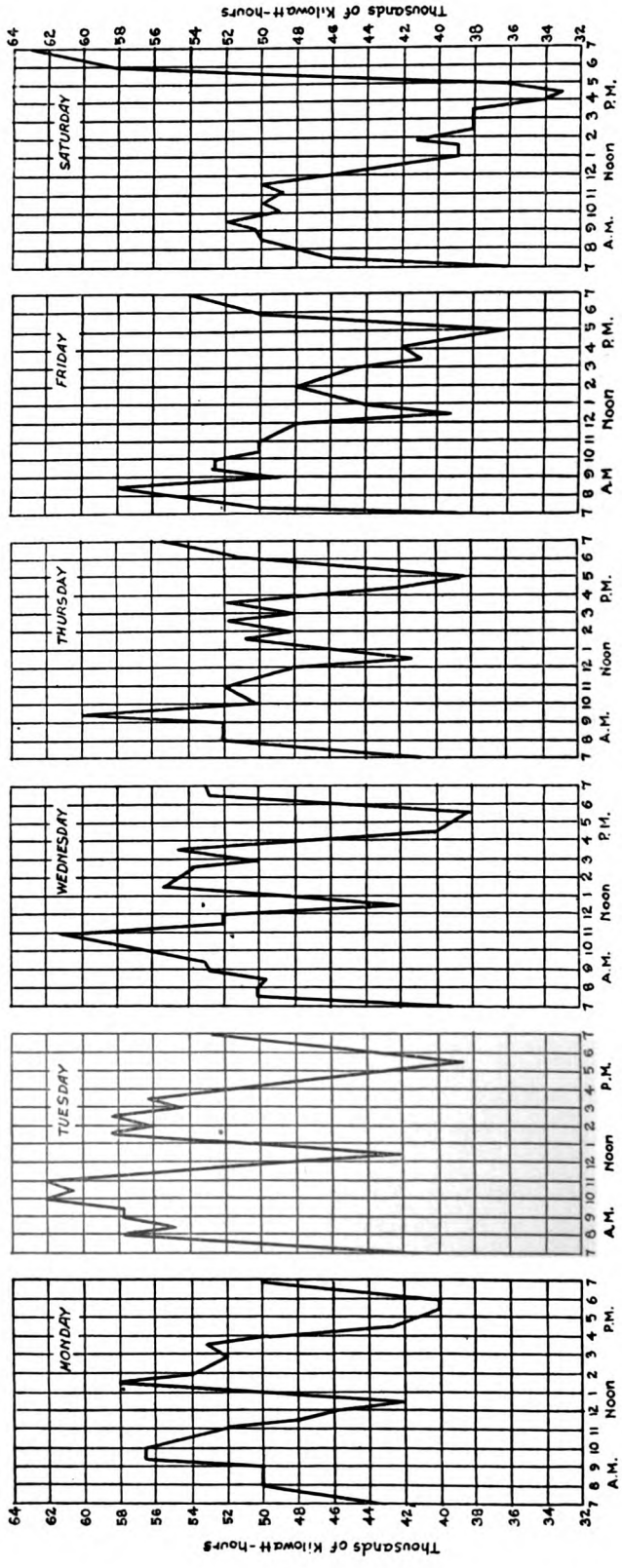
To Our Readers

You have read Walter Polakov's forceful exposure of the Sabotage that Capital in the Steel Industry uses against the Public. You have seen in the immediate past how the same steel magnates refused recognition of the workers' organization, or a healthy reduction in working hours. Many of your friends and acquaintances have told you that the Steel Strike was all a matter of "red" agitators and imported Bolsheviki. Right here you have the data to your hand to show these same doubting Thomases how the present industrial rulers of the Steel Industry have wilfully or

ignorantly thrown away over three hundred million dollars each year, because profit rather than service was their impelling motive.

The Socialist Review is giving you the first-hand facts on industry and politics the world over. Are you content merely to read these yourselves? Have you asked your news agent to carry a supply? Has your public library a copy upon the reading-room table? Does your college include the magazine in its Economics library or its Sociological department? Have your business friends ever heard of it, or read Steinmetz, the inventor, on *Socialism and Invention,* or Felix Grendon on *Freedom in the Workshop?* (December issue.) Does your Woman's Club know that we include among our contributors Henri Barbusse, Arthur Gleason, Henry Neumann, John Nevin Sayre, Vida D. Scudder, and Louis Untermeyer? Does your Local S. P. use to the full the invaluable facts, figures, and arguments which this magazine contains?

"A Socialist *Atlantic Monthly,*" "The best appearing magazine in America," two critics in the publishing business have remarked of the *Socialist Review.* Do *you* believe that? Will you *act* as if you did?



Progressive Effect of Fatigue Showing Decrease of Output During Six Working Days.

CHART III

Mr. O'Malley on the Muscovite Muddle

Frederick F. Rockwell

Over the half-sole he had just finished nailing on a pair of brogans, O'Malley straightened up and breathed a sigh of relief. He slowly took a match from his vest pocket, and by a series of energetic puffs succeeded in lighting the residue of tobacco left in his charred black briar pipe; then he thoughtfully adjusted his steel-rimmed specs.

"I see be the ten o'clock Edition iv tonight's *Buzzard*—which I bought on me way home to supper at five-thirty—that Mr. Lenin is again totterin' to his fall. This time 'tis final. Th' paper says so. And on th' best iv authority.

"I'm glad iv that, Donnegan. I'm relaved that 'tis over. 'Twas gettin' on me nerves. 'Tis terrible to have a poor, wake, deminted man like himself, without th' power to see straight ten feet ahead, threaten th' existence iv all th' governments on earth!

"I can't understhand, Donnegan, why it sh'u'd take him so long to fall—unless, when they done away with all th' old laws in Roosia, they included th' law iv *gravity*. He's been fallin' so long now, that he must have stharted fr'm th' top iv th' Woolworth Building,—or whativer is th' tallest skyscraper in Moscow. Or maybe th' Bolsheviki have captured th' former Court Magician, an' 'tis his job, at th' points iv th' bayonets iv th' R-red Guar-rd, to keep Lenin suspinded in mid-air, like that lady we seen in th' thea-ter th' other night.

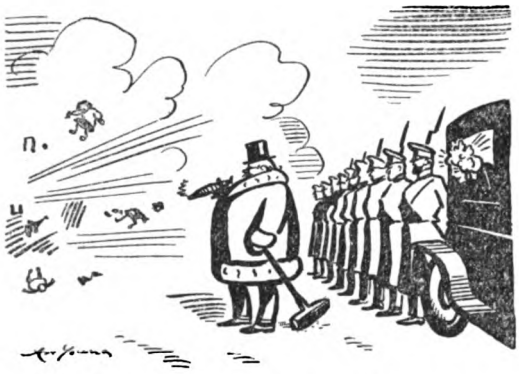
"This man Lenin I can't make out at all, at all. He is more iv a mystery than Col. House! In wan rayport, substantiated be such unprejudiced observers as the former noblemen an' bankers who left Petrograd months before Lenin got there, he is a bloodthirsty tyrant. His actions, accordin' to these people, make Attila turn over in his grave twice every day, with chagrin an' envy at his own modesty, clemency, and justice, compared with Lenin's. If ye can thrust these rayports Lenin starts his day with three tall steins iv 'arf-and-'arf,—blood and vodka. Then, to the barbaric music iv Samovars playin' on their Ukerines, surrounded be his pick iv th' communized daughters iv the former aristocracy, he has brought before him a picked list iv capitalists, bankers, princes, jukes, business men, and priests, from the raids of th' day before. After applyin' th' thumbscrews, to get what information he can out iv them, he has them beheaded, on a large piece iv linoleum at th' far end iv th' dining-room, while his breakfast is bein' served. Th' executions bein' made be a beautiful young girl who has been appointed especially f'r this work.

"Then, during the mornin', fr'm 10:30 to 12:30, he receives the rayports of his agents

Lenin's Morning "Kill"

who are out overthrowin' th' governmints all over th' world. In th' afternoon he dhrives out, with his latest favorite from th' Royal Ballet, to supervise th' day's blowing-ups of factories, schools, libraries, police stations, an' such other remnants of civilization as are still to be found in this desolated domain. And in th' evenin' he goes over th' lists iv prisoners captured and killed be th' R-red Ar-rmy, an' addresses three or four meetings iv his misguided followers.

" 'Tis a simple, clear, an' convincing picture, Donnegan. But,—th' next account ye pick up, be some eye-witness who has travelled into th' heart iv Soviet Roosia, all th' way, as far as Paris, will give ye a very different impression. Accordin' to this account, ye will find Lenin a long, lean, an' icy-blooded Professor iv Political Economy, usin' an entire sufferin' nation iv a hundred million inhabitants to thry his laboratory experiments with. To this heartless man iv brains, both friends an' foes, an' the sufferin' or death or joy iv hundreds iv thousands, ar-re only like so many kinds iv chemicals to the chemist.



Lenin Blows Up a School-house

" 'Let us take this big factory!' says he, 'and give it to men who have been wor-rkin' in it. And then see what happens. An' in this community we'll make all th' women th' common property iv all th' men, an' see if th' divorce rate is increased or decreased.' 'This section here,' he says, 'we'll cut off from all food supplies f'r six months, an' see what th' effect is on the percentage iv inhabitants sufferin' from th' gout,' he says. An' so on all along th' line. But th' funny thing to me, Tim, is how he gets th' people to thry all these experimints for him. Ye'd think they'd get tired of it after a while.

"An' accordin' to still another rayport, ye see him described as th' world's greatest slave-master, organizin' the whole iv Roosia into one great machine, applying the Taylor system iv industrial efficiency to everything fr'm how to open a can iv caviar, or cuttin' th' whiskers fr'm a returned exile fr'm Siberia, to building steam engines or makin' shells. A mad industhrial engineer, dhriving the workers to projuce more than they ever did before, an' thus pile up a big surplus iv products to trade off to th' rest iv th' wor-rld.

"So, Donnegan, ye can take ye'er choice. F'r my part, I don't know what to think. But as I said before, I'm glad that this man iv mystery is now about to fall. Then, perhaps, we'll learn the truth."

"I thought," interposed Donnegan, "that he fell long ago. Who was it wan th' race?"

"What race?" asked O'Malley.

"Why, the last time we was discussin' th' subject," returned Donnegan, "ye told me 'twas but a matter iv hours before th' anti-Bolshevik throops would take Petrograd, an' march on to Moscow. Ye had a bet iv $50, ye said, with Postmaster Kelley, on th' race between Coal-shakh, Denningen, an' You-done-itch, to see which one wud get to Petrograd first. Ye was bettin' on Coal-shakh, if I raymimber rightly."

"So I did, Tim, so I did," commented O'Malley. "An' I won me bet. But Kelley —may his soul rest in peace—in the very hottest seat they hav down below!—Kelley rayfuses to pay it. On a mere technicality. I showed him th' official rayport, statin' that Kolchak had reached Petrograd. But Kelley says, 'Y'er bet was that he'd *get* there. He didn't. He was *took* there!' Ye can always thrust a politican, Tim, to find some way iv gettin' under cover. A politician can crawl in an' hide fr'm sight, where a bed-bug wud die iv exposure!"

"But evidently, Donnegan, ye havn't been readin' th' papers lately. It has now been discovered that them military campaigns iv Generals Kolchack, and Czecho-Slovak, and Denikin an' Who-done-which, *was all a part iv th' vile and underhand propaganda iv Lenin and Trotsky.* Being too lazy an' inefficient to projuce their own guns, shells, tanks, canned goods, soup kitchens, trucks, typewriters, an' ither munition iv war, they had their paid secret agents in England,

France, and the U. S. see to it that these governmints sint all these supplies to Kolchack, and Denikin, be the ship load. *An' thin they took them away fr'm thim!*—without givin' so much as an I-O-U! 'Tis wan of the most damable outrages ever perpetrated against th' thrustin' good will iv a lot iv civilized peoples. But th' secret service finally got on to it, an' it has been put a sthop to. Hereafter th' dirty devils will have to make their own shot an' shells, or accept the Peace the Allies have been so anxious to give them.

"But that is not all, Donnegan. Be moch the same underhand means, *Lenin has had th' whole iv Soviet Roosia blockaded,* so that he cud have a plausable excuse to give to th' poor dupes that ar're held under his iron heel. Whin his people cry f'r bread, he can thrust wan hand into th' bosum iv his Prince Albert an' say—'Comrades! 'Tis th' enemies iv Free Roosia—they have placed a wall around us, to starve us out!'

"But that game, too, Donnegan, th' Allies have at last seen thru; an' th' blockade wall that has been keepin' Lenin an' Trotsky in power, will be torn down—and with th' fall of th' blockade, will fall Lenin an' his bloody reign iv Terror.

"F'r wanst these poor, misguided workers an' pheasants can see how they have been misled; wanst th' light iv the outside wor-rld can penetrate that vast counthry that has been kept in darkness under th' red robe of Bolshevism, 'twill be all day with Mr. Lenin and Mr. Trotsky. I tell ye, Donnegan, ye have little idea what conditions have been in Darkest Roosia. Th' civil liberties iv free citizens have been denied them; th' people have gone hungry in th' sthreets; an' th' whole financial structure iv the counthry is on the verge iv collapse."

"Ye'd hardly think," added Donnegan, "that any people wud sthand f'r it."

"Ye wud not," returned O'Malley; "an' afther they have a chanst to see outside iv their own benighted counthry, they will not."

"An' now, Donnegan, if ye don't mind takin' yer number tens down off th' top iv th' stove, I'll be closin' th' shop, f'r I am goin' out."

"Where to, Shaemus?" asked his friend.

"Well, Timm, I hadn't quite fully decided. There's a meeting in th' Public School on 'The Burial iv Representative Governmint in America'; at the Chamber iv Commerce there's a lecture be Frank Bilterbank on 'Can England and France Escape Financial Collapse,' and around at the church, Father Hogan is goin' to make a plea f'r help f'r th' starving mothers an' children in Poland an' Hungary!"

The Failure of Liberalism

S. E.

In the February REVIEW I attempted to demonstrate an intellectualist bias in liberal thought on political questions, criticising particularly the liberal assumption that conflicting interests can be reconciled through broad ideals of justice arrived at by discussion.

It might be instructive to seek an explanation of this fallacy, for assuredly a belief held by so many able thinkers must be explained before we can fully understand it, and understanding it, presume to reject it. The explanation is to be found, I venture to think, in the tendency to overemphasize the value of the functions which we happen personally to represent. Just as Mr. Baker, to the pained surprise of his friends, has turned militarist, probably because of his absorption in military functions; and just as physicists and chemists are apt to explain the world in physico-chemical terms, and theologians in spiritual or religious terms; so the liberal thinker, approaching political questions as a detached critic, and being a good deal of an idealist to begin with, explains political life in intellectualist and

idealist terms. Becoming absorbed in theories and hypotheses, ideas and ideals, he comes to regard them, perhaps without realizing it, as of the very essence of reality, while the instincts, habits, sentiments, traditions, and interests which constitute the will-side of human nature are relegated to second place; thereby he fails to see how refractory these latter are, as compared with the former, to any sort of unification. That many serious thinkers on political questions are not liberals does not invalidate such an explanation of the liberal bias: these exceptions may be regarded as encouraging illustrations of the fact that thinkers sometimes take a detached view of the thought processes themselves, and assign to them their true function and value.

Majority vs. Minority Leadership

The second assumption of liberalism which we have to examine is the proposition that a majority of citizens are capable of forming sound conclusions in regard to political questions. While this assumption is related, in the liberal system, to that already criticized, it is not necessarily dependent thereon; and being an assumption of the highest importance, whether we accept or reject it, it deserves consideration on its own account and quite apart from any system which includes or excludes it. The assumption holds that, *whatever* the premises of political thought, the average citizen can arrive at conclusions concordant therewith.

This assumption, like the first, has already been destructively criticised by a number of writers, and I need do no more than refer to their work. That the average man does not and indeed cannot, under present conditions of miseducation, arrive at sound conclusions in regard to political questions, the writings of Graham Wallas, Sumner, Ross, and other students of politics have proved to all who care to hear and understand. I claimed in my previous paper that instincts, habits, traditions, interests, etc., provided the premises of political thought. But even so, the political opinions of the average man are not, as a general rule, concordant therewith. Reiterations of opinions in the newspaper, the persistent characterization of radical views as "un-American," "pro-German," "bolshevist"; specious claims embodied in party phrases and catchwords repeated over and over again are far more potent in determining the political attitudes of the average man than is the real evidence for and against the opinions in question. To use Graham Wallas's terms, alogical processes are far more potent in the world of politics than are the logical processes which alone can lead to sound conclusions.

Probably under the most enlightened system of education possible of attainment only a small proportion of people would be qualified to deal scientifically with the complex questions of modern politics. Consider the vapidity of much of what passes for thought in our colleges and universities. The hold of tradition and of crowd psychology is only a little less strong there than with the "man in the street." Add to this the fact that the class in power can limit the power of thought in all sorts of ways, and we shall begin to realize how small a rôle real thought plays in determining the political attitudes of the mass of people. Another item must be added. The working class have but little chance of developing any capacity for critical thought on political questions, and but little leisure for employing whatever trained capacity they may have; and they are precisely the class whose interests depend for their satisfaction on such a training and use of intellectual powers. Real thought leads to revolutionary consequences; the goal of the working class is a revolutionary goal; and the goal can be conceived and accepted as such only through a critical study of the present order. Contrariwise, those having the opportunity for education and the leisure to make use of it will often be biased by their interests or by their associations with the class in power. They are apt to be either apologists for the *status quo* or friendly critics who serve it even better.

We may seem to be proving too much. If interests rather than ideals furnish the premises of political thinking, but political opinions are nevertheless rarely in accord with these premises, where do we come out? Is there more to be said for the interests-philosophy than for the liberal philosophy to which we have opposed it? Will not the class in power be mistaken about its own interests, often, and unwittingly espouse the cause of the class subject to it?

This latter result will not follow, because the aversion to change is instinctive in human nature and overcome by few only, and the interest of the ruling class lies in the preservation of the *status quo*. This and the other factors we have mentioned will operate, however, to deter a large proportion of those who belong to the subject class from ever identifying themselves with it. The result will be that only a proportion of the subject class will discover and fully realize their membership therein; only a proportion, therefore, can be depended on to do battle for the liberation of the class as a whole. Even in their case it will not be logical thought processes that lead them to combine against the ruling class, but rather the severity of the struggle for existence, combined probably with less aversion to change as such and a greater capacity of realizing the necessity of radical change of some sort than is the case with their more refractory fellows. That there is a lot of thinking among this group no one will deny, but it is notorious that most of the intellectual leadership comes from outside the group itself. How great a proportion of the subject class will become identified with their class obviously depends on a number of conditions—among others, on the skill and vigor with which the ruling class will combat the appeals of radical leaders, and also on the pressure of want from which the subject class suffers. The class will probably be in the minority, and a small minority at that, even in the countries where the industrial system based on the class relationship has gone farthest in its development.

These conclusions, if sound, carry most important implications for vital issues between different schools of socialist thought.

Social Justice as Motivating Force

The third assumption of political liberalism which we have to criticise holds that the political opinions of the average man are normally determined by considerations of social justice and expediency. This assumption has already been criticised, by implication, in our discussion of the intellectualist bias of liberalism; and it has been criticised often and destructively by many other writers, so that we do not need to give much space to it here. A few observations may, however, be in order. We shall not insist again on the point that political action is very largely determined by interests, traditions, reiteration of opinion, etc. The point to be made here is that *to the extent and only to the extent to which men reason correctly on political questions* will their political opinions be consonant with their interests. This is the theory of economic determinism purged of rationalistic fallacies. So qualified, the theory has a sweep so wide as to rank as a philosophical principle of the first order. It formulates the vital truth that man is dependent for the satisfaction of *any* of his desires on the environment—first on the physical environment, and then on the economic relationships which give him his connection with, his measure of control over, that environment. So interpreted, men are bound to be motivated very largely by their economic interests. When they are not, it is because the measure of economic goods requisite to the satisfaction of their interests has been secured. Only a small number of people in the world have ever been so fortunate.

Group Interests

Another point which is, I think, of capital importance needs to be made. For the mass of men at the present time *their own* particular interests are the only part of the social problem which can be comprehended with any approach to clarity. There is not the imagination, the intellectual ability, the political training which fit men for under-

standing the interests of other groups than their own. Farmers will think in terms of high prices for farm products and low-priced consumers' goods; industrial workingmen will think in terms of high wages, shorter hours, better working conditions, and, latterly, democratic control. But the farmer is not going to understand the workingman's problem, or the workingman his. Not understanding, it is easy to make them distrust each other, and that is just what is done, and done methodically. In discussing the Plumb plan with a New England farmer, I found him violently opposed to it and to the beggarly unions which had the gall to propose it. Now, the explanation of this farmer's attitude undoubtedly was that he read, and his opinions were largely supplied by a local newspaper which always took its cue from big business, whereas he ought to support the Plumb plan and to recognize the workingmen on the railroads as a genus in the same class with himself. That is typical of what is happening all the time. This inevitable misunderstanding between groups having different problems but interests which are really harmonious makes certain sorts of action for the furtherance of their joint interests impracticable, and almost necessarily prescribes other sorts of action. Despite some indications to the contrary, industrial labor in this country, for example, will probably have to work out its own salvation, unaided by other groups; and the same could be said of the farmer group, except that political instruments are perhaps more available to the latter than to the former.

The doctrine that ideals of justice determine the average man's political attitude does not merit serious consideration. For the average man believes that justice is on the side of *his* interests. The sentiment of justice is thus a derivative of interests, and does not determine the latter. Justice rules in the sense that when we believe injustice to have been visited upon us, we are generally moved to do something about it. If we want to speak in terms such as these, we should have to say that injustice and not justice is the moving force in politics. And the battle for justice is fought for the most part by those believing themselves to suffer injustice. If the passion for ideal justice has any efficacy it is in giving guidance to those thought to suffer injustice. But to speak in less deceptive terms, the sense of injustice is aroused by any injury, real or fancied, to our interests. The really oppressed have no monopoly of this sentiment; I dare say that Mr. Gary feels it as often and as keenly as any workman in his mills.

The Russian Coöperatives

Isaac J. Sherman

The Russian branch of the world coöperative movement began its life in 1865, and, after a dramatic history marked by systematic persecution and hostile interference on the part of the organized political power and by strenuous efforts, heroism, idealism, and tenacity on the part of its adherents, it became the most prominent factor in Russian economic life. The Russian coöperatives are a purely economic organization of consumers and producers, and embrace representatives of all political factions of Russia.

Without mixing in party politics, coöperators are in sympathy with any government which gives them political and economic freedom and are opposed to any government which tries to interfere with their activities for any reason whatever. The moment coöperation gives up the struggle for its independence and permits the attempt of the organized political power to transform the free coöperatives into bureaucratic organs of a state organization it will cease to exist and lose its right to exist.

Russian coöperators can only use economic weapons. If oppressed they merely show their resentment and voice their protest, put up a passive resistance, try to prove the fu-

tility and foolishness of such oppression, and arouse the population in support of their struggle.

In this connection it must be mentioned that, from time to time, large coöperative unions have rejected the idea of political neutrality. Thus, in Soviet Russia the Labor Coöperative Societies separated themselves from the general movement, "recognized" the Soviet government, and became a kind of state organization attached to the Supreme Economic Council. At about the same time in the opposite camp in anti-Bolshevik Siberia two large coöperative producers' organizations also abandoned the safe ground of political neutrality, "recognized" the Kolchak government, and participated in the political life of Siberia. These exceptions only emphasize the rule. The Russian coöperatives, as a responsible people's organization, felt very keenly that it was their sacred duty to concentrate all their energies toward sustaining the life of the population which went through indescribable trials.

Survival of Movement

In Soviet Russia, in Southern Russia, in Siberia, in the northern region, everywhere the coöperatives, despite the disintegrating struggle, established all the central organs which were deemed necessary to coördinate the coöperative activities of that particular territory. The financial centre of Russian coöperation, the Moscow Narodny Bank, offered a striking instance of such adaptability; the numerous branches in Russia and in foreign countries being cut off from their head office in Moscow continued their usual activities just the same. The Siberian branches established a temporary directorium in Omsk, the southern branches one in Rustoff-on-Don. The foreign branches established an auxiliary bank in London. In Soviet Russia the work carried on by coöperative unions surpassed all expectations. This unbelievable adaptability and vitality of coöperation accounts for the fact that the Russian coöperatives constitute the only economic organization in Russia which survived the general elemental devastation and came out of the trial with greater strength, richer experience, and a deeper sense of responsibility.

It must be realized that, with changing fortunes of various political factions, coöperators had to work one day under a Bolshevik government and the next day under the Denikin or Kolchak régime, one day under the invading Germans, another day under the uncalled-for Allies. The coöperators faced the Czar's persecutions, Kolchak's incursion, Smuinav's plunder, and the Bolshevik encroachments.

Under the Soviets

What happened in Soviet Russia? When the Bolsheviki seized the power and launched a determined campaign against private capital, nationalizing land, industries, banks and trade, they soon discovered a peculiar phenomenon—a nation-wide coöperative system of consumers' stores, producers' associations, credit unions, and a central coöperative bank with a membership of tens of millions of peasants and workers of all political factions including Bolsheviki, and by no means belonging to the capitalistic class. The organizations themselves were based on principles which were directly opposed to private capitalistic methods and in fact were of pronounced collectivist character. Here was a social economic force not foreseen by Marx, who treated coöperation with disdain. Taken by surprise the Bolsheviki for more than a year could not make up their minds as to how to treat this economic peculiarity. Generally speaking there were only three ways to deal with this organization. The Bolsheviki could allow it to continue its usual work; they could suppress it; they could try to change its basis.

In the first months there was much friction between coöperative unions and the local soviets, but the Central Government took energetic steps to check these quarrels. When the banks were nationalized the Moscow Narodny Bank was closed for about three weeks, but was again opened and allowed to continue its normal work. Many promi-

nent Bolsheviki were of the opinion that it would be a tactical mistake to interfere with coöperatives or to suppress them and that it would be wiser to utilize the movement in the interest of the gradual socialization of the economic machinery of the country. For a long time this opinion seemed to prevail. In their legislation the Bolsheviki treated the coöperative societies in a way distinct from ordinary capitalist concerns. When they annulled all state laws, the Soviet Government expressly excluded from confiscation the shares and bonds held by coöperative societies. When they decreed the nationalization of banking, they left out the Moscow Narodny Bank, and the latter was, during twelve months, the only bank in Russia carrying on normal business. The Bolsheviki not only tolerated the coöperatives, they even granted them some monopolies. The Moscow Narodny Bank, for instance, received the exclusive right to import to Russia agricultural machinery and implements—binder twine, etc.

Nationalizing Industry

Then in the spring of 1918 the Soviet Government embarked on a new policy, that of trying to change the very basis of coöperation. The first attack was directed against consumers' coöperation. By the decree of April 12, 1918, the Bolsheviki tried to transform the consumers' stores, serving only a part of the population, into consumers' communes, comprising the whole population. The fundamental coöperative principle of voluntary membership was supplanted by compulsion and conscription. The communes were not, however, accepted by the Russian masses and the decree remained, to a great extent, a dead letter. Subsequently they decided to nationalize the All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies—"Centrosojus"—a body embracing more than 45,000 local societies and 800 unions with a membership of 15 million householders, as well as the Moscow Narodny Bank, a central coöperative trade institution with a share capital of 100 million rubles and a turn-over of more than six billion rubles. After a long struggle on the part of the coöperators, these two leading institutions were nationalized in November, 1918, that is, according to the letter of the decree. In reality the Moscow Narodny Bank, which has been transformed into the "Coöperative Division of the People's Bank of the Soviet Republic," continues to be the financial centre of the coöperative movement; the managers are elected by coöperators, the former directors of the bank are at present managers of the "Division," the shares of the bank belonging to various coöperative societies are transformed into corresponding special deposits, the normal work is carried on as usual in the same old building on Mjassnitzkaja. As to the "Centrosojus," it is true that the Bolsheviki appointed commissars to watch and control the work, but the business is managed as before by the former directors and old coöperative workers, the direction and initiative still remaining in the hands of coöperators. All other branches of coöperation, especially the powerful Central Producers' Associations, never were and are not now nationalized. The Central Flax Growers' Association, the All-Russian Agency of Agricultural Coöperation, "Selskosojus," the Potato Union, the Coöperative Grain and the Central Association of Food Growers and "Kustarsbyt," continue their usual work. While private insurance companies have been abolished in Soviet Russia, the coöperatives created the All-Russian Insurance Union in which the Bolshevist authorities themselves have insured all the cattle of the country. Thus the nationalization of coöperation is at most only partial, but actually it is rather formal, not really affecting the independent coöperative work. This does not mean that the coöperatives are acting in bad faith or are in reality enemies of the Bolsheviki under the disguise of being friends. The coöperators never professed to be their friends nor are they by any means their enemies. The coöperators are friends of the population and enemies of the competitive industrial system. They are serving the population and are loyally continuing to serve it even under most

trying conditions imposed upon them by the Bolsheviki. As the spokesman of the "Centrosojus," A. V. Merkulov, expressed it at a coöperative conference in Moscow: "Our aim is to safeguard as far as possible the self-activity and independence of coöperation and to soften the decrees in so far as they violate these principles," and that is the only proper attitude for the coöperatives towards any decree to which it is opposed.

It is not the business of coöperators to express a judgment as to the political value and significance of Sovietism. The coöperators are anti-Bolshevik to the very extent to which the Bolsheviki are anti-coöperators. Their resistance is as small or as great as the pressure exerted upon them.

Lenin said in December, 1918: "The government of the Soviets, while not departing from its position of irreconcilable struggle against imperialism and capitalism, sees itself nevertheless compelled to recognize the immediate importance of an agreement with the coöperative movement. The Soviets have arrived at the period of reconstruction when the efforts of all laboring classes are required, and the experience and knowledge of the coöperative organizations especially can prove a valuable support for this task. It has for a long time been the aim of the Soviet Government to call on all the coöperative forces to join the work of the restoration of the economic life of the country, which aim it is attempting to carry out now." That is wisdom.

Summarizing, it can be said that coöperation is undoubtedly under the control of the Soviet Government. Some of its branches have lost their independence formally but not actually; the other branches are fully independent. Coöperation remains a distinctly independent organization proceeding according to the great principles of the international coöperative movement. The coöperators fully and sincerely coöperate with the Bolsheviki in Soviet Russia, just as they try to work in full harmony with the other Russian governments which are or may be coming into control of some other parts of Russia. For acting thus the coöperators have no apology to offer. They do it for the sake of the population, and in accordance with their cooperative ideals.

Lifting of Blockade

The representatives of the Russian coöperators in foreign countries who endeavored to supply the Russian population with all the necessaries of life as well as the means of production were handicapped by the blockade to which Russia was exposed and they were doing everything in their power to induce the governments and public opinion of the Allied countries, including the United States, to lift the blockade—at least to allow the coöperative unions to send goods to Russia. They adopted such a line of action not because they secretly hoped thus to defeat or to help Bolshevism in Russia, but solely because they openly wished to save the dying population of their country. They considered it their incontestable right and their sacred duty to help their people, the innocent victims of the most unfortunate and immoral starvation policy. They succeeded in their efforts. The Supreme Council in Paris recently approved their plan of resuming exchange of goods with Russia. Nothing stands in the way now of resuming trade relations with Russia. Those relations will necessarily be limited at first, but it is only the beginning of the resumption of trade with Russia on the broadest possible basis through all available agencies. The destructive blockade of Russia must be lifted completely and unconditionally.

As long as the producing and consuming capacity of tens of millions in Russia as well as the natural resources of one-sixth of the earth are not made available for poverty-stricken and war-ruined humanity, there is no hope of resuming the world's production on a sufficient scale. With resumption of normal trade relations, with reëstablishment of normal economic interexchange, a general amelioration in Russia and Europe will take place and the world will enter into a period of orderly and peaceful evolution along the lines indicated by the violent but significant economic upheaval and social eruptions of the recent years.

The Passing of the Second International

Hiram K. Moderwell

This summer what is left of the Second International will meet in Geneva. Three times since the armistice, its leaders have met to prepare for this general reunion of the world's socialists, and each time there have been questions to be solved—and solved right—before the old International could be revived. Generally they postponed these problems. One of them was the question of Bolshevism.

"Yes," said one troubled delegate at the Lucerne meeting, in August, when for the third time the chieftains of the Second International had assembled to recreate the pre-war socialist movement, "yes, the question of Bolshevism is splitting the International. But by next year the problem may be simple. By that time there may not be any more Bolshevism." I thought I detected a hopeful note in his voice.

* * * * *

It seemed to me, at that Lucerne meeting, that the consciences of the chieftains were not altogether easy. One speaker after another admitted that the Second International was not what it had been, not what it should be, that it had erred grievously in the things it had done and the things it had left undone, in short, that it had ceased to command the confidence of the working class of the world.

It was quite true, as Fritz Adler of Austria said, that this International was only the shadow of an image. It lacked the representatives of the Socialist parties of Italy, Switzerland, Norway, and most of the Balkan states, which had indignantly refused to have anything to do with it. It lacked the representatives of Rumania and America who were prevented by their governments from coming. Needless to say, it lacked the representatives of Soviet Russia and of what on the first day of its meeting was Soviet Hungary.

On the other hand, who are these who have come to make good the loss? The big bugs from a flock of little states, most of which have as yet no legal existence! Socialists, yes. But all of them there to plead the sacred destinies of their several nations. The air was blue with nationalist aspirations, and the floor was littered with nationalist literature. These delegates all resolved indignantly against military intervention in Russia and Hungary, as any decent man would, regardless of his politics. Yet most of them represented parties which, as members of their respective governments, were at that moment waging armed warfare against the Bolsheviks. The Ukraine was there, the delegation led by Matiuchenko, who as president of the Rada invited the Germans into the country; Czecho-Slovakia, Armenia, and Palestine; Georgia, represented by Tscretelli, who was one of Kerensky's ministers; Poland, whose socialists, after becoming party to all the government schemes of conquest and revolution-breaking, killed the strike of July 21 and organized pro-government workers' councils to break the workingmen's own organizations; and there was Lithuania, Esthonia, and Lettonia.

Berne and Lucerne

In Berne these same men (with such notable exceptions as Kurt Eisner who is dead, and Ernst Toller who is in prison, and Tranmael of Norway who is in the Moscow International, and Kunfi of Hungary, who is a fugitive)—these same men met in February, 1919, and drew up an edifying memorandum of what the peace treaty should be like: nothing revolutionary, but only what liberals the world over have been demanding. A deputation was sent to present these demands to the Big Five at Paris. The Big Five was too busy to receive them while it was making peace. So after the peace treaty had been written, the delegation, with incredible naïveté, went again. The Big Five informed them that it was too late. So at Lucerne the delegates met and said the same liberal things all over again, appealing to the governments

to do the things which they have flatly refused to do. But they made no appeal whatever to the working class.

At Berne they had hailed the League of Nations as the beginning of that internationalism which socialists have always demanded. And at Lucerne, when even Smuts and Lansing were objecting to the League, they repeated the same song.

"Delegates have been criticizing the peace treaty," said Engberg, representing Branting of Sweden, "but the fact remains that this treaty was a mighty step in the world's progress. For it has created the germ of a new international state, the League of Nations."

The Bolshevik Question

Then there was the Bolshevik question, turning up continually at the most inconvenient times and junctures. Berne had decided to pass no judgment on the Bolsheviks (and therefore to take no effective action on their behalf) until they had obtained the facts by a first-hand investigation. The committee which was to do the investigating was refused passports by the Entente. Therefore the conference had not yet obtained the facts and therefore could not pass an opinion and therefore could not take action. What it did was to *protest against the refusal of passports!* The consideration of Bolshevism was deferred until the next meeting.

The Leaders of the International

At this conference there were apparent two fairly distinct parties: those who were committed to the present capitalistic order and who would defend it at all costs; and those who felt their popular support slipping from beneath them, and would become as radical as necessary to retain it. These were the right and the centre. There was no left, no group eager to *lead* the working class to the conquest of political and economic power.

At the head of the right, by general consent, was the absent Branting. His personal representative, Engberg, a shabbily dressed youth with a considerable power of language, hoped for the destruction of the Bolsheviks, "those reactionary elements in the working class who reject democracy." Branting had an able deputy in Arthur Henderson, who presided. The chief strength of the right lay in the German Majority Socialists, led by Wels, who, as governor of Berlin in the December days, effected the first overt act of the German counter-revolution, the attempted demobilization of the Revolutionary Sailors' Division. The French minority gave the right additional prestige; it was led by Renaudel who was spokesman for the conservatives. The Italian patriots, who talked about Italy's sacred right to boss the Adriatic, were noisy in their support. Borgbjerg, of Denmark, a huge man with a tawny beard and a kindly face, said nothing, but voted with Renaudel in everything. Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, those first fruits of the war of liberation, were similarly reactionary. As for the horde of socialist emigrés, living in Switzerland, who represented the small states formed out of the former Russian Empire, they first obtained from Renaudel a resolution recognizing their very anti-socialist right to national existence, and then supported him on everything else.

Jean Longuet

The leader of the centre, and much the most elegant of the deputies, was Longuet of France. Longuet, more than any other person, is the crucial man in the socialist movement of western Europe. The prestige which surrounds him as the grandson of Karl Marx predestines him to a dominating rôle if he is able and willing to play it. Born in England, of a German mother and a French father, he is master not only of the French language, but of English and German as well. He seems to incarnate the internationalism which the socialists are seeking to realize. During the past five years he has been a consistent opponent, not of the war in its theoretical aspect as a war of French defense, but of the war in all the phases which it actually assumed. In the darkest days

he was leader of the opposition, and in the most terrible time of all, in April, 1918, he launched his daily, *Le Populaire*. Only in the last year of the war did he finally obtain control of the party and its machinery, including the official daily, *Humanité*. He fought for the international strike of Jnly 21, and unlike some of his party, cursed the trade-union leaders who betrayed it. He has made a good fight and a brave one. But the decisive moment has come now. What the French party does, the most important socialist parties of the rest of west Europe are pretty sure to do. Millions of workers today wait upon his leadership.

His hesitations are those of the wise politician who will not move until he can carry the greater part of his support with him. But there are two ways of moving. There is the way of Disraeli, who said: "I *must* follow the people. Am I not their leader?" And there is the way of Lenin, who said: "The leader must invariably move in the direction the people in their hearts desire; but he must move a little ahead of them." Longuet must soon decide whether he will be a leader in front or behind.

The German Independents

Longuet's natural allies are the German Independent Socialists, whose anti-war record is as honest as his own. This group is the only one in Germany today which has both revolutionary aims and organizing power (both speed and momentum, so to speak). It was represented at Lucerne by Crispien, co-president with Haase of the party, a magnificent orator, with a silky brown beard and the face and manner of some mediaeval saint; by Hilferding, a former Revisionist, now editor of the party daily, *Freiheit,* and the recognized authority of the party on economic subjects; by Cohen, who boasted in the National Assembly of having acted as disbursing agent for Bolshevik money in Germany during the last months of the war; and by Kautsky, the famous old Marxian scholar who is now vainly trying to persuade his comrades against the policy of the proletarian dictatorship.

Adler of Austria

Then there was Fritz Adler, who assassinated Premier Stuergkh as a protest against the social-patriotism of his party, who was released from prison at the time of the revolution to become president of the Workers' Council, and who last spring could have turned Austria into a Soviet state by a wave of his hand. The Hungarian communists at first considered him their man. But as he persisted in finding reasons (probably good ones) for inaction, they lost confidence. His nerve, they said, had been shattered by his prison experience; he was incapable of taking and executing important decisions. In truth, he looks like an old man now, with stooped shoulders and wrinkled face, and a manner which seems to be trying to shake off the enormous cares which have been forced upon him. He has allowed himself to be drawn into open quarrels with the Austrian communists, and so has been gradually forced into that position which is of all most pitiable for a brave man, that of balancing himself on the thin edge of compromise.

Troelstra of Holland was speaking and voting for everything that had an aggressive sound, but one cannot take his revolutionism without reservations. The old parliamentarian, the crony of Scheidemann, turned red just at the time when Europe began to explode in revolution, and when the revolutionary party in his own country began to threaten his personal power.

Then there was Ramsay Macdonald of England, of whom Lenin said that when the revolution finally came he would try at the last minute to stop it. When he spoke, he clearly intended to convey the impression that he was radical. But my notes of his speeches seem to contain nothing that carries a precise idea. He objected to the peace treaty and to the Second International, yet he spoke in favor of Renaudel's resolution, after criticizing "some words and

phrases" and approving of "the general spirit." Then, apparently realizing that to support the Renaudel resolution would be an expensive business among his supporters of the I. L. P., he voted against it—on the theory, I suppose, that it is cheaper to move than to pay rent.

And with Macdonald ends the list of the supporters of Longuet and Crispien, except that some of the easterners, who are always wavering and straddling for reasons of their own, sometimes gave their votes to this centre.

The German Majority

This breach, which exists within the whole body of the Second International, came to its most dramatic expression in the daily quarrels of the German Majority and Independents. They were as far apart as two socialist parties can be. The Majority cooperates, in pursuance of its permanent policy, with the bourgeois parties, prevents all measures of socialization, dissolves or places under arrest, so far as possible, workers' councils in which it has not a majority, bases itself on the parliamentary system, and maintains itself in power by means of reactionary officers and regiments of the German army. The Independents demand an economic and political alliance with Soviet Russia, the transformation of Germany into a Soviet state, immediate and complete socialization, uncompromising recognition of the class struggle, disarming of the bourgeoisie and the present military forces and the arming of the proletariat. (This program is accepted by the minority of party members, like Hilferding, whose personal views are more moderate.) These parties had to live together in Germany day by day, and every fortnight shot guns at each other. Their reciprocal emotions were consequently lively.

The Majority Socialists will endure a good deal of insulting in the effort to ingratiate themselves with the socialists of foreign countries, from whom they expect support for the present German régime.

"We no longer have a bourgeois régime in Germany," said Wels, whose wrinkles make him look like an American caricature of Ludendorff. A howl of anger went up from the Independents. "Unverschämte Frechheit!"

"If Germany had won the war," he continued, "the German Majority Party would have shown how socialists can prevent a peace of violence."

This time it was the French who howled.

"What about Brest-Litovsk?" some one cried.

"Brest-Litovsk was precisely the most dangerous point in the war for Germany," he replied. "We couldn't oppose our government then." He did not mention that it was also a danger point for socialism. He went on to blame the Independents for all that was wrong in Germany.

Hilferding replied. His party would join no International which countenanced the permanent policy of coöperation with bourgeois parties. As a matter of fact the Independent delegation was under categorical instructions from the party committee to state that the Independents would join no International which had room in it for the Majoritarians. But Hilferding shaved the ultimatum down so as to generalize it and put the expiration limit at February, 1920.

The Forces in Combat

Hilferding's rather halting speech (he is a student and no platform man) was supplemented by the fiery eloquence of Crispien.

"Peace has been declared," he said, "but murder and destruction are still going on. The capitalism of the Entente, having conquered its foremost rival, is now seeking to destroy whatever opposition remains. It is not within this bourgeois society that real peace can be obtained. That can come only through the proletarian revolution."

"And you," he shouted, facing Wels, "what are you doing? You have placed all Germany under martial law."

The howls now came from the Majority side. Through the uproar could be heard

Wels's voice bellowing. "Your fault! You and the Spartacans!"

"You are in alliance with the military reaction to crush the working class."

"You lie!" yelled Wels. But Crispien continued:

"You have shot down German workingmen by the hundreds with your machine guns; you have thrown them by thousands into dungeon cells!"

The roars of the Majority delegates were now indistinguishable. Then Grumbach, the Alsatian, who can speak with equal vehemence in French and German, rose and began shaking his fist at Wels. "It's true," he shouted. "Every word Crispien says is true, and you know it."

Here Arthur Henderson, who had not understood a single word that had been said, began pounding his gavel and scolding the conference like an angry schoolmaster. Grumbach went on and finished what he had to say. Then, with a grin on his face, he went back to his seat and lighted a cigarette.

The Revisionist Bernstein

Bernstein, who has given himself the quixotic task of making peace between the parties, was inclined to be mildly critical of everybody. The old patriarch of Revisionism, whose physical counterpart could be found any day pushing a necktie-cart on New York's East Side, has fight in him yet, but at bottom he is a kindly soul who hates dissension. For many months he persistently retained his membership cards in both parties. He was hooted down when he told the Majority Socialist party conference in June that nine-tenths of the provisions of the peace treaty were justified. He disliked this, but he disliked more the irreconcilable attitude of the Independents at the personal conference which he called in Berlin to prepare the union of the parties. To him it was unforgivable. The Majority, of course, with six times the parliamentary strength of the Independents, were willing enough to swallow their rivals, but the latter were not so willing to be swallowed. Thereupon he quit the Independents entirely.

I asked him if he could stand for Noske and his methods. He became very angry and used Noske's own sole argument.

"Did you ever hear," he asked, "of a government which could support itself without force?"

Which is not the point. As well might a thief ask if a man can live without money, or a raper if a man can live without love.

"The Spartacists," said Bernstein at the convention, "are making more misery for Germany than the blockade. You talk of the Noske troops, but you don't speak of the hecatombs slain by the Bolsheviks. What is to be done when the Independents and Spartacists, partly supported by Bolshevik money, seek to prevent the mining of coal?"

"Socialize," interrupted Crispien.

"Absurd," snapped back Bernstein.

Renaudel vs. Longuet

It was evident that these two parties will not continue to be joint members of one International. It became almost equally clear that the two French parties cannot live together. Renaudel made a Gallic counterpart to Wels.

"If the treaty is that of victor toward vanquished," he said, "it is also that of attacked toward attackers. France was attacked. We had the right, the duty, to defend ourselves. While nations exist they must continue to be defended." He talked now with folded arms, and now with waving fists. "We cannot dispense with strong armaments. You talk of the social revolution. But how do you know it will come everywhere? And how do you know it will come at the same time?"

"We must transform the League of Nations into an instrument of mildness (these were his words!) in international affairs. As for the Second International, it may be weak, but it is the only force making for unity among the proletariat of the world."

The French majority, however, could not accept unity on Renaudel's terms. They

fought in committee for even a moderate statement of socialist policies, and managed to excise Tseretelli's interrogatories asking the Soviet government if it was willing to cease being a Soviet government and join the present League of Nations. But they could not purge it of its statement that the peace treaty constituted the *basis* of the new world order. So Longuet at last produced a counter-resolution of his own, pointing out the danger of encouraging nationalism among the small peoples, expressing active sympathy and promising active aid for the Russian Revolution, condemning all coöperation with the bourgeois parties, condemning the League of Nations as a capitalist conspiracy, and demanding that the International should cease begging favors of governments and should appeal instead to the organized working class—the only sort of resolution, one would have supposed, that a socialist conference could adopt.

On these two resolutions, Renaudel's and Longuet's, the crucial vote was taken. It was a vote to determine whether the Second Socialist International should be socialist and international, or capitalist and national, whether it was to be an organization of which such parties as the German Independents and the French Majority could possibly form a part.

The Longuet resolution received the votes of these two parties, of Troelstra, of Ramsay Macdonald (speaking presumably for the British Independent Labor Party), of the Russian Social Revolutionaries, of Austria, Palestine, and Lithuania. All the rest, two-thirds of the conference, voted with Renaudel.

In such an International the French Majority, the German Independents, and the Austrian socialists cannot remain indefinitely. They are bound to leave sooner or later and join the International of Moscow. The strongest kind of popular pressure has been brought upon Longuet to do this immediately

His policy has been clear enough. He dreads the prospect of a double socialist organization in all Europe, one conservative and one revolutionary. He has promised his impatient constituents to do all in his power to "purify" the International of its Brantings and Vanderveldes and Tseretellis and Renaudels. This done, and the Second International started again on a revolutionary course, a merger could eventually be effected with the International of Moscow. If he should fail, he tacitly promised that the French majority would ally itself with the Bolsheviks. He has failed, but he believes he has one more chance at the next meeting. If he fails then, there will be nothing left but to leave the Second International to its deliberations.

The Call of Russia

No one of the Lucerne delegates seemed conscious that while they were talking, socialism in Russia was a living thing, fighting for its very life. Not the kind of socialism, perhaps, that these men had anticipated, not the kind that any of us want as a permanent thing, certainly not the kind that Lenin hopes ultimately to achieve. It is not the socialism of the books, but a socialism compounded of ugly realities. It is conditioned not only by the theories of Marx and Tolstoy, but also by the realities of famine and conspiracy and civil war, of fanaticism and stupidity. Yet it is socialism, and these socialists dare not disown it, merely because they don't altogether like it. One might as well disown one's baby because he wasn't delivered according to specifications.

For thirty years these leaders of the Second International have been agitating, organizing, preparing—for what? Certainly for some distant day of action—peaceful action, certainly, but action definite and conscious. One would have supposed that the time for action had finally come. But no, even the Longuets and Adlers spent their time seeking "compromise resolutions," with words that should have a pleasing sound to all men. Longuet himself was constantly betraying the fear that approval of the Bolsheviks would be interpreted as an approval

of assassination. Even the most radical seemed to be awaiting some unknown moment when by magic the battle would have turned in their favor and they could win glory without risking loss.

Why? So far as the Longuets and Macdonalds are concerned, it seems to be simply the lack of that capacity for action which is the crowning mark of leadership—that capacity for seeing all the facts as they are, and, after all compromises have proved fruitless, for standing and fighting out the fight that is forced upon one. It was this capacity that made Clemenceau great—and the lack of it that made Wilson—what he is.

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But this criticism (I hope it is unjust) applies only to the rebels of the conference. The others, the Renaudels, the Hendersons, the Welses, know well enough what they are doing. They are not men trained in bringing about socialism. They are men trained in electioneering and parliamentary combinations. Any one of them, including the socialist emigrés from Russia, might be a minister or even a premier next year. Their careers lie within the present order of things. Their political value in future cabinets depends upon their not stepping outside the existing framework. Their immediate future depends upon our *not* having socialism. Why, then, should they join the Moscow International? Why should they demand political power for the factory councils? Why should *they* urge a general strike to save Russia?

Imprisoned by the Bolsheviks[1]

Jerome Davis

An American Triangle worker on September 29, 1918, assigned to work for the Allied soldiers on the recent Archangel front, found to his surprise that the American soldiers facing the Red Army were not firing on the "Bolos," as they called the Bolsheviks, and the latter were returning the compliment. As he later discovered, the American officers were actually crossing the little stream which separated the two hostile lines, and were conversing with the Red officers. A gentlemen's agreement had been made between them: "We won't fire if you don't fire." The Bolshevik lines, just across the river, were adorned with red banners ten by twelve feet in size, painted with white letters in English. The banners had various inscriptions, but the most effective was "Peace is signed, why should we fight?" The lines were so close that the conversation of the Bolshevik soldiers could be heard and sometimes a propagandist with a large megaphone would harangue the American soldiers in English on the advantages of communism.

Once an English captain was visiting the sector while a Bolshevik was speaking. He turned to the American officer and asked, "Why don't you fire on that damn scoundrel?"

"If we fire on them they will fire on us," was the reply.

"Well," said the Englishman, "what did you come to Russia for, a picnic?"

"To guard supplies, and that is what we are doing."

Shortly afterwards an order was received from the English general, "Fire on the Russians at sight." The American captain in charge of this sector went over that night to the Red officers and said, "An order has come which compels us to fire on the enemy at sight, and since we are soldiers we must obey. We say this to keep our pledge with you." He then returned to the American lines.

Captured by Bolsheviks

Later, a general advance was ordered by the

[1]The following article is based on the experience of Merle V. Arnold, a Y. M. C. A. Secretary of Nebraska, who was serving the United States soldiers in northern Russia. A few incidents which happened to other Americans have been added, but the entire account is true to the facts as they were observed by or told to the writer.

English commander-in-chief. The United States troops were the only ones that obeyed. The Russians refused to go forward, whereupon the British soldiers said, "We will not advance and be killed if the Russians won't." The British remained in their trenches and the Americans were compelled to retire to their original positions.

One day the Y. M. C. A. secretary with an American corporal went to a store four hundred yards away from the village. Suddenly the machine guns began to spit fire and the rifles to crack. The Americans started to dash back to the village, but as they reached the outlying houses the French began to fire, thinking they were Bolos. From the other side, the bullets of the Red Army fell like rain. Crouching behind the corner of a building they took turns trying to signal the French soldiers. The corporal stepped out from behind the corner and waved his hat. Immediately he threw up his hands, and fell backwards, hit by the French or the Russian White Guards. The secretary dragged him into the house and found that he was shot through the abdomen.

After an hour had passed the door of the house broke open and in came six Russian soldiers, armed with guns and revolvers and wearing the Bolshevik brown padded suit. Having heard the horrible stories of the cruelty of the Bolos, the Americans thought they had but a few minutes to live. Nevertheless the secretary assumed an attitude of friendship, saying, 'Dravtsvuitsche" ("Welcome").

Seeing a dried fish lying on the table, one of the Bolsheviks began to eat. A Russian woman who lived in the house and her two little girls lay on the floor; another, about seventeen years old, was lying, after the Russian custom, on the stove; all had blankets to protect them from the cold. In this position they were out of range of the machine gun bullets, which might at any time crash through the windows. The old woman immediately began to complain because the soldier was eating the fish: "We are starving ourselves and you take our last bit of food." The Bolshevik commander, severely reprimanding the soldier, forced him to give up what remained of the fish.

Before long it became dark, the firing ceased, and the American decided to try to reach the Allied lines. Going outside he found that a full moon made everything stand out in bright silhouette against the glistening white of the snow. It seemed hours as step by step he came closer to the village and finally into the town; then he began to breathe easily again. He thought to himself, "I have actually reached the American lines." He made for the first house, but here he was ordered in Russian to stop, and was conducted to a Bolshevik officer, who had already found a French barrel of wine and was busy drinking. The officer stopped only long enough to shake his fist and to grunt out, "Why are you fighting us?" The secretary was then turned over to a subordinate.

Prisoners

He was soon joined by a United States soldier who held up his gun and said, "Look how clean the barrel is. I have not fired one shot against you." The soldier later admitted privately that he had fired about fifty times, but on discovering that he was sure to be captured had quickly cleaned the barrel. These were joined by a French soldier, his strength gone, and afraid for his life, and they in turn by some Russians who had been with the French legion. The latter violently protested, "We have been forced to fight against our will and are now glad to join with you." The American thought to himself, "I actually believe they will fight as enthusiastically with the Bolsheviks as with the French." Of the six United States patrols, three had been killed, two were wounded, and one was a prisoner.

All along the trail the party of prisoners saw dead Bolshevik soldiers, their blood making dark crimson stains in the snow, and sometimes they would run into a shell hole half filled with dead bodies. Every three versts they passed a small squad of Bolshevik soldiers, which indicated that the Red Army

had three men to every one of the Allies. Finally, the company came to a large open space surrounded by trees where were kept a large number of convoy horses, ammunition, and supplies. Here a Bolshevik officer asked each one whether he was an officer or a soldier. The Y. M. C. A. secretary, disclaiming army rank, was ordered on.

At night they sat around the camp fire and were given complete freedom, but it was too cold to sleep. In the morning a soldier came and took away their overcoats in spite of strong protests. The American told one of the Russian soldiers in broken Russian about the Y. M. C. A. work—that its secretaries were there not to fight, but to help the others. The Russian seemed quite impressed, and in a little while he sneaked away and brought back an overcoat.

After a while an officer came and examined the clothing of the prisoners, removing everything in the pockets except their combs, pencils and pens. These officers could only occasionally be distinguished from the soldiers by their better coats. They had no insignia or shoulder straps.

The party was now increased by two Russian telegraphers. They had already flopped over completely to the Bolos, and kept urging the American to become an officer in the Red Army.

En Route for Moscow

All were soon taken to a kitchen and given soup and bread. It seemed the finest meal they had ever tasted, but they were hurried off so soon that one of them did not get his black bread. The "Y" secretary broke his two-pound chunk with an ax and shared it. On the way every crumb was eaten. As they went the American kept thinking, "Which tree will they shoot me under?" Walking through the snow was a difficult task, but they made twenty-seven versts to the railroad that afternoon. Here a fire was built and they stopped for the night. The soldiers began to get friendly. One of them argued for Bolshevism. He was thoroughly honest in his convictions, was sure of the rightness of his cause, and would gladly have died for his convictions. "In America your country is run for the rich few," he said, "in Russia we are trying to organize for all the people, and everybody is going to have an education and a chance to work and no one is going to be a millionaire." The American argued a little but did not care to disagree too violently.

At five o'clock in the morning a start was made again. On this trip they picked up a British captain who had been taken prisoner the night before. He had been traveling in a little Russian sled and in his sleeping bag had been oblivious to the cold and danger when the Bolsheviks cut across the trail, killed his driver, and captured him. His coat had been taken away and as it was forty below zero the steady, all-night walk had kept him from freezing. During that day they walked thirty-six versts, then stopped for tea and bread. The Bolshevik soldiers brought out their own rations, which were little enough at best, and shared their sugar and bread with the prisoners.

All hoped that they were going to stop here for the night, but the commanding officer ordered them to make the sixteen versts to the railroad. One United States soldier was so exhausted that he was ready to give up. "I may just as well sink down here and die, I cannot go one step further." One of the Russian soldiers then permitted him to ride on his horse. At three o'clock in the morning they reached the railroad. Here they were permitted to lie down on the shelves of the box cars at full length, and after the litle iron stove became red hot, they slept like logs.

In the morning the commander removed the secretary's overcoat but gave him in exchange for it a short fur one, which was even warmer. Here he learned that the reason the overcoats had been taken was so that they could be used as disguises for the Russian soldiers. That morning the prisoners were given their first regular rations, one salt herring, a pound of bread, some sugar, and some tea. It took them two days on a slowly moving freight train to get to Vologda.

At Vologda the company was taken to the military staff and questioned in English by the captain of the old Russian Army, who knew far more about the movements of the Allied troops than did the prisoners. The English captain found out that the captain had the secret code of the English government and knew every ship that sailed from England to Archangel and what it carried. This Russian officer was not in favor of Bolshevism but he was serving with the Bolsheviki in order to earn a livelihood. He finally asked, "What is the situation in America and England? I read all the time in our paper of revolutions about to come and I wonder if it can be true." He was told that there were bad strikes in England, but no danger of revolutions in America or in England.

The Bolshevik Commissioner

Soon a Bolshevik Commissioner, named Dobbins, came in; he had been chosen to care for the Allied prisoners. He spoke English, having lived in England five years. The Czar's régime, which had stifled education and crushed the best desires of the people, had made an anarchist of him in early boyhood. He had gone to school and was a brilliant student, but had been expelled because of daring to think independently of the teacher, who praised everything in the Czar's régime. This commissioner was absolutely sincere and a most unselfish man. He had no more to eat than had the Allied prisoners, and he would always go half and half on his last bit of bread with any of them. Oftentimes the English, French, and American soldiers would curse him to his face, but he always answered with a smile, and, in the end, all of the men loved him. It seems Dobbins had been given 20,000 rubles (about $10,000 according to normal exchange before the war) to make the prisoners happy. The first thing he did was to take them to a barber shop, then to a bath, and finally he outfitted them with new Russian uniforms. Later he took them around the town and bought any souvenirs the boys wanted. At the request of the "Y" secretary he conducted the latter to church. "I do not believe in God," he told the secretary, "because formerly we found the priests always acting as spies for the Czar. My god is serving humanity. I find that in serving humanity and trying to do my best to help the people, I get all the inspiration I need." Nevertheless, Dobbins permitted the boys to go to the Russian church as often as they wanted.

In a few days the group of prisoners left for Moscow on a second-class car; the commissioner was the only guard. In Moscow they found five Americans and thirty-five British, making a total of sixty prisoners. Each man received a towel, some soap, an iron bed with board springs, a straw mattress, and plenty of blankets. They were given each day the regular Bolshevik soldier's rations, which were, one pound of black bread, a quart of vegetable or fish soup, about two-thirds of a cup of kasha or boiled barley, two pieces of sugar, and a little tea.

Order in Moscow

The prisoners found perfect order in Moscow and absolutely no shooting. Some of the men were paid twenty-five rubles per day for work in the foreign office where they acted as assistants, moving tables, running errands, and so forth. Many of the men would go to an expensive restaurant afterwards and spend their daily earnings at one sitting. Once a week they were taken to the Café Villa and given a big meal with music, and afterwards talks on Bolshevism.

For two and one-half weeks the prisoners spent their time walking about Moscow or working for one of the commissions, when suddenly a Y. M. C. A. secretary, Peningroth, arrived with permission for them to return to America. Many of the men had tears in their eyes as they left Moscow on the twelfth of May, it seemed almost impossible to believe that they were actually free. None of the soldiers would say very much about the Bolsheviks after that. They realized that Bolshevism, crude and fanatical as it was, had been merely the logical outcome of the terrible injustice under the Czar.

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83

Notes from Albany

"This thing is more far reaching than some of us assemblymen imagine," observed a bewildered Republican assemblyman from upstate, between munches of his piece of pie during the rush hour at the Capitol restaurant, the second day of the "trial."

"What harm could those five socialists do if they were left alone, I ask you?" he continued, looking to me for a word of sympathy. "They couldn't get anything passed. They were only five, and no attention would have been paid to them. But now they have been suspended and everybody is talking about them. I tell you we are giving socialism millions of dollars of free advertising.

"I was in Albany when there were ten of those socialists," he went on. "You might not have agreed with what they had to say, but you had to take off your hat to them—they were bright. I kinder looked over those bills that had to do with my town or district, but I didn't pay any particular attention to most of them—there were four or five thousand of them. But those socialists—I bet you they looked over *and studied* every single bill that came up and could talk about them.

"I don't know about the average run of socialists, but you had to take off y'r hat to them—they were students.

"This thing," he rambled on reflectively, "is bigger than some of us imagine, why I've been receiving protests even from *school teachers* against it. I don't like it.

"And they're growing, these socialists, A few years ago there was only one socialist in my town outside of a professor who was kinder socialistic. At last election I bet you there were fourteen or fifteen. There's that man Schneider. He used to vote for me or some other decent chap when no socialist was put up on the ticket—now he says he will vote for a socialist or for nobody. He'll take a cigar once in a while when I offer it, but he'll say: 'Remember this don't mean I'm going to vote for you. I vote the straight socialist ticket.' If I met him four or five miles from the poles in an auto, and asked him to ride, and he thought I was looking for votes, he'd prefer to walk the entire way than to accept a favor from me. They're funny, those socialists."

"Are you a socialist?" he finally asked, seeing that I defended them in their point of view. I admitted that I had the honor of being of the faith.

"Say," he said, "you don't believe in dividin' up, do you? You wouldn't think that you had to give me one of those two newspapers you have in your hand. But you send smart men to the Assembly—they are students. That man Stedman, he gave some talk, didn't he? He's not a socialist, is he? Don't look like one."

So the Albany "statesman" rambled on and one somehow wondered as he rambled why it was that there seemed to be no objection from the standpoint of mental equipment to such bewildered statesmen, and why this bitter attack on the admitted students suspended from the Assembly. One also wondered how it was that Speaker Sweet managed to keep in line such reluctant advertisers of the socialist cause.

Perhaps the most striking thing to the outsider attending the trial was the constant revelation of the provincialism of the upstate voter, without whose support the "trial" would not have been possible. I overheard a group of them talking.

"Goin' to the trial? Been there yesterday? Say, I looked at them socialist assemblymen, got a good view of them. They're foreigners. They ought to be thrown out. Constitutional or unconstitutional, we ought to get rid of them radicals, and that man Hughes, I'm surprised with him. He thought he would get himself popular again, did he? Well he'll see. I believe those fellows ought to be crushed, constitution or no constitution. It takes twenty-one years for us fellows born in America before we can vote, don't it? And those foreigners in New York can vote five years after they come over. T'aint right."

His companions agreed.

"They ought to be crushed before they get any further. They have a foothold, though," he mused.

"That's the rub," drawled his companion.

The press had done its work thoroughly. The press had for years been picturing the economic radical as an opponent of home, of religion, of country, had been creating bitter prejudice against the foreigner, had developed a new devil in the form of the Soviet Government, and Speaker Sweet's heroic attempt to rid the legislature of these wicked foreign Bolsheviki was regarded by these victims of press misrepresentation as the most American of acts.

The "trial" itself was pathetic. There was Speaker Sweet, bitter opponent of labor legislation, aspirant to the governor's chair, an undistinguished type of an American business man of moderate means, limited mentality and horizon, who has found the present order of society entirely satisfactory to himself and family, and has convinced himself that it is the best possible system for everybody else, and that any change is a direct attack on religion, private property, and the family.

Occupying the thirteen chairs facing the Speaker's dais were the members of the Judiciary Committee, the most conspicuous being Chairman Martin, the type of a country schoolmaster bent on punishing naughty boys, and Assemblyman Cuvillier of the Bronx, who doubtless conceived himself as the profoundest of thinkers, though, alas, the audience appeared to regard him as the chief clown of the Albany circus.

It is this assemblyman who is reported to have declared that the five socialists should be shot if guilty. Morris Hillquit declared that it would have seemed more appropriate for him to be occupying the rôle of executioner rather than that of a judge.

Facing the committee and each other were the prosecution and defense. Those first days, the whole prosecution seemed grasping for straws. For over an hour Martin J. Littleton poured forth a stream of eloquent nothings about a certain invisible empire of the proletariat to which the defendants were alleged to belong. Attorney Stanchfield, victor in many legal battles, appeared like a shipwrecked sailor on a tossing sea, when forced to combat the keen logic of the attorneys for the defense. He would desperately grasp at copies of the *Call* and other pamphlets kindly handed him by the arch-heresy hunter, Archibald Stevenson, and read irrelevant passages therefrom, as a substitute for a real reply. And each of the attorneys, in arguing against dismissal of the charges, against the giving of a bill of particulars, a privilege accorded to the meanest criminal, and against every other motion of the defense, finally resorted to but one argument—if the committee only knew the facts we know, the decision could be nothing but adverse to these wicked socialists, whose aim is the violent overthrow of our government. So, with monotonous regularity, Chairman Martin would turn down one after the other of the convincing pleas of Gilbert E. Roe, S. John Block, and Morris Hillquit.

Two things stood out above all others in those first few days of trial, one the stern,

impressive figure of Charles E. Hughes, presenting the powerful brief of the special committee appointed by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, the other the opening speech of Morris Hillquit.

A strange spectacle that—hundreds of New York state assemblymen and senators, scores of members of the press, and citizens of many parts, their faces touched by the dying rays of the western sun, eagerly absorbing their first lessons in socialism, to many the greatest menace of the world today, to countless millions its only hope, from the master mind of the New York socialist. Whether opponents or advocates, they listened, listened, gripped by a tale of surpassing import, unheeding the passage of time.

"Gosh," said one of the auditors, as he shrugged himself a minute or two after Hillquit had finished, "did I keep still listening to that socialist for an hour and a half? Who would have thought it?"

It is too early as yet to sum up the "trial," to give the reader a comprehensive idea of what was proved and what fell by the wayside. That, it is hoped, will be done in a later issue. This much may be said, that, whatever the outcome, despite publicity and propaganda agencies steered by the interests, despite the decisions of Chairman Martin, despite the admission of tons of irrelevant matter for the purpose of discrediting the entire movement, some folk are being educated in Albany and throughout the country in the gospel of industrial democracy, thanks to Speaker Sweet.

H. W. L.

"All Roads Lead to Rome"

When the present writer was still an undergraduate in an Oxford college his weekly excitement in the literary field was the arrival of the current *New Age*. The brilliant series of articles on the guilds of mediæval Europe and their adaptation to modern industry, in order to bring back to labor its partial control of industry and its joy in work, for which Orage, Penty, and S. G. Hobson were responsible, provided for the writer at any rate his weekly "gospel"—to the smiling contempt of his radical friends and acquaintances.

He well remembers the day, when, with the ineffable impudence of youth, he proceeded to "take coals to Newcastle" by addressing a meeting on guild socialism in Ruskin College—where promising trade unionists were trained in economics and history—and was met by a somewhat cold and dubious reception. He remembers, too, that ironic day when he debated fiercely in his college discussion society with the present secretary of the National Guilds League, and the latter vigorously opposed his plea for guild socialism! Finally he recalls the time when he read the first edition of G. D. H. Cole's initial book, *The World of Labor*, and discovered with wrath that the Guild idea of the *New Age* had been wrongly stated and strongly criticized!

But one week ago the *New York Times* carried a special cable from London declaring that the British miners "want the mines controlled by actual expert miners" through guild socialism; "the apostle of this idea" being "a young man, G. D. H. Cole." So swings the wheel of Fortune!

Though his first articles were published in the *New Age* around the year 1910, Orage is still producing valuable weekly articles on the application of the guild theory, even while its practical adoption is now a matter of months or weeks by many labor groups in Britain, and, with some modifications, in at least one case in the United States.

A Guild Experiment

His more recent efforts are concerned with showing the right of *labor* (meaning hand and brain) to that *credit* inherent in its power of control over one of the two necessary factors of production. Capitalists, up to the moment, he asserts, have been able to include in their own rightful credit that

which really arises from their present control — not of capital but of labor. It is precisely in this matter of labor credit that a valuable experiment in practical guild socialism is up for trial in Manchester, England, in the form of a bricklayers' guild. With the full consent and approval of the local branches of the Operative Bricklayers' Society, a group, to be known as the Building Guild Committee, has made a tentative offer to the Manchester City Council to build two thousand workers' dwellings. The men have a monopoly of labor power, and they seek to apply it equally to their own advantage and to the public good. There is a pressing demand at the moment for some twenty thousand new houses in Manchester city. The bricklayers, coöperating with other sections of the organized building industry, claim they can build better and quicker when working under conditions free from "profiteering." The district council of bricklayers and the Manchester branch of the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives (representing the whole of the building trade) have pledged fullest coöperation to the Building Guild Committee. The Guild Committee will tender for building contracts, but it pleads that is not in the same category as the average contractor who must give bond as proof of his financial security. *He* must have financial resources because he cannot control the supply of labor. On the other hand, whatever the financial arrangements of the Building Guild Committee, it has and will have an ample supply of labor, perhaps even a monopoly. Therefore they claim, not a financial but a *labor* guarantee should be asked of *them*. Here we see the whole *New Age* contention of group credit based on the power to produce, in contrast with bank credit based on the purchasing power of gold. "What has been theoretically discussed for two years suddenly becomes a living practical issue."

A National Guild?

While the immediate purpose of the Building Guild Committee is to relieve housing congestion among the workers, the ultimate aim is a national building guild. To this end it is sought to make the present committee a microcosm of the future national organization. Steps have been taken to secure the best technical talent, in accord with the guild principle of including every function both manual and non-manual.

Democratic control will prevail from Chief Director downwards. The direction and discipline of the whole labor force will be confined to men in good trade union standing. All plant and tangible material property is vested in three trustees. After two years this property will be transferred to the National Building Guild, if then constituted and if it includes all and every grade in the building industry. All disputes are to be referred to the current chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, or his nominee, and the Minister of Labor or his nominee. This last provision is in keeping with sound guild principle that property is vested in the State while labor-monopoly is the strict affair of the guild.

Finally, if the National Building Guild is constituted two years hence, all existing contracts incurred by the Building Guild Committee shall be transferred to the national body.

"By an organization such as this we again become Master Craftsmen," declared a member of the bricklayers' society.

It is some scheme very akin to this that the miners of Britain have in mind when they demand the immediate nationalization of the coal mines, with democratic control by non-bureaucratic methods. It is precisely this form of industrial democracy that leads Premier Lloyd George in his usual rhetorical fashion to declare a "fight to the death" against "the establishment of a soviet." It is, moreover, something very much akin to this guild idea that is back of Glenn Plumb's most recent suggestions (*N. Y. Times*, January 8) for democratizing industry, though Plumb never goes so far as the national guildsmen in the final vesting of all power in the joint hands of the national guild and the State. It is a blind, groping approach to

some such non-profit, public service of engineer and worker combined that Gantt, Ferguson, and their group (who mistakenly eulogize *Big Business* under the idea that that is synonymous with *Industry*) portray in their books and periodical articles.

From all sides the pressure of economic force compels. The Gompers tactics, here and abroad, of mere wage increase and hours decrease, must inevitably meet their ultimate limit beyond which they can go no further. At such time, and at that limit, the upholders of the theory of labor responsibility and labor authority—the national guildsmen—will find conditions rotten ripe for the prompt application of their principles. W. H. C.

The German General Strike

Sidney Zimand

Mirabeau declared in one of his most eloquent speeches that only by folding their arms could the people become most powerful. The word was not lost; it found a responsive echo in the modern working-class movement, and finally gave birth in France to the syndicalist movement, which adopted the ideal of the general strike as its salvation.

The general strike is described by its adherents as the metamorphosis of the union movement into a class movement. The union unites its members to improve their working conditions, increase their income, shorten the hours of labor, and provide insurance against accidents, sickness, old age, and unemployment. The general strike is, however, a political measure, the weapon to be used in the overthrow of present society. It is a civil war, which is intended to bring the world into unbearable need and then to subdue it. Such a struggle cannot last long. Starvation is too general. The baker does not bake; the milk cannot be brought to town for distribution; the water, gas, and electrical supplies are threatened. The world's pulse stops beating. But workmen suffer with the rest. Excited and almost crazed with deprivation, the people assemble in great crowds, and a collision between workers and government forces becomes inevitable.

Action of German Workers

When the Workers' Council of Berlin, at its meeting on the third of March, voted for a general strike in order to force the government to action, its members had in mind the conception of the general strike as described by Mirabeau. The German mind and German nature had never before understood the myth of the French syndicalists, but under the changed conditions of the revolution leaders appeared who were struggling to make the general strike a fact. The masses were dissatisfied with the government, and even such government organs as the *Vorwärts* and *Dresdener Volkszeitung* admitted that their dissatisfaction was in some measure justified. The Independents and Spartacides, who thought that their moment had arrived, were able to carry the resolution for a general strike, and this in spite of the fact that the Majority Socialists were more strongly represented in the Workers' Council than was any other faction. Discontent was no longer merely factional; it had become general. For a moment it seemed as if a great Napoleonic battle, definitely crushing the government forces, was to begin. It seemed as if the German workers were following the French song:

"Debout, les gens aux bras nerveux,
Plus d'humbles plaintes, d'humbles vœux,
Livrons bataille, et nous ferons
Plier l'état et les patrons:
Mettons-nous tous en grève—"[1]

On February 28, 1919, the Workmen's Council of Berlin, at its general meeting, discussed the convocation of the second National

[1] "Arise, ye men of mighty arms,
Cease your whimpers, your humble vows,
With the battle begun, we shall know how
To rule the state and the masters too:
Come all of you to the strike—"

Workmen's Council Convention for the purpose of deciding about socialization. From the speeches and the discussions which followed it was evident that the government had but little support in the Councils. The Chairman, Richard Müller, characterized the economic situation as completely anarchistic, and put the blame for conditions on the government and the capitalist class. "The situation can only be improved," he declared, "when the Workmen's Council controls the shops, and the system of Workmen's Councils gets a prominent place in the government of the country." In case the much-promised socialization should become a fact he prophesied that the workers would work day and night in order to reëstablish orderly conditions. A resolution was adopted calling for the socialization of industry and declaring war on capital and the government. The resolution was dispatched to the government and it was decided to hold another meeting on Monday in case the government did not act.

Had the government immediately attempted to reconcile the agitated spirits by introducing the socialization law and by attempting a compromise with the Soviet system, the strike might still have been avoided. Not until it was too late to prevent the declaration of the strike, however, did the government come forward with any counter propositions.

The Majority Socialists brought more hatred upon themselves, when, on Monday morning, they issued an appeal against the general strike, entitled "Against Tyranny," and couched in a provocative tone. The appeal, signed by the Majority Socialist Party and their representatives in the National Assembly, produced an effect exactly opposite from that intended.

Strike Demands

On Monday morning, March 8rd, following an appeal of *Die Rote Fahne,* many workmen walked out on strike. The Workmen's Council of Berlin met on the afternoon of the same day to discuss the strike declaration. Deputation after deputation of workmen employed in large industries appeared at the meeting and demanded immediate action, and after a four-hour debate, the Council decided that the general strike should begin on Monday evening and Tuesday morning.

This strike, on the basis of the demands put forward, appeared to be a mere protest against the misuse of the military power against the working class. The main demands were the liberation of political prisoners, especially of Ledebour and Karl Radek, the Russian Bolshevist emissary; the abolition of court martial, the reopening of diplomatic and economic relations with Russia; the immediate dissolving of the volunteer corps and the change of the existing courts into people's courts. Then a resolution of the Spartacides was adopted, demanding that both Hohenzollerns, Hindenburg, and Ludendorff be brought before a revolutionary tribunal. Another motion of the Spartacides, however, that Ebert, Scheidemann, and Noske should also be brought before a revolutionary tribunal was defeated.

In reality the significance of the general strike went much deeper than these superficial grievances. The Soviet idea became the symbol of revolt, and the defeated motion which referred to the trial of Ebert, Scheidemann, and Noske was one of the main aims which the strike leaders had in view. And while the dream of defeating the government and then of establishing the Soviets was not made a part of the written program, nevertheless this was the soul, or, speaking with Sorel, the "myth" of the strike.

While the Conservatives organized a citizens' council and discussed the possibility of a citizens' strike in Greater Berlin, "let us oppose force to force and decide upon a general strike of the citizenship," their intentions were never realized, partly, perhaps, from lack of courage, for which the German middle class is notorious, and partly because Noske's iron battalions (Noskiter) did the work for them.

As a prelude to the strike movement came the printers' strike, decided upon over the heads of the union leaders. The most impor-

tant newspapers ceased to appear. Next, as soon as the strike was declared, the means of communication in the city were paralyzed. Transportation workers left the electric cars, subways, and elevators. On Tuesday morning the entire industry of the city stood still, the banks were closed, and the stores were emptied, their curtains pulled down. Every wheel had stopped.

Government Concessions

The government, alarmed, issued a proclamation promising to recognize the Soviets as industrial parliaments and to introduce in a short time a bill for the socialization of industry. A delegation composed of Majority Socialists entered into negotiation with the government and reached the following agreement:

The Workmen's Councils are to be fundamentally recognized as economic parliaments and are to be embodied in the constitution. A special law shall determine the limitations, elections, and duties of the Council. For single establishments delegates shall be elected from among the workers and officials of the plants, and these will be entitled to an equal vote in the decisions. Shop Councils composed of employers and employes are to be selected for all branches of industry and each district is to select a district council. The whole empire shall come under the jurisdiction of a Central Workmen's Council. The Workmen's Council must approve all economic and social-political laws and shall have the power to introduce such laws themselves. A law to create democratic constitutional conditions in industrial establishments is to be introduced immediately.

Demands of Independents

The Independent Socialists, assembled in convention, demanded more power to the Soviets and insisted on the demands put forward by the strike committee. Haase, the leader of the Moderate Independents, asked for the immediate dissolution of the army and of the volunteer corps, and the building of a socialist people's army with officers and non-commissioned officers elected by the soldiers. The Soviets, according to his proposal, were to cooperate with the state administration and to have the right of control over the authorities and the right to propose and defeat laws. In case of a negative vote, the bill should be submitted to a referendum. Haase also demanded that the process of socialization of capitalistic enterprises, of the large estates and forests, should begin immediately. The extreme Independents and the Spartacides demanded a pure Soviet government.

Although the demands of the different factions were as different as were the opinions that separated them, they all agreed on one point. The government was doing nothing and a new order must be introduced. It was this one agreement which made the general strike possible.

The concessions which the government made to the Majority Socialists changed the situation very little. The strikers were out for a complete victory. Noske was on his way from Weimar to Berlin and on March 4th government troops from all parts of Germany, under the command of General Lüttwitz, marched into Berlin. All railroad stations, public buildings, big establishments, and the principal parts of the city were occupied by the troops. Meanwhile the Spartacus leaders were arrested and their printing places seized. The entrance of the government troops made the situation more critical than before. The people's Marine Division and a great part of the Republican Guard declared themselves solidly with the strikers. The main bridges were occupied by the Marine Division and the war material in their possession was distributed among the strikers. The house where the marines were quartered was transformed into a fortification. Everything seemed to be in readiness for the struggle, which was expected at any moment. The 5th of March brought a great victory for the strikers. The executive of the German Federation of Labor, which had always been regarded as a group controlled by the government socialists, declared themselves in favor of the strike. Now the strike of the printers was complete. For the first time in one hundred years every newspaper ceased publication.

On Wednesday night the strikers attacked the police headquarters, and by midnight an actual battle was in progress. At two in the morning the bombardment was at its height.

Rifles and mounted machine guns were rattling and hand grenades were flying in the direction of the building. The heavy bombardment lasted until nearly six o'clock in the morning and ended with a partial victory for the insurrectionists. The battle around the police headquarters continued throughout Thursday afternoon. The government troops were reinforced and towards evening the fight was resumed. It lasted for hours. For the first time in the revolutionary struggle, all the weapons of modern war were used—artillery, large grenades, aeroplanes for reconnaissance duty, and aeroplane bombs. The noise was hellish, the killed were not counted, the wounded fought until their last ounce of energy was gone and they were overpowered. The space in front of the contested building was cleared of revolutionists, and only the dead who could not be carried away were left behind.

Meanwhile on the same day the central strike committee decided to extend the strike to the electric, gas, and water plants. Revolutionary tactics demanded such action, said the majority of the committee. This action caused the Majority Socialists to resign from the committee, on the ground that they could not take part in such criminal decisions. From this moment unity disappeared, and the strike was on its decline.

Defeat of Strike

The struggles between government forces and insurrectionists continued all day long, Friday and Saturday. Towards Saturday night the fight took greater proportions. The insurgents, since their Thursday defeat, divided themselves into small groups, and organized a kind of small war against the government troops. The cruel treatment of the insurrectionists by the government aroused the working-class population. In the poorer districts where the revolutionists now barricaded themselves, their women helped them by throwing bottles and everything in reach at the troops.

By Saturday the government won the upper hand and were in control of the situation. Order was not completely restored, strikes were still on, the cars were not running, and big industries were at a standstill. The general strike was, however, breaking. The crushing defeat had come as expected, but the revolutionists, not the government, were its victims. The sacrifices were tremendous. One thousand were wounded and two hundred killed in the week's battle, hundreds of insurrectionists were made prisoners and then murdered in cold blood.

Vae victis! The white terror was ruling Germany. Cripples and the able-bodied, men and women, young and old, were handcuffed and marched in front of machine guns. In one day two hundred and twenty were slaughtered in this manner. "The revolutionists must be stamped out," declared General Lüttwitz, the commander of the government forces. One thousand five hundred men, women, and boys were mowed down by the official executioner in one week and still the cry persisted; and still Lüttwitz repeated: "They must be stamped out and then Berlin will be clean." The defeated strikers were marched through the streets singing "The International" on their way to death. Every house in the workingmen's quarters was carefully examined and all who were suspected of having taken part in the revolt were arrested and executed without trial.

Calmly and with their heads erect, the insurrectionists were carried through the streets of the city to their last journey, singing "Tomorrow the International will be the human race." A French workingman, watching the procession of tumbrels from a distance, was murmuring to himself the beautiful verses of the French workmen's song:

> "Enfants, cueillez des roses,
> Pour en orner nos fronts,
> Car on verra ces choses,
> Ces choses
> Le jour où nous voudrons."[2]

[2] "Children, let us gather roses,
To make wreaths for our brows,
Because on the day
When we will it,
Things will be seen, things—"

Sidney Webb and British Labor

Arthur Gleason

Webb remains the dominating mind of British labor—industrially and politically. He is the greatest force since Owen. In the tangle of personalities one loses sight of him, and only picks him up again as one becomes conscious of the steady influence. In a troubled time he is clear. Because he is modest and gentle, little men sputter at him and even insult him in their controversial "literature."

He showed the workers what their movement meant. He gave them back their past. He sang the song of their achievements in the two incomparable volumes[1]—their saga. And the fact-form of the epic made it only the more apposite for these days and these men. He put power into their hands by giving them conscious knowledge of what things they had done by instinctive action. It was a service akin to that of Irish writers when they unlocked the literature of their tribe and revealed the tradition.

The brilliant generalizations of the guildsmen fall inside the Webb synthesis. The I. L. P. took much of its early lusty strength from him. Many of the advanced thinkers in the labor world have in their formative years passed under his influence. Other men can make more showy generalizations, write a richer rhetoric, and win the crowd mind with a more poetic elocution. But when labor demands the formulation of a policy that shall conquer public opinion by the merit of its mastered knowledge, it turns to Sidney Webb.

There is hardly an instance since the French encyclopaedists of one mind so dominating many men. He has seen some of his ideas become government policy. Other of his ideas are gathering a party which will be in power within a few years. He is one of the few who can say "I told you so."

The Webb "History"

Twenty-six years after the original, the revised edition of the *History of Trade Unionism* by the Webbs was published in February of 1920.[2] The trade union orders, prior to publication, reached 19,000—the largest edition of a serious work on an economic subject ever published in Britain. The publication of the Webb History in 1894 was as definite a landmark in the movement of British democracy as were the various acts that extended the suffrage, or the Trade Disputes Act. The unions had worked in the dark, piecemeal, instinctively. Here for the first time, they found their knowledge pooled, and therefore available. What had been blind groping became a little more conscious.

The Webbs find today over six million British workers in trade unions—60 per cent. of all the adult male manual working wage-earners. Trade union membership has doubled in the last eight years. "The growing strength of the movement has been marked by a series of legislative changes which have ratified and legalized the increasing influence of the wage-earner's combinations in the government both of industry and political relations."[3]

Among the changes of the last thirty years is the decline in relative influence of the cotton operatives. "The building trades have lost their relative position in the trades union world to nearly as great an extent as the cotton operatives. They have, for a whole generation, supplied no influential leader."

The metal workers include engineers or machinists, boiler making and shipbuilding, the producers of iron and steel from the ore. The engineers (machinists) have greatly increased in membership, but not in relative strength.

The printing trades have remained stationary.

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[1] *History of Trade Unionism, Industrial Democracy.*

[2] In the United States probably in April, 1920.

[3] Among such are: Trade Dispute Act—1906; Trade Boards Act—1908; Coal Mines Regulation (8 hours) Act—1908; National Insurance Act—1911; Trade Union Act—1913; Corn Production Act—1917; Trade Boards Extension Act—1918.

A relative decline in influence among boot and shoemakers has been manifest.

In the same period of thirty years (1890-1920):

"We have the rise to influence not only in the trade union counsels, but also in those of the nation, of the Women Workers, the General Laborers, the 'black-coated proletariat' of shop assistants, clerks, teachers, technicians, and officials, the miners and the railwaymen, which has been the outstanding feature of the past thirty years.

"In 1920 we find the organizations of the despised section of general laborers and unskilled workmen, some of them of over thirty years' standing, accounting for no less than 30 per cent. of the whole trade union membership, and their leaders—notably Mr. Clynes, Mr. Thorne, and Mr. Robert Williams—exercising at least their full share of influence in the counsels of the trade union movement as a whole.

"The total number of agricultural laborers in trade unions in 1920 probably reaches more than a quarter of a million, being about one-third of the total number of men employed in agriculture at wages.

"The outstanding feature of the trade union world between 1890 and 1920 has been the growing predominance, in its counsels and in its collective activity, of the organized forces of the coal miners." (Italics mine.)

The Railway Strike

The Webbs give a summary of the railway strike. The government learned that trade unionism is not easily beaten, even when all the resources of the state are put forth against it. The great capitalist organizations have seen the warning against their projects of a general reduction of wages; and this is postponed, at least, for a year. Labor has learned the magnitude of the struggle, the need for skilled publicity work, and for a General Staff.

"A notable feature of the railway strike was a revolt of the compositors and printers' assistants, *who threatened to strike and stop the newspapers altogether unless the railwaymen were allowed to present their case,* and unless abusive posters were abandoned.

"The Cabinet was certainly warned, by high military authority, against attempting to use the troops."

Structure

Of structure and organization, the History says: "At present the forty-eight largest trade unions of the country concentrate a larger membership than the much praised forty-eight trade unions of Germany did in 1914."

"Besides the active soldiers in the trade union ranks, to be counted by hundreds of thousands, we had, in 1892, a smaller class of non-commissioned officers made up of the secretaries and presidents of local unions, branches, and district committees of national societies, and of trade councils; of these we estimate that there were, in 1892, over 20,000 holding office at any one time. These men form the backbone of the trade union world, and constitute the vital elements in working-class politics. . . .

"These non-commissioned officers of the labor movement, from whose ranks nearly all the trade union leaders emerge, actually determine the trend of working-class thought. Nevertheless, these men are not the real administrators of trade union affairs. . . .

"The actual government of the trade union world rests exclusively in the hands of a class apart, the salaried officers of the great societies. This civil service of the trade union world numbered, in 1892, between six and seven hundred."

In 1920,

"the affairs, industrial and political, of the six million trade unionists, enrolled in possibly as many as 50,000 local branches or lodges, are administered by perhaps 100,000 annually elected branch officials and shop stewards. These may be regarded as the non-commissioned officers of the movement.

"We estimate the total number of the salaried officers of all the trade unions and their federations at three or four thousand.

"Whilst the movement has marvellously increased in mass and momentum, it has been marked on the whole by inadequacy of leadership alike within each union and in the movement itself, and by a lack of that unity and persistency of purpose which wise leadership alone can give. . . . The British workmen have not become aware of the absolute need for what we may call labor statesmanship.

"It is, we think, only the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation that has laid down and acted on the principle of entrusting the appointment of salaried officials to the Executive Committee, on the express ground that popular election by ballot is not the right way to select administrative officers.

"It looks as if any democracy on a vocational basis must inevitably be dominated by a diversity of sectional interests which does not coincide with any cleavage in intellectual opinions."

The State and Trade Unions

Trade unionism is now distinctively represented on Royal Commissions and Departmental Committees. It has entered the inner councils of the government, and is recognized as part of the machinery of state administration. Trade unions are agents of the national insurance scheme for sickness, invalidity and maternity benefits, and the state unemployment benefit.

"The trade union itself has been tacitly accepted as a part of the administrative machinery of the state.

"The getting and enforcing of legislation is, historically, as much a part of trade union function as maintaining a strike.

"Trade unionism has, in 1920, won its recognition by Parliament and the government, by law and by custom, as a separate element in the community, entitled to distinct recognition as part of the social machinery of the state, its members being thus allowed to give—like the clergy in Convocation—not only their votes as citizens, but also their concurrence as an order or estate. . . ."

"In practically every branch of public administration, from unimportant local committees up to the Cabinet itself, we find the trade union world now accepted as forming, virtually, a separate constituency, which has to be specially represented.

"After two years' propagandist effort, it seems as if the principal industries, such as agriculture, transport, mining, cotton, engineering, or shipbuilding are unlikely to adopt the Whitley Scheme. The government found itself constrained, after an obstinate resistance by the heads of nearly all the departments, to institute the Councils throughout the public service. We venture on the prediction that some such scheme will commend itself in all nationalized or municipalized industries and services, including such as may be effectively 'controlled' by the government, though remaining nominally the property of the private capitalist—possibly also in the coöperative movement; but that it is not likely to find favor either in the well-organized industries (for which alone it was devised) or in those in which there are Trade Boards legally determining wages, etc., or, indeed, permanently in any others conducted under the system of capitalist profit-making."

Workers' Control

From the collapse of Owenism and Chartism right down to 1910, the British trade unions never thought of themselves as organizations to secure on ever-increasing control of the conditions under which they worked. "They neither desired nor sought any participation in the management of the technical processes of industry; whilst it never occurred to a trade union to claim any power over, or responsibility for, buying the raw materials or marketing the product. The pioneer of the new faith in the United Kingdom seems to have been James Connolly. He was a disciple of the founder of the American Socialist Labor Party, Daniel De Leon."

Then came Tom Mann, fresh from organizing strikes in Australia and inspired by a visit to Paris.

"The syndicalist movement had died down prior to the war, but the industrial unionist movement simmered on in the Clyde district and in South Wales. Its chief organization is the Socialist Labor Party. It was, we think, the moving spirits of the S. L. P. who were, as trade unionist workmen, mainly responsible for the aggressive action of the Clyde Worker's Committee between 1915 and 1918, and also for the rise of the shop stewards movement, and for its spread from the Clyde to English engineering centres. At the present moment (1920) the S. L. P. owing to the personal qualities of its leading spirits, J. T. Murphy and A. MacManus, holds the leading position in the school of thought, which received a great impulse from the accession of Lenin to power in Russia. But it remains a ferment rather than a statistically important element in the trade union world.

"The revolutionary industrial unionism and syndicalism preached by James Connolly and Tom Mann and other fervent missionaries between 1905 and 1912 did not commend itself to the officials and leaders of the trade unions. . . . But, like other revolutionary movements in England, it prepared the way for constitutional proposals. The bridge between the old conception of trade unionism and the new was built by a fresh group of socialists who called themselves national guildsmen. There was a rapid adoption between 1913 and 1920 by many of the younger leaders of the movement, and, subject to various modifications, also by some of the most powerful of the trade unions, of this new ideal of the development of the existing trade unions into self-organized, self-contained, self-governing industrial democracies, as supplying the future method of conducting industries and services."

The Trades Union Congress of 1917 pressed the government to place the railways under a Minister of Railways, "who shall

be responsible to Parliament, and be assisted by national and local advisory committees, upon which the organized railway workers shall be adequately represented."[4]

At the Annual Conference in 1919 of the Postal and Telegraph Clerks Association, the control demanded was not restricted to securing better conditions of employment but aimed at participation in directing the technical improvement of the service.

The Miners' Bill is a demand for full joint control.

Direct Action

The most sensational examples of direct action were afforded by the National Union of Sailors and Firemen in preventing labor leaders from travelling.

"Another case was the withdrawal by the Electrical Trades Union in 1918 of their members (taking with them the indispensable fuses) from the Albert Hall in London, when the directors of the hall cancelled its letting for a labor demonstration.

"The 'last word' in direct action is with the police and the army, and there not with the officers, but with the rank and file. The vast majority of trade unionists object to direct action, whether by landlords or capitalists or by organized workers, for objects other than those connected with the economic function of the direct actionists. Trade unionists, on the whole, are not prepared to disapprove of direct action as a reprisal for direct action taken by other persons, or groups. With regard to a general strike of non-economic or political character, in favor of a particular home or foreign policy, we very much doubt whether the Trades Union Congress could be induced to endorse it, or the rank and file to carry it out, except only in case the government made a direct attack upon the political or industrial liberty of the manual working class, which it seemed imperative to resist by every possible means, not excluding forceful revolution itself.

The New Unionism

"The trade unionist objects, more strongly than ever, to any financial partnership with the capitalist employers, or with the shareholders, in any industry or service, on the sufficient ground that any such sharing of profits would, whilst leaving intact the tribute of rent and interest to shareholders, irretrievably break up the solidarity of the manual working class.

"The object and purpose of the new unionism of 1913-1920 cannot be attained without the transformation of British politics, and the supersession, in one occupation after another, of the capitalist profitmaker as the governor and director of industry.

"Profound was the disappointment, and bitter the resentment, of the greater part of the organized labor movement of Great Britain when it was revealed how seriously the diplomatists at the Paris Conference had departed from these terms (labor, Lloyd George and Wilson statements) in the Treaty of Peace which was imposed on the Central Empires.

"The General Federation of Trade Unions may be said to have now disappeared from the trade union world as an effective force in the determination of industrial or political policy.

"Any history of Trade Unionism that breaks off at the beginning of 1920 halts, not at the end of an epoch, but at the opening of a new chapter."

Producers and Consumers

The movement is seething with new ideas, but also is uncertain of itself. It is groping after a precise adjustment of powers and functions between associations of producers and associations of consumers.

"As yet the mass of the people, to whom power is passing, have made but little effective use of their opportunities. At least seven-eighths of the nation's accumulated wealth, and with it nearly all the effective authority, is still in the hands of one-eighth of the population. The leisure class —the men and women who live by owning and not by working, a class increasing in actual numbers, if not relatively to the workers—seem to the great mass of working people to be showing themselves, if possible, more frivolous and more insolent in their irresponsible consumption, by themselves and their families, of the relatively enormous share that they are able to take from the national income.

"The truth is that democracy, whether political or industrial, is still in its infancy."

To state the democratic problem in fundamental form, "the see-saw is between the aspiration to vest the control over the instruments of production in democracies of producers, and the alternating belief that this control can best be vested in democracies of consumers." "The record of successive at-

[4] From that modest demand to the Joint Control demand of 1920 is the measure of the British social revolution. Harry Gosling, head of the Transport Workers, has made the same psychological change in three years.

tempts, in modern industry, to place the entire management of industrial undertakings in the hands of associations of producers has been one of failure. In marked contrast, the opposite form of democracy, in which the management has been placed in the hands of associations of consumers, has achieved a large and constantly increasing measure of success."

Not only is this shown in certain extensive fields of industrial operation of municipal and national government, but in the success in the importing, manufacturing, and distributing of household supplies, of the voluntary associations of consumers known as the co-operative movement.

A vocational democracy is now to be superimposed on a democracy based on geographical constituencies.

In each generation there is the intolerant fanaticism of enthusiasts insisting on some one form of democracy. Today we see a revival of faith in associations of producers, as the only form that democratic organization can validly take.

"There would seem to be a great development opening up for the Works Committees and the 'Shop Stewards'."

The object and purpose of the workers comprise "nothing less than a reconstruction of society, by the elimination, from the nation's industries and services, of the capitalist profitmaker. Profitmaking as a pursuit, with its sanctification of the motive of pecuniary self-interest, is the demon that has to be exorcised. 'Co-partnership,' or profit-sharing with individual capitalists, has been seen through and rejected. But the 'co-partnership' of trade unions with associations of capitalists—whether as a development of 'Whitley Councils' or otherwise—which far-sighted capitalists will presently offer in specious forms (with a view, particularly, to protective customs tariffs and other devices for maintaining unnecessarily high prices, or to governmental favors and remissions of taxation) is, we fear, hankered after by some trade union leaders."

The above are a few extracts from the new "History." The Webbs mop up every salient minute fact. They operate like a vacuum cleaner. The student of British labor need hardly be reminded that no other book on these recent years is so necessary for him as the revised "History" of the Webbs.

The Teachers' Union

Bird Stair

Even in these extraordinary times the decision of teachers to join the labor movement is of special significance. Mainly within two years the American Federation of Teachers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has grown to more than 135 locals, with a membership running well into the second ten thousand. College and university teachers are taking a prominent part in the union, sometimes organizing as separate locals, sometimes joining with teachers in elementary and secondary schools.

As the union movement has taken place at a time when much publicity has been given to the need for higher salaries for teachers, it is natural that the public should see in it simply a rebellion against bad pay. This is not wholly unfortunate. Those who fix the salaries of teachers do not blame them for trying to get a living wage, and are willing enough to vote the funds if it can only be made plain to their constituents that it was through compulsion that taxes were raised. Once the thing is done, the public acquiesces, for though it neglects taking the initiative it is really willing to give the teachers a living. The opposition to unionizing has been stronger from within the profession than from without. The hostile criticism of the laity has chiefly taken the form of satirizing the supposed incongruity of the affiliation of teachers with plumbers.

But the union movement among teachers means much more than a determination to

organize in order to obtain better pay. Teachers have long sought to satisfy their self-respect by trying to believe that they enjoy a position of dignity and public esteem similar to that traditionally accorded to the clergy. Of late they have begun to realize that their belief in the existence of this compensation is a delusion. They perceive that they are rarely called into important councils of the community. They recognize that their position of pretended esteem is much like that which was long offered to women in exchange for the loss of many of the ordinary rights of a human being. The younger generation of college teachers have analyzed the attitude of the alumni toward the beloved old professors. They have decided that they desire for themselves when their time shall come something more sharply differentiated from the homage customarily rendered to grandmothers.

Thoughtful teachers could not remain satisfied with the facile explanation that in a commercial age their non-commercial vocation naturally could not receive a proper reward. When they scrutinized their real relation to the community, they saw that they were only the servants of a small but powerful class. They realized that it was for this class, not for the community at large, that the entire educational system was organized and administered. They discovered that the responsibility to the public of schools, colleges, and universities actually meant responsibility to the small ruling class of exploiters. In this interpretation courses of study were framed and professional standards defined. Teachers often got into trouble for taking sides with the proletariat, but never for defending capitalism.

With this once recognized, it was easy to understand the plight of the profession. The public at large was really giving to education and to teachers more, not less, credit than was deserved. In fact, it was only the clever propaganda of the ruling class that kept the people in line to tolerate the present educational system. As for the rulers, policy demanded that they should utter pious platitudes about "the noblest of professions," but it was too much to expect them to have any real respect for their hirelings. And policy unfortunately made it no longer possible to pay these retainers well, seeing that taxes for educational purposes were already so high. Besides, it was unnecessary to subsidize teachers liberally, for they were easily controlled by means of an admirable system of educational government and administration.

Bureaucracy

Indeed, it was through their experience with this system that some teachers became enlightened as to their true status. To them poverty and lack of honor were less galling than the undemocratic conditions under which they worked. In the schools they were frequently at the mercy of petty tyrants, and at best they were crushed by narrow supervision and blind bureaucracy. In the colleges tenure was even less secure, and while there was usually greater freedom in the details of instruction the great body of teachers had little to do with determining matters of moment to themselves and their work. Heads of departments, deans, presidents, and trustees constituted a system against which the individual was powerless.

The young have shrewdly appraised conditions within the teaching profession. Of the strong, only a few with an unquenchable zeal for the pursuit and dissemination of truth have been willing to make the worldly sacrifices so manifestly required. But it is a weakness of idealistic youth not to scrutinize closely the actual fabric of which dreams are to be fashioned. The young man has often assumed that the worldly sacrifices would be the only ones exacted, and that untrammeled scholarship and teaching would be a sufficient compensation. But no matter how deeply he is engrossed in learning and teaching, he finds that neither can be disconnected from the machinery of education. And he perceives that he is the slave of the machine. Conformity, he finds, is the price, not merely of legitimate professional advancement, but of opportunity to make any part

of his work thrive—conformity to petty personal despotism, conformity to the social and economic interests that have installed the puppet despots and that pull the wires that control their actions.

The results are deplorable. Some men will not bend the knee; eventually they either give up teaching in disgust or are forced out. But since the process of disillusionment is gradual, and since the dyer's hand is stained by what it works in, even the strong and the honest too often suffer slow corruption. Habit is strong, and the difficulties of a change of occupation become stronger with each year of service. By conformity it is easy for ability to attain at least the higher orders of serfdom. What wonder then that most capitulate, and cynically satisfy themselves with the achievement of a sufficiently succulent parasitism?

The Opposition

When teachers made efforts to reform conditions, it became clear that the resistance was much stronger than could have been possible had not educational officials enjoyed the support of powerful interests outside the field of education. It was then that many saw that democracy in education was opposed by the same forces that have opposed education for democracy.

Prejudices acquired during a long period of dependency upon the ruling classes are strong. It is natural that even after teachers have come to an understanding of their plight and the causes of it, they should try to shake themselves free without the help of their long disowned fellow-workers. Thus we have the brave efforts of the American Association of University Professors, and we hear of proposals for national vocational unions unaffiliated with labor organizations. Such associations cannot, however, get at the root of the matter.

Union With Hand Workers

In the first place, teachers are not strong enough to work out their salvation unassisted. Even should it be found possible to form organizations not dominated by educational officials, teachers could not easily win even by the weapon of the strike. A strike could be resisted for a long time, and meanwhile most teachers could not adapt themselves to other employment with which to save themselves from starvation. It is by arousing public opinion and by exerting political pressure that teachers must obtain their ends. For these they need an alliance with other large organizations. The natural allies are found to be the labor bodies, representing the largest section of the public, and having the largest stake in efficient education.

Of even greater importance are the spiritual regeneration and the consequent liberation of energy resulting from the perception by teachers of their true relationship to the community and their solidarity with the rest of the workers. So long as they shut their eyes to the fact that it is their duty to serve that class of their fellow-citizens who live by productive work, rather than the numerically insignificant exploiters, teachers are in a false position and cannot effectively promote either their work or their own welfare. It means a great deal that teachers are recognizing the arbitrary and fallacious character of classifications that separate brain workers from hand workers. The old order has had no more effective defense than that built upon the complex of prejudices arising from the tacit acceptance of this division as one of the great realities of life.

It would be too much to assert that even all union teachers have fully attained this degree of social consciousness. But the leaders have it, and the spirit is contagious. A great deal of the hostility or indifference of the professional workers to affiliation with labor arises from sheer ignorance of unionism and of labor's attitude toward education. But through the active intervention of labor organizations in favor of advanced educational legislation, teachers are at last finding out that labor is highly conscious of its interest in education. They are discovering that organized labor is now the strongest single influence in securing adequate appropriations for public education, and that its

vision extends to the necessity of public support for the highest forms of research.

The Education of the Future

The consequences of the affiliation of teachers with the labor movement will be immense for both labor and education. For labor it means that within a few years schools and colleges will cease to be used for propaganda against the producers and workers who pay for them. No longer will it be a common experience to be confronted with the pathetic spectacle of the worker who is an enemy to himself and his class because he was falsely taught in school by another deluded traitor to his class. The destruction of the gigantic system will carry down with it a host of subsidiary institutions for corrupting public opinion. The venal press of today, for instance, is tolerated only because the schools have prepared the minds of readers to receive the poison. Education will be reorganized to meet the needs of the community as it has never done. Labor's campaign for adult education will receive a great impetus from the enthusiastic and devoted assistance that teachers will give to it. And as soon as teachers fit themselves to undertake the responsibilities, they will be called upon to contribute to labor's problems of leadership.

Education will assume its rightful place as the greatest of all instrumentalities for progress. No longer will it be chained to the past because of an obligation to perpetuate the social and economic institutions of the past. It will be freed from the conventional conceptions which have rejected much that is richly educational while retaining the merely vestigial. There will be a revaluation of values, and a revision of professional standards. Best of all, there will be a new race of teachers. Of all vocations, teaching is that for which it is most indispensable that the working conditions be such as constantly to stimulate the workers to initiative and enthusiasm. When the work of education has really been placed in the hands of the educators, teaching will become a creative industry. It will cease to attract weaklings, and will call to the strong. No longer will it corrupt superior personalities who have followed their true vocation. It will develop fearless, aggressive leaders in the world's work. And from their schools will go forth the new order of workers, determined to create and to enjoy.

"Our 'Gene"

Jessie Wallace Hughan

At widely separated intervals there have appeared in the world men with that rare genius, the genius for loving. Others, indeed, may have excelled as reformers, as statesmen, as martyrs—have understood all mysteries and all knowledge and have given their bodies to be burned. With these, however, the deeds are lost in the personality, in the passion of tenderness that transfigures every human contact and the abandon of devotion that obliterates self in identification with suffering. Such lovers of humanity were Jesus, Gautama, and St. Francis. And perhaps some day, when the cause he serves has triumphed and time has mellowed the rugged features that we know, men may come to give Our 'Gene a place among these friends of all the world.

We are already familiar with the stories of Debs and the children, of his close friendship with the poets Field and Riley, and of the countless intimacies with firemen, watchmen, and laborers of Terre Haute. Many of us know well the tender loyalty with which the Jimmy Higginses of the Socialist Party claim the personal friendship of 'Gene, and have marvelled at the magic with which Jewish casuists, frontier I. W. W.'s, and polyglot revolutionists will promptly bury their differences in a cheer for the gaunt Indianian.

[1] *Debs; His Authorized Life and Letters.* By David Karsner. New York: Boni and Liveright.

Yet there are many things new to us in this book of David Karsner's. It is easy to love one's friends—the child, the brother, the comrade—but what of loving one's enemies?

Karsner tells of the young government stenographer upon whose inaccurate version of Debs's speech the indictment was drawn. Debs, "putting his hands on the shoulders of the boy, assured him that he had done the best he could under the circumstances, and told him not to feel humiliated in the least, that his abilities in that line had been unfairly taxed. The youth was nearly in tears as 'Gene gently patted his face and told him not to worry."

The chief witness for the government was a reporter who appeared discomfited at having to testify against Debs. The latter, however, left his chair and said softly to the young man, "Mr. Miller, all that you said about me is true. You quoted me straight and accurate. I don't want you ever to feel that you have done me an injury by testifying against me."

Finally, as Debs entered Moundsville Prison, he was heard to say softly to his guard: "Marshal, you have treated me like a gentleman all the way down here. I should not wish you ever to feel that you have done me the slightest injury or harm by bringing me here." Debs's long arm slowly stretched across the broad shoulders of his guard and in this fashion he entered the prison.

In this year 1920 the possessing classes of America are trembling in fear of a violent revolution by the working class. Many of them believe that hatred is arousing the proletariat to bloody war for the overthrowing of their oppressors, and in that belief they are committing one futility and blunder after another.

In the midst of the chaos there stands out a figure of love and gentle strength. "'I abhor war,' said Debs. 'I would oppose the war if I stood alone—I would refuse to kill a human being on my own account—I love the people of this country, but I don't hate the people of any country on earth—I make no attack on Mr. Rockefeller personally. I do not in the least dislike him. If he were in need and it were in my power to serve him, I should serve him as gladly as I would any other human being. I have no quarrel with Mr. Rockefeller personally, nor with any other capitalist. I am simply opposing a social order.'"

"Not once," says Karsner, "in his long and varied career as a labor leader has he ever counseled violence as a means to the settlement of any dispute. He has been a lifelong antagonist of the principle of violence and force, no matter by whom it is practised."

This hater of violence, moreover, is the one man who enjoys the passionate devotion of the revolutionary working class of the United States. The Left and the Right, the violent and the peaceful, the Communist, the I. W. W., and the moderate Socialist, all unite in two things, the ideal of freedom and the love of Eugene V. Debs.

And it is he whom the United States government, in this crisis, has jailed for ten years.

The reading of Karsner's biography has made us write not of Karsner, but of 'Gene Debs. This is our tribute to the book.

Previous Issues

We append below a brief summary of the most important articles in the previous 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."
- Charles 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."

Socialist Review Calendar

19	U. S. A. Milwaukee, Wis.	Victor Berger reëlected by 25,802 votes against 19,800 for fusion candidate.
	BRITISH INDIA.	*Manchester Guardian* reports Amritsar (India) tragedy of April, 1919, when Gen. Dyer fired on crowd at political meeting, killing over 400 and wounding 1,500 natives. No martial law declared or warning given. Dead and wounded left untended on ground.
20	U. S. A. Washington, D. C.	President Wilson appoints as his Coal Commission: Henry M. Robinson of Pasadena, Cal.; John P. White (Former president United Mine Workers of America); and Rembrandt Peale (Independent coal operator of Penn.)
	BRITAIN. London.	Acting committee of the (2nd) International suggests postponement of February Congress to August, 1920.
	Spen Valley.	Tom Myers (laborite) defeats Sir John Simon (Liberal, former Home Secretary), and Col. Fairfax (Coalition government candidate) on platform of non-intervention in Russia, nationalization of mines, capital levy, and restoration of civil liberties. Votes were 11,962, 10,244, and 8,134 respectively.
21	U. S. A. Smithville, Ga.	Mob boards train, seizes Chas. West, negro ex-soldier, from prison guards and lynches him.
22	U. S. A. New York City.	249 radicals, including Berkman and Goldman deported to Soviet Russia on the "Buford." Postmaster Burleson refuses to rescind order of Nov. 18, 1917 (revoking 2nd class privilege) against the *New York Call.*
23	U. S. A. Indianapolis.	Franklin D'Olier (national commander American Legion) warns all members against taking law into their own hands.
	BRITAIN. London.	Premier Lloyd George proposes two parliaments for north and south Ireland, but would resist any attempt at separation of that nation.
24	U. S. A. Washington, D. C.	President Wilson announces return of railroads to private owners on March 1, 1920.
25	U. S. A. New York City.	Amnesty parade, starting from Church of the Ascension, broken up by police.
28	U. S. A. Washington, D. C.	President Wilson's (2nd) Industrial Conference presents plan for prevention of labor disputes by establishing national industrial tribunal and regional boards of inquiry

		and adjustment. Opposes affiliation of government public safety employees with any organization that uses method of strike.
	SIBERIA.	Kolchak resigns as "supreme ruler." Socialist revolutionaries form new government in Irkutsk.
31	RUSSIA. Esthonia.	Preliminary armistice signed between this border state and Soviet Russia.

JANUARY

2	U. S. A.	Wholesale raids organized by Department of Justice upon alleged "reds" of the Communist Party. Over 2,600 arrests.
	RUSSIA.	Soviet Government offers peace to Italy, with business relations resumed through the Black Sea.
5	U. S. A. New York City.	Chas. M. Schwab of Bethlehem Steel Corporation declares at dinner in Waldorf Hotel that nothing creates value but labor. (*N. Y. Times.*)
	HUNGARY.	Swiss papers report "most fearful atrocities of history being repeated in Hungarian capital." Daily public executions of alleged communists in Buda-Pesth with high-priced admission to place of execution.
7	U. S. A. Washington, D. C.	Four Railway brotherhoods plan big coöperative scheme with farmers. Form joint commission.
	Albany, N. Y.	Suspension of five socialist assemblymen.
	Columbus, O.	Convention of United Mine Workers affirms action of their international officers by 1,684 votes 221, thus accepting President Wilson's proposal for settlement.
8	U. S. A. Pittsburgh, Pa.	Steel strike, called Sept. 22, 1919, involving 367,000 workers, called off by the National Committee of the Steel Workers. William Z. Foster resigns as Secretary-Treasurer.
10	U. S. A. Washington, D. C.	Congress again refuses Victor Berger his seat, but six representatives, including Rep. floor leader James R. Mann, vote in his favor.
13	RUSSIA. Odessa.	Ukrainian Bolsheviki capture city from Denikin.
	GERMANY. Berlin.	Demonstrating against the industrial councils bill (which would place workmen's councils under government control) 40,000 factory workers, many ex-soldiers, mass before the Reichstag building. Noske's police and troops fire with machine guns and grenades, though the crowd was "very tame" (*Manchester Guardian*).
	IRELAND.	Municipal elections throughout the country yield Sinn Fein 550 seats out of 1,806, and Labor 394 seats.

14 U. S. A. New York City. Bar Association by 174 votes to 117 adopts Charles E. Hughes' resolution to send committee to Albany trial to safeguard representative government.

16 U. S. A. Utica, N. Y. Chas. Steene, Frank Preston, and Wm. Hotze, Syracuse socialists, sent to Atlanta for 18 months for distributing an amnesty leaflet published by national socialist headquarters.

FRANCE. Paris. The Supreme Council decides "to permit the exchange of goods . . . between the Russian people and allied and neutral countries," thus reversing its previous stand, despite assertions of no change of policy to Soviet Government.

17 FRANCE. Paris. Paul Deschanel defeats Clemenceau for presidency of the Republic by 408 votes to 389.

19 U. S. A. Seattle, Wash. Federal officers in raid arrest 316 "Russian radicals" as suspected communists, but hold only 27 for deportation. (Only 9 per cent.!)

RUSSIA. Myelo Ostroff. Soviet Government soldiers officially welcome deported "reds" of the "Buford," at the Finnish border.

FRANCE. Paris. Dr. Paul Zifferer, Austrian publicist, trying to raise loan for his country, declares Austria prepared to pawn even castles of Hapsburgs and City of Vienna for food.

20 U. S. A. Albany, N. Y. "Trial" of socialist assemblymen begins. Judiciary Committee refuses to allow Charles E. Hughes and New York Bar Association committee to appear for the public at trial.

Indianapolis. American Legion denounces suspension of five assemblymen as un-American.

21 U. S. A. New York City. Interboro Rapid Transit Corporation paid 65 million dollars in past 16 years for dividends, or 187½ per cent. August Belmont received $1,500,000 for services in financing subways and obtaining franchises for City Island Ry. (Latter sold for $27,000.) Thus public inquiry demonstrates.

Chicago, Ill. Wm. Bross Lloyd and 37 other alleged Communist Labor party members indicted by special Grand Jury for "conspiracy to overthrow government by force."

ITALY. North and central Italy in grip of railroad strike. Martial law in most cities. Many strike leaders arrested. Airplanes patrol railroads.

22 U. S. A. Washington, D. C. President Gompers appears before House Rules committee in opposition to Sterling and other "sedition"

bills. Members of Harvard Liberal Club of Boston also protest.

New York City. Interboro Rapid Transit Corporation has surplus of about 12 million dollars according to figures given by auditor Gaynor in public inquiry.
Wm. English Walling attacks socialists in *Times*.

Hartford, Conn. President Ernest Hopkins of Dartmouth College declares "present activity against radicals is purely political by-play to enhance the political aspirations of the Attorney General."

23 U. S. A. Chicago, Ill. Rose Pastor Stokes and 84 other alleged Communist party members indicted by special Grand Jury under Illinois syndicalist law.

24 U. S. A. Washington, D. C. Secretary of Labor Wilson decides that "the Communist party advocates the overthrow of the government by force or violence" and that membership in that party is sufficient to justify the deportation of any alien.

SIBERIA. Irkutsk. Kolchak, prisoner of revolutionists in this city, will be put on trial.

26 U. S. A. Washington, D. C. Ludwig C. A. K. Martens of Russian Soviet Bureau tells Foreign Relations sub-committee that American manufacturers have signed contracts with Soviet Russia for over $7,000,000.

GERMANY. Berlin. Attempt to assassinate Minister of Finance Erzberger results in calling out troops to prevent possible royalist uprising.

28 BRITAIN. London. Government refuses passports to Ramsay Macdonald and Chas. Roden Buxton to go to Soviet Russia as delegates from 2nd International.

29 U. S. A. Pittsburgh, Pa. U. S. Steel Corporation announces 10% wage increase for day laborers.

30 U. S. A. New York City. John Spargo repudiates Wm. English Walling in letter to *Tribune*, asserting Walling was "vigorous in upholding the ultra-revolutionary left wing" of Socialist party when Spargo was still a member.

31 U. S. A. Albany, N. Y. Mass meeting of civic, labor, and socialist bodies from New York State unanimously pass resolutions demanding reseating of socialist assemblymen, protesting against peace-time sedition laws, and government by injunctions. Delegates represent over million citizens.

Book Reviews

Gun Fodder

Gun Fodder: The Diary of Four Years of War. By A. Hamilton Gibbs, Major, Royal Artillery. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1919. $2.00.

In war, there are those who fight and those who do everything else but fight,—who enthuse, write indecent articles about the ennobling influence of slaughter, bolster up one another's morale with patriotic speeches, take over the handling of the "brain work" generally, and otherwise make themselves useless or obnoxious. Mr. Gibbs, who belongs to Class One, emerges from the struggle with an unmistakable prejudice against war in the abstract and against Class Two in the concrete. Even before the signing of the armistice we find him saying: "My mental attitude towards the war had changed. Whatever glamour and romance there may have been had worn off. It was just one long bitter waste of time,—our youth killed like flies by 'dugouts' at the front so that old men and sick might carry on the race, while profiteers drew bloated profits and politicians exuded noxious gases in the House."

The final victorious advance of the Allies is seen by Mr. Gibbs for what it is: "The 'glory of victory' was just one long butchery, one awful smell, an orgy of appalling destruction unequalled by the barbarians of pre-civilization.

"Here was all the brain, energy and science of nineteen hundred years of 'progress,' concentrated on lust and slaughter, and we called it glorious bravery and rang church bells! Soldier poets sang their swan songs in praise of dying for their country, their country which gave them a period of hell, and agonizing death, then wept crocodile tears over the Roll of Honor, and finally returned with an easy conscience to its money-grubbing. The gladiators did it better. At least they were permitted a final sarcasm, *'Morituri, te salutamus'!"*

One misses in Mr. Gibbs a certain *Weltanschauung* (if the American Legion will pardon the use of the word) without which his analysis falls rather wide of the mark. At one point, for instance, perfectly justifiable indignation at the brutality of the German invaders leads him to inquire whether we are mad "to think that such a people can be admitted into a League of Nations until after hundreds of years of repentance and expiation in sackcloth and ashes," and whether they should not "be made the slaves of Europe, the hewers of wood and drawers of water, the road-sweepers and offal-burners, deprived of a voice in their own government, without standing in the eyes of all peoples." These are the echoes of a dying philosophy. The prospects for the future are gloomy, indeed, unless the disillusioned Gibbses of every nation can bury their differences in the face of their common enemy.

But a passion for moralizing must not prevent me from saying that the book is much more than a sermon. There is a good and well-told story in store for anybody who is willing to put up with the temporary discomfort of having to wade deep through the slush of an occasional oversentimental passage.

JAMES W. ALEXANDER.

Science and the Workers

The Intellectuals and the Wage Workers. By Herbert Ellsworth Cory. N. Y.: Sunwise Turn.

In our older socialist thinking there were antitheses which we simply ignored: economic determinism and the eager-proletarian impulse toward improvement; the primally selfish basis of the class struggle and the ideal of a happy cooperative, creative society; science as a static, descriptive thing and the concept of a "scientific movement." Well do I remember how these incommensurables of Nineteenth Century science and faith were hurled at me when, for the first time, I left my academic cloister to address a labor meeting. I had no dialectic answer, for I was no scientist. But I had a practical one. I told those immobile theorists that the working people would transform the world and trust to the ingenuity of science to provide for the possibility of the thing after it had happened; and that, if science insisted on remaining descriptive, at any rate we would give it something new and interesting to weigh and measure.

That was not long ago in time, but it was ages ago in thought. Much water has flowed through the intellectual mill since then, and some grist has been ground. Ricardo, the half-baked Darwinians, and the early critics of Marx seem as far off as Calvin. The Twentieth Century has synthesized their antitheses and we need bear them ill will no longer. After Calvin came salvation by grace, and after the pseudo-Darwinians came Freud and Professor Herbert Ellsworth Cory.

Professor Cory's study in social psycho-analysis is a shining example of what a real intellectual can do for the workers. It begins with a clear recognition of the humble part heretofore played by the intellect in world movements. Progress has been made by "uncultivated mobs and by the lucky stroke of some individual." But now, as the masses of men become divinely discontented, "the radical scientists of human nature are finding an increasing justification in science for the growing hope of the wage workers." Economics and ethics are fused. Science becomes merely a phase

in the life of the individual and of society. Each of us, to be fully human, must be in turn visionary, critic, scientist, artist, man of action. And the specialized scientist looks forward as well as back, and sees his formula becoming the basis for new vision, new action, new criticism. And so he enters into life. He becomes, not the priest of the labor movement, but its historian, its chemist, its meteorologist, and astronomer. He supplies it with eyes fore and aft.

At the moment his finest service is electrocution of the economic man. We all know him in the form of the "human nature" which has been thrown at every soap-boxer, the human nature which we cannot change but would like to assassinate. Our dynamic psychologist hasn't changed it. He has done better. He has abolished it. He has discovered that it never existed. One authority lists only three emotions as primal, instinctive: fear, anger, and joy, or love—and the greatest of these, the earliest in time and perhaps the most basic in character, is love. The possessive tendency, the anti-socialist's "human nature," is not instinctive at all. It is an acquired characteristic dependent for development upon environment. So we swing back at last to the fundamentally beneficent, utopian "nature" of Rousseau.

For as modern psychology suggests control to the individual, so it suggests it to society. The individual is not one instinct, one motive, one current of energy, but many. He finds freedom and joy, not in suppression, but in blending, in harmony, in a happy parallelogram of forces. So with society. It is not just the tool that has made changes, not just geography, not just conflict of races, not just the dominance of one class or strain or ideal. All have their part. And right progress comes through union. In the class struggle we have hate and love at war, the possessive and creative instincts. Anguish is born of the suppression of the joy of work in the fierce lust for the power that goes with wealth. Satisfaction springs, not from the survival of the fittest impulse, but from a happy and fruitful union. Because the proletariat shows signs of consummating this union, the scientist is rooting hard for its success. Because Marx, at least spasmodically, here and there, between the lines, sensed all this, he stands, while his orthodox critics have become a part of ancient history.

Of course, we are here working on the basis of an analogy, even as were the neo-Darwinians. It may well be that we are over-emphasizing freedom even as they over-emphasized geologic and biologic pre-determination. Individual releases may not be so easy and simple as the enthusiast takes for granted. And a human society, with only one world to live in and one age at a time for its experiments, is, comparatively, vastly more circumscribed than the individual. But surely our analogy is less deceptive than that of our parent schoolmasters, and our truth is more vital than theirs. It is to be hoped that Professor Cory will work out his theory in more detail in its relation to the labor union movement. He sometimes gives the impression of a man seeing it through a golden haze. In avoiding the cocksure-pedantry of the typical college professor he has now and then fallen into an uncritical acceptance of unprofessional things. His ode to sabotage, for example, may require revision.

Our author's dream of the American university as a place where the youth of the land may freely grow in knowledge, in power, in personality—one stands before it as Dante stood before his *Paradise* and trembles to look in lest Dante's vision turn to Dunsany's *Golden Dawn*. Those who know our universities best will expect least of them and yet—there was Carleton Parker.

WILLIAM E. BOHN.

The Wreck of Europe

The Economic Consequences of the Peace. John Maynard Keynes. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Howe. 1920. $2.00.

The war did not quite accomplish the ruin of Europe. What the war left incomplete, the peace treaty perfected. The Big Four—Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Orlando—devised such peace terms as destroyed the economic structure of a large part of the Continent. Such is the theme of this authoritative book on the peace treaty.

Mr. Keynes was attached to the British Treasury during the war and was their official representative at the Paris Peace Conference. He also sat as deputy for the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the Supreme Economic Council. He resigned from these positions "when it became evident" (in his own words) "that hope could no longer be entertained of substantial modification in the draft Terms of Peace."

The French position, which set the terms, is well summed up by the *Eclair* of February 2, 1920, which states: "For her part France does not know how to be satisfied with a specious economic program opposed to her primordial political interests."

Mr. Keynes shows that the economic sabotage of the treaty has made "political interests" ineffectual. "Round Germany as a central support the rest of the European economic system grouped itself, and on the prosperity and enterprise of Germany the prosperity of the rest of the Continent mainly depended. . . . The German economic system as it existed before the war depended on three main factors"—overseas com-

merce, the exploitation of coal and iron, her transport and tariff systems. "The Treaty aims at the systematic destruction of all three, but principally of the first two."

"The economic frontiers which are to be established between the coal and the iron, upon which modern industrialism is founded, will not only diminish the production of useful commodities, but may possibly occupy an immense quantity of human labor in dragging iron or coal, as the case may be, over many useless miles to satisfy the dictates of a political treaty."

Briefly, because of such transfers or suggested transfers as Upper Silesia and the Saar Valley, coal can no longer get to iron. Therefore machine products cannot be created. Railroads cannot be repaired. Food cannot be transported from the farms to the cities. Exports cannot be manufactured, so imports will be lessened. The vast populations will be undernourished. Apathy, strikes, and local riots will set in, and the civilization of several nations will decay.

"Little has been overlooked which might impoverish Germany now or obstruct her development in future. . . . The perils of the future lay not in frontiers or sovereignties, but in food, coal, and transport."

Of this, the Big Four were unaware. Each came with a theory, floated on the words of political speeches. The four peacemakers have put economic frontiers across some twenty independent authorities. They have misdirected economic forces, stronger than the political structure of nationalist states. They have Balkanized Europe. They have inflicted vengeance on the German people, with special application to women and children. They have ruined Austria. They have wasted the sacrifice and betrayed the hopes of the common people everywhere. The Council of Four are slaying by slow and well-devised methods more than the war slew. But it is still possible to save Europe from the ultimate penalties of Allied statesmanship.

"Europe, if she is to survive her troubles, will need so much magnanimity from America that she must herself practise it."

The discretionary powers of the Reparation Commission, with its sliding scale of indemnity, "skins her [Germany] alive year by year in perpetuity."

"It is for those who believe that Germany can make an annual payment amounting to hundreds of millions sterling to say in what specific commodities they intend this payment to be made, and in what markets the goods are to be sold."

"We are without experience of the psychology of a white race under conditions little short of servitude."

"The Council of Four wanted, not so much a settlement, as a treaty. On political and territorial questions the tendency was to leave the final arbitrament to the League of Nations. But on financial and economic questions the final decision has generally been left with the Reparation Commission—in spite of its being an executive body composed of interested parties."

President Wilson in his presentation of the Treaty to the Senate in July, 1919, spoke of the League of Nations in relation to the "supervision of the task of reparation." He was mistaken in thinking that the supervision of Reparation payments has been intrusted to the League of Nations. Over these problems, "the Reparation Commission is supreme without appeal of any kind to the League of Nations."

The Reparation Commission is "the arbiter of Germany's economic life." Mr. Keynes quotes as "hardly an exaggeration" the German Financial Commission:

"Germany is no longer a people and a state, but becomes a mere trade concern placed by its creditors in the hands of a receiver."

"The policy of reducing Germany to servitude for a generation, of degrading the lives of millions of human beings, and of depriving a whole nation of happiness should be abhorrent and detestable—abhorrent and detestable, even if it were possible, even if it enriched ourselves, even if it did not sow the decay of the whole civilized life of Europe. Some preach it in the name of Justice. In the great events of man's history, in the unwinding of the complex fates of nations Justice is not so simple. And if it were, nations are not authorized, by religion or by natural morals, to visit on the children of their enemies the misdoings of parents or of rulers."

Europe reveals "an extraordinary weakness on the part of the great capitalist class," with the "terror and personal timidity of the individuals of this class. . . . They allow themselves to be ruined and altogether undone by their own instruments, governments of their own making, and a press of which they are the proprietors. Perhaps it is historically true that no order of society ever perishes save by its own hand."

"An inefficient, unemployed, disorganized Europe faces us, torn by internal strife and international hate, fighting, starving, pillaging, and lying." (Italics mine.)

Russia, Hungary, and Austria "are an extant example of how much man can suffer and how far society can decay."

Among the remedies suggested by Mr. Keynes are, instead of the sliding scale of reparation, a fixed sum of 1,500 million sterling (after certain deductions) to be paid in thirty annual installments. A reciprocal arrangement between Ger-

many and France as regards the coal of the Saar Valley and the iron ore of Lorraine. The dissolving of the Reparation Commission, or the making of it an appanage of the League of Nations, with representatives of Germany and the neutral states. A Free Trade Union for Central, Eastern, and South-Eastern Europe, Siberia, Turkey, the United Kingdom, Egypt, and India. The entire cancellation of Inter-Ally indebtedness. An international loan.

These last two remedies mean a straight money-gift by the United States, and a risky loan. As J. L. Garvin, the distinguished Unionist editor of *The Observer*, sees it: The United States by entering the war is responsible for the consequences of its act, and is ethically bound to help Europe. As certain labor leaders see it: There would have been a modified earlier peace but for the United States. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Gompers smashed the European labor program of tentative negotiation. The American Army enabled the Allies to split the economic system of Europe. Having wrecked Europe, the United States ought to help assemble the fragments.

Mr. Keynes states: "If I had influence at the United States Treasury, I would not lend a penny to a single one of the present governments of Europe. . . . The replacement of the existing governments of Europe is an almost indispensable preliminary."

"For the immediate future events are taking charge, and the near destiny of Europe is no longer in the hands of any man."

In one way only can we influence those hidden currents that shape events, "by setting in motion those forces of instruction and imagination which change opinion." And this by "the assertion of truth, the unveiling of illusion, the dissipation of hate."

"We have been moved already beyond endurance, and need rest. Never in the lifetime of men now living has the universal element in the soul of man burnt so dimly."

ARTHUR GLEASON.

Russia: Red and White

Russia Red or White. Oliver M. Sayler. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1919.

The Russian Pendulum. Arthur Bullard. N. Y.: Macmillan Co.

As dramatic editor of the *Indianapolis News*, Mr. Sayler went to Russia to find out what had happened to the theatre under the new régime. The author arrived there just before the first revolution and remained there the first six months after the establishment of the Soviet Government. According to the author, there were during these days only two Russias—Red Russia and White Russia. There were those who wished to see the revolution run through its natural course and who helped it along, and those who desired a return to the old régime, and who did all in their power to arrest the progress of the revolution.

The failure to realize this great fact of the struggle for supremacy between the old and new order led to disaster. The American Ambassador Francis, the author tells us, lived in hope that all parties would arrive at an amicable understanding, thereby evincing an ignorance of many of his compatriots.

Returning by way of Siberia, Mr. Sayler visited Samara, just about the time the famous Saratov "Decree" on the nationalization of women was published. The author met the Samara Anarchists and talked with them about this decree. He was soon convinced that the famous document, the reading of which still delights the witch-hunters in this country, was one of the many attempts to discredit the Soviet Government. The book contains a copy of this counter-revolutionary document, as well as a proclamation of the Samara Anarchists, dealing with this outrage. Having investigated the facts concerning the misdeeds against the Czecho-Slovaks, the author comes to the conclusion that the Czecho-Slovaks were used by the Great Powers merely as a pretext for intervention, and he compares their case with that of Belgium at the beginning of the war.

Altogether, the book reveals a sympathetic understanding of the Russian masses, and an appreciation of their yearnings for freedom and peace. It does not pretend, however, to be a serious treatise on the fundamental changes which have come about since the revolution.

The only original thing about Arthur Bullard's book is his spelling of Bolshevism with an *i* instead of with an *e* (Bolshivism). Otherwise, the book is typical of the many published for the "enlightenment" of the American public about Russian affairs. The writer visited Russia, where he was associated with the Russian Division of the Committee on Public Information. Before the war, Bullard's book, "Comrade Yetta," written under the pseudonym of Albert Edwards, classed him among the protagonists of the social revolution. Those who knew Bullard considered him rather impatient with the Moderates.

The Russian Pendulum does not reveal any understanding of the forces back of the Great Change in Russia. The German gold story is substantiated. The Sisson Documents, "though not studied closely," are considered, "with one or two exceptions," authentic. Lenin's return from Switzerland through Germany is given the conventional explanation. Bullard has surely met those Mensheviks who accompanied Lenin to Rus-

sia and knows that they went to Russia *via* Germany, only after the Allies had refused to allow the Russian exiles in Switzerland to return home through their countries, and that arrangements were made for them to go through Germany with the aid of Swiss officials.

Though the book was published a year and a half after the establishment of the Soviet Government, nothing is recorded of the practical work of the Soviets. Together with the other critics of the Red Army, he failed in his calculations, because he measured the workers enrolled under the Soviet banners and fighting in defense of institutions of their own making and under their control with the ordinary militarist yardstick. He did not realize that the same class antagonism which permeated the revolution was projected into the war against the leaders of the risen "democracies"—Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenitch, etc., and the foreign supporters of their counter-revolutionary schemes.

But the amusing part of Bullard's book is his reference to the origin of the ancient battle-cry of the international proletariat. According to Bullard, Lenin is about the only person who ever took seriously the motto, "Workers of All Countries, Unite," with which, we are told, "Marx, in a youthful outburst of emotionalism, ended his *Communist Manifesto.*"

In discussing the Brest-Litovsk peace, Bullard asserts that the Bolsheviks sold out their "comrades" in Finland and Ukraine, and that they broke their agreement with the Czecho-Slovaks. Everybody knows the activities of the Finnish White Guard and of the Ukrainian Rada against the revolution. In regard to the breaking of agreements with the Czecho-Slovaks, may I refer the author to the testimony of the returning Czecho-Slovaks in regard to their detention in Siberia.

As an example of the principle of self-determination originally pronounced to the world by the Russian Revolution, may I quote from a recent order, issued by Leon Trotzky, to the Red Army advancing in Ukrainia against the Denikin forces:

"Comrades, Soldiers, Commanders and Commissars!—You have entered Ukrainia and have annihilated the Denikin bands. You have freed the brother-country of its despoilers. Ukrainia is the land of the Ukrainian workers and peasants. Only the Ukrainian working-class and peasantry have the right of governing their own country. While you are beating Denikin, you must show love and regard for the Ukrainian working-class masses. Woe unto those who will touch a hair of a Ukrainian city or village worker.

"The Ukrainian peasant and working masses should feel safe under the protection of our bayonets. Remember that our purpose is emancipation, not the enslavement of the Ukrainians. When the Denikin bands will be destroyed, then the Ukrainian masses will decide what kind of a social order they wish to have, and what relation they wish to bear toward the Soviet Republic. Down with the robbers and despoilers! Long live the emancipated, independent Ukrainia!"

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG.

Society the Tyrant

Untimely Papers. By Randolph Bourne. N. Y.: B. W. Huebsch.

If Randolph Bourne had lived until the day when his *Untimely Papers* could no longer so be called, how would he have finished them? The reader experiences a sense of personal loss as he tries to supply the end of the task which was so ably begun; and he longs for fresh prophecies from this extraordinary fortune-teller of nations.

"Old Tyrannies," the first of six essays reprinted from the *Seven Arts* magazine, preludes the book with a picture of its hero, Individual, setting bravely forth against Society, tyrant and villain of the play. "When you come as an inhabitant to this earth, . . . you are a helpless victim of your parents' coming together. . . . Everything about you is given, rigid, set up when you arrive. . . . By the time you do dimly begin to apprehend, . . . your affections have attached themselves to things that you in later life discover you never intended them to touch."

Then Society produces his old weapon, War, horridly sharpened, to punish your rebelliousness. His courtier intellectuals imitate Society with an air of originating the gesture. The music starts, the procession forms, and poor Individual is whipped into line. Trying to keep step, "he is quite willing to believe that it is the German Government and not the German people whom he is asked to fight, though it may be the latter whom he is obliged to kill." But "all the seductions of 'liberal' idealism leave him cold."

The liberals have not succeeded startlingly in their synthesis of war opinion, if one may judge by the pitiful shreds which Mr. Bourne leaves of their arguments. First they coaxed themselves into the war in order to force a "peace without victory." They achieved, as some one has observed, only a victory without peace—but that is anticipating. Instead of shortening the war, the author held, American entrance rather tended to prolong it, saddling us with "a war-technique which has compromised rather than furthered our strategy." The climactic blunder of the series lay in surrendering to Russia "the key to our American strategy. . . . If, after all the idealism and creative intelligence that we shed upon Amer-

ica's taking up of arms, our State Department has no policy, we are like brave passengers who have set out for the Isles of the Blest only to find that the first mate has gone insane and jumped overboard, the rudder has come loose and dropped to the bottom of the sea, and the captain and pilot are lying dead drunk under the wheel. The stokers and engineers, however, are still merrily forcing the speed up to twenty knots an hour, and the passengers are presumably getting the pleasure of the ride."

The unfinished fragment on the "State," which was to have been so great a book, is still a keen and impressive analysis of social psychology. "In this great herd-machinery, dissent is like sand in the bearings. The state ideal is primarily a sort of blind animal push towards military unity. . . . War is the health of the state."

And after the self-styled peace (which seems to have left the state still reasonably healthy) what would Randolph Bourne have added, what doubly bitter denunciation, to the temperate ironies of these searching papers? Perhaps nothing but the tolerant smile of one who foresaw. He at least, as Individual, came through unsubdued. Perhaps the real bitterness could not reach one who had no illusions to lose.

MARION TYLER.

Syllabus of the World War. By Norman Maclaren Trenholme. Columbia, Mo.: The Missouri Book Company. 1919. 166 pp.

A particularly useful and careful reference book regarding the World War. The volume treats of the backgrounds of the war, war aims, peace terms and reconstruction, and is replete with valuable references.

Modern Industrial Movements. Compiled and edited by Daniel Bloomfield. N. Y.: The H. W. Wilson Company. 377 pp. $1.80.

The author has here performed a valuable service in making available for American students some of the best of the recent periodical literature on important social problems. Among the topics treated in this volume are coöperation, syndicalism, the shop steward movement, scientific management, Bolshevism, the labor parties, and reconstruction programs. The book also contains a carefully selected bibliography. Throughout an attempt is made to treat controversial subjects from various points of vision. Least successful in this respect is the chapter on Bolshevism, particularly as it relates to the achievements of the Soviet Government. On the whole, however, the cream of the literature on both sides is impartially presented. H. W. L.

British Labor Conditions and Legislation During the War. By M. B. Hammond. N. Y.: Oxford University Press. 1919. 335 pp.

This volume, published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, contains a mine of authentic information concerning the labor movement and labor legislation during the war. The author, who completed the volume about the time of the signing of the armistice, is the first to admit that the critical account of the labor movement during the war must be left to some future historian, and that many things that seemed in 1918 to be of lasting importance were but of temporary significance. The volume gives a documentary history of the reactions of the war on labor in England which future students will find invaluable. H. W. L.

Freedom of Discussion in American Colleges

In November, 1919, the Intercollegiate Socialist Society sent a questionnaire to a number of college professors and students in the country to find out to what extent freedom of discussion still exists in our colleges. Replies were received from more than sixty colleges.

The questions in general asked for information concerning the freedom of the faculty to express their convictions and the freedom of the student groups to organize and to secure speakers. The questionnaire also sought to find out whether radical students were being discriminated against.

The greatest unanimity in the answers to the half-dozen questions seemed to prevail in the case of the last-named question, and with scarcely an exception professors and students emphatically declared that no pressure, such as the withholding of scholarships, of Phi Beta Kappa, etc., was exercised in their institutions. One exception appeared in the case of the University of California, where a student, according to one of the undergraduates, "was denied a scholarship because of her radical views, although she had met all of the requirements for it." "Last year," continued the correspondent, "one student was threatened by the authorities with the withholding of her diploma because she had written an editorial favorable to Bolshevism. This was only a threat, however, as she got her diploma." A Hunter student tells of loss of position by a former radical, who failed reappointment as teacher in the high school in spite of her "highly satisfactory work," because of the disapproval of the teacher's political and economic opinions.

Freedom to Organize Student Groups

Less unanimous were the responses in regard to the freedom of student groups to organize and

affiliate with the I. S. S. and other associations, although the large majority of the college correspondents stated that such freedom existed. In the New England states, all the eleven colleges replying asserted that few if any restrictions existed. Such organizations were distinctly encouraged at Radcliffe.

In the middle Atlantic States, thirteen out of fifteen colleges replying declared emphatically that students were free to organize. The outstanding exceptions here were those at the College of the City of New York and Hunter College, both city colleges. President Mezes of C. C. N. Y. this fall ordered the Social Problems Club to sever affiliation with the I. S. S., claiming that if any such affiliation had existed it was without the authorization of the college, since the Board of Trustees had definitely prohibited affiliation some years ago. This was news to the club. This year permission to organize an I. S. S. Chapter was again denied students of Hunter College, New York. One of the students in fact says that "the students are not permitted to organize any groups for the discussion of economic problems. The only exception to this rule is the History Forum. We are definitely told that there is to be no affiliation with the I. S. S., as no outside organization is to have any influence in Hunter. However, such religious organizations as Menorah and Zionists affiliated with outside organizations are in existence at the present time."

In the Middle West, most of the twenty-one professors and students answering wrote that they knew of no formal restriction on study groups.

On the Pacific Coast, study groups at the University of California are permitted, but, as I understand it, the name of the I. S. S. is not used in the local chapter. This is in line with the rule that no organization can assume the name of a political or religious party. No restrictions are met with at the University of Oregon or the University of Southern California, according to the correspondents from these institutions.

At Goucher College, Maryland, the students were advised not to form a chapter of the I. S. S. during the year 1917-18. Professors from Washington and Lee, the University of South Carolina, and Maryland College state that no restrictions exist in their respective institutions.

Censorship over Speakers

It is difficult from the questionnaire to find out the degree of censorship in regard to outside speakers. The majority of colleges state that there is no censorship, but in numerous instances is added the rather contradictory statement that great care is exercised in the selection of speakers! Most of the New England colleges pride themselves on their liberality. From Wellesley the report reads that Wellesley students are overlectured, but no one, as far as the correspondent is aware, has been turned down because of his radicalism *per se*. A Radcliffe student writes that practically all views can be represented by the lecturers, but that there is a tacit understanding that the person who is invited must be one of good repute.

From one of the small Maine colleges a professor states that he personally would be willing to invite to his class Debs and Berger, if he could be assured that it would not produce a riot in town!

It is when we come to the Middle Atlantic States that we find the greatest amount of censorship over speakers. I have been advised that in 1918-19 the Vassar Chapter submitted the names of something like thirty speakers and that two of these were approved. A student from Hunter writes that the faculty adviser there demanded that the club alternate socialist and anti-socialist speakers, in spite of the fact that most of the speakers approved were not representative socialists. The club was denied the privilege of inviting such speakers as Algernon Lee and John Haynes Holmes.

The list of speakers refused permission to address the C. C. N. Y. Social Problems Club in the fall of 1919 is an astounding one, containing as it does the names of Ernest Poole, Ordway Tead, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Moissaye Olgin, Jerome P. Davis, James Weldon Johnson, Frederic C. Howe, John Haynes Holmes, Dudley Field Malone, Oswald Garrison Villard, Norman Thomas, Max Eastman, Judge Jacob Panken, Leland Olds, Will Durant, Peter Goldin, Padraic Colum, Anita C. Block, David Berenberg, Louis B. Boudin, W. N. Ewer, Charles Ervin, Isaac M. Hourwich, Scott Nearing, James Oneal, Rose Pastor Stokes, James P. Warbasse, and Alexander Trachtenberg! Out of the second list of over 90 names submitted in January, 1920, 24 have at present writing been approved, including the name of Norman Thomas.

Considerable freedom seems to prevail in the Middle West, if we can believe the questionnaire received. Grinnell writes that freedom there seems to be unlimited. Hamline, St. Paul, Minn., states there is no actual censorship, but that the president selects speakers very carefully. At the University of Illinois it is reported that "safe and sane" speakers are ordinarily selected, but that no consorship prevails. In fact, that is the nature of the reply from most of the colleges of the Middle West.

The University of California students have had considerable difficulty in obtaining the speakers they desire, Austin Lewis, Upton Sinclair, Scott

Nearing, and others having been denied the privilege of addressing the group.

In large numbers of colleges, where freedom to hear speakers is said to be unlimited, I may state that, in all probability, no speaker would be permitted to address the students who expressed himself in favor of violent change of government. In many colleges, where, according to the questionnaire, no censorship existed, no student organization which would bring the matter to a test had been in existence in the last few years.

Pressure from Without

A further question asked in the questionnaire was, "What individuals or organizations are endeavoring to prevent freedom of discussion in the colleges?" Little information was secured in reply to this question. A radical professor in one of the big New England colleges stated that the pressure against both student organizations and faculty could be traced largely to the wealthy alumni. Another mentioned the hysteria on the part of a number of students who had returned from service. An instructor from a Middle Western university spoke of the pressure from the local Chamber of Commerce.

In Cornell, the chief attack against the I. S. S. Chapter for asking Albert Rhys Williams to tell about Russia was started by the conservative local paper. This year also numerous newspapers in Middletown and Boston bitterly attacked Wilfred Humphries during his trip.

Freedom to Teach

The final question, the first asked on the questionnaire, was, "Is there any interference in your college with the freedom of the faculty to express their views to students?"

Ten of the eleven replying from the New England colleges stated that they knew of no interference with instructors by authorities. The forced resignation of Emily Balch from Wellesley was the exception noted. One radical member of the faculty declared that there might be complaint if she departed from her scholarly impartiality, and another spoke of the interference by alumni, although he had no complaint regarding the stand of his particular administration.

In the Middle Atlantic States, thirteen of the fifteen replies seemed to indicate that a considerable amount of freedom existed in teaching students.

An instance was cited in C. C. N. Y. of the forced resignation of Professor Hartman because of his radical views. From a New York college came a report of the cross-examination of a teacher of Russian history accused of teaching Bolshevism.

On the other hand, a small college on the Atlantic Seaboard counted as non-sectarian writes:

"Interference with freedom of members of the faculty to express views to students is virtually unknown. Three or four of my colleagues are more or less pro-socialist in their opinions, although entirely of the 'parlor' variety. If they have ever been interfered with I have not heard of it. Until recently I am inclined to think that most of the members of the Board would object much more strongly to membership in the Democratic than in the Socialist party. Those adhering to the latter would have been regarded as harmless lunatics. The Democrats, on the other hand, would probably appear to the Board members as malicious, and possibly dangerous in spite of the rock-ribbed Republicanism of this state."

Most of the Middle Western colleges here again speak of their comparative freedom. From a small Iowa college a statement was received that there existed a well-defined radical element recognized by the faculty and president and that no attempt had been made to limit its discussion. An instructor at the University of Illinois declared that there was no interference, but that an instructor holding unorthodox views was likely to be penalized.

An instructor from the Iowa Agricultural College declared that one of the instructors would have been "fired" for saying that Roosevelt was a Prussian if the Chancellor had not interfered. Another one "got in bad" with the Board of Trustees by saying that "Bolshevism was not so bad."

On the other hand, a progressive professor from Kansas State Agricultural College testified that he had enjoyed perfect academic freedom for twenty years, that he had given socialism, single tax, etc., a square deal, and that he was never interfered with. Another instructor from the same college says that there is a silent censorship which instructors feel exists.

On the Pacific Coast, a professor from the University of California stated that professors in general were permitted to express their convictions to the student body. On the other hand, a student from the same university wrote that the president of the Board of Trustees of the University of California declared that radical ideas must not be taught in the university.

From the University of South Carolina word came that freedom of discussion prevailed, but "the professor must always keep in mind public opinion." Replies to the questionnaire failed to mention some of the most flagrant cases of interference with free discussion during the last few years.

Summary

Until more data are obtained, it is impossible to form any final opinion in regard to free speech in American universities. The results of the questionnaire, however, seem to indicate that there is very little conscious discrimination against radical students in most of the universities. In fact

in some the radical is distinctly encouraged by the faculty, who see in him a rare sign of independent thinking. Most of the members of the faculty are pretty free to express their convictions to their students so long as they assume a "scholarly impartiality," and so long as they so express their views publicly as to avoid condemnation by the press, the politicians, and the financial backers of the institutions! In other words, it is possible in the majority of institutions for radical professors quietly to give their views to their classes, but not to function effectively as citizens.

Very few, if any, formal organizations seem to exist in the colleges for the restriction of discussion, but college students, faculties, and trustees have, in an alarming number of instances, absorbed the general hysteria prevailing at present, and exert a pressure against organizations that consider unorthodox economic views.

The chief censorship seems to prevail in regard to speakers and the present hysteria makes it difficult for speakers who have been spoken of in the press as social agitators to get any sort of hearing before large numbers of college bodies. There are certain colleges that have been able to fight pretty successfully against restrictions of all kinds and to give all opinion a fair hearing.

From one of the Middle Western colleges comes the statement:

"You will be interested in the fact that the professor of Hebrew had the library subscribe for the *Call* out of the Old Testament fund! Can you beat that?"

Important Magazine Articles

Compiled by Marion Tyler

Quarterly

American Economic Review. December, 1919.

Harry Best: The Extent of Organization in the Women's Garment-Making Industries of New York. 776-792

The protocol as tried in the garment industry is a significant experiment, if not entirely successful in bringing "peace."

Monthly

American Federationist. December 1919.

Samuel Gompers: The President's Industrial Conference. 1121-1125

An account of its proceedings and a rhetorical statement of the issues involved.

Coöperation, December, 1919.

Albert Sonnichsen: Should Coöperatives Federate or Amalgamate? 179-180

An argument against centralization.

Liberator. December, 1919.

Floyd Dell: Pittsburgh or Petrograd. 5-10

An interpretation of the steel strike.

Walter G. Fuller: Leftward Ho! 11-14

The trade union congress in Glasgow.

January, 1920.

Mary Heaton Vorse: The Steel Strike. 16-19

Incidents and descriptions from a personal visit to the scenes of the strike.

Russia Victorious. 5-14

Verbatim report of a conversation with Isaac McBride, in which he described conditions in Soviet Russia in the early autumn of 1919.

World Tomorrow. December, 1919.

Malcolm Sparkes: Planning the New Industrial Order. 320-326

A discussion and symposium on the work of the building trades parliament in Great Britain.

Walter G. Fuller: The Nine Days' Wonder. 342-345

A lively and pictorial account giving "a Londoner's view of the British railroad strike."

January, 1920.

Tyler Dennett: The Substance of Spanish Discontent. 9-11

The prospects of an early revolution in Spain.

Weekly and Fortnightly

Nation (New York). November 22, 1919.

Sylvia Kopald: Behind the Miner's Strike. 656-658

A Communist Manifesto from Hungary. 669-670

The appeal of the Hungarian Communist party to the workers of the Allied countries.

November 29, 1919.

John Kenneth Turner: Why We Should Leave Mexico Alone. 680-682

Henry G. Alsberg: Party Politics in Rumania. 697-699

Includes a statement of the position of the Rumanian Socialist party.

December 6, 1919.

Walter F. White: "Massacring Whites" in Arkansas. 715-716

Press misrepresentation of the Progressive Farmers and Household Union of America exposed.

Evans Clark: The Diplomatic Balance Sheet in Russia. 725-727

Expenditures by the Allies in military operations against the Bolsheviki balanced against the wealth they hope to gain through economic exploitation.

December 20, 1919.

Prince Max of Baden: Wherein the Allies Failed. 807-809

America's treachery to ideals expressed by Wilson has caused civil war in Germany.

Arthur Warner: The End of Boston's Police Strike. 790-792

This strike was forced by Big Business in order to discredit organized labor. The governor and the police commissioner are responsible for the first day's disorder.

December 27, 1919.

Oswald Garrison Villard: The Berger Victory. 820-821

Berger's election shows the voters' confidence in him and their impatience with present government policies.

Lincoln Colcord: The Committee of Forty-Eight. 821-822

An account of the conference which organized "the independent radical fringe" into a unit suitable for amalgamation in a new labor party.

James Arthur Muller: The Student Movement in China. 833-835

How Chinese students by their strike changed the pro-Japanese policy of the Government.

January 3, 1920.

Lincoln Colcord: Labor and the Farmers. 848-849

A description of "the solemn farce enacted by the American Federation of Labor on December 13."

George B. Noble: The Voice of Egypt. 861-864

Account and documents showing the martyrdom of Egypt to British imperialism, and the indifference of the United States, which alone could protest effectively.

New Republic. December 10, 1919.

Gerard C. Henderson: What Is Left of Free Speech. 50-52

An analysis of the Abrams case.

Charles Merz: Enter: the Labor Party. 53-55

The convention, the platform, the prospects.

December 24, 1919.

Maynard Keynes: When the Big Four Met. 103-109

President Wilson's Presbyterianism, which insisted on the letter of the Fourteen Points, is responsible for the destruction of their spirit in the treaty.

January 7, 1920.

William Hard: William Z. Foster. 163-166

"An extreme case of the heretic turned churchman."

Non-Partisan Leader. December 8, 1919.

Editorial: North Dakota Mines Producing 100 Per Cent. 3

The story of the strike in North Dakota, and Governor Frazier's action in taking over the mines on November 12.

Survey. December 13, 1919.

Walter F. White: The Race Conflict in Arkansas. 233-234

An account of the recent struggle and press misrepresentation of it, showing the abuses of landlordism, against which the negro farmers organized.

William L. Chenery. The Printers' Strike. 231-238

The necessity for more democratic government of trade unions in order to secure industrial peace.

December 20, 1919.

The New Labor Code of the World. Section II. 287-293

Conventions and recommendations of the International Labor Conference.

The Way Out. 261-278

A symposium on the industrial situation, by employers, labor leaders, industrial experts, and men of affairs.

December 27, 1919.

William L. Chenery: Unscrambling. 304-305

The dissolution of the packing trust.

January 3, 1920.

Henry R. Seager: Needs of Industry versus Demands of Organized Labor. 333-337

The necessity of a constructive public policy for the adjustment of difficulties is shown by the evidence of the steel and coal strikes.

Frank Hodges: Workers' Control. 348-351

The case for self-government put forward by the British miners.

ERRATUM

On page 181 of the February issue of *The Socialist Review,* Mr. Norman Hapgood is quoted as declaring that "a certain number of penalties, executed on definite opponents of force, would be entirely justifiable, provided they were based on the ordinary rules of law and evidence." The word "opponents" should be "exponents." This makes a very great difference in the entire paragraph. The printer's mistake is to be regretted.

Books Received

Across the Blockade. Henry Noel Brailsford. N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace and Howe. $1.50.

Raymond Robins' Own Story. William Hard. N. Y.: Harper Bros. $2.00.

Immortal Youth. Lucien Price. Boston: McGrath-Sherrill Press. $1.00.

Lenin. The Man and His Work. Albert Rhys Williams. N. Y.: Scott and Seltzer. $1.35.

The Equipment of the Workers. (London.) Sunwise Turn.

College Notes

Christmas vacation—examinations—"proms" — the new semester. . . . There seems to have been little time left for I. S. S. activities during the past two months, but nevertheless the work has gone ahead vigorously, and those chapters which have not already started their spring program have many plans under way.

The membership drive of February 22nd to 29th is bringing in many new members, and it is hoped that the chapters which have not been able to make a special drive at this particular time will have a membership campaign of their own in the near future.

At *Brooklyn Polytechnic* a group is being organized for the discussion of liberal topics by Harry Ostrall.

The Social Problems Club of *C. C. N. Y.* recently conducted a most successful membership campaign which brought in over 200 new members.

The University of *Michigan* chapter has already arranged four big meetings since the beginning of the year. Charles Madison, the secretary, writes that the attitude of the faculty and students, formerly antagonistic to the society, had changed because of the recent "red" raids, which have been publicly denounced by some of the professors. The *Michigan Daily* recently published a long article about the organization, and a favorable editorial.

The University of *Wisconsin* group recently held a large meeting for John Haynes Holmes. Their new officers are: President, John Cowan; vice-president, Johnston C. Craig; secretary-treasurer, Mercedes Zander; executive committee members: Ruth Farkasch, Doris Berger, Allen B. Forsberg, David Weiss.

The *Boston Alumni* Chapter is very active, and is holding an excellent series of conferences. Their last session was devoted to the subject of "Socialism of Today," with Scott Nearing and Harry Laidler as the speakers.

Recent speakers before the *New York Alumni* Chapter have been Horace M. Kallen, Jeanette Rankin, Scott Nearing, Roger Baldwin, S. K. Ratcliffe, Florence Kelley, Arthur Gleason, and Charles Zueblin. Especially entertaining was an afternoon with the poets of the chapter. Babette Deutsch, James Weldon Johnson, and Clement Wood gave readings, and Agnes Armington Laidler sang folk songs. Another unusually interesting afternoon was afforded by three of the suspended Albany assemblymen, Charles Solomon, Samuel De Witt, and Louis Waldman, who gave vivid accounts of their brief experience in the state legislature.

Dr. Lindley M. Keasbey has just concluded a course of lectures on "Politics and Productive Power" at the Wednesday evening supper classes. Jessie W. Hughan will conduct a course on Socialism during the spring term.

Harry W. Laidler spoke in late February in a number of New England colleges, and is planning a trip in the Middle West in late March.

JESSICA SMITH.