Devoted to the Cause of the Left Wing Socialists

Workers of the World, Unite! You have a World

to Gain!

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE

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The Conscientious Objector

By S. J. RUTGERS

THE Socialist is a conscientious objector because it is against our conscience and principles to betray the Working Class.

Knowing that armies in civilized capitalist countries are used in the interest of the ruling class against the working class, it is our conscientious duty to oppose the strengthening of such armies.

It makes little difference whether the army is to be used at home to shoot down workers in their struggles against capitalism, or whether it is used in so-called national wars to strengthen and increase the world-power of the ruling class and the further enslavement of the world proletariat under the iron heel of modern industrial and financial feudalism. Being an Internationalist, the sufferings of foreign workers appeal as strongly to my conscience as those of my fellow-citizens or fellow-residents. And being convinced that the ruling classes will not give up their firm grip upon present society unless realizing that they have to yield before an overwhelming power, the strengthening of the ruling class is about as disastrous as the weakening of the proletariat. This is all the more true in the period of modern imperialism, in

only hope of avoiding a reversion to barbarism lies in the rising into power of the proletariat.

In Germany only a growing general mass-movement could have any success against the formidable and well-organized military machinery, and even Liebknecht, convinced that his martyrdom at present could not lead to such a massmovement including the soldiers, submitted and accepted the fight inside of the army. In Russia, revolutionary workers enter the army in order to keep up and develop the revolutionary spirit from the inside, and this no doubt is under these circumstances most effective in preventing soldiers from being used as canpon-fodder in the interest of Russian and British imperialism.

In the United States those who wish to stick to the interests of the Working Class must do all in their power to prevent the creation of a military system. necessary for the ruling dass to destroy whatever rights were left at home, to protect their war profits and to secure future world power and world exploitation. That is why the consciencious objector works for the repeal of the conscription law socially, and individually claims exemption from military service.

To prevent the building up of militarism now that all ordinary means of protest and demonstration have failed and since a general mass-movement with strikes to bear pressure upon the government did not develop, the conscientious objector refuses as an individual to be conscripted. This is no purely individual action, however, since thousands upon thousands of American citizens have registered as conscientious ob-

In what measure this will be effective, depends largely upon the numbers involved, but even as a powerful protest it will weaken the imperialistic forces and strengthen the tendencies toward a proletarian revolution. This is the more important, since a revolutionary period is developing in Russia and since the greatest danger to this revolution comes from the American money-kings.

This feeling, although social and po-litical in its origin, has become so deeply rooted in our conscience, is such an in-tegral part of our thoughts and feelings, that to betray these principles is against our conscience and our self-respect;

THE MENACE OF CONSCRIPTION

By LOUIS C. FRAINA

the beginning of an aggressive militarism in this country, and it is the sign and symbol of a new era of aggressive activity in the annals of American capi-

The fundamental fact that should be borne in mind is that conscription is not a temporary measure-that it has been imposed upon the people not alone for purposes of this war, but as a preliminary means of imposing universal military service during times of peace. The servile minions of capitalism have admitted that conscription was not at all indispensable for purposes of this war, but that it was necessary to accustom the people to the idea of universal military service. Even before the declaration of war against Germany there was a violent newspaper campaign for universal military service, that found its new era, and imposes new methods of fruition in the Chamberlain bill for the military training of 400,000 men a year for a period of six months during peace. And even this was denounced in influential circles as a miserable compromise! the state.

Militarism, and whatever they say uni-

versal service means militarism, is abso-

lutely necessary to the ruling class under the conditions of imperialistic capitaism. control of the investment markets of undeveloped countries wherein to invest a nation's surplus of accumulated capital. The driving force behind this struggle is military power, actual and potential. The history of recent years is reits capitalism concessions and the right to exploit undeveloped countries, in preference to a competing national rival. through this reactionary program. But in the diplomatic struggles to promote financial interests, circumstances arise where the threat of armed power. fails in its purpose, and an actual struggle occurs-war. This is precisely the series of events that led up to the European war. At one moment, the German threat succeeded; at another moment, the French and British threat succeeded; and then came the moment when the vast economic and financial interests involved were put to the arbitrament of the

War to-day is such a colossal proposition, that it cannot be waged on the volunteer system. Unlike the wars of the past, war to-day is a war of peoples, involving and depending upon the conscription of the whole national life for purposes of war. The will of the people, their activity and industrial capacity, their enthusiasm and idealism, must all be conscripted, organized and drilled to alone are men conscripted for actual military service-the men, women and children behind the firing line must be conscripted for various tasks, which, while apparently non-military, are yet indispensable to maintain large armies at the

It is this circumstance that makes war to-day much more intensive, much more destructive, and much more reactionary than in the past.

Conscription is equally a military and an economic measure. Military, to compel men to fight in a cause to which they may be indifferent or actually hostile, to secure the necessary material promptly and without much trouble to make good the "wastage" of soldiers at the frontvital factors where huge armies are concerned. Economic, to organize the industrial life of the nation to meet the vast industrial requirements of modern warfare, in guns, munitions and food, and to offset the withdrawal of millions

autocratically.

But the military and economic factors are not alone determinant. There is a social, or political, factor of equal importance: the suppression of democracy and the coercion of the Working Class.

Conscription, un-democratic in itself, is even more menacing in that it strikes directly at democracy generally; is used, and is intended to be used, to crush de-

mocracy and the Working Class. Imperialism, out of which wars to-day arise, is inimical to democracy and crushes democracy wherever and whenever it can. The autocracy generated by imperialism is the determining political factor of the times. This new autocracy is transforming government; re-organizing industry, and re-aligning the socialeconomic classes in society. It marks a struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. It means, in short, the end of laissegfaire democracy, and its substitution by a pseudo-liberal benevolent despotism of

This being the tendency and the need, imperialism uses war to establish this autocracy firmly and permanently. The war against the remnants of democracy. is waged as implacably and ferocion

the negation of democracy, this fact is much more menacing to-day because of the new era of imperialism, and because of the way in which war draws upon all social forces and activity for its purposes.

Accordingly, the first and most important measure of war is to cripple democ power of a nation was used to secure racy, to withdraw the meagre civil rights prevailing during peace. And conscription is the effective means of putting

These facts were made clear in the violent campaign for conscription waged by the press of the capitalist enemy. Before the act became a law, the New York Tribune said:

"It (the volunteer system) discriminates in favor of the slackers and the disaffected, and makes harder the government's task of keeping order at home." (My italies.)

Who are the disaffected but the rebels and the people who refuse to fight in a war they did not will and cannot profit by? The American people expressed their enthusiasm for the war by refusing to enlist; and the government by means of conscription will now take them by the scruff of the neck and compel them to fight-in a war for democracy!

Conscription makes easier "the government's task of keeping order at home." Eaxctly! By means of conscription the disaffected and the rebels may back up the soldiers in the field. Not be drafted into the army immediately, or by being simply called to the colors put under military law. By means of conscription the civil rights of the individual are abrogated, and the brutality of military law becomes rampant. "The world must be made safe for democracy."

The conscriptionist propaganda made these reactionary motives clear. But one fluced a decay of the democratic ideal motive was not emphasized: that con- and tradition; gradually, subtly, but scription may be used to abrogate the right to strike.

not come like a thief in the night, but capitalism has come-of-age, discarded its was preceded by a terrific struggle, this democratic traditions, and is prepared no-strike feature was emphasized by the with all its economic and military power,

Major-General Sir Alfred E. Turner laid stress on compulsory military service as a means of breaking strikes:

"The strikers gained their ends, and with them an everlasting stain on their mocracy, except what may be given the reputation, which not all the rain of people as a concession. heaven can wash out, the stain of showing themselves perfectly ready to betray claims of the advocates of conscription

THE menace of conscription is imme-diate, and it is ultimate. It marks ganizing the remainder thoroughly and say service might not produce lovalty. Lat it would produce a sense of duty and decipline that would prevent such disgraceful and damaging incidents."

A British weekly, John Bull, with a equiation of more than one million

The miners who refuse to work must 2 conscripted—put under military conol and made to work at soldiers' pay. hat is the way they do things in Gerany, and that is the way we must do wh them here."

Colonel Sir Augustus Fitzgeorge deared that "compulsory service was cessary at this time when the people re getting out of hand."

And Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. Max-Il was brutally frank in his appreciaa of conscription as a means of crushthe unions:

The abuse of personal freedom has ached its climax in this country. Trade nionism-that shelter for slinking shirks-is imperilling our existence, and by s action a rot of our national soul has t in. One remedy and one alone can adicate this state of rot-martial law

They have not been as brutally frank all that in the United States, but the has been there and the tendency is

Ender these circumstances, the fight inst conscription is not simply a probof the individual and his conscience; a great social issue requiring great

The fight against conscription is futile ss backed up by an appreciation of social and economic conditions that ught it forth. And the lack of appretion of this fact is responsible for ich of the absurdity in the no-conscrip-

n the category of absurdity is the arnent that conscription is against the als and traditions of the American ple. The absurdity lies in the fact the conditions which produced these Is and traditions exist no longer; that w era and new conditions are here, ch produce new ideals and traditions. The day when America-and this the dominant interests of capitalcould boast of its democracy, is forever. The conditions of internal sion ceased when the frontier iched the Pacific coast. And when e conditions ceased, America began acquire a larger economic vision, to read out its economic interests oughout the world, and to participate the struggles of imperialism. The acition of the Philippines was followed the imposition of an economic and litical yoke upon the peoples of Central America and the Caribbeans. Along th this came the end of that period of plendid isolation," when America was isidered sufficient unto itself. The ncentration of industry, the rise of pluocracy, the financial expansion abroad, the decay of the militant middle-class and ndependent farmer-all these facts prodominant none the less. And to-day, the ntroduction of conscription blazons to In England, where conscription did all the world the fact that American

> n the world with any rival. Imperialism is dominant in America o-day; and imperialism means the end of all democratic traditions and of de-

and its autocracy, to dispute supremacy

It is this development that answers the

and universal military service that militarism cannot and will not develop in this country. Militarism is not a matter of the will, but of necessity. Imperialism requires militarism to fight its rivals and to crush its Working Class.

In an article in Scribner's Magazine recently, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin D. Roosevelt denied that universal military service would develop militarism:

"Few of us honestly fear that this nation will ever become militaristic-the trend of our civilization is all the other way. Switzerland and Australia are examples of progressive democracy successfully armed against attack."

The "trend of our civilization" may have been "all the other way" in the past, but it is no longer so to-day. The assumption that there is some inherent superiority of virtue in America that will prevent the duplication of the evils of universal service is childish or insincere. The needs of imperialism are the same everywhere, its evils universal. The citation of Switzerland and Australia is stupid. Switzerland is not an imperialistic nation, and cannot harbor dreams of conquest; and even the "democratic citizen army" of Switzerland has been used repeatedly against the Working Class and inst strikes As for Australia

parisons are no comparisons at all.

Whether conscription may develop militarism can be determined only by a consideration of the fundamental facts of economic and political development in this country

The United States is economically and financially the most powerful nation in the world. Its potential forces of aggression are tremendous, and when loosed in all their fury will precipitate an unprecedented catastrophe. American capitalism is inherently and infinitely brutal-its actions in Central and South America are a violation of all law and all decency. Moreover, strange as it may seem, this country is one of the least democratic, insofar as the rights of the Working Class are concerned. Nowhere else than in the Russia of the Czar was a Ludlow massacre perpetrated; nowhere else is the new machine-proletariat more harassed and oppressed. And lynchings are another manifestation of the utter disregard of law and the rights of people.

The government is more autocratically organized, the president has more power, than any other government or ruler elsewhere. All this, considered in relation to the new conditions of imperialism, are a menacing indication of what is to come.

The declaration of war against Germany unloosed all these potential forces of reaction and autocracy. Freedom of speech and assemblage was suppressed. Conscription was imposed upon the people brutally and without their consent, the president virtually bludgeoning Congress into passing the law. And the reign of terror grows instead of abating.

Under these circumstances, the development of militarism is inevitable. The president's program calls for "incomparably the largest navy in the world"; the program of the imperialists calls for incomporably the largest army in the world. Militarism is rampant and will become supreme-unless the people of this country fight, and fight aggressively.

And a successful fight means a fight waged along revolutionary socialist lines. The old America is dead-a new America is being born. The alternative is imperialism and militarism, or Socialism and proletarian democracy. Our fight against conscription is a fight against capitalism, with the Social Revolution as our ultimate objective.

Confusion and Compromise

By J. C. ROVITCH

"On the ground of the class struggle we are invincible; if we leave it we are lost, because we are no longer Socialists." -Liebknecht.

WE call on the rank and file of the Socialist Party to look around and find out where their recognized spokesmen and leaders stand on this fundamental and most vital principle of the class struggle. You have now an excellent opportunity to learn what is their conception of fighting militarism and conscription by scrutinizing the minutes and speeches at the Conference on Democracy and Peace recently held in New York City. The "leaders" of our party were among the organizers of this new expression of indignation on the recent manifestations of capitalist class rule-militarism and conscription, and they had ample opportunity to show their mettle. They spoke vociferously and expressed their convictions verbosely in this gathering. Their speeches can be compared now with those made by other radical democrats who for years conscientiously have been voting for "good men"-Roosevelt, Wilson and others. Do you find any significant differences? Do they proclaim any principles for which they

to state-why not? Have you not a good ground to suspect that they may not have any principles at all, as the representatives of the most thoroughgoing opportunists of the modern school?

The Conference on Democracy and Peace lasted two days, and was wound up by a gigantic mass meeting with an audience of about 20,000 persons. Messrs. Hilquit, Lee, Berger, all of them signers of the revolutionary majority report of the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party at St. Louis, were the most conspicuous and active ones in the bunch, and one could expect of them to promulgate at this conference the principles set forth in their own report. Nothing of the kind happened. The conference worked out a new platform which was endorsed by our "shining lights." Is the majority declaration of the convention in their view not good enough to be proposed to any assembly of radical men and women as the expression of the stand of all class conscious workers in America? In all their speeches not a word about the aims and ideals of our class, not a word about the principle of class struggle. Our old friend, "the people," was on the stage again, and our "leaders" evidently think it will accomplish wonders-will save us from imperialism and conscrip-

A Council of the People was organized which is expected to conduct an unrelenting fight with "the people" and for the rights of "the people." The mission of the Socialist Party-even its existencewas completely ignored; the activities of the delegates and their utterances show that our party is of no consequence in this fight at all, in their view.

Suppose they did not want to endorse the party as the political expression of the Working Class as a whole; but why couldn't they endorse our stand on militarism and war? Did our leaders ask them to do this, or did they think it would be considered as bad taste on their part, if they did? The probability is that they wanted to be as respectable as the remainder of this nondescript crowd, and thought that anything of this kind is below their "dignity" and "reputation" -"preposterous nonsense," as they probably would put it.

The Socialist Party had here a splendid opportunity to make itself popular with

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Confusion and Compromise

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the masses of the workers in this country, and to rally all sincere radicals and opponents of militarism and war under its banner of Social Revolution; but its spokesmen and leaders failed to see the problems arise, and must be met. light. Their lack of insight and courage means to sidetrack the issue, and consequently they reduced the influence of our party in the conference and in the meeting to zero. Their zeal for adaptation was so great that they "forgot" everything about the class struggle and Socialism, and do not realize their ludicrous and ugly stand even now-as is plainly shown by the boastful clamors of the New York Call. They lost their identity as Socialists by becoming mere creatures of the crowd, and intagine they have acted the part of heroes. Materiam superabat opus.

It may be highly possible that finally a new "Progressive Party" will spring up from the Council of the People, and the sponsors of this movement once more will slander and attack the official stand of our party. They then will be able to mislead the workers of this country for years to come, taking advantage of the fact that this movement was fathered by our own leaders. They have rendered a wonderful service to our movement and to our cause, indeed; but what kind of a service is this! The proverbial bear intended to render service to his good master, the traveler, by throwing a stone at the fly that alighted on the latter's forehead, but it smashed his master's head. Our "leaders" apparently are following the example of this bear.

Still, comrades, we should not be discouraged on account of this, although we must realize the danger in which the party can be placed by stupid leadership. The rank and file of the party must pull themselves together, gather up strength and proceed to carrying into practice the program of action proposed by the majority of the Emergency Convention. We must realize once and for all that it is dangerous to trust leaders. If you want to keep them to your aims and ideals, you must rigidly control them, and the more

by you and your principles, and the whole movement will be set back for

It is your duty now to repudiate their stand in this conference as unsocialistic and at variance with the established principles of our movement and the views expressed by our recent party convention on the question of political trading and other entangling alliances. You should make known to the labor world that they were not representing your views and ideals there, but were acting as individuals. Only a class conscious labor movement will be able to cope with the monsters of militarism and conscription by waging a relentless fight on capitalism. There is no short cut to our victory. The fights that are facing us must be taken up and must be carried on on clear and definite class lines. Take the management of the party in your own hands, elect representatives from your own midst, and work out a more perfect control of their activities than we have had heretofore. Let the old leaders go to the Councils of the People for a job; they should have no place in a truly revolutionary Socialist Movement. We hope that our party as a whole will have nothing to do with it. However, we cherish one belief, and that is this: that the days are not far off when we shall have a Council of Workmen and Soldiers on the same pattern as the one now in operation in Russia. Then there will be an end to militarism and conscription, capitalism and world wars. Thither lies our salvation and the emancipation of the proletariat of the world.

It is a well known fact that venereal diseases among the soldiers in the field and at home threaten to affect seriously the recuperative power of the warring nations. Perhaps still more disastrous is the influence on the women. Dr. Engel, member of the City Council of Berlin, reports that the percentage of socalled illegitimate births in the large cities of Germany increased from 15 per cent. in 1914 to 45 per cent. in 1916, and that in the same period the number of reported venereal diseases of women increased tenfold. Such figures combined with those illustrating the physical, mental and moral degeneration of the youth, mark the end of the present period of "civilization."

THE CLASH AFTER THE WAR

By ANTON PANNEKOEK

WHILE the war is in progress, the highest duty of the socialist proletariat is the fight for its speedy conclusion. But even when peace has been declared, his struggle is not finished. For the effects of the war remain. New

When the soldiers return to their homes, new misery and new want, are grinning at them. Awful as have been the sufferings that war has brought, in one respect the lot of the proletarians is still worse in times of peace. In war times the workers are needed; the bourgeoisie needs their enthusiasm, their willingness to sacrifice, their good will, the spirit of the army is an important factor in warfare. Money, therefore, becomes a secondary consideration, subservient to the aims of the war; aid and assistance are granted with unaccustomed liberality. The working class suffers, it is butchered, but those at home at least maintain a certain livelihood.

That ceases with the coming of peace. The workers are no longer needed as soldiers: they are no longer comrades, defenders of the fatherland, heroes. Once more they become beasts of burden, objects of exploitation. Let them look for work, if they are hongry.

But how about work?

After the war has stopped, the whole industrial economy of the country must again be readjusted. Conditions somewhat similar to the crisis at the beginning of the war will result. At that time the mobilization, in spite of the vast numbers that were drafted into military service, was followed by a terrible period of unemployment which lasted several months until industry had adjusted itself to war conditions, and war orders, to bear, began to come in. After the war the situation will be exactly reversed; the country must pass from war-production to peace production. But this crisis will be much more severe. In the former case, the old market with its hundredfold demands upon production was replaced by the nation, by the army with its uniform requirements. In place of thou-

had billions from which to pay his debts, had billions from which to pay his debts, stated in a found about way, and where can we raise new taxes? In the billions raised by successive issues of war bonds. Small wonder that every-to retain these workers in their militar is fighting class, on the tax question. the whole business of war ceases, production must once more be regulated to meet the varied demands of private buyers; and this presents the greatest diffi-

The old markets are gone. New markets must be found, new connections established. All this takes time. The enormous ante-bellum export to the belligerent countries cannot at once be resumed, upon that subject we need entertain no illusions. National hatred, influenced to a white heat will continue, and will create bitter antagonism on the industrial field, as surely as they will leave their mark even in the world of culture and science. Each country will strive to become industrially independent and self-sufficient. In the neutral nations necessity, and golden profits have given a palpable impetus to industrial development, have encouraged them in securing foreign markets. The outlook for the rehabilitation of industrial conditions, in the belligerent countries are anything but promising.

No doubt there will be periods of activity. The terrible ravages of war must be mended, while the replacement of war nuterial, likewise, for a time, will encourage production. Enormous general losses have been sustained, and will for a time, increase production on every hand. But this cannot mean a lasting state of prosperity, chiefly because the destruction of capital itself has been so great Europe will emerge from this war, poor in capital, deeply in debt to America. It is generally conceded that we will meet a period of general industrial depression. The bourgeoisie will strive to accumulate new capital by intensified exploitation, low wages and unemployment will be the gifts that war will bring to the prole-

In the coming years the problem of nemployment will be the burning question, the weightiest problem in the struggle of the working class. The demand for effective, and sufficient unemployment insurance must, therefore, be one of the most important demands of the socialist proletariat. It must be raised political opposition.

immediately, must be impressed upon the nation during the great crisis of read-

What, after they have fought and bled for imperialism, shall the workers return, to lie hungry upon the streets? Is not this crisis a direct outcome of the war and shall not the government, having spent billions for the war, add a few more billions to its debt, in order to guide its erstwhile soldiers safely through this critical period? What shall we say of a government that allows its returning. victorious army, to starve on its way home through the desert?

To be sure, such arguments will not be nearly as effective as stern necessity itself, in forcing the bourgeoisie and the government to take heed. But they will maintain their old principle, that in a peaceful, capitalist state of society every one must take care of himself. Their support will take the form of scans, charitable gifts, enervating pauperization under humiliating conditions, entailing perhaps the sacrifice of important rights

In view of this, the workers must mand security of existence for the employed as a right. This is a rev tionary demand, to be sure, one that effect the very foundations of capitals Can the government, however, ent refuse to consider its justification, if demand is voiced by the millions armed workingmen that constitute armies? This demand unites the mediate problem of existence of e proletarian with the aims and prob of revolutionary socialism. For it not suffice to simply give expressio this demand. If it is to be realized must be fought for with all the force the masses that the proletariat can !

For the ruling class there is ano way out of the difficulty. Reproduof war material that has been destro and new armaments, will be the most consideration for both got ments and bourgeoisie. They will mand more effective preparedness Conjey wars.

of labor, labor that is the missed from the army only to be capacity, to retain them as soldiers unde new war material?

national control, have impressed the ide burden. of State Socialism favorably upon man bourgeois minds. The advantages of uni form, controlled production, over chaci-

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The question of employment for the thus be averted, by drafting them immediately into the war industries, and then, gradually, as conditions in private indus-

Other admntages, too, might arise greater curtailment of their personal tarist. freedom than was possible under private ownership. National ownership of large Does that mean that we shall demand branches of industry is synonymous with property taxes? Bourgeois representatheir militarization. Unquestionably, the twes are partly right, when they mainruling class fears the day after the war, tain that taxation levied upon all inwhen military dictatorship, war-laws, comes derived from the interest on the press censorship and the state of siege loans will prevent the accumulation of have become things of the past. The militarization of the national industrial forces will present itself as the most effective means of keeping great masses in harness, and curbing their desire for

To the proletariat this state socialism than the robbery of the working populacan mean only an aggravation of its suf- tion of all classes in the interest of the ferings and increased pressure upon the burden of life. Notwithstanding this, it is to be expected that a large part of our Social Democracy will not oppose this plan but will lend its heartiest support. Their old ideals make them the prisoners of this new system of national exploita-

Even before the war every proposal to pluck the consumers by new monopolies was heralded as a "beginning of socialism, which deserved our heartiest support!" Socialism is not based upon national ownership, but upon the strength, the might of the proletariat. In the past the conceptions of socialism and state industries have been hopelessly confused in the minds of our Social Democracy; in the future, this party will face the state socialist plans for the increased enslavement of the working class, with neither mental weapons nor a clearly defined attitude.

To the revolutionary wing of the socialist movement belongs the duty to strike the first blow at these new and dangerous shackles upon the proletarians. The fight against State Socialism will bring in its wake a radical clarification of ideas concerning the relations between the proletariat and the new imperialism. It will issue in a period of new, practical conflict. As the new, imperialistic state more and more unmistakably assumes the guise of oppressor and exploiter the proletariat will see in the nation its great enemy, against whom it must fight, before all others, by means of mass action. And the Kautsky tradition that we must preserve the state in order to use it for our own purposes, will be practically

A third cause of coming oppression and new conflict will come to the working class out of the war. The nations of Europe will emerge from this war burdened with enormous debts. War loan has followed war loan, until the war-debts of the belligerent nations amount, already, to more than two hunfred billions. National economists and tatesmen everywhere are asking the transled: "Where shall we raise the bil-

lions necessary to pay the interest? stated in a round about way, into military Where can we raise new taxes?" In the ery class tries to push the burden off military discipline for the production o on to the shoulders of the other; yet they all know that all must suffer, that it is The experiences gained from the or at best but a question of who shall asganization of industry and trade unde some the greater, and who the lesser

The social-democrats, consequently, with the exception of logical social-imprivate production have become too , perialists of the Cunow type, have reiterated their resolutions against indirect taxation, and insist that the burden of dustrial branches could be brought, ea Unquestionably they are right, when they be done, without difficulty with the diret added burdens, that added taxation would reduce the standard of living of returning soldiers, too, would be solved But they forget that the standard of livfor the bourgeoisie. The danger that ing is not fixed, that it is determined by threatens, when great rebellious masses that which the worker is in a position to demand, and to win from the capitalist class. A militant, firmly organized working class, can win a higher plane of try become more settled, dismiss them by increased taxation, what it has won on the industrial field, this but proves its from such a plan. In the first place pro- Where since August, 1914, the social depolitical weakness and ineffectiveness. duction would be greatly cheapened, by mocracy threw itself at the feet of imthe exclusion of all middlemen. Everyone realizes how much could be saved by ened the proletariat, and condemned it government organization of production. to such hopeless stagnation, that it must All technical and organizational improve-not be surprised to receive, as a reward ments of the war period would be applied. It would do away with the prob- of life for its proletariat. Their resolulem of unemployment insurance. Wages tions are ridiculous and therefore procould be regulated; for against this pow- mote opposition to their own actions. erful employer labor unions would be The protest of the working class must powerless, even if they were permitted express itself in actions. Active opposito exist. It would mean for the workers tion against taxation on articles of conincreased dependence; would mean numption that must be borne by the prole-

> aployees in the shape of wage reducans in the last analysis, nothing more

holders of war-bonds, by means of taxes of one kind or another. Had the perpetuated classes acted from motives of true patriotism, they would, when the state needed the money to carry on a war in their interests, have placed a portion of their war profits at the disposal of the nation. Not having done this, shall they have the right to demand tribute for all future times from the population? Of all kinds of capitalist incomes, the interests that accrue from state bonds are, socially considered, the most useless. A revolutionary, socialist government will always tend to repudiate this tribute, to annul all national debts. Conditions are such that only this measure, the annullment of the enormous state loans can save the nations from the threatening financial débâcle. It is not to be expected that capitalist governments will turn to this measure, for, to them, capitalist interests are holy. The more will it be the duty of the proletariat to raise this cry against every attempt to burden them with new taxes for the payment of war-debts. Together with the confiscation of all war profits, this measure will make it possible, to avert the most awful consequences of this war, from the mass of the people.

When the proletariat, during and after the war, resumes its political struggle, it must have a clear cut program of action.

The struggle for socialism is always a class struggle for the momentary interests of the proletariat. The methods, the means employed in this struggle, determine its revolutionary character. Of course, a part of the old demands retain their importance in the new program of action, as, for instance, the fight for full democracy in the nation, and the fight against militarism. But both will be given a new meaning, a new increasing prevalence of state socialism will weld industrial exploitation and military enslavement together with political oppression into one reactionary whole.

-Translated by Lily Lore.

Domes from a War Ho

tal the sheer physical strain was terrific. It seemed as if I were in a strange, mad, nightmare world, where everything was reversed; instead of health-disease, and mangled and torn bodies and suppurating wounds, some of them hideously green and yellow, like decayed meat; and smashed wrecks of men, with arms and legs swung up on apparatus that resembled nothing so much as the old forture racks of the Inquisition; as if shrieks and cries and groans and smells were the natural and nor- several officers of high rank. mal order of things. For days I was nauseated. The sight of raw mangled flesh, the blood-saturated linen, the stench of gangrenous wounds, the nervous strain of bandaging freshly amputated stumps, and the screams of the dressing hour simply bombarded the unaccustomed senses and hit the newcomer fairly in the pit of the stomach. When I confessed this to the ward surgeon he laughed.

"That's nothing-the rebellion of healthy nature against disease. When I was at the Front, at the commencement of the war, at one of the base hospitals, I used to retire and gag at regular intervals. It was awful, for we had nothing to work with. But mobilize your emotions. Don't let them mobilize you. Imitate the sangfroid of the poilu. Yesterday I stopped by the bed of a youngster who's had a leg off and is dying of gangrene. Well, how goes it?' I asked him. Ca va. Ca va mieux.'-It goes. It goes better, he replied simply. And he was dead up to his waist already! He was a dead man and he knew it, and he knew that I knew that he knew it; and still he looked me straight in the eye and said 'It goes. It goes better!' There's mobilization of spirit for

Nevertheless, when the dressings were over I breathed relief. Never did learn to control my nerves completely; to listen without a tremor to the cries of pain, the high, piercing screams, "Oh, la, la!" "Ah, Nom de Dieu!" "Ah, doucement, docteur! Easy there!" "Oh, bon Dien, how I suffer!" The quality of pure agony in those broken cries was too much for, me.-Elizabeth Fraser, in The Saturday Evening Post.

The International Movement

PHE General Committee of Labor Unions in Germany writes to the secretary of Hindenburg: "We declare ourselves in full harmony with the contents of the letter of General Hindenburg (in which H. demanded no strikes during the war). Strikes must be avoided under present conditions. The safety of the country is of the first importance. Irresponsible people have tried with only very slight results to call strikes in munition factories, to further their political interests. . . We request that you submit this letter to General Hindenburg."

This is where the defense of "our country" leads to.

THE minority Socialists in France are organizing their forces. The Committee for the Defense of International Socialism,of which Longuet, Deguise, Goude, Mistrale and others are members and which is supported by the Journal du Peuple, organized a congress to which both factions of the minority were invited with the main purpose of discussing instructions for delegates to Stockholm.

THE minority Party in Holland (the 5. D. P.) decided not to participate in he International Congress at Stockholm, unless the leaders of the revolutionary Left Wing in Germany and Austria, Liebknecht, Adler and others, have been released.

THE labor convention held in Leeds (England) expressed sympathy with the Russian revolution and endorsed the "no annexations and no indemnities" demand for an immediate peace. The congress showed a bitter spirit of opposition against the English Government and its suppression of any and all liberty at home. The brutal imprisonment of strike leaders and the fact that seventyfour were in jail already for a long time without any form of a trial, was most emphatically criticized.

The most important result of this conference, in which 1,500 delegates from all over the country participated, has the No Residen pattern.

THE latest congress of labor unions in Italy fully discussed measures to be taken during the period of readjustment after the war. It is expected that an unprecedented unemployment will follow the demobilization of the armies.

THE disturbances and strikes in different parts of Spain continue to develop. It has been reported under date of June f, that in Barcelona soldiers participated in the demonstrations and held as prisoners

THE Brazilian Federation of Labor has issued a manifesto denouncing the defense of the Fatherland, as long as class rule exists: "We will never cooperate with those whose principles have reduced humanity to nothing and who have abused civilization." It is high time for Gompers to crush these rebels.

THE demonstration and protest strike in Stockholm on June 5 resulted in a conflict with police forces, which charged the crowd, killing and wounding a

A general demonstration in Norway against high food prices developed without bloody incidents, hundreds of thousands participating.

DEMONSTRATIONS in Bohemia were of revolutionary character and developed into revolts in Prostnitz, Malrisch, Ostrau and Budweis, according to a cable of the General Secretary of the Bohemian National Committee in Paris.

THE workers in Petrograd conquered the six-hour day and other reforms, among which is a minimum wage for women of 150 rubles per month, after a successful general strike.

COMRADE Hogland after serving one year in prison, was released and welcomed by thousands of fellow workers. Hoglund is one of the best known radical Socialists in Sweden and organizer of the Young People's League.

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Confusion and Compromise

make known to the laser world that they There is no short out to out victory. The I gitts that are facing as must be siken to and must be arried on on clear and definite class lines. Take the manage ment of the party in your own hands elect representatives from cour own modst, and work out a more perfect control of their activities than we have had heretofore. Let the old leaders go to the Councils of the Posple for a job, they should have no place in a truly revolutionary Socialist Movement. We hope that our party as a whole will have nothing to do with it. However, we cherish one belief, and that is this, that the days are not tar off when we shall have a Council of Workmen and Soldiers on the tivity. The terrible ravages of war must same pattern as the one now in operation in Russia. Then there will be an end to material, likewise, for a time, will enmilitarism and conscription, capitalism and world wars. Thither lies our salvation and the emancipation of the proletariat of the world.

It is a well known fact that venereal diseases among the soldiers in the field and at home threaten to affect seriously the recuperative power of the warring nations. Perhaps still more disastrous is the influence on the women. Dr. Engel, member of the City Council of Berlin, reports that the percentage of socalled illegitimate births in the large cities of Germany increased from 15 per cent. in 1914 to 45 per cent. in 1916, and that in the same period the number of reported venereal diseases of women increased tenfold. Such figures combined with those illustrating the physical, mental and moral degeneration of the youth, mark the end of the present period of

THE CLASH AFTER THE WAR

By ANTON PANNEKOEK

and self-sith and. In the neutral nations necessity, and goden profits have given cut have encouraged them in securing foreign markets. The outlook for the rehabilitation of industrial conditions in he belligerent countries are anything

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but pronusing No doubt there will be periods of acbe mended, while the replacement of war courage production. Enormous general losses have been sustained, and will for a time, increase production on every hand. But this cannot mean a lasting state of prosperity, chiefly because the destruction of capital itself has been so great Europe will emerge from this war. poor in capital, deeply in debt to America It is generally conceded that we will meet a period of general industrial depression. The bourgeoisie will strive to accumulate new capital by intensified exploitation, low wages and unemployment will be the gifts that war will bring to the prole-

In the coming years the problem of unemployment will be the burning question, the weightiest problem in the struggle of the working class. The demand for effective, and sufficient unemployment insurance must, therefore, be one socialist proletariat. It must be raised political opposition

tred billions. National economists and tatesmen everywhere are asking the

> for its a times a rapidly sinking standard. Well, how goes it? I asked him transmit Budweis, as ording to a cable of tions at boulous and therefore pro- better, he replied simply. And he was National to committee in Paris. mote opposition to their own actions, dead up to his waist already! He was said be The protest of the teorking class must a dead man and he knew it, and he express stadt in actions. Active opposi- knew that I knew that he knew it; and the six-hour day and other reforms,

ownership National oxereshes of large Does mean that we shall demand " " " " Bourgeois representatheir militarization. Loquestionably, the tives are joint's right, when they mainruling class fears the day other the war, tain that has dion levied upon all inwhen military dictatorship, war-laws, comes derived from the interest on the press censorship and the state of siege loans will prevent the accumulation of capital, and will, moreover, encourage the capitals to unload them upon his fective means of keeping great masses employees in the shape of wage reducof the most important demands of the in harness, and curbing their desire for tions. Now the payment of war debts socialist proletariat. It must be raised political opposition means, in the last analysis, nothing more

an aggravation of result. The, or all classes in the interest of the

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That's nothing the relation veassessed win a higher plane of thealthy nature against disease. When a good lises on the political field. I was at the I rout, at the communication self-taxation, what it has won ment of the war, as one of the base slozer serial field, this but proves its. hospitals, I used to retire it gag at ... A general demonstration in Norway accorness and meffectiveness regular intervals. It was extent for agencis high food prices developed with-August, 1914, the social des we had nothing to work with last our bloody mordents, hundreds of thous sew itself at the feet of im- mobilize, your lemotions. Don't let cable participating and kissed its feet, it so weak- them mobilize you. Imitate the saing scoletariat, and condemned it froid of the pollu. Vesterday I stopped procless stagnation, that it must by the bed of a youngster whole had a revolutionary character and developed opporised to receive, as a reward - a leg-off and is dying of gangrene - nuo-revolts in Prostnitz, Malrisch, Oste es proletariat. Their resolu- 'Ca va Ca va micus' - It goes. It goes, the thereful secretary of the Bohemian tion again ! ! Italion on articles of car. still be looked me straight in the eye among which is a minimum wage for monpher that must be borne by the profe- and said 'It goes. It goes better!' There's mobilization of spirit for successful general strike.

Nevertheless, when the dressings were over I breathed relief. Never did year in prison, was released and wel I learn to control my nerves com- comed by thousands of fellow workers pletely; to listen without a tremor to Hoglund is one of the best known radio the cries of pain, the high, piercing cal Socialists in Sweden and organizer screams, "Oh. la. la!" "Ah, Nom de of the Young People's League Dieu!" "Ah, doucement, docteur! Easy there!" "Oh. bon Dien, how I suffer!" The quality of pure agony in those broken cries was too much for, me .- Elizabeth Fraser, in The Saturday Evening Post.

The International Movement

THE General Committee of Labor I Unions in Germany writes to the secretary of Hundenburg - "We declare

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That is street on Bohemia were of

Litt workers in Petrograd conquered women of 150 rubles per month, after a

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Registration and After

THE statistical conscription of the youth of America was a great success -according to the press of the enemy? There is rejoicing over the "patriotism" of these men, who had to be taken by the scruff of the neck in order to compel them to fight across the seas. But there is an under-current of alarm beneath all this rejoicing. A million men, it is claimed, did not register, and the government is arresting all it can lay its hands on. More than 50 per cent. claimed exemption, although the news from Washington is that only about 10 per cent, may be exempted. And there is the Conscientious Objector-how many registrants claimed exemption as Conscientious Objectors is not known. It is being kept secret by the government. But undoubtedly there were thousands upon thousands. The Conscientious Objectors are determined to refuse actual military service. Whether they will accept alternative service is still to be decided. In our opinion, the Conscientions Objector who accepts alternative service is misincere, and much more interested in his skirt than to his conscience. Alternative service contributes to the slaughter of war and the C. O. cannot conscientiously accept it. It is not clear whether the government will grant exemption to Conscientions Objectors-probably not, unless the action of the people compels the government to recognize these objections. Organize and act!

A'Trial for the Czar?

THERE is an insistent demand in Russia for the trial of the former Autocrat of all the Russias. Originally proposed by Lenine, this demand is assuming formidable proportions. There is historic precedent for this action in the trial and execution of Louis XVI, an act that was the sign and symbol of revolutionary France. Revolutions cannot palter, nor indulge in sentimental aspirations. Revolutions are drastic and brutal. The trial of Nicholas would be a trial of the old regime, his condemnation a blow at the remnants of the old regime that are intriguing against the revolution. It would fire the imagination of the people and contribute to their aggressive spirit, Men are men, and not thinking machines; and the trial and condemnation of the former Czar would be more effective than a hundred proclamations. Revolutions are drastic. They cannot palter.

The Great Crime of War

THE great crime of war is that the courage, enthusiasm and idealism of the people are used for the monstrous purposes of conquest and death. Henry Watterson, in the Courier-Journal, recently said: "Men are reached equally through their imagination and their patriotism, and except for the sympathetic and emotional in man there would be no armies." This is the dominant purpose of the lying idealism of this war-to incite men to fight, to arouse the best that cite men to fight, to arouse the best that is in them for the brutal business of war. War makes heavy demands upon the great potential instincts of humanity, upon the spirit of sacrifice, courage and enthusiasm, and all for purposes that, victorious, praceed to trample these instincts under foot. Men and women are reached through their unorganized, incheste idealism and courage, to fight for the things they thould fight against. Is

there anything more appalling than a young man, full of courage and spirit of adventure, looking upon the world with the enthusiasm of youth, prepared for love and life and achievement, laying down his life for a cause that is reactionary and oppressive ? It isn't the loss of life that counts most, it is the circumstances. And that is the great crime of

The Judgment of Pilate

1x an editorial on the Conscientious Objector, the New York Globe says impunity. "Their cry is the old one of Cain, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' They are fundamentally anti-social. They lack the development of beasts, for beasts are far enough along to realize that they cannot take themselves outside their group." This is a contemptible utterance. The particular occasion that called it forth was the arrest of the three Columbia students for anti-conscription activity. The circumstance that among the three is a young girl of nineteen, who is not subject to the draft, who had nothing selfish to gain from her activity, is sufficient refutation of the vile slander. The war maniac is inherently incapable of gauging actions at their true value. Is it not more courageous to risk the scorn of friends, the repudiation of parents, to become an outcast and a pariah, than to march in gandy uniform to inspiring martial music amid the plaudits of the unthinking mob? The greater courage is moral courage-it endures in silence, amid scorn and forces that seek to break its spirit. Nothing has happened in America in recent years of more potential value to civilization and democracy than the activity of our young men and women against the Conscription Act. They are the raw material out of which may be sculped the revolutionary movement of the future. The hysteria of war will soon in retrospect appear as an evil dream, but their courage and idealism will be cherished as a precious contribution to the glorious annals of revolt which alone make one satisfied to remain a human being.

The Expulsion of Russell

T HE expulsion of Charles Edward Russell from the Socialist Party is a merited expulsion. His pro-war. stand, ins acceptance of membership in the infamous Root commission to Russia-these are things that cannot be tolerated in a Socialist.

But if the expulsion is just; the sincerity of certain groups responsible for the action is highly questionable. The bureaucracy wanted Russell out, because he was not with them and because he was a thorn in their sides. And they put him out. But what of the others, gentlemen, bone of your bone and flesh of your flesh, and who are compromising Socialism?

Meyer London in Congress has repeatedly disgraced himself and his party. He pledged the support of the party to "the country" in the event of war. He equivocated miserably on the various war measures in Congress. He has not represented Socialism. What are you doing about him, gentlemen? You did not even criticize his actions! If you are sincere, why not at least discipline Meyer London?

In our opinion, Victor L. Berger is much worse than Charles Edward Russell. The worst that can be charged against Russell is that he is a non-Socialist, a bourgeois democrat. The least that can b charged against Berger is that he is a thorough Imperial-

It was Victor Berger, in the Milwaukee Leader, who a year ago carried on a campaign for the conquest and annexation of Mexico by the United States; who reconciled Socialism with Imperialism; who was reactionary on nearly every problem of the day. It was Berger who was responsible for an Emergency N. E. C. sending a telegram to President Wilson, the day after the severing of diplomatic relations, that was a complete abandonment of Socialism, and worse-a document subsequently tacitly repudiated by the full N. E. C. And it was Berger who only a few months ago vilely misrepresented the Russian Revolution, and said that "we hope the Revolution will not organize pogroms!" If for nothing else Berger should have been expelled from the party for the crime of being respon-sible for these slanders against our Comrades in Russia.

Victor Berger's support of the majority report against the war is insin-cere and based on non-Socialist rounds. He is contemptuously flout-ng the principles of Socialism. He is a menace to the integrity of our movement. And yet Victor Berger is still a member of the Socialist Party!

The party bureaucracy in New York that expelled Russell are dominated by Lee and Hillquit. And these men are cheek by josel with Victor Berger, and recently were instrumental in freventing Berger from being recolled from the N. E. C. for flagrant breaches of Socialism.

Sincerity and consistency, bentlemen, sation of this clash, are not things that can be waived with

The Message to Russia

F the Russia of the Czar was a rebuke to the Allies' claim to be waging an unselfish war for democracy, the Russia of the Revolution is tearing the claim to shreds.

The Allies are in this war for brutal purposes of conquest. Russia has repudiated these purposes, and the Allies are stooping to cajolery and intimidation to force her on the firing line. The other day, actual threats of reprisal and pune ishment were made, and the threat of a apanese invasion is being used to holl Russia in line. The Allies, financially and diplomatically, are encouraging and strengthening the reactionary forces represented by Milyukov, and they are a perpetual menace to the revolutionar

The issue in controversy is peace aid its terms,-not a separate peace, but 1 non-Imperialistic peace. The Allied governments do not wish to accept the victory. They wish to crush German. They wish to "rectify" frontiers, anne "Our War Aims," June 11, says: territory, and conclude a general In perialistic peace. Great Britain wans

ment in this controversy?

United States to day is the great meace "This is and delegate to us whatly throughout Europe.

Two months before our declaration "peace without victory." To-day, president is determined to impose victorious peace.

America, according to the presidet went into the war without any selfis motives of its own. To-day, the Ameri can programme is brutally selfish an reactionary.

The complete change in the president, the assertion of this country's Imperialistic purpose, is amply expressed in President Wilson's message to Russia on terms of peace.

This message strikes directly at the aspirations of Russia's revolutionary democracy. It is an expression of the identical Imperialistic proposals of Milyukov. It is a complete acceptance of the Allies' plans, and the weight and authority of America's power and prestige are being used to promote the Imperialism of Great-Britain, France and Italy-and incidentally of this coun-

The acceptance of the President's terms by Great Britain and France is a sufficient demonstration of their reactionary character. They differ in no essential way from the purposes covered in the phrase "reparation and guarantees." Their general character may cover all sorts of plans for conquest.

What "effective readjustments" does the president propose except readjustments of territory? "No territory must change hands except for the purpose of securing those who inhabit it a fair chance of life and liberty"-but that will be decided by the Allies. Readjustments of territory have never promoted peace. Readjustments of power to-day cannot promote peace. These "readjustments" simply mean the aggrandizement of the victor. The destruction of Germany's "Berlin to Bagdad" programme would injure German Imperialism and profit the Imperialism of the Allies. The indemnification of Belgium and others can in no sense be the exclusive punishment of Germany, but of all the major belligerents, since all are fundamentally responsible for the war.

The president's peace formula meets all the requirements of the Allied purposes, and may be used for aggression

The message frankly comes out in war were equally existent before the favor of the overthrow of the status quo war, if less apparent. The Internaante. Very justly, the president points out that "it was the status quo ante out which this iniquitous war issued forth." But that status did not consist alone of German power and plans of aggression; it was made up equally of Allied power and plans of aggression. That status arose out of the clash of Imperialism, and may be altered only by the ces-

The revolutionary democracy of Russia and President Wilson are in accord in desiring an alteration of the status quo ante. But the presider i's programme would simply alter the effects in favor of Allied Imperialism; while the Russian programme would alter itbasis by arousing the Working Class against Imperialism and for a general revolutionary peace.

Retain the fundamental causes of the status quo ante, and no amount of tinkering with its effects will abolish the menace of war. Nor would the President's proposal that "the free peoples of the world draw together . . . to secure peace and justice, promote peace and freedom. The "free peoples of the world" are all in the clutch of Imperialism, as much as the peoples of Germany and Austria. The rapidity with which America is acquiring armed power and Imperialistic aspirations, the way in which our government acquiesces in Allied purposes, all this proves conclusively that no "covenant of free peoples" can promote peace and freedom.

The president has not stated what America expects to gain from its sup-Russian formula of peace. They desire port of the Allies and a defeat of Germany. But it is being stated for him. The New York Mail, in an editorial on

"From all entente powers we should the German colonies and Mesopotamic now receive a definite acknowledgment France, Alsace-Lorraine and Syris of the Monroe doctrine and a definite Italy, Epirus and the Dalmatian coas acknowledgment of our paramount in-Their programme is the Imperialista terest in the Mexican situation. We programme of Milyukov, which has been repudiated by the Russian people.

What is the attitude of our government and military hegemony in the territory between the Panama canal and the Canadian border. That acknowledg-The entry of America into the war ment must come from Great Britain, was considered by some people as a France, Russia, Italy, Japan. They must strengthening of the democratic aspirations of Allies. On the contrary, it were in Mexico and delegate to us what-

to democracy in Russia, and consequent roe doctrine developed to fit changing conditions. If now, during war, we attain this recognition from our allies, we of war President Wilson urged a can, at the peace conference extort this recognition from Germany also. Therewith the defenses of America would be mmeasurablly strengthened for all

> And, incidentally, the Mail proposes hat Great Britain cede to the United ates its Carribbean possessions.

This, accordingly, is the "unselfish" rogramme of America. Our country becoming a danger to a just and equiable peace. Moreover, it is using its inmce against the new democracy of Rusia. "The world must be made safe or democracy."

Socialism During Peace and War

T HERE is no complete break between war and peace-each is qually the expression of determinant conomic and political forces. The war tarks a new epoch in Capitalism only this sense, that it is the sharp, definite, catastrophic expression of forces operative in society during peace, and that precipitated the war. Through the process of war these forces are being transformed into dominant forces, where previously they were latent or insufficiently developed. The assumption, accordingly, that war marks a complete break with the past is without a shred of sociologic truth. The fundamental tendencies dominant in peace are dominant in war.

In other words, to understand adequately the politics and economics of Capitalism during the war its development and tendencies during the era that preceded it must be borne in mind as a basis; and to understand the conflict of policy in the Socialist Movement to-day, we must appreciate the fact that it is the continuation of an dentical conflict before the war. Theform changes, the fundamental issues are identical.

The action of the Socialist, or of Socialist groups, during the crisis of war is determined by their general conception of principles and tactics.

Whatever defects or short-comings have marred Socialist action during the

tional did not collapse during the war; it collapsed before the war, the war simply registering and emphasizing the collapse.

The International did not collapse because of traitorous instincts, accident or cowardice. All these are strictly incidental factors. The International collapsed during the days of peace when it made its first compromise with Capitalism. It collapsed because the majority that dominated it compromised with the menace of war, and accepted the fact of war; it collapsed because it placed national interests above international interests; it collapsed because it refused to fight aggressively in peace the conditions latent with the menace of war. In short, the International collapsed because it abandoned the class struggle. nationally and internationally-an abandonment that, begun in peace, was completed during war.

Socialist policy, whatever apparently startling changes it may show, is not at all breaking with the past; the break with the revolutionary traditions of Socialism was made many years ago. Socialist policy to-day is a direct result of our policy of yesterday, and can be considered only in that light. We may couch our criticism of the majority in different language, and cite different facts; the fundamental issue has not changed.

The revolutionist, accordingly, must reject a "civil peace" within the party. As the Imperialist seeks to put through his plans by pleading "national unity," so the Socialist majority seeks to perpetuate its policies and control by pleading "party unity." The revolutionist rejects both-our principles are supreme, and alone vital.

All our action during the war will bear scant results unless we proceed on the principle that our struggle is the identical struggle waged before the war, and that will be waged after the

A Socialist may be against the war, but that is not sufficient for our purposes: the test is that plus his general principles and tactics. The circumstance that Edward Bernstein, J. Bruce Glasier and others of their type in Europe are against the war does not alter their essential character as liberal democrats and reformists. And the circumstance that an element of our party bureaucracy, captained by Morris Hillquit, Algernon Lee and Victor L. Berger and the conservative forces they marshall are against the war does not alter their character as opportunists and reformists of the worst type.

Moreover, Bernstein and Glasier are at least sincere and aggressive in their action against the war. Our bureaucracy is not. To their general shortcomings, they now add the crime of saving one thing in theory and virtually repudiating it in practice. Their dominant concern is to perpetuate their power for purposes of their own after the war. And it is precisely because of this circumstance that we cannot suspend our struggle against the majority and their abandonment of revolutionary Socialism.

The underlying conceptions, the motives, of one's opposition to the war are an essential factor in the problem. We are organizing not alone for the immediate, but for the general fight against Capitalism. And our immediate action must square with this general

The struggle against Capitalism can be waged effectively only on the basis of the class struggle. The struggle against war can be waged effectively only on the basis of the class struggle. which means on the basis of revolutionary action. But as the majority abandoned the class struggle in their fight against Capitalism, so they are abandoning the class struggle in their fight against war. They refuse to adopt aggressive tactics. They are losing their Socialist identity in bourgeois movements and bourgeois peace propaganda. They are pursuing the identical general course they pursued in the days

These are important facts, vital in the coming reconstruction of Socialism. Peace and war-they are fundamentally identical and each require an identical general course of revolutionary Socialist action.

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Brutalizing the World

By ROBERT H. HUTCHINSON

THERE is an unfortunate fallacy in human thinking, characteristic of class society, which consists of believing that reality of human relations can exist entirely apart from the people. In the middle ages there was a long controversy between the Nominalists and the Realists, the former maintaining that there was no such thing as the church aside from the people who made it up, and the latter holding the opposite, that the church was an entity, which existed over and above its changeable parts. Naturally the latter was the belief of the churchmen and their supporters, for it meant that whatever happened to the people, whatever were their lot in life, whatever was done or not done for them by the church, it mattered very little so long as the ideal which the church held up was maintained.

This disease is now taking a firmer hold in this country. We believe in democracy; and I venture to say that there. are really very few people who openly and frankly oppose this belief, but we are not always sure what we mean by that word. Our tendency is to hold on to the word rather than maintain the fact. It is this evil worm in our minds that allows us to send men over to the battle lines to fight for democracy while we at home are rapidly Prussianizing ourselves, that allows us to talk about liberty while we suppress free speech.

For my part I know this, that if I had to go over to the trenches and stick bayonets into men's guts, I could probably do it. If I saw the necessity for it I could probably grit my teeth and set myself to the job and gradually get used to it, for I know that people can and doy get used to things and that I do, too. But I know this also, that in doing it I would be giving up something in me that I believe is more valuable to civilization than any good which I could possibly do in killing people. I would lose my hatred of blood-shed and viciousness and oppression and horror, and I would also lose what appreciation I have got for the finer things of life and for beau tiful social relations. I don't see how the two can live together, and I am erring enough, some say, to think that the latter of these things is more desirable. How on earth can you separate happiness and freedom from human beings, and how can you have these things if human beings, one by one, are going to brutalize themselves?

I can see the future. I have returned from war, I am quite used to horrors. There is industrial unrest in the land, and I am ordered to go and put down the disputes. At the scene of action I see women and children starved and diseased and without homes, but I merely light my cigarette, for to me that is nothing. Then I am ordered to shoot at a crowd of men, mere trouble makers like those Germans were. I shoot with pride and skill. And then I go home and sleep peacefully when I should be writhing in an agony of conscience.

It is precisely the sort of thing the churchmen of the middle ages did. For the sake of the holiness of the church they sacrificed the people who made up the church. It is a terribly dangerous thing to do-to brutalize members of the community with the idea that the community will be better.

Morgan takes fifty million "Liberty" bonds and other billionaires advertise their patriotism in a similar way.

It certainly would be a very poor sacrifice to grab hundreds of millions of war profits and allow a couple of those millions to squeeze "only" 31/2 per cent. interest out of American labor. But the fraud is far more shameless.

Any capitalist, no matter how big, has to invest a part of his property in such a form that it can be realized at short notice. This part of his capital in the form of bonds yields no more profit in any case than 41/2 to 5 per cent. The war tax on incomes over one million dollars will be 50 per cent, and the liberty bonds are exempted from all taxes. including war taxes. The investment in liberty bonds means to the billionaire masters of Wall Street and of the country a clear profit of at least 1 per cent. per year, and this profit has again to be burdened in some form upon the smaller incomes to which the liberty bond may mean a kind of sacrifice.

-S. J. R.



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Registration and After

The statistical conscription of the youth of America was a great success -according to the press of the enemy There is rejoicing over the "patriotism of these men, who had to be taken by the scruff of the neck in order to compel them to fight across the seas. But there is an under-current of alarm beneath all this rejoicing million men, it is claimed, did not register, and the government is arresting all it can lay its hands on. More than 50 per cent, claimed exemption, although the news from Washington is that only about 10 per cent, may be ex-And there is the Conscien tions Objector-how many registrants claimed exemption as Conscientions Objectors is not known. It is being kept secret by the government. But undoubtedly there were thousands upon thousands. The Conscientious Objectors are determined to refuse actual military service. Whether they will accept alternative service is still to be decided. In our opinion, the Conscientions Objector who accepts alternative service is insideere, and much more interested in his skin than to his conscience. Alternative service contributes to the slaughter of war and the C. O. cannot conscientiously accept it. It is not clear whether the government ment to recognize these objections. Organize and act!

A Trial for the Czar?

THERE is an insistent demand in Kussia for the trial of the former Autocrat of all the Russias. Originally proposed by Lenine, this demand is assuming formidable proportions. There is historic precedent for this action in the trial and execution of Louis XVI, an act that was the sign and symbol of revolutionary France. Revolutions cannot palter, nor indulge in sentimental aspirations. Revolutions are drastic and brutal. The trial of Nicholas would be a trial of the old regime, his condemnation a blow at the remnants of the old regime that are intriguing against the revolution. It would fire the imagination of the people and contribute to their aggressive spirit, Men are men, and not thinking machines; and the trial and condemnation of the former Czar would be more effective than a hundred proclamations. Revolutions are drastic. They cannot palter.

The Great Crime of War

THE great crime of war is that the courage, enthusiasm and idealism of the people are used for the monstrous purposes of conquest and death. Henry Watterson, in the Courier-Journal, recently said: "Men are reached equally through their imagination and their patriotism, and except for the sympathetic and emotional in man there would be no armies." This is the dominant purpose of the lying idealism of this war-to incite men to fight, to arouse the best that is in them for the brutal business of war. War makes heavy demands upon the great potential instincts of humanity, upon the spirit of sacrifice, courage and enthusiasm, and all for purposes that, victorious, proceed to trample these instincts under foot. Men and women are reached through their unorganized, inchoate idealism and courage, to fight for the things they should fight against. Is

there anything more appalling than a a menace to the integrit young man, full of courage and spirit of adventure, looking upon the world with the enthusiasm of youth, prepared for love and life and achievement, laying down his life for a cause that is reactionary and oppressive? It isn't the loss of life that counts most, it is the circumstances. And that is the great crime of

The Judgment of Pilate

Ix an editorial on the Conscientious Objector, the New York Globe says's impunity. "Their cry is the old one of Cain, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' They are fundamentally anti-social. They lack the development of beasts, for beasts are far crough along to realize that they cannot take themselves outside their group." This is a contemptible utterance. The particular occasion that called it forth was the arrest of the three Columbia students for anti-conscription activity. The circumstance that among the three a young girl of nineteen, who is not subject to the draft, who had nothing selfish to gain from her activity, is sufficient refutation of the vile slander. The war maniac is inherently incapable of gauging actions at their true value. Is it not more courage ats to risk the scornof friends, the repudiation of parents, to become an outcast and a pariah, than to march in gaudy uniform to inspiring martial music amid the plaudits of the unthinking mob? The greater courage is moral courage-it endures in silence, amid scorn and forces that seek to break ts spirit. Nothing has happened in America in recent years of more potential value to civilization and democracy than the activity of our young men and women against the Conscription Act They are the raw material out of which may be sculped the revolutionary movement of the future. The hyster's of was will soon in retrospect appear as an evil ream, but their courage and idealism will be cherished as a precious contribution to the glorious annals of revolwhich alone make one satisfie main a human being.

The Expulsion of Russell

T HE expulsion of Charles Edward Russell from the Socialist Party is a merited expulsion. His pro-war stand, his acceptance of membership in the infamous Root commission to Russia-these are things that cannot be tolerated in a Socialist.

But if the expulsion is cast, the sincerity of certain groups responsible for Objectors-probably not, unless the ac- bureaveracy wanted Russell out, betion of the people compels the govern- cause he was not with them and because he was a thorn in their sides. And they put him out. But what of the others, gentlemen, bone of your bone and tlesh of your flesh, and who are compromising Socialism?

party. He pledged the support of the party to "the country" in the event of war. He equivocated miserably on the various war measures in Congress. He has not represented Socialism. What are you doing about him, gentlemen? You did not even criticize his actions! If you are sincere, why not at least discipline Meyer London?

In our opinion, Victor L. Berger is much worse than Charles Edward Russell. The worst that can be charged against Russell is that he is a non-Socialist, a bourgeois democrat. The -/ The acceptance of the President's least that can b charged against Berger is that he is a thorough Imperial-

It was Victor Berger, in the Milwaukee Leader, who a year ago carried on a campaign for the conquest and annexation of Mexico by the United States: who reconciled Socialism with Imperialism; who was reactionary on nearly every problem of the day. It was Berger who was responsible for an Emergency N. E. C. sending a telegram to President Wilson, the day after the severing of diplomatic relations, that was a complete abandonment of Socialism, and worse-a document subsequently tacitly repudiated by the full N. E. C. And it was Berger who only a few months ago vilely misrepresented the Russian Revolution, and said that "we hope the Revolution will not organize pogroms!" If for nothing else Berger should have been expelled from the party for the crime of being responsible for these slanders against our Comrades in Russia.

Victor Berger's support of the majority report against the war is insincere and based on non-Socialist grounds. He is contemptuously flouting the principles of Socialism. He is

ment. And yet Victor a member of the Soc

The party bureaucra that expelled Russell Lee and Hillquit. . he cheek by jotel with I recently were instrum ing Berger from being N. E. C. for flagrant cialism

Sincerity and const are not things that

The Message to Russia

F the Russia of the C buke to the Albes of the ing an unselfish war for de-Russia of the Revolution claim to shreds.

The Allies are in this purposes of conquest. Vilies pudiated these purposes, and are stooping to cajolery and to force her on the firing line day, actual threats of repishment were made, and the Japanese invasion is being a Russia in line. The Aibe and diplomatically, are encourage strengthening the reactions represented by Milyukov, and they are a perpetual menace to the texts

The issue in controversy non-Imperialistic fea.c. The Albei governments do not wish to accept the Russian formula of peace. The design victory. They wish to crush German They wish to "rectify" frontiers, anneterritory, and conclude a general In perialistic peace. Great Britain wan the German colonies and Mesopotama Alsace-Lorraine and syru Italy. Foirus and the Dalmid in coa-Their programme is the basefulis ogramme of Milyukov, which has

been repudated by the Russian recopie What is the attitude of our ment in this controversy

The entry of America into the was considered by some people as strengthening of the democratic aspin tions of Allies. On the contrary, it strengthening their Imperialism rap plants of conquest M reover & United States to-day is the great meace ly throughout Europe.

Two months before our declaration of war President Wilson urged a "peace without victory". To day, victorious peace.

America, according to the presidet went into the war without any selfit motives of its own. To day, the Ameri can programme is brutally selfish and

The complete change in the president, Meyer London in Congress has re- the assertion of this country's Imperialpeatedly disgraced himself and his istic purpose, is amply expressed in President Wilson's message to Russia on terms of peace

This message strikes directly at the aspirations of Russia's revolutionary democracy. It is an expression of the identical Imperialistic proposals of Milvukoy. It is a complete acceptance of the Allies' plans, and the weight and authority of America's power and prestige are being used to promote the Imperialism of Great-Britain, France and Italy and incidentally of this coun-

terms by Great Britain and France is a sufficient demonstration of their reactionary character. They differ in no essential way from the purposes covered in the phrase "reparation and guaran-Their general character may cover all sorts of plans for conquest.

What "effective readjustments" does the president propose except readjustments of territory? "No territory must change hands except for the purpose of securing those who inhabit it a fair chance of life and liberty"-but that will be decided by the Allies, Readjustments of territory have never promoted peace. Readjustments of power to-day cannot promote peace. These "readjustments' simply mean the aggrandizement of the victor. The destruction of Germany's "Berlin to Bagdad" programme would injure German Imperialism and profit the Imperialism of the Allies. The indemnification of Belgium and others can in no sense be the exclusive punishment of Germany, but of all the major belligerents, since all are fundamentally responsible for the war.

The president's peace formula meets all the requirements of the Allied purposes, and may be used for aggressio and reaction.

The message frankly comes out in favor of the overthrow of the status quo ante. Very justly, the president points out that "it was the status quo ante out of which this iniquitous war issued forth." But that status did not consist alone of German power and plans of aggression, it was made up equally of Allied power and plans of aggression. That status arose out of the clash of Imperialism, and may be altered only by the cessation of this clash.

The revolutionary democracy of Russia and President Wilson are in accordin desiring an alteration of the status quo ante. But the president's programme would simply alter the effects in favor of Allied Imperialism; while the Russian programme would alter itbasis by arousing the Working Class against Imperialism and for a general revolutionary peace.

Retain the fundamental causes of the status quo ante, and no amount of tinkering with its effects will abolish the menace of war. Nor would the President's proposal that "the free peoples of the world draw together . . . to secure peace and justice, promote peace and freedom. The "free peoples of the world" are all in the clutch of Imperialism, as much as the peoples of bermany and Austria. The rapidity with which America is acquiring armed power and Imperialistic aspirations, the way in which our government acquiesces in Allied purposes, all this proves conclusively that no "covenant of free peoples" can promote peace and freedom.

The president has not stated what America expects to gain from its support of the Allies and a defeat of Germany. But it is being stated for him. The New York Mail, in an editorial on "Our War Aims," June 11, says:

"From all entente powers we should now receive a definite acknowledgment of the Monroe doctrine and a definite acknowledgment of our paramount in terest in the Mexican situation. We must have from all our allies an acknowledgment of our right to economic and military hegemony in the termory between the Panama canal and the Canadian border. That acknowledge ment must come from Great Britain Brance, Russia, Italy, Japan. They must specifically renounce the right of initia-Ve in Mexico and delegate to us whatever interference in that land may be necessary.

"This is nothing more than the Monto democracy in Russia, and consequent role doctrine developed to fit changing conditions. If now, during war, we atwith the defenses of America would be nimeasurablly strengthened for all

> And, incidentally, the Mail proposes at Great Britain cede to the United tes its Carribbean possessions.

this, accordingly, is the "unselfish" gramme of America. Our country ecoming a danger to a just and equie peace. Moreover, it is using its innce against the new democracy of sta. "The world must be made safe democracy."

Socialism During Peace and War

HERE is no complete break between war and peace-each is ually the expression of determinant momic and political forces. The war arks a new epoch in Capitalism only this sense, that it is the sharp, defiate, catastrophic expression of forces operative in society during peace, and that precipitated the war. Through the process of war these forces are being transformed into dominant forces, where previously they were latent or insufficiently developed. The assumption, accordingly, that war marks a complete break with the past is without a shred of sociologic truth. The fundamental tendencies dominant in peace are dominant in war.

In other words, to understand adequately the politics and economics of Capitalism during the war its development and tendencies during the era that preceded it must be borne in mind as a basis; and to understand the conflict of policy in the Socialist Movement to-day, we must appreciate the fact that it is the continuation of an identical conflict before the war. Theform changes, the fundamental issues

The action of the Socialist, or of Socialist groups, during the crisis of war is determined by their general conception of principles and tactics. Whatever defects or short-comings have marred Socialist action during the

war were equally existent before the war, if less apparent. The International did not collapse during the war: it collapsed before the war, the war simply registering and emphasizing the

The International did not collapse because of traitorous instincts, accident or cowardice. All these are strictly incidental factors. The International collapsed during the days of peace when it made its first compromise with Capitalism. It collapsed because the majority that dominated it compromised with the menace of war, and accepted the fact of war; it collapsed because it placed national interests above international interests; it collapsed because it refused to fight aggressively in peace the conditions latent with the menace of war. In short, the International collapsed because it abandoned the class struggle. nationally and internationally-an abandonment that, begun in peace, was completed during war.

Socialist policy, whatever apparently startling changes it may show, is not at all breaking with the past; the break with the revolutionary traditions of Socialism was made many years ago. Socialist policy to-day is a direct result of our policy of yesterday, and can be considered only in that light. We may couch our criticism of the majority in different language, and cite different facts; the fundamental issue has not

The revolutionist, accordingly, must reject a "civil peace" within the party. As the Imperialist seeks to put through his plans by pleading "national unity," so the Socialist majority seeks to perpetuate its policies and control by pleading "party unity." The revolutionist rejects both-our principles are supreme, and alone vital.

All our action during the war will the principle that our struggle is the to it, for I know that people can and do identical struggle waged before the get used to things and that I do, too. war, and that will be waged after the But I know this also, that in doing it

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-S. J. R.

Socialist Propaganda League



THE dominant feature of the Socialist Movement in Europe today is the organization of the revolutionary minority into definite groups. In Germany there has been an actual split, and the organization of an Independent Social-Democratic Party. In France the minorty has just organized a sort of Council of Socialist Safety, and is daily becoming more aggressive hand definite in its purposes. This tendency prevails equally in the other nations. And everywhere the principles loud. and tactics of the Left Wing are becoming ascendant in the opposition.

The Socialist Movement of the United States has it within its power to make or break the new forces of Socialist reconstruction now active throughout the world. This reconstruction is the historic task of the revolutionary minority, and accordingly it becomes the task of the minority in our movement to organize for definite action.

Never was a finer opportunity offered. The membership of the Party is revolutionary, and has compelled the intelligent and unscrupulous portion of our bureaucracy to adapt themselves to the situation in order to maintain their ascendancy. But the bureaucracy has been badly shaken. Some of its members are being expelled, others are resigning, and the remainder are trying to assume the garb of the lion, while surreptitiously pursuing their opportunistic tactics. The membership is awake, assertive, aggressive. One great struggle, and the party and its future

In the mean while, the minority must organize and act. The Socialist Propaganda League offers the opportunity and the means.

The Socialist Propaganda League is an organization of revolutionary, international Socialism. It is the American expression of the Left Wing in Europe. Its principles are the fundamental principles of Socialism, its tactics the fundamental tactics of revolutionary Socialism adapted to the era of Imperialistic Capitalism.

Ours is not a temporary task. It isn't simply an expression of the requirements of Socialist action during war. War is the continuation of peace, and peace is the continuation of war. The Socialist Movement must be prepared to meet the test of peace equally with the test of war. Our program, ccordingly, is a general, comprehensive program for a thorough reconstruction of the movement.

The Socialist Propaganda League, wherever it is, is driving the party on toward aggressive action. It is organizing the minority. It is striking hands across the seas with our revolutionary

Our program arises out of the actual conditions of contemporary life, it is not the fine-spun web of a dreamer's imagination.

This program bases itself solidly on the repudiation of all wars waged under the conditions of Imperialistic Capitalism, the necessity for relentlessly waging the class struggle equally during war and peace, and under any and all conditions, international solidarity as the indispensable means of fighting Imperialism and expressing proletarian interests, and the necessity of basing the whole activity of the Socialist Working Class movement upon economic

The Socialist Party is in chaos. The whole future future of Socialism in this country is in danger. Only the action of the minority can shape events for progress and achievement.

The Socialist Propaganda League has twenty branches in twelve different states. It is growing. Are you a mem-ber? If not, join immediately! If you know of five or more comrades who h to organize a branch get in touch etary, who will give you

MOTHER AND DAUGHTERS

By JEANNETTE D. PEARL

THE living-room of the Kaufman family was drab. So much was crowded into it to serve the requirements of livingroom, dining-room, kitchen and sometimes bedroom, that one felt cramped, though the

room was not small. At a square table between the two windows, Edith and Sammy sat doing their lessons. Mr. Kaufman, pipe in mouth, lay stretched on the sofa, reading the evening paper, while opposite, at the sink, Mrs. Kaniman and her eldest daughter, Lena, were washing the supper dishes.

A tea-kettle steamed on the stove. The grease of dishes, the lingering pungency of cooked food, coal was and tobacco smoke, mingled and imparted to the air a heaviness through which struggled a faint odor of perfumed talcum powder.

In the center of the room, below the gas light, pretty Beatrice, clad in a white starched petticoat, stood with a hot curling iron waiving her hair. She was humming softly, making graceful little steps, in anticipation of the dance. Joyous pride gleamed on the girl's face and her glances fondly caressed her shapely limbs, clad in pink artificial silk stockings. Some day they would be real silk, she felt it and the gladness of it made her steps more lively and her song more

"Shut up," Mr. Kaufman wearily grunted. "All day long I have the grinding machines, and at night it is squeaching and prancing. Can't you keep still for a moment?"

"She can afford to be happy," Mrs. Kaufman mocked wearily. "She has a new dress and silk stockings. What more does

"I work for it," Beatrice impetuously re-

"Shut up, shut up. It will be better. She works for it," her mother sneered. "We don't work? Lena doesn't work?"

"I want to dress the same as other girls. I am not an old maid!" Beatrice announced with the pride of her eighteen years, eyeing her older sister disparagingly.

Mrs. Kaufman pushed forward, with an arm upraised, ready to strike her. But Bearice quickly skipped over to the corner.

"Don't mama," Lena pleaded, pulling her mother's apron. "Leave her alone. It does no good."

"No one dast say a word against Lena," Beatrice taunted.

"Just you call her old maid again," Mrs. Kaufman threatened, all flushed. Her weariness gone, stong into a mood of aggression, she was ready to satisfy it, to appease and relieve her pent-up feelings.

As Lena checked her, Mrs. Kafuman almed down. "A nineteen-year-old girl an old maid," she mumbled, more to reasoure herself than her giddy daughter. Tearn more than Lena does," Bestrice

'All the good it does! Of the ten dollars you give, you take back nine. A girl earning fifteen dollars a week-why, you could make us all happy!"

"Now, mama, you know I don't take back nine, and I don't get fifteen. You know very well I only get ten." Beatrice protested very loudly. In reality Beatrice got twelve. Her mother suspected it was thirteen, but for the purpose of reproach, she made it

Beatrice was not exactly a selfish girl, just thoughtless. And because she was thoughtless, her austere surroundings left no harsh imprints upon her pretty face, smooth and soft, with a pallor enhancing.

She belonged to a species of beauty that bloom radiantly until their early twenties, then wither and fade. Their emotions are too fleeting, too unstable, not character forming; they make no imprints and leave no traces. For a little while youth distils its fragrance, then the face is left blank, vacant, and soon time hurries up to fill in the lines with ennui, grossness, or both, Their charm is purely physical. And the life-duration of the purely physical is brief.

Mrs. Kaufman thrilled at her daughter's beauty, but turned away to conceal her pleasure, unwilling to lend encouragement to the girl's vanity. Secretly she was proud; for she admired style. If only she could have it for all of them!

"Lena dear, you should get yourself such a dress," the mother urged, with her eyes fondly on the dress Beatrice had taken off and spread upon a chair.

"I don't need it mama, I don't go to

"Always in the house with books-you are no longer a school girl. You should consider the future." The future to Mrs. Kaufman was marriage. How she longed for Lena to marry! All her thought, all

her hope, was centered toward that end. Presently Mr. Kaufman and the two younger children left for the movies. Lena sat reading. Mrs. Kaufman was mending and bickering with Beatrice, who was applying vanishing cream to her face, throat

"I'm ashamed. What kind of a mother will the neighbors think me? To allow a young girl out night after night, with such company," Mrs. Kaufman ended contemp-

"I was only out twice this week," Beatrice put in, "and I'm going out with Harry Cohen

"I believe that! Harry Cohen wouldn't come here for you?"

"O, we have such a beautiful home, I must bring him in at supper and lovelier than ever. I have no home—I can't invite friends." Beatrice began crying. Her her respite. She was bring him in at supper time when it is tears happily gave her respite. She was really going out with Frank Healey, but rather than be tormented with her mother's ging, she found it easier to lie. Her

parents objected to Frank because he was a Christian. They made him out a pretty black sheep, who spent his money faster than he made it and had nothing to show

Somehow Beatrice stood in awe of her mother. She had often tried to draw nearer, to confide in her, but felt herself chilled. guess it's because mama's ideas are oldfashioned," she told herself, and carried her confidences to Lena. Her life flowed so rapidly, she wanted guidance, steadying, and felt the need of throwing off ballast.

Mrs. Kaufman and Lena were remarkably alike. The mother had the more regular features. "She must have been beautiful-when young," people said of her. But drudgery and grief had drawn a network of fine lines over her face and made it rigid. Only the large suffering eyes moved, and moved swiftly. She saw, but the hand was palsied. She had never been trained, never educated, and her great capacities had shriv eled up and left her impotent.

Lena's face was plastic, sensitive, an inarticulate current flowing in crests and waves. Her emotions were in the process of refining, like ore in a metallurgical furnace, a molten mass, seething, boiling, sending forth noxious gases, creating and releasing ressure, that registered on her face at times a lethargic gloom, harrassed, strained, indifferent, and at other times the glow of ecstasy. Lena possessed that formative fervor which, if not wrenched awry, evolves, and the plain face of youth ripens into the radiant beauty of maturity.

Instinctively Mrs. Kaufman sensed that beauty in Lena and wished to nourish and preserve it. To her Lena was a delicate flower which must speedily be transplanted to healthier soil, lest she wither. And the mother strained every nerve to influence her daughter into making an advantageous

"Annie, next door, is engaged," Mrs. Kaufman ventured, furtively glancing at

'Yes," Lena nodded, continuing reading. "She didn't do so well," Mrs. Kaufman acknowledged, smiling sadly, with pathetic pride, as she glanced at her two daughters, both of whom she felt confident could do so much better.

Annie is sensible. What's the use of waiting? When a girl works in a factory, she can't afford to be too particular, and wait, and wait. The factory eats into a girl's health and youth, and leaves her a worked out, withered, lonely thing. It's the same in the store," Mrs. Kaufman concluded, sighing significantly, for Lena was a saleswoman.

Lena was silent. So the mother resolved noon a more direct approach. "Why a no longer a child. It isn't as if you had rich parents. You have nothing, only your youth; and when that is gone what will become of you? A mother cannot live forever. You will be alone, desolate, in i boarding house, among strangers. woman cannot work all her life like a man. It's the poorhouse that stares her in the face. O, I might as well talk to the wall, Mrs. Kaufman wailed despairingly

"I'm listening, mama, I'm listening, but enionship. I've heard this before."

"You are a foolish girl with all work learning. When a man comes begging to make you happy-and such a man as Mr. They kissed affectionately and proceeded Isaacs, so respectable, he could give you to whisper earnestly. Their seriousness such a beautiful home-ease-you could was interrupted by splurts of giggling which learn to play the piano-you could. O, he soon burst with cumulative force in loud, is such a grand man"

"But I don't love him, mama."

you out before your time." marry." The mother failed to see Lena's dance. wistfulness, for she did not know of the love tragedy in her daughter's life.

"A fine future you'll have before you slaving away. It isn't as if I could give you anything. I have nothing, nothing," she said despairingly. "I'm 'old-nearly fifty- I was not out with him." Her eyes began my life is almost over; perhaps I'll drag on another few years. I have nothing to live for. Your father and I-we are strangers; from that vain Beatrice I can hope for nothing-and the others are just as grasping. It's you-you I live for. If you were provided for, I could die in peace. I know you would look after the others," she added parenthetically. The loving concern concentrated upon Lena was for the future told her she was his girl. penefit of the rest. With Lena provided for, there would be no need of anguish as to their fate. But the children resented this concern and preference for Lena

"It's Lena, Lena, Lena; you care more conquest. for her little finger than-" was invariably interrupted with, "Why shouldn't I? Who helps me if not Lena? Would any of you, of your own accord, as she entertained a mistrust of his gambling much as put a finger in cold water for me? And when I do get you to help, I must first eat my heart out, and then it's all done wrong."

Now the mother was all wrought up over this subject of marriage, and it grieved her to relinquish it altogether. She resolved to pursue it indirectly. "You ought to get yourself a nice dress," she urged, with the vision of Lena appearing to advantage in the eyes of Mr. Isaacs.

"We have not the money," Lena answered nnoyed and anxious to drop the matter, She was struggling hard to conceal her secret pain which made her more me and reserved when marriage was the subject

"We'll get the money. Perhaps the lady," se mother indicated Beatrice with a courtly of the hand, "will condescend to wait wave of the hand, "will condescend to a bit with her things, so you could get yourself something decent to wear."

"She could wear my things," Beatrice offered. "I don't stop her."

"No," Lena mocked. "Then you would have good excuse for slopping out my things, too, the same as you do yours."

Mrs. Kaufman paid no heed to the interruption. With her eyes on Lena, she said. suggestively, hopefully, "You ought to ask

Again hema made no reply. What could a raise mean a few thing more! Meanshile the days were slipping fast and left her standing still, harnessed to crushing, stultifying routine. And ahead stretched a barren plain. All her life she had given She resented it now. A feeling of hosity surged within her and mentally she began to apbraid her mother. Then as if mist, the hardships her mother endured loomed up. "Poor little ama!" she reflected sorrowfully, "poor de mania!" Her throat contracted painly and she grew warm with sympathy. on the tension tightened, her temperafell, and again she became retrospec-Nineteen years old, and what had she ished? What could she accomplish, nother will and need of others placed ther obstacles in her path?

Mrs. Kaufman noted on Lena's face that had failed of her purpose. "Some chiln are a joy and a pleasure to parents; give me only sorrow and pain. I am as nothing, nothing-who cares at the old woman thinks or says? Each ocs as she pleases. Why, even little who only a little while ago was Il a suckling, is already his own boss and its his own way. A mother is only for ble," she lamented bitterly.

You don't appreciate us," Beatrice's voice out. "Other mothers would only be happy with such children," and she dly drew herself up for approval. She ready to depart and assumed a conng attitude, desirous of staving off a sh argument. For that reason she had ed herself to silence during her mother's ation with Lena.

ood-bye, I'll be home twelve o'clock Beatrice solemnly assured her mother, g Lena a sly, mirthful wink.

Mrs. Kaufman received the announcement ry skeptically and threatened to lock the at twelve o'clock.

'li you don't leave the door open, Harry limb through the transom and open for me," Beatrice coyly threw out, with equettishness that hungered for atten-

She skipped out undaunted, confident of ting it elsewhere, and pleased with her-M for having "put it over" so neatly this 'n

strice hurried to the hall, where she Frank Vaiting long?" she pouted, arching her

y neck and shutting her eyes. (His arm around her wait.) They ded the stairs, boisterously greeted by ng friends. Frank was popular. First me ery game, he carried off his victories both the glory and envy of boon com-

A girl friend called Beatrice and she merged from the group smiling, with exended arms artfully setting off her figure. ancontrollable laughter.

"Come on," Frank beckoned Beatrice, "Don't love him? Poor people have no tager for the dance. And they tripped away, business with love. You'll marry love, and merry, carefree, excited with close passionwhat will you have? Burdens that'll wear ate body contact and stealthy caresses.

Later in the evening Harry Cohen came "It isn't written anywhere that I must is and asked Beatrice to reserve him a

> Frank urged, firmly drawing Beatrice side, "and you're not going to go out with him," he warned.

"Now you are beginning again. I tell you filling with tears, so he believed her. "You won't dance with Harry," he

pleaded lovingly, pressing her hand. "Who said so?" she teased, her face again all smiles. "I'll dance with whom I please," she said playfully.

"No. you shall not," he insisted. They began to wrangle banteringly. Seizing her hands with the right of proprietorship, he She shook her head negatively.

"You'll be all right," he said confidently. "when I make enough money." He eyed her fondly with the pride of anticipated

"I told you before, Frank, I won't marry a Christian." Their difference in faith was her legitimate excuse. But subconsciously spirit. She could not rely upon him. She felt he would never have anything.

"Just you let me make good," he boasted. "You love me, don't you, kid?" he pleadingly whispered.

He was assured by her soft purring look, which entered his body, thrilling and disarming him. He sat trembling, his knees pressed against her, his drooping eyes swimming in passion as he felt himself caught in the undertow of her charms.

"Beatrice," he gasped, grasping her hands, "let us two not fool ourselves." He was like one overcome by heat. His body hung limp and only the fire in his eyes lowed as he sought to hem her in with

"What do you mean?" she asked dubiusly, feigning ignorance.
"You know what I mean?" he im a tone admitting of no dissimu

She watched him with apparent calmness, her body aquiver with longing and restraint, proud of having inspired such passion in him. For a second she wavered speechless, but soon recovered herself. She knew that when a girl yields to her lover, she jeopardizes her chance of marriage. And for a favorable marriage, virginity is an

She drew herself up. "You should not speak like that to a good girl," she admonished.

There was a hesitancy in her voice in which Frank detected a mental reservation. It was Harry-he was sure of it-she was comparing him with Harry. "You are not going to dance with that dirty Jew," he exploded.

"You're filthy dirty yourself," Beatrice answered, coming down upon him with all the fire of her being. He was insulting her, her people, and now she realized the insult of his previous proposal and she was furious. She hated him for it, and hated him for the hold he had on her and because he stood in her way. If not for him, she could be going with Harry. And she stood there cutting him relentlessly with her sharp tongue, for her loss, for his insults and for the love she bore him.

She would not let him apologize. Demanding her wardrobe check, she went to Harry Cohen asking him to see her home. "I had a fight with Frank," she told him, her face white with visible tension. "He wouldn't let me dance with you," she said indignantly, discreetly concealing the immediate cause of the rupture, thereby making obvious to Harry how much he was being preferred, and this preferment delighted

Beatrice did prefer Harry-socially. She felt a faith, a security, in that he could be depended upon to take care of her fittingly.

He tucked her in, in his waiting runabout, and drove her off with the delight of a school boy, talking incessantly all the way. He was all flustered, eager to make an impression, while Beatrice for the most part sat in silence, absorbed with her ownthoughts and conflicting emotions. Yet, now and then she accompanied his laughter.

A couple in a passing auto stopped them for direction, which Harry gave with voluminous detail, acknowledging their thanks with a bow and a loud, "You're welcome." Frank would have tipped his hat, flashed through Beatrice's mind.

When Harry had stopped his car, he slipped his arm about Beatrice, and she accepted his embrace, but now that he tried to kiss her, she turned away her head. She felt no tenderness toward him, and was anxious not to have him think that she

allowed iberties. Her reserve was grati-lying to be, is described ber modesty.

"I wish I had another car, then I'd show you speed," he boasted as a large touring car sped by them. "But this is all right for a batch," he chuckled. "It's when a fellow has some one-then it's a nice big car he wants. Some car I'll get my little girl, and no Ford, either," he assured

Beatrice, hugging her closely. "I'll get a nice little house in Jersey when I get my new car," he asserted with pride, watching her for the anticipated response. But Beatrice showed no emotion. Frank would have said "her car," she reflected.

"Don't you like Jersey?" he questioned with concern. "Not much," she drawled, lowering her

head. "I like the Bronx." He watched admiringly her shyness. "Any place my little girl likes suits me."

They had stopped at her door and were sitting and talking in the machine. Harry felt nervous and distressed. He did not quite know how to formulate his question. 'You'll marry me," he finally ejected, clutching her to him and stopping her answer with passionate kissing.

Beatrice was so carried away by a transport of joy, she had to restrain herself, not to let him think her an easy catch. She accepted him hesitatingly.

Leaving Harry, Beatrice ran up the stairs and bounced into her mother's room with such noisy rapture that her mother awoke with a start.

"I'm engaged to-" Her joy overpowering her, she burst into tears. The mother sprang out of bed, trembling

with alarm which turned to joy when Beatrice sobbed out: "Harry Cohen." The mother caught and pressed her

daughter to her, hugging and kissing her. Such a match was more than Mrs. Kaufman ever hoped for. How proud she felt, and ashamed of her former distrust. She was indeed a fortunate mother, she told herself to have such children. If only Lena would become engaged!

Lena heard the news, but was like one chained, and unable to move from her bed. When Beatrice, with tears of joy, rushed in to be congratulated by her sister, the two girls locked in embrace wept copiously.

"I'll make you all happy," Beatrice promised amidst her tears.

How that promise cut Lena! All she could bring her family was shame and mis-fortune. What would they say? If they

All the incidents leading up to her shame flashed before Lens like scenes on a moving picture screen. Two years previously, at a lecture, Lena had met Arthur. He was a young insurance agent, working part of the ime while studying in preparation for a iterary career. He had come into her life, riching it, opening up to her a new world books and ideas. Their friendship had sweet, with walks in the park, dis-

her, he who was to grasp the world to set it free, she helping. And when, she saw him swept away by his overpowering passion for her, which interfered with his studies, she felt that by denying him she was hindering his life's work. She was jealous of his time, anxious to conserve every minute of it for what she considered his great tasks. She yielded to her lover to satisfy her sympathies.

And he fed without satiety. There was no glow, no fire in her responses, chilled with the consciousness of wrong-doing. Her passiveness, harrassing and checking his raging, unsatisfied passions, irritated and aroused in him a crudeness sometimes brutal. In the flush of her new experience, Lena was unconscious of this coarseness. But later, misunderstandings arising between them, it stalked forth, sickening her, and this feeling further accentuated their discord. She saw him grow restless, idle, smoking incessantly, sliding down from the heights to which her fancy had raised him. And it tore into her flesh. She began todespair of his ever doing things. His vacillating nature disturbed her. She could not inderstand that his temperament did not flow with continuous uniformity like hers; but that his intense energy blazed and smouldered, alternately, dampene I by the least irritation through undeveloped control. She accused him of being hard, because his surface had congealed. He had shut her out from his inner struggles and she couldn't penetrate to see the turmoil within him. All she saw was his irritability and his vaccilation.

He ceased to be her ideal. And with that cessation, her feelings began to wane. It began to dawn upon her that she had sacrificed herself to no purpose. She lay awake of nights, crying bitterly, with that agony of despair known only to youth. There were tears for the smart of her wounds, and tears for the tears she shed.

The day's work, with its necessary dissimulations, grew hateful to her and she longed for night and darkness. Alone in bed, for Beatrice usually came it late, the warmth of her body all huddled up, lessened the chill of her heart. And tears, the safety valve of the feminine mechanism. eased the pressure.

She saw herself depraved, without honor, and lamented her loss. In truth, she was not mourning her virginity, but her shattered ideals; her own failure to influence her lover's life. But to her the real cause was vague. Disheartened and distillusioned, her feelings waning, she clung to, and found sustenance in, morality. She began to struggle with herself to give him up, to become good. Misgivings assailed her. Her inherited morality showed her the futility of her desire. Virginity, she had been taught, was like china; when broken, the shattered fragments may be pieced together again, but the seams show forever. Her conduct was irreparable. How see longed

saved by it. She would swallow her pride and ask Arthur to marry her.

With this resolve, she had rushed, long before their meeting hour, to the park, their usual rendezvous. Her home offered no privacy, and in the park Lena escaped her

mother's scathing tongue. When Arthur sauntered up toward her in

the park. Lena van to meet him. "You are not angry?" she a ked with concern, noticing his gloom.

"No," he drawled, "tired," and extended his hand indifferently. "Why were you not here last night?" she asked eagerly.

"I had work." She detected a tinge of color creeping over his face. He was lying. He had lied before!

"Arthur"-she paused-"we can not go on like this." He acquiesced. "What do you propose to jo?" He

shrugged his shoulders. He did not know. But she-she knew. "We can get married." The blood rushed to her face. The suggestion shot from her with terrific force and left her breathless, exhausted. She saw him wince .nd began

to eye him with hostility. He removed his hat, and wiped his forehead. "I would never surrender my freedom," he told her. "Family obligationswould mean the end of my carees-I would have to renounce my art, or con nercialize it. Sell my soul-for what it would bring,"

he concluded with scorn. A warm flush coursed through Lena's body, impelling her toward him. She was inspired by his lofty purpose and affected by his helplessness. Her impulse was to throw her arms about him. But somehow those arms hung heavy and sagged in her

"I made you no promises, . . . we don't owe each other anything, . . . I no longer love you, . . . but we can still be friends."

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MOTHER AND DAUGHTERS

By JEANNETTE D. PEARL

Socialist Propaganda

League

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The Socialist Propaganda League, wherever it is, is driving the party on toward aggressive action. It is organizing the minority. It is striking hands

Our program arises out of the actual conditions of contemporary life, it is not the fine-spun web of a dreamer's

This program bases i self solidly on the repudiation of all wars waged un der the conditions of Imperialistic Capitalism, the necessity for relentlessly waging the class struggle equally dur ing war and peace, and under any and all conditions, international solidarity as the indispensable means of fighting Imperialism and expressing proletarian interests, and the necessity of basing the whole activity of the Socialist Working Class movement upon economic

The Socialist Party is in chaos. The whole future future of Socialism in this country is in danger. Only the action of the minority can shape events for progress and achievement.

The Socialist Propaganda League has twenty branches in twelve different states. It is growing. Are you a member? If not, join immediately! If you know of five or more comrades who wish to organize a branch get in touch with the Secretary, who will give you full information.

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