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THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY

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The object of the INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY, established September 1905, is "to promote an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men and women." All present or former students of colleges interested in Socialism are eligible to active membership in the Society. Non-collegians are eligible to auxiliary membership. The annual dues of the Society are $2, $5 (contributing membership), $25 or more (sustaining membership). The dues of student members-at-large are $1 a year (with vote), 35c a year (without vote for the Executive Committee). Undergraduate Chapters are required to pay 35c a year per member to the General Society. All members are entitled to receive THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST. Friends may assist in the work of the Society by becoming dues-paying members, by sending contributions, by aiding in the organization and the strengthening of undergraduate and graduate Chapters, by obtaining subscriptions for THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST, by patronizing advertisers, and in various other ways. The Society's Quarterly is 50c a year, 15c a copy.

NOTICE—The Tenth Annual Convention of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society will be held in New York City on Friday and Saturday, December 27 and 28, 1918. Full announcement in later issue.

The Minimum of Education

By Ellen Hayes

Assuming the surplus wealth secured to the public for social purposes, how can a fraction of it be used educationally to promote and stabilize the common good; and to this end, what is the irreducible minimum of education which must be guaranteed to every member of the national commonwealth?

In no other way, perhaps, is the youthfulness of the United States more manifest than through its fatuous confidence that an elaborate plant—millions of dollars invested in free public school buildings and equipment—becomes a cause with education as its effect. True, we may mark by that term the results of the prevailing common school system; but the assumption that these results are the needed and indispensable ones for the object stated falls to pieces when the facts are examined. The leading facts are these:

1. Our pupils of the grade and high schools are outfitted with a miscellaneous mass of matter, slightly coördinated, lightly held,—like a traveler's superfluous articles which he may discard as he journeys; and most of that high school knowledge is left by the roadside. On the other hand, the processes by which knowledge is obtained and the tests of its claims are almost wholly neglected. Teachers are not bred to the art of training in the methods of establishing truth, for it is not held to be any part of their duties. A discriminating inquiry as to what knowledge is of most worth is likewise regarded as foreign to the function of the high school.

2. The average citizen, home-made in this public school, looks upon all law, from the federal Constitution down to the town by-laws, much as his prototype of earlier ages looked upon a tyrannical overlord: to be outwitted if possible; to be resentfully obeyed if necessary; and to be feared always. A latent anarchy in the heart of this average person disposes him to do as he pleases so long as he does not get found out, and to use his own judgment about obeying any law.

3. A relatively small class of persons, taking advantage of the theory that there are no classes in the United States, taking advantage also of the psychological condition of the output of the common schools, have secured control of the government. With lawyers—the agents of business—forming seventy per cent of the House and seventy-seven per cent of the Senate, two classes—laborers and farmers—far outnumbering all others stand to-day unrepresented in Congress and without any wish to be represented. There is nothing in the common school curriculum and influence which operates to save the members of these great classes from cringing mentally before the college-bred, professionally-educated class.

Undemocratic Effects of Education

While other agencies must share with the public schools the responsibility for the indifference and submissiveness of the sub-educated masses, yet it may be doubted whether democracy can ever prevail in this country except the schools be reformed and made to serve the needs of a self-governing people. With his early school background and the standardized conception of "success" it cannot occasion surprise that the typical member of the American Federation of Labor, for instance, has his vision limited to the question of more dollars and fewer hours and the right to unionize in order to maintain those dollars and hours. His pitiable exultation over the movement for vocational training harmonizes perfectly with a statement that may be found in a book on American government, published by a reputable house in 1911. The author, explaining the *raison d'être* of the free public school system, says:

> "The government invests money in educating its children so that some day they may be able to earn more and be more profitable members of the community, and thereby add to its wealth and power."

No redeeming context saves this text; and the book containing it is on a special shelf in the Boston public library for the

use of Boston's public school teachers. The statement is either a slander or it is a naïve betrayal of the purposes of a government under capitalist management. If the latter is the case and a fundamental policy is here disclosed, one understands the ease with which a wordy demagogue—whether he appears on a street platform or in a legislature, in a pulpit or at an editor's desk—can manipulate the convictions and thence the votes of common men. For, according to the author quoted, it is not proposed that the schools shall teach the masses of young people to challenge statements, or arraign interpretations of alleged data, or estimate evidence; it is proposed to make them profitable operatives in heaping up a social surplus.

Signs of Hope

And yet this is no day for discouragement. The world is not bounded on the east by the Atlantic and on the west by the Pacific. If the now justly famous Report on Reconstruction by the subcommittee of the British Labor Party expresses the position and purpose of the majority of British workingmen, it is a matter of more significance than the Russian revolution. A multitude can more easily be summoned to the ramparts,

". . . . who of every rag
Will make a flag when breaks to-morrow's morn"

than half a multitude can be induced to settle down to the slow, undramatic job of bringing this world, through education and legislation, to be a fairer place for the common man and woman. Yet it is this last which seems to be actually resolved upon by our elder British brothers. We may reasonably expect that the temper and purposes of the great B. L. P. document will sooner or later achieve influence and acceptance among other peoples.

The Test of Education

I have nowhere found a more felicitous definition of citizenship than that offered by Professor Myers in his "Dawn of History": "Civilization and therewith citizenship—the skill to behave in a civilized world." Denoting primarily the bearing of mind of one who has come to himself as a responsible member of the community and assuming a corresponding conduct, *"skill to behave in a civilized world"* may be taken to express the irreducible minimum of education; it is the first and last test to which every rational member of society should be unsparingly subjected. It implies that our children shall have such an intellectual training as shall enable them, in life's wayfaring, to recognize a sophistry or a fallacy when they meet it on the street; that is, in the press. It further implies that the people must come to hold the government as their government in a far more real and intimate sense than has ever yet been attained. The "Searchlight on Congress" does well to add that significant clause: "and on the Democracy which gives it existence." Finally, it implies that in proportion as emphasis is placed, in actual practice as well as in theory, on the "collective ownership and control of the principal means of production and exchange," like emphasis is to be placed on the doctrine that the individual shall be made secure in his right to his quiet, his labor-earned gear and plenishing, his freedom of thought and freedom of speech.

It is easy to reject these propositions as wholly ideal, in the belief that it will never be possible to educate the majority to any such intellectual and ethical standards; but he who does so implies that any other than a quasi-democracy is impossible. Perhaps it is impossible; but we shall not know until a fair trial is made of some such plan as the one here outlined. Actual and adequate preparation of the people, through education, for the democratic state has never yet been attempted; nor will it be attempted as long as the term "democracy" is an undefined catchword, kept purposely so by those who love power and possessions as much as they despise liberty and equality and fraternity.

American Co-operation—Its First National Convention

By AGNES D. WARBASSE

No longer is co-operation in the United States merely a vision of the future. It is a fact. It is here. This was indeed evident to all so fortunate as to be able to attend the First National Convention of the Co-operative League of America, held in the historic capitol of Springfield, Illinois, from September 25 to 29 of this year.

The delegates to the Convention came from coast to coast, from Canada and the South lands. All races, all classes, all kinds and interests were there represented. The confident young Americans from the West rubbed off some of their dash against the slower and wiser Scotch and Englishmen who brought to the convention knowledge and experience from the Rochdale movement. Earnest, hardworking Poles and Slavs from the mines of Pennsylvania, Illinois and Michigan contributed their share, as did the alert, enthusiastic Italians from the industrial towns. There were kindly gray-headed store managers, youthful college men, labor organizers, university professors, hardy Norsemen and tenacious Finns, the latter especially insistent on the educational aspects of the movement. All were there, united by a common ideal. As they thronged past the statue of Lincoln on the State House steps, one realized what a melting-pot this country is. One also realized one of the reasons why co-operation has had to struggle to get a foothold in our land. No one country's experience can be transplanted here and take root. We have to work out an amalgam. It is being fused of fine stuff. May its product be pure gold!

But to the work done at the Convention. In addition to numerous visitors, there were 147 official delegates who registered, representing about 50,000 members from 368 co-operative societies, from two bakeries, one co-operative boarding house, two co-operative insurance societies, one industrial producers' society, two co-operative daily papers, one co-operative comic journal, one monthly and one home-building association. One delegate came from the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The Labor Trade Union movement was also well represented. There were delegates from local and state branches of the United Mine Workers of America, as well as from the national body itself, which boasts of a membership of 450,000 members; delegates from the Brotherhood of Locomotive Enginemen and Firemen, representing 175,000 members, and from the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, an organization containing 110,000 workers. The National Women's Trade Union League also sent two delegates, as did many other labor organizations.

The convention clearly demonstrated the sympathy existing between the trade union and the co-operative movements. A few years ago organized labor in America gave its attention almost wholly to the raising of wages and the bettering of the conditions of the workers as producers. Of late years, due, possibly to the high cost of living and to war conditions, it is realizing with the workers of Europe that attention should also be given to the control of prices through the stabilizing power of organization as consumers.

This new position was testified to by John McNamee, editor of the *Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine,* who read into the records a letter from Timothy Shea, acting president of his Brotherhood, and C. H. Lee of the Firemen's Brotherhood, pledging their utmost loyalty and support to co-operation, and stating that they had urged the officers "to lend the movement every assistance, both moral and financial."

From Pennsylvania came Mr. Stiles, who had been appointed by the United Mine Workers' District Number 2, to organize their members into co-operative societies. He declared that he had already assisted in the establishment of eight successful co-operative stores in the mining towns of that state, with a membership of 2,500, and that thirteen more were in the process of formation. Sim-

ilarly the miners in Illinois reported sixty-five thriving stores already in existence, while ten more were being formed. No one could listen to these reports without realizing the almost limitless possibilities of future co-operative development.

The international aspect of co-operation was brought out by cablegrams received from abroad. The five Russian societies, representing twenty million members, cabled words of greeting. Professor Charles Gide, the leading French economist, who was presiding at the Inter-Allied Co-operative Congress in session at Paris, sent a letter of congratulations and encouragement. George Keen, Secretary of the Canadian Co-operative Union, came in person to present the greetings of our fellow-co-operators from across the border.

An American Wholesale

The most important occurrence of the convention—more important than the messages and trenchant speeches, than the records of progress from store after store, than the exalted spirit and the hunger for the highest expression of co-operation pervading the whole gathering—was the *permanent foundation for the future* laid by the passage of a resolution to federate the six successful wholesale societies now existing, and to establish an American Wholesale. This resolution was met with enthusiasm, for it was the belief of all present that it will fill the great need of the American movement today. Seven men were elected directors of the new organization, Carl Lunn of the Puget Sound Co-operative Wholesale at Seattle, Dalton Clarke of the Tri-State Wholesale near Pittsburgh, J. Nummivuori, of the Finnish Wholesale of Wisconsin, C. L. Lowrie, of the American Co-operative Wholesale of Minnesota, Duncan McDonald of the Central States Wholesale, E. O. F. Ames of the Pacific Wholesale of California, and K. E. Grandahl of Massachusetts. These men have already set themselves earnestly to the task of creating this important institution on a permanent, efficient basis.

Educational Aspects

Another important resolution was one presented by the Committee on National Unity. This resolution recognized the need for a central agency around which all the societies should federate for the purpose of harmonizing and diffusing the educational aspects of co-operation. Equal in importance to real co-operators is the knowledge and practice of the aims and ideals of the movement. The resolution referred to the Co-operative League of America as the source of the movement in this country and urged all individuals and societies to affiliate with it.

The last of the nine convention sessions was a cafeteria supper enlivened by some of the lighter aspects of co-operation. So ended what has been called the First National Co-operative Convention in America. There have been other conventions, but none so representative, none which all can safely look to as the real beginning of an epoch in the American co-operative movement.

The Orientation of British Labor

By Richard Roberts

Trade Unionism arose in the first instance to remedy "the helplessness in which since the Industrial Revolution the individual workman stood in relation to the capitalist employer and still more in relation to the joint stock company and the national combine or trust." In this initial stage it was governed by the doctrine of Vested Interests and it was chiefly concerned with securing those concessions and safeguards which constitute the body of "trade union conditions," to the suspension of which British Labor consented for the period of the war, the whole being an inconceivably intricate patchwork gained as the result of innumerable local and sectional skirmishes and negotiations. The policy at this stage may be properly described as that of "nibbling" at the

enemy's lines, or raiding his trenches as opportunity afforded, or need required. But it was not possible that these piecemeal tactics should continue to be the chief weapon of a growing, highly organized movement which was gaining a kind of common mind; and gradually out of the experiences of the Unions grew a doctrine of the Common Rule. The main emphasis is now shifted from the local and sectional problem to that of establishing and maintaining a standard rate of wages and a normal working-day. This change is naturally marked by the appearance of a large scale strategy in place of the local and occasional tactics of the earlier stage and the earlier type of labor leader is rapidly disappearing in favor of persons who are able to bring some larger gifts of statesmanship to the problems of labor.

This new attitude of mind is likely to be made permanent by the situation relative to trade union conditions brought about by the war. The restoration of trade union conditions was solemnly and repeatedly promised by the authorities at the time of their suspension, but it is now evident that even with the best will in the world this restoration as it was originally guaranteed has become impracticable; and the only way in which the spirit of the pledge can be kept is by the institution of what Mr. Sidney Webb calls "The New Industrial Charter."* The main interest of this charter is the change which it will entail in the status of the worker. It aims to give him security against unemployment, a share in the control of the conditions under which he works and freedom both from the autocratic dictation of employer or foreman and from the coercion of necessity.

Mr. Webb's proposed charter is, however, only a minimum demand. It is quite plain that the mind of organized labor has already gone substantially ahead of what Mr. Webb suggests. The demand for public ownership has become vocal throughout the whole movement. though it is public ownership separated from the earlier Socialist doctrine of state control. It is in this doctrine of *public ownership with decentralized functional control* that the key is to be found to the mind of progressive organized labor today. The events of war time have brought the problem of the democratic control of industry out of the region of hypothesis. It is advocated both by the Garton foundation and the Whitley committee, and it has been experimentally justified by its application to the woolen trades and to some others. The scheme associated with the name of Mr. Malcolm Sparkes proposes for the building trades a hierarchy of bodies composed equally of employers and employees all the way up from the single shop through district and provincial councils to a National Trade Parliament. The British Labor Party also has unhesitatingly affirmed the principle of the participation of the workers in the management, both central and local, of harbors, roads, coasts, telegraph, railways, canals, mines. It is impossible to doubt that the principle of democratic control in industry has come to stay, and it is the first great step in the transformation of the status of the worker. When once the subsistence of the worker is secured against unemployment, the democratic control of industry will make him something different from a pawn in the game of production, an employed wage-earner, a "hand"; he becomes a partner, possessing both the freedom and the responsibility of partnership. It is only by some such change as this that we can lay the foundation of a just and worthy social order, and realize the democratic ideal in the sphere of industry.

It is certain that the movement in favor of democratic control owes much to the advocacy of the principle of *National Guilds.* The National Guild idea is a systematic development of this principle of partnership,—for it goes on to insist upon the doctrine of public ownership, which naturally gives the worker a share not only in management and control, but in the actual ownership of the means of production. The Guildsman assails vehemently two principles of the existing social order, namely: production for profit and the commodity theory of labor. Over against this he affirms the principle of production for need and use, and the principle of separ-

* For fuller details the reader may be referred to Mr. Sidney Webb's brochure **"The Restoration of Trade Union Conditions."**

ating work from wages. The National Guild indeed seems to be the logical issue of the present tendencies of organized labor in so far as they are expressed in the program of the British Labor Party.

Students of the economic and industrial situation in England will not need to be told how completely the general principles of progressive labor have been validated under the pressure of war. Thorstein Veblen has shown how the passing of the control of industry from the technological side to the business side has injuriously affected production and it is plain that the addition of technological efficiency as represented by the worker to the management of the industry has resulted already in a great advance both in the quality and the quantity of production. How rapidly the final elimination of private capitalist supremacy will proceed it would be idle to speculate, but it is perfectly plain that an immense stride has already been taken in the direction of the economic emancipation of the worker. This, however, is not the end of the road, for the thing that is stirring in the mind and heart of organized labor today is something much deeper than the demand for a more satisfactory physical condition or for economic freedom. The phenomenon which we have called labor unrest is the result of a craving, imperious and not to be denied, for a larger life. The greater part of life is an unredeemed and unexplored territory and the possibilities hidden in those regions beyond, "eye hath not seen nor hath ear heard," but dimly and indistinctly the worker has caught a glimpse of this promised land and he has set his face that way. But he has justly perceived that between him and the promised land lies the "Great Divide" of economic disinheritance with all that it entails of insecurity and bondage. The road over the "Great Divide" is the road of economic freedom and independence and that is the road which organized labor is making today.

The Farmer and Reconstruction

By Robert J. Wheeler

The last few years have witnessed the development of agriculture from small to large scale production and operation. The "Bulletin on Tenure, Mortgages and Size of Farms" shows that there were, in 1910, 50,000 farms with an average acreage of 3346 acres and an average value of $150,000; 125,000 farms averaging 667 acres, value $31,000; 978,000 farms averaging 291 acres, value $14,000.

Information obtained from the state colleges of the country has clearly demonstrated that in every section of the eastern part of the United States, with the exception of the extreme South, farms have been steadily consolidating. The two prime reasons for this tendency are (1) scarcity of labor, and (2) improvement of farm machinery.

In the Far West, following the breaking up of the great ranches into farms, large scale farming immediately began to develop. An extreme example of this development is found in the Chas. W. Taft farm in Texas, with its more than 200,000 acres, wherein all farm products are worked up into manufactured products before leaving the premises. So far has large scale farming progressed that what were tendencies in 1900 have now become established conditions. Certain well defined methods of handling large scale farming are at present in vogue. They may be summed up as follows:

Farms operated by owners, assisted by expert agriculturists.

Farms operated by owner in part and by tenants in part under direction of expert agriculturists.

Farms operated by tenants wholly, divided into small farms of regular size, tenants obliged to follow directions of expert.

Farms operated by corporations, under regular industrial corporation methods—i. e., expert superintendents, scientific managers, best labor eliminating machinery, cost accounting system, efficiency tests, etc.

Farms operated by ring system—i. e., co-operative group of independent farm-

ers, who co-operate in owning and working plowing and threshing outfits, using gas or oil or steam tractors for power. This last system tends toward the farm co-operation, as a means of reducing expenses and increasing profits.

For a number of years prior to the outbreak of the war, capital was being invested in agriculture in considerable quantities, while great corporations were arising for the manufacture of modern farm implements. The application of scientific methods to the handling of crops, the forming of co-operative associations for the marketing of products, and the development of such liberal banking policies as are found in the Federal Reserve system were further significant indications of the passing of agriculture into the industrial phase of production.

This capitalist development has been accelerated by the war. The war has also increased governmental agricultural activities manyfold. These tendencies will continue during the reconstruction period.

Reconstruction and Intensive Farming

Government aid during this period may take one of two forms. It may aim to arrest the natural tendency toward large scale agricultural production by encouraging returned soldiers to undertake intensive farming as a means of livelihood. Certainly such farming will offer sufficient economic inducements. America will have to feed a world which has been starved and it seems now as if it will take years before this country can boast of any surplus supply of food. This condition will mean high wages and high prices for food, and these prices will guarantee to the farmer sufficient reward for his labor. Agricultural magazines and some semi-government publications are at present suggesting the possibility of placing large numbers of returned soldiers and other workers upon the land, the government to supply financial assistance and expert agricultural advisors. Returned soldiers would have to be instructed in the arts of agriculture. Such instruction has been undertaken by the government of Yucatan, Mexico, with remarkable economic and social results. Cities throughout the United States are also experimenting in a small way along these lines through the "War Garden" movement. After a year or more of training agricultural students become expert gardeners.

Farming and the Co-operative Principle

The second plan open to the government is that of encouraging co-operative farming under government supervision and with government aid, to be undertaken on a large scale. Intensive farming in small areas may be possible for a certain period if prices remain high. However, such methods directly conflict with the principles of economic development in agriculture, for the overhead expense incurred by individual farmers on small pieces of land is considerably greater than in the case of co-operative farming under government direction. The co-operative principle applied to agriculture should be just as successful as it has been in other departments of industry, and, in my opinion, the development which promises the highest returns will be along these lines.

Agrarian Collectivism in Yucatan

It is difficult to tell just how such co-operation can best be carried out. An interesting experiment has been witnessed in the case of Yucatan, Mexico, to which I formerly referred. Here is found a purely agricultural state, the new constitution of which commits the commonwealth to the vast scheme of co-operative farming with the government as the leader of the enterprise. In Yucatan, the land can not be sold. It inheres in the state. The only title the individual can have is a use title. This descends to posterity or reverts to the state in case the individual family line becomes extinct. The government advances capital, provides expert advisors, instructs people in the art of agriculture and markets the crops to the greatest advantage.

It is hardly likely that the Yucatan system will be applied to American agriculture, but there are tendencies now at work in the United States which point

strongly toward governmental participation in agricultural advance. Municipal, state and national governments, through various committees representing, in semi-official capacity, governmental agencies, have been devoting their time since the beginning of the war to stimulating the production of food, and managing its distribution and conservation. The result thus far attained has been truly remarkable.

State Aid in Pennsylvania

In Pennsylvania, we are now engaged in plowing land with a well developed tractor service extending all over the state and numbering about 40 machines generally in charge of trained operators. This tractor department of which I am the Superintendent in Lehigh County, co-operates with the County Farm Agent and the Chairman of the Department of Equipment and Supply of the National Council of Defense. The State also provides a County Farm Labor Agent, whose business it is to search out labor needs and seek to provide the farmers with labor of some kind during the planting and harvesting season. Thus the machinery for the development of co-operation between the government and the agriculturist in Pennsylvania has already become quite comprehensive.

To some extent, it already partakes of the nature of the Yucatan system. The County Farm Agent studies the need of his agricultural section, furnishes expert advice, distributes scientific literature throughout the county, conducts soil and seed tests, and provides farmers with tested seed. The Farm Labor Agent devotes his entire time to the study of the labor needs of the county and endeavors to supply these needs. The chairman of the Committee of Equipment and Supply of the National Council of Defense interests himself in the marketing of the crops in his county and, in co-operation with the Women's Council of National Defense, devotes much of his time to the conservation of food. This kind of work is going on all over the United States and will continue to develop as long as the war lasts. To me, this has a deep economic significance. This social machinery will never be scrapped. In some form or other, it will continue to function to a greater and greater extent during the reconstruction period.

Future Development in Farming

The vast experience gained by the agencies which are now dealing with agricultural problems will certainly be put to a greater use than ever when peace returns and we take up the mighty task of feeding a starving world. The "back to land" cry is rising ever louder, especially with the increasing realization that agricultural products will continue to bring high prices.

To sum up in a broad way, I would say that every tendency during the last twenty years toward co-operation in agriculture has been accentuated by the extraordinary changes following the war. On a large scale, we may look for agriculture to emphasize the co-operative principle. I am a firm believer in the efficacy of the system like that in use in Yucatan. Undoubtedly there will be great co-operative enterprises conducted through organizations advised by government experts and assisted by government agencies in marketing, etc. Returned soldiers by the hundred thousand doubtless will be put on the land. Funds advanced by government agencies will be used to do agricultural work on a large scale. The government will require the different sections of the country to feed their population as far as the productive capacity of their respective sections will permit. Governmental agencies will undoubtedly reorganize the markets of the country and develop a scientific system of distribution of foodstuffs. The government will require the application of scientific principles to agriculture to a degree hitherto undreamed of. City waste in the form of garbage high in fertilizer content will be applied to the land. Great fertilizer establishments owned by the government will provide fertilizer at a reasonable cost. Cold storage and hydrating establishments, canning factories, sorting, grading, packing stations will flourish in every considerable community. Manufacturing establishments suitable to consume the agricultural products of certain sections

will be located at the most advantageous points in those sections to avoid high transportation charges. The enormous areas of idle farms and the waste land in the eastern sections of the United States will be reclaimed and put to uses to which they are best adapted—to fruit growing, to the production of timber, to grazing purposes.

On the whole, we may look forward to the application of scientific principles of management of agriculture on a very broad scale when we embark upon the reconstruction period after the war.

War Time Control of Industry

By Harry W. Laidler

During the last year and a half of war, the national control of industry in the United States has proceeded at a remarkable pace. Railroads, shipping, telephones and telegraphs have been placed almost entirely under public control. The federal government has entered into partnership with the express companies and food, fuel and other supplies are being subjected to an ever increasing public regulation.

Our Merchant Marine

The first of the services to be nationalized was the shipping industry. A few days after the declaration of April 6, the United States took over 91 German ships valued at $125,000,000. On August 4, the Emergency Fleet Corporation requisitioned all steel vessels of over 2500 tons then in the course of construction in the country's ship yards. By March, 1918, it had requisitioned and contracted for the building of 1165 steel ships, totalling over 8 million tons, and, in addition, 500 wooden vessels. The Corporations' first annual report declared that the government was, in this sphere of activity, engaged in what was probably the greatest construction task ever attempted by a single institution. It now controls substantially all the shipbuilding of the country other than of naval vessels, and expects to have completed by March, 1919, eight times the tonnage delivered in 1916.

Under the arrangements made when the ships were taken over, the title to vessels will be retained by the government, although American owners will be permitted, under certain conditions, to regain possession after the declaration of peace.

The National Control of Railroads

Of more importance than shipping, from the standpoint of the average citizen, is the railroad situation. Prior to the war, the United States, Canada and England were the only three important countries in which government ownership did not exist in whole or in large part. The day after the war broke out, England assumed control, although not ownership of its railroads. Nine months after the United States entered war, in December, 1917, the government of this country took similar action, placing under its management 260,000 miles of road and more than 1,000,000 employees. "It has become unmistakably plain," declared the President in his message calling for national control, "that only under government administration can the entire equipment of the several systems of transportation be fully and unreservedly thrown into a common service without injurious discrimination against particular properties. Only under government administration can an absolutely unrestricted and unembarrassed common use be made of all tracks, terminals, terminal facilities, and equipment of every kind. Only under that authority can new terminals be constructed and developed without regard to the requirements or limitations of particular roads."

The transfer was actually effected on December 28, 1917, with Secretary McAdoo as Director-General. Private ownership, however, has been retained, the United States guaranteeing to maintain the equipment of the roads during federal control and to pay to the stockholders dividends equivalent to the average net income of the three years preceding June 30, 1917—years of high

earnings. This means a payment of unearned income to owners of over a billion dollars a year.

At first railroad presidents were retained in their positions. The administration, however, found that too many of them regarded themselves primarily as presidents of their particular roads, secondarily as public servants and that this situation hampered greatly the coordination of the various roads. To eliminate this evil, a sweeping order was issued on May 21, 1918, for the removal of all railroad presidents and the substitution therefore of Federal Directors and Managers, responsible only to the Director-General. The country was divided into seven regions and directors were appointed over each division with salaries ranging from $4000 to $50,000, while Federal managers of individual roads or systems were appointed, receiving varying sums of from $5000 to $40,000. Under private control, salaries ranged as high as $100,000 for railroad presidents and chief executives. Mr. McAdoo is given his usual salary as secretary of the treasury, but receives nothing additional as Director-General.

Advantages of National Control

The government in the report of the seven months' operation of the railroads ending August 1, declares that government operation has led to a number of advantages.

It has saved $4,614,899 a year in high salaries.

It has reduced legal expenses by $1,500,000 annually.

It has given better facilities for the hauling of coal. The railroads carried, up to August 1, 22,000,000 tons more of this necessity than in the same period last year.

It has consolidated separate ticket offices formerly maintained in the larger cities, making an estimated saving of $23,566,633.

It has saved in advertising about $7,000,000. Railroad tables have been abridged and simplified. All lines have been induced to carry their own insurance, the express companies have been unified and freight routes have been shortened.

The Shortening of Routes

Mr. Theodore H. Price, in speaking of the results of this shortening of routes, writes:

"When the railways were in competition, it was to the financial interest of a given line to carry the freight the longest possible distance over its own lines. In doing this it **was assured of a larger share of the through rate than it might have been able otherwise to secure.** The result was that those railways which had the best solicitors sent the traffic they secured over their own lines, which were often circuitous and longer than the competing routes.

"Now the United States Railroad Administration tries to send the freight that it carries by the shortest routes that are available, provided that the grade and condition of the shorter route make its use possible.

"Great progress has been made in this direction, especially in the West, and many new through lines are being developed. One of them, from **Los Angeles to Dallas and Fort Worth, is over five hundred miles shorter than the routing via the Southern Pacific lines formerly much used.** Another, from the oil-fields at Casper, Wyoming, to Montana and Washington State points, is 880 miles shorter than the route formerly used. Fruit from Southern California to Ogden is hauled 201 miles less than by the route previously used. Still another route between Chicago and Sioux City is 110 miles shorter than the one previously traversed. Eighty-eight miles have been saved by devising a new route between Mason City and Marshall Town, Iowa, and 103 miles by a new route between Fort Dodge, Iowa, and Chicago. The route from Southern California to Kansas City has been shortened by 234 miles.

"As one example of the economy that has been thus made possible it may be mentioned that recently during a period of about sixty days some 8,999 cars were rerouted in a certain Western territory, so as to effect a saving in the mileage traveled by each car of 195 miles, equal to a total of 1,754,644 car miles."

The Standardizing of Cars

It has been estimated that, under competition, 2023 types of freight cars were in use. A minimum of standard types has now been agreed upon: 12 in all, many parts of each type being interchangeable with those in all of the other types. The Administration has as well substituted 6 for 30 types of locomotives, and their construction will be uniform. One of the advantages of this change is that the engineer or fireman will not need to go through the process of "becoming

acquainted" with such a variety of types as formerly.

Passenger Service

Federally managed railroads have also economized—somewhat to our discomfort—the passenger service.

Concerning the abandonment of unnecessary Summer service, the report says that in the district west of the Mississippi River, an aggregate passenger-train mileage of 21,000,000 a year has been thus done away with. Through travel is being directed to the natural routes. The hauling of special trains or needless private cars has been discouraged, and the schedules are being revised, so that closer connections can be made. Railroad tickets between points reached by more than one road are honored by any route and a universal mileage book good in the hands of bearer upon any Government controlled road is now to be had. It is sold in units of 500 or 1,000 miles at 3 cents per mile, plus the Government tax of 8 per cent. The coupons it contains are also good at their face value for excess baggage charges.

The wages of the workers have been increased about 25 per cent.

Summarizing results obtained, Mr. McAdoo said:

"Speaking generally, there is good ground for believing that substantial progress has been made in accelerating the movement of traffic, employing the available equipment more intensively and running trains more nearly on time."

"A daily increase in facility and efficiency is noticeable, and I am confident that the railroads will shortly be in condition to meet any demands that may be made of them if needed motive power already ordered can be secured and if the necessary skilled labor is not withdrawn from the railroads for military and other purposes.

"Officials and employees have worked with such loyalty and zeal to accomplish what has already been done that it is a genuine pleasure to make acknowledgment of their splendid work. It is a constant satisfaction to be associated with them."

As against these advantages, it may be said that a number of extravagances have been noted in railway management. Many of these extravagances, however, are due to a desire on the part of those interested in the perpetuation of private control to prove the inefficiency of public management.

Telephones, Telegraphs, Express

On July 23 of this year, the government took control of the telephone and telegraph lines, partly as a result of a threatened strike. Postmaster-General Burleson was placed in charge of those utilities with Congressman Lewis and Messrs. Koons and Lamar a committee on management. Stockholders here will continue to receive dividends until the postmaster-general otherwise directs.

In the case of express companies, a plan was approved on May 29, 1918, whereby the four great companies were united into a single corporation, the service to be rendered and the rates charged being under the control of Director McAdoo, while the government was to share on a progressively increasing scale in any profits derived from the business.

Food and Coal

During the past year, great powers have been assumed by the government over the food supply. On August 15, 1917, a $50,000,000 wheat corporation was formed with all the stocks held by the Federal government to buy and sell wheat at the principal terminals, to handle the Allied grain business and to conduct buying for the American government. The Chicago wheat pit, we were told, once noted for its turbulence, became on August 25, 1917, "as quiet as a country churchyard." On August 24, of last year, it was decided that all purchases of the Allied governments would be made by an American commission.

The coal supply is also, to some extent, being brought under federal supervision. The price of coal and the commissions to be given to coal jobbers have been regulated, while cross freighting from the West to the East and vice versa has been prohibited. It is being predicted that the coal mines, the beef industry and the steel industry will be among the next businesses to come under public control.

The United States Labor Policy

With this national control a significant labor policy has been adopted. In the

shipping industry a shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board has been created, containing three members, one to represent organized labor, one, the public, and the other the Emergency Fleet Federation. Trade union standards have been adopted as basic. The November, 1917, awards made by this board created shop and craft grievance committees, fixed minimum standards of wages and hours and recognized the right of the union to supply skilled draftsmen.

A joint board has also been appointed in the railroad industry with six representatives of the managers and six of the workers. A National Labor War Board containing representatives of employers and workers, and popularly known as the Walsh-Taft Board, has as well been appointed to handle questions of labor disputes in other industries. The memorandum of this board declares for the recognition of the union, equal pay for equal work, a basic eight hour day and fixing of wages with due regard to labor standards.

The war-collectivism thus far evidenced has proved the Socialist contention that competition is wasteful and that co-operation is economic. It has also shown that other incentives besides the profit incentive may be relied upon as a spur to industrial activity. The advance of such collectivism is, moreover, narrowing the question of controversy between Socialists and non-Socialists. Formerly the question was: "Which is preferable, individualism or collectivism?" With the growth of war-collectivism, the problem is rapidly becoming: "Which is preferable , bureaucratic state Socialism or democratic Socialism?"

Summary

War-collectivism as at present operated in this country, falls far short of the Socialist ideal. While we have national control of railroads, telegraphs and telephones, we do not have collective ownership, and the Socialist insists that the title to industry as well as the control of industry shall be in the hands of the community. Under present conditions, the nation is handing over billions of dollars in interest to owners of these utilities. Socialists aim at ownership which would ultimately relieve the community of the necessity of paying unearned wealth to any group in the population.

The state at present is not controlled by the workers. A survey of the occupations of Congressmen and Senators is indicative. Socialists demand not only that the state—democratically controlled—dominate industry, but that the intellectual and manual workers dominate the state.

The management of nation-controlled industry is not yet thoroughly democratic. It is true that workers are not unrepresented on boards of control. However, this representation is far from the democratic management which must ultimately prevail. Of interest in this connection is the protest just made by the four brotherhoods to Director-General McAdoo against the order prohibiting railroad employees from participating in politics. Another ruling which is alleged by Representative Wood to have been made is that preventing railway employees from interesting themselves in co-operative stores. The brotherhoods are also complaining of inadequate representation on railway adjustment boards, and the consequent serious crippling of their right of collective bargaining.

Those who have the vision of a complete industrial democracy should study carefully every step toward collectivism and analyze the advantages and disadvantages of such steps from the standpoint of social efficiency and of the development of the personality of the work. Radicals should use their constructive ability to bring about improvements in every line of collective endeavor, should awaken the masses to the dangers of bureaucracy, should support every movement which bids fair to strengthen the working class in its control of political and economic life, and should do their best to direct collective control into channels which will subserve the interests of democracy and of brotherhood.

Health Conservation as a Social Problem

By James Peter Warbasse

Health is purchasable. Death comes to those too poor to barter for life. In civilized countries the children of the poor die at the rate of three to one of the children of the rich. Poverty is the great disease. Hard times increase the death-rate as well as the crime-rate. The poor man is a dangerous person.

The future cannot see these problems worked out unless economic betterment goes along with the progress of the sanitary sciences. Health organization must attack fundamentals. Common sense demands that the knowledge of hygiene, which has been won through the suffering of countless generations, shall not be exclusive. It must be regarded as social knowledge, to be denied to none.

To demand that doctors acquire this knowledge, and then that they enter into competition with one another in selling it, is neither good for doctor nor patient. Doctors and nurses have useful services to offer, but society causes them to be hungry when the people are healthy, and well-fed when the people are overcome by disease. This is both unsocial and inhuman. Sickness and suffering should have no premium placed upon them for anybody.

The state of the health and not the state of the purse should determine the needs of the individual. Society cannot afford to discriminate against the poor when they are sick, either by making them objects of charity or by neglecting them.

Stages of Medical Practice

The development of health organization and the practice of medicine may be considered in the light of five different economic phases: (1) The first is the competitive phase through which it is now passing. The others are (2) medicine under State Socialism, (3) under Syndicalism, (4) under Guild Socialism, and (5) under Co-operation. The administration of health agencies is destined to be influenced by all of these.

(1) Medicine under individualistic economic competition now approaches the end of its dominance. In Europe it is becoming obsolete.

(2) The administration of health agencies by the political state had made much headway before the war, but during the war it has made still greater progress. Not only has medical attention been provided more largely for the civil population, but twenty million men under arms are freed from the necessity of seeking the private doctor for aid, and are given medical, surgical and nursing attentions by the government whose employees they have become.

(3) The Syndicalist principle in the organization of health agencies is exemplified in the association of physicians, nurses, and other experts into groups to control the administration of their craft and the sale of their labor. There are such organizations in all stages of development. The national and local medical associations are imperfectly developed syndicates. The Mayo Clinic at Rochester, Minn., is a highly perfected example of this principle.

(4) Guild Socialism stands midway between State Socialism and Syndicalism. It means that the state shall own the hospitals, but the doctors, nurses and other workers shall administer them. The introduction of the Syndicalist principle into stateism seems to offer the control which is necessary to remove the bureaucratic stigma of the latter.

(5) Health administration under co-operation means organization of the people, independent of the state and its politics, to administer in a free society the affairs necessary for the conservation of their health. In Russia the people through their co-operative societies and the Zemstvos employ physicians and conduct hospitals and clinics as co-operative enterprises. The great "sickness societies" and "Krankenkassen" of middle Europe are such co-operative institutions. The co-operative consumers' societies of Europe are steadily entering this field of introducing medical and nursing care.

Reconstruction After the War

In the reconstruction after the war there are certain fundamentals upon which we should insist without reference to their classification. The doctor and the nurse must be socialized. Team work should take the place of individual work. So great have become the advances in medicine that no individual can any longer be master of more than a small fraction of medical learning. The average sick person should receive the diagnostic skill of several departments of learning and the benefit of treatments which no single individual can administer.

The new society should provide institutions of experts into which a patient may go and have concentrated upon his case all of the technic and learning which science and art have to offer. Such an institution should co-ordinate all medical knowledge. It should represent team work, and embrace highly skilled specialists. Under present competitive conditions the rich can afford to have this best expression of sanitary science brought to them. The poor have it not at all or only in some of the better municipal hospitals. The great middle class cannot afford this team work either at their homes or in the hospital, and accordingly they suffer for want of the best that science can offer. This is the odium of the passing regime which the new order of things shall correct. The society of the future must organize itself for more effective group action.

A Community Sanitary Center

Communities should be divided into sanitary districts, each with a sanitary expert answerable for the public health. Each district should have not only a social center but a sanitary center. The court house should become a diagnostic institution and amalgamated with the hospital system. At this sanitary center the problems of disease should be worked out. Prevention should be the keynote; and this should supercede the old idea of making treatment the aim of medical effort. The jail should be supplanted by the hospital for the treatment, not the punishment, of those committed to its care.

Disease is of social importance; therefore health is of social importance. If left to private business the patient comes to the doctor when he is sick. This means that most disease is undiscovered and untreated. Health service should be organized to seek out disease and disease-breeding conditions. This can only be carried out as a social enterprise.

Rehabilitation of the Soldier

The rehabilitation of those who are injured in industry and war should be our immediate program. The man who has lost his limbs or eyesight is no longer to be regarded as an object of charity, but he is to be taught to perform some useful service in his own and the public interest.

Economic Conditions

But health organization will fail utterly if we look to the medical profession or to the sanitary sciences alone to solve the problem of public health. There must be secured in addition to their skill and science better economic conditions for the people, better housing, better schooling, better recreations, better food, children freed from labor, and industry made safe.

Without these conditions assured, public health measures will always be palliative, patching up wreckage of social and industrial havoc. When that day dawns toward which we Socialists and co-operators are striving, then the medical sciences may effectively be invoked to heal, conserve, and invigorate the human body; and life in full abundance may then become the supreme object of human interest.

Reconstruction After the War

A Summary of the Autumn Conference,

I. S. S.*

Many phases of "Reconstruction After the War"—reconstruction in politics, industry and agriculture; reconstruction and labor, education, health, women, religion and subject races were brilliantly discussed at the Fourth Annual Conference of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society held in Delaware Water Gap from September 10 to 16, 1918.

In some ways the most picturesque of the gatherings was that held at the last regular session on Sunday afternoon on the beautiful hillside, and devoted primarily to the discussion of "Woman and Reconstruction." Miss Madeline Doty, who has recently returned from an extended trip through many countries, vividly described the development of the woman's movement in countries of the East and West. She said in part:

Madeline Doty on "The Feminist Movement"

"There is a fatal fascination about warring Europe. Across the seas a world drama is being enacted. One cannot keep away. Each year the scene changes. Having seen the first act one must see the next. The call came to me. I had been to Europe twice since the war. This was the third trip. This time I was to go around the world.

"I knew that parallel with the physical battle that engulfs us runs a great spiritual struggle. That was the drama I was watching. I tried to discover the dreams and plans of the women of the future, what the folks at home strove for, where the spiritual drama led. In each country I sought the heart of things. I made no attempt to acquire facts and figures. I secured merely a bird's-eye view of a mixed up world, with a glimpse of the new spiritual order which arises out of the muddle.

"A very important factor in the consideration of world affairs is the different stage of development of the different nations. To treat of matters internationally when one nation is in the middle ages and another in the twenty-first century is almost impossible. In Japan for instance women are openly sold into industry and prostitution, and a God-sent emperor sits upon the throne. In that land to be a member of the Y. W. C. A., was to be a rebel and a revolutionist. Japan socially is in the middle ages. When I reached Russia, on the other hand, I found that the working people had seized the government and that Maxim Gorki was in danger of imprisonment as a conservative. I had leaped forward into the twenty-first century. Then I journeyed to Sweden and found a king tottering on his throne. Beneath the skirts of a gorgeous palace lay the hovels of the poor, and a mass of restless hungry people crying out for bread. I had dropped back to the eighteenth century.

"When I landed in England it was a step forward again to the twentieth century. For in spite of a king as a figurehead in England the people are slowly taking possession of their own. Not as in Russia by the force of the bayonet, but through universal education and the intellectual intelligence of the masses.

"But this uneven state of world development will not long continue. In every country exists a group of people spiritually awake. They are fighting the fight for the new freedom. Fifty years from today kings will have vanished and Parliaments and Congresses be the governing force in each nation. With the dawn of such a day wars will cease and a true internationalism be established. And in this new order which arises women will play a large part.

Varying Stages of Women's Development

"The position of women the world over is a fascinating line of investigation. In autocratic Japan the woman was still a slave. She had no rights, she was hardly more than an upper servant. In awakening China she was still bound by the laws and traditions of the past ages but beneath her bondage she began to stir and here and there to break through her chains. In Russia woman was man's comrade and mate. Her womanhood had been cast from her for the sake of revolution. She did not seek to express herself but instead adopted man's methods in the fight for freedom. In Sweden women have taken a wholly different line. The Swedish man has refused to let woman be his comrade, has made her instead as in Germany his house-frau. The

* At previous conferences we were fortunate in having Caro Lloyd write her impressions of the conference to supplement the article summarizing the discussions. This year it was unfortunately impossible for the assistant editor to attend the conference, and this feature must therefore be omitted.

women thrown back on themselves concentrated on each other and on the sex problem and built up a **Mütter-Schutz** program. This concentration on the woman's needs made the women self-expressive and produced the women geniuses, Ellen Key and Selma Lagerlof. In France, on the other hand, it is neither as comrade or genius that the modern woman stands but as a lover. Through all the ages the French woman has been master in the art of love. Her work has been achieved through some man. She has made no attempt to speak for herself. All she possessed was given to her lover. Her influence on history has been through her amours.

"It is when we come to England that we find the modern woman more nearly the complete human being. Here she combines the striking characteristics of the other countries. She is a comrade, mate and lover, self-expressive and free. She stands forth as the warrior of the spirit. It was in England where the Labor Party and the women are coming into their own that I heard in its full strength the glad new song of freedom and brotherhood which I have heard faintly everywhere. I knew then that whatever the outcome on the field of battle the cause of democracy had been won. And particularly I saw the flowering of new spiritual beauty among the women, until before my eyes grew a dazzling vision of an army of mothers joining hands the world around, battling for the rights of the world's children, creating a new and better race of men and women, bringing to fruition the kingdom of God upon earth."

Katharine Anthony on "Women as Population Makers"

Miss Doty was followed by Katharine Anthony, author of "Feminism in Germany and Scandinavian Countries," a feminist of international reputation. Miss Anthony dealt with the part women will take in the future in repopulating the world. She declared in part:

"The question of reconstruction after the war is one in which women have a special and peculiar interest as a sex, for the trend of public policies at this time concerns their life, liberty and pursuit of happiness most intimately. As population-makers, they have their highest value during periods of colonization and reconstruction. But in the past this service has been taken for granted and left unrecognized and unrecorded.

"In Europe today the burning question is 'Who will settle Europe when the war is over?' I understand that the French maidens are being urged to marry American husbands in France after the war. The English girls, on the other hand are advised to marry the Americans and go home with them, which leaves more chance for those who remain. It comes to the same thing in the long run—the aim being to wipe out the enormous surplus of women. (You will notice the custom we have adopted of referring to these persons as surplus women, or superfluous women, but never as the majority.) The decline of the population owing to the decrease of births and direct loss by deaths is known to be alarming, though accurate and complete statistics are impossible to obtain. The death of millions of men in battle means a great intensification of the problem of the odd women, but it has not created the problem. It existed long ago. As far back as 1911, France had 103 women to 100 men, England 107 to 100 men, and across in Norway, they had 110 to 100 men. The sexual crisis, therefore, in which the existence of surplus women is one of the chief factors, was one long before the war was on.

"Similarly the rocket-like fall of the birth rate under wartime conditions is only the acceleration of the downward trend already standardized. The same influences which operated before war came along with its abnormal segregation of the sexes will doubtless prevail again when family life is restored. In England, in 1915, the birth-rate was the lowest on record and represented the greatest fall from the previous year as yet recorded. This same year, 1915, saw the marriage rate go up to the highest on record—one of the direct emotional consequences of the outbreak of the war,—a consequence which has been observed in this country as well. One might expect that the following year in England would show an increased birth-rate and that the former decline would be arrested. But not so—1916 showed the usual falling-off. Moreover, this golden age of increased marriages passes by very quickly, ending when mobilization is completed. Then the marriage-rate and the birth-rate go on downward together. What the war has really done to the descending birth-rate is to wipe out the margin of safety which was depended on to make the further postponement of marriage reforms inocuous. Free motherhood could wait as long as unfree motherhood sufficed to fill the armies and the colonies.

Increasing Demands of Women

"Reconstruction means primarily repopulation. This is woman's work, her natural monopoly. I am aware that this is regarded as an 'actionable' statement by the class of women who thrive under the present marriage system. Last year the Anti-Suffrage Society resigned from the National Council of Women because the latter had so much as touched this idea with a ten foot pole. The National Council had publicly endorsed Miss Rankin's bill which was intended to make citizenship of American women independent of their husbands.

But it appeared that in the argument for this bill, the sponsor had made the rash statement that the father is the casual parent. Thereupon, the Anti-suffragists resigned from the National Council out of sheer chivalry towards the sex against whom nature had discriminated in this respect.

"It is now beginning to be evident that the actual producers of the population are going to have more to say in the future about the conditions under which their work is done. In England, an organization known as the Women's Co-operative Guild has been specializing for a number of years on the maternity problem. The first time this group took a hand in shaping the population policy of their country was when the first maternity insurance was introduced in England. The English law read that the maternity benefit was to be regarded in every case as the husband's benefit and was payable to him. The Women's Co-operative Guild couldn't see it that way. They immediately went to work to have the bill changed, and succeeded in about two years. At the present time, in both France and Sweden, the suffragists are giving a great deal of attention to the population policies which are being publicly discussed.

"It would be naive for us to suppose that the present social upheaval will leave the institution of the family untouched. A return to the **status quo ante** here will be impossible too.

Mothers as Teachers

"The heavy penalties on motherhood must be relaxed. Take, for instance, the rule which bars married women teachers from our public schools. This is an instance of the kind of bureaucratic blindness which tends to make motherhood impossible for an important class of educated women. It is true that this autocratic ruling is breaking down under war conditions. There is a shortage of teachers. Something like 27,000 positions are vacant and no candidates in sight. Salaries are low; young women can do better in other occupations; and married women, who might presumably put up with poor salaries for the sake of the relatively shorter hours, the free Saturday, and the summer vacations, are just the persons who are excluded. Some time ago, the Commissioner of Education issued an official statement advising the city school boards to repeal the rule barring married women, and this seems to have had its effect, along with the famine conditions. Even New York City is going to give them a chance, but only in the case of soldiers' wives. This is evidently an effort to limit the rule to the duration of the war, but let us hope that New York women voters will wake up and demand its continuation and extension.

"Social insurance is of vital interest to women. Plans for social insurance have been under consideration by several legislatures for some years now. But they have shown a marked tendency to leave maternity insurance off the program. Certainly the needs of maternity should be looked after as one of the first steps, rather than as one of the last, and any scheme of social insurance which proceeds on the assumption that to secure the working man an income is the same thing as securing an income to his wife needs to be revised by women who are realists and not idealists about the facts of family life."

Professor Roswell Johnson, of the University of Pittsburgh, and one of the country's leading eugenists, dealt with the question of "repopulation after the war," and urged superior women not to shirk their duty as mothers, for the maintenance and improvement of racial stock depends upon the manner in which the physically and mentally fit assist in replenishing the race.

Florence Kelley spoke of the dangers of a system of maternity insurance which merely accrues to the advantage of the father and leaves the mother in no better position than formerly. Rose Strunsky, Professor Ellen Hayes and others also took part in the discussion.

Religious Reconstruction

Of special interest also was the Sunday program on "Religious Reconstruction." Professor William P. Montague of Columbia University spoke of the fourfold development in religion. He declared in outline:

1. *Theology.* The principal change in the church's theology will consist not in an abandonment of super-naturalism, but in the adoption of a less authoritarian and more rationalistic method of exposition and defense. Dogma will be replaced by hypothesis; and the supposed sinfulness of doubting the articles of a creed will give way to a willingness to defend them by appealing to the evidence of experience.

2. *The Relation of Ethics to Theology.* The ethics of religion will be emancipated from its theology—to the great advantage of each. Morality will cease to be a matter of laws and become a matter of ideals. The Hebraic notion of righteousness as consisting in obedient conformity to the edicts of an almighty power will be replaced by the Hellenic

notion of righteousness as a voluntary devotion to whatever appears reasonable and good. And instead of the autocratic conception of God as the necessary source of morality we shall have the democratic conception of a God who is himself subject to the ideals of the good, and whose claim to our service rests on right rather than on might.

3. *Ethics.* The humanitarian altruism of Christian morals will be retained and applied not only to personal but to institutional life; but the elements of asceticism or "other-worldliness" which has been an equally integral part of the religious tradition and which has operated to retard social progress, will be replaced by a Dionysiac love of all that makes for life-fulfilment, and a Promethean interest in the improvement of this world.

4. *Social Policy.* As between the old utopianism which would regenerate the world solely by regenerating individuals, and the opposite attitude of fatalistic acquiescence in the impersonal evolution of institutions, we may expect the Church to work for progress through that kind of individual effort which directs itself to the rational recasting of social institutions in the light of our changing needs.

George W. Nasmyth pleaded for a religion of humanity. He said in part:

"The religion of humanity is the religion of the forces to which the future belongs—those slow and invisible forces which are working irresistibly beneath the surface to bring about a transformation of all human society.

"He who would know the religion of humanity will seek it in vain in the churches, in the established institutions or the ecclesiastical creeds and dogmas of any of the theologies or formal religions of our time. The social impulses which are shaping the character of the new society are found in large part in great world movements—Socialism, syndicalism, labor, democracy, the rise of woman and internationalism—but these world movements, if they are not actually antagonistic to the religion of the churches, have either grown up for the most part outside the churches, or find themselves in fundamental conflict and in opposition to institutional ecclesiasticism.

"He who would experience the great religious impulses of our age, who would rise to the heights of ecstasy which religion can give or who would see the vision of a new heaven and a new earth which has been at the heart of every great religion that the race has known, must leave the cloistered walls and dim religious light of the churches and go out into the world of men. He must know the revolutionary movement of Italy, France and Spain. He must feel a sense of the kinship with the spiritual aspiration that has given rise to the new British Labor Party and its program of social reconstruction. He must feel in his own heart the social impulse which gives vitality to the Socialist movement in America. He must know the religious fervor of the Non-Partisan League among the farmers of the Northwest and he must have a sense of the solidarity among the migratory workers of the Pacific Coast. He must realize a sense of spiritual communion in the vision of a reconstructed society whether he finds it among the syndicalists of France, the Guild Socialists of England or the persecuted related movement in our own country. He must know the revolutionary spirit of democracy in South China upon which the foundation of the republic of New China securely rests, nay, more, he must penetrate even to the heart of India.

"The heaven of the religion of humanity is not some far off realm above the clouds, or some symbolic world into which we shall awaken æons hence, at the call of a magic trumpet. The heaven of the religion of humanity is a new social order which the human race is setting out to create here and now. It is the reconstructed human society in the building of which each of us can have a part. Its angels and its saints are the race of noble men and women whom the new social order will make possible. Its cherubim and seraphim are the happy youths and children whose joyous laughter will be the sweetest music of the new world that is to come."

Norman Thomas described the counteracting forces during the war which are making, on the one hand, for more potent and, on the other hand, for a less potent religious life. He said, in part:

"Surely our times have shown that in the broad sense of the word, we cannot do without religion. The vital social and political faiths of this generation are held with an intensity of emotion, and a conviction of their power to save the things we hold dear, quite characteristic of religion; and moreover like religion they usually assume some sort of ultimate metaphysical reality to give them sanction. Such we are told is the nature of Bolshevism in the minds of thousands of Russians; such is the religion of the State not only in Germany but increasingly in our own country. Such must be the character of any conquering creed in the realm of human affairs. It is the weakness of much liberalism—shall we say New Republicanism?—that in its preoccupation with the probable immediate consequence it loses these attributes of religion."

After discussing the religion of the State, Mr. Thomas dealt with the tendencies of religion in the narrower sense, and warned those who were looking for revolutionary changes against too great expectations.

The power of inertia, if nothing else, is likely to keep present religious sects intact for some time to come. "And there is much more to reckon with than inertia. The churches are far from dead. Their's is real power in comforting and strengthening men and women; in making life sweeter and death easier; in preserving high ideals of personal morality and in proclaiming a message of forgiveness for those who have gone astray."

The speaker also warned students of religious affairs against the assumption that every change in the religious world is for the better. He believed that the two outstanding developments in America today, the growth of faith in spiritualism and "the recrudescence of the old faith that God will personally intervene to set things right," were of very doubtful advantage. While there may be a faith in immortality engendered by spiritualism of the highest social importance, there is also "a faith which has more to do with miracles and magic and the hidden processes of the subconscious mind than with a lofty rational and ethical idealism."

As for the second tendency, he declared that the war has stimulated enormously the study of obscure and difficult prophecies, and that all sorts of premillennialism flourishes apace. Some of this belief is on a genuinely spiritual plane, while in other cases the devotees ask why they should worry if God is so soon to take personal charge of things. "After the war it will die down, but its enormous vogue tends to paralyze the churches as agents of social progress." Mr. Thomas continued:

"It is not, however, of the growth of these two religious interests that men speak when they talk of the nation finding its soul or the revival of religion due to the war. What they mean is the spirit which makes men sacrifice personal interests, life or even money for a cause. We shall be obliged to examine the worth of this religion somewhat critically and inquire into its probable after-effects: it is therefore the more important that we pause to pay reverent tribute to the glorious idealism and self-devotion which have been displayed in this war. The capacity of masses of men for self-forgetfulness and patient endurance of suffering for the common good is a standing refutation of the cynical doctrine of the supremacy of that unreal personage, the economic man, and is ground for confidence for the building of the new world. The great enemy religion has to fight, as we must now see clearly, is not the utter selfishness of the few men who live only for themselves, but the narrow ideals of those whose objects of loyalty are particular and not universal. It is religion's task to find the highest, most inclusive loyalty in which lesser loyalties shall be merged; and the nature and value of America's discovery of her soul through war is not to be found in the emotional accompaniment of her sacrifices but in the object she seeks. The writings of many Germans and the deeds of the people show that they too have known the white heat of emotional loyalty to a cause for which the individual will die gladly; but we do not therefore commend Prussianism as a religion or worship the good old German God. Men have tortured themselves, women have thrown their babies in the Ganges, parents have offered their sons to Moloch with sincere and burning religious emotions and the tragedy of their deeds is for that reason all the greater. Therefore, in judging the sacrificial ardor of our times, we must never forget to apply social tests; to ask for what purpose these costly gifts are given."

Mr. Thomas declared that there was another test that we must apply in this finding of the soul of America and that is whether the soul will remain found. The years following the Napoleonic and Civil wars, Mr. Thomas declared, did not reveal heightened idealism but the exact opposite. Men thought that they had done their duty—now for the rewards. The speaker pointed out the danger, after this war, of a deluge of light—if not pornographic—literature, and of skilful manipulation of returned soldiers by the crafty politician. He continued:

"When religious leaders speak enthusiastically of the good effect of war on religion they usually have in mind something more than this religion of comradeship and self-sacrifice of which we have spoken. They mean a turning to God and to the established institutions of religion. I cannot, alas, believe that facts sustain them. It is true that the Y. M. C. A. is very popular. It is true that in the presence of death men pray who have not prayed before; it is true—and this is far more to the point—that some men have had a real and lofty religious experience such as Donald Hankey describes, but so far as I have been

able to judge there is emphatically no great turning to the churches either in civilian life or in the army. I have recently examined a large mass of evidence mostly from British sources on the subject of religion and morality in the army. It comes from close observers, none of them pacifists, most of them actually in the army. Its general tone is surprisingly somber. Scarcely anyone unqualifiedly confirms the statement often made in our religious press that the soldiers are turning in great numbers to God. Many state the exact opposite.

Mr. Thomas declared that, amid the roar of battle, thoughtful folk were asking about the activity of the churches when the world war was brewing, and inquiring regarding the evidence that existed concerning the universality of the Christian religion.

Religion and Life

"To some of us the war has brought not doubts but assurance of God, the moral governor of the universe whose laws of righteousness not one but all nations have disregarded with consequent and inevitable suffering and woe;—a God who nevertheless is afflicted in our afflictions and who would by love redeem us out of our misery; a God who desires our co-operation by methods in accordance with His will of brotherhood and love. In our faith in such a God we find emancipation from slavery to the immediate consequences which so troubles the liberal . . . To be continually changing your course not according to principle but some nice calculation of probable results is to doubt the existence of any God worth having. It is not even a very noble atheism, for if there be no God the only dignity in life is a burning passion for glorious ideals which it were better to see fail than to deny.

"There are indeed moments when I am doubtful—despite some encouraging signs —how large a place our existing churches will play in the reconstruction of religion, though many of the values they have conserved will find some place. But I am not doubtful that that reconstruction will come —that it is coming. Even now at the height of its power the religion of the State—of our time—is doomed. In our own country its temporary victories have been largely due to belief in its utility while we are fighting for the triumph of democracy, and if true democracy triumphs it will repudiate any dogma of the state by which it becomes a secular deity, master, not servant of mankind.

"And greatest of all services—the war, as I have already said, is helping us realize that life without religion is vain. This truth has found its prophets among agnostics like Lowes Dickinson and pessimists like Bertrand Russell. Mr. Russell's case is noteworthy. Here is a man who is persuaded that even in an alien and inhuman world it is worth while for man to preserve his aspirations untarnished.

"Thus he declares his faith:

> 'The slave is doomed to worship Time and Fate and Death, because they are greater than anything he finds in himself, and because all his thoughts are of things which they devour. But, great as they are, to think of them greatly, to feel their passionless splendor, is greater still. And such thought makes us free men; we no longer bow before the inevitable in Oriental subjection, but we absorb it, and make it a part of ourselves. To abandon the struggle for private happiness, to expel all eagerness of temporary desire, to burn with passion for eternal things—this is emancipation, and this is the free man's worship.'

"Who shall say that this is not religion and that in such religion do not lie the roots of life? I cannot believe that the religion of the future will accept Mr. Russell's pessimism. I am sure it cannot reject his courage, his passion for eternal things, or his emphasis, on the supreme value of personality.

"We have been talking together of the reconstruction of religion as if we sought some new thing. For myself this is not the case. Rather I should reverently seek new interpretations and applications of that profound faith we owe to the Hebrew prophets and supremely to Jesus of Nazareth. To that faith I look for healing of the world's wounds and redemption from its fears and hates, and lust. In days of war and disaster, in days of trial and of hope, I can only cry with Peter. 'Lord, to whom shall we go. Thou hast the words of eternal life.' To believe in the ultimate triumph of one worthy to be called not King but Father, who claims our love by the strength of His divine love and who is worshipped best by those who have learned to endure, to forgive and to find the joy of mutual service in the fellowship of His great family—this is the religion which worked out in the manifold relations of life will transform mankind."

The Reverend William Spofford of St. Paul's School told of the manner in which economic interests prevent the minister from expressing his innermost convictions, and urged a league of radical ministers for common action. Vigorous discussion followed the addresses regarding the nature of religion and whether the churches could be depended on for effective social work in the future, etc. Agnes D. Warbasse presided.

Labor and Reconstruction

Of more concrete nature was the discussion on "American Labor and Reconstruction" held Saturday evening. Benton Mackaye of the Department of Labor dealt with possible plans for providing land and employment for the soldier on his return from the front. He said in part as follows:

"The United States today, in common with the other belligerent nations, has before it the question of providing for the returning soldier and for the worker who has been dislocated in his occupation by the war. The dislocated must be relocated. For those who are going to be able to use it, land will be, as always, the fundamental opportunity. The other belligerent nations, notably Great Britain and her colonies, are making extensive plans for public colonization. Our neighbor Canada is working on Crown-land legislation which is perhaps more advanced even than that of Australia, and the actual location of returning soldiers has begun on lands in Ontario and in Manitoba.

"The policy of the government toward the nation's resources has been one of integration. This is indicated by the purchase by the government since 1911 of nearly one million acres of land in the Appalachian and White Mountains in the East, and the leasing system established in 1913 for coal lands in Alaska and the proposal to conduct timber operations in getting out spruce for airplanes.

"With the birth five years ago of the Department of Labor, the workers' point of view has been definitely brought into play with regard to the government's part in the country's development. Recent investigations into idle lands in the United States capable of reclamation shows that such land covers approximately one hundred million acres. Large areas of arid land are still in the public domain and swamp lands are still under state ownership. These lands possess potential opportunities for development. The soldier might be given an opportunity to assist. The Federal Government might offer to states and land owners involved its services for reclaiming potential agricultural land. The government could also, through its Employment Service, provide for locating settlers upon the land reclaimed. It should in this case make provision in various ways for the elimination of land speculation in the district to be improved.

"The settler on reclaimed or colonized land, whether returned soldier or other worker, needs something besides mere acreage in order to make a decent living. The old method of turning over to the homesteader 160 acres in the wilderness, and then leaving him, as if he were Robinson Crusoe, to work out his fate single-handed, belongs, for the most part, to the past. It is a policy to be put upon the scrap heap.

"The prospective farm could be cleared of stumps or other impediment; it could be equipped with house and barn; it could be made accessible to market by good roads. The settler himself should have every chance to co-operate with his neighbors in selling his produce and in buying his supplies. The farms could be made ready for immediate use, and the co-operative equipment prepared in advance.

"Under proper management forest lands also offer an opportunity for permanent employment in the forest industry. Timber land should so be handled as to insure within each locality a continuous yield of timber and continuous employment in the saw-mills and woods. Measures should be taken to see that the populations supported by the sawmill and the forest operations would develop into real communities and not mere shack towns. There ought to be provisions for voting and self-government, schools, churches and educational facilities, and for co-operation among the workers to secure their economic and social welfare.

"The natural resources of the United States offer still further opportunities for the returning soldier and the worker. There are also extensive areas of coal lands.

"The United States should adopt a policy which will lead rather than follow the other countries in the world in their own advanced policies of utilizing land and resources for the benefit of the worker. In this big task the fullest possible co-operation is solicited."

Tead on International Commodity Commissions

Ordway Tead of the Industrial Research Bureau dealt with the question of the formation of international commodity commissions for the allocation of raw materials, containing labor representation, as one of the problems to which American Labor should give its serious attention after the war. He said, in part, as follows:

"The problem of reconstruction is a two-fold problem. It is a problem of motive and a problem of method. The world is charged with the obligation of changing its motives—motives on which it operates its economic system—away from imperialism, profit, state aggrandizement, in the direction of an economic system based on supplying the actual needs, based on serviceability. And the problem that we have in the institutional world is to devise methods to make it possible to put this motive into operation. I want to ask, therefore, how America can so formulate its motives and can so support new methods as to assure a reconstruction which will be stable. To do this the problem must be approached from

two ends. We must consider the international structure that is to come after the war; and we must consider its relation to every individual that makes up our nation and the world.

"In the Allied nations the workers have realized their task and in the famous 'Inter-Allied Labor War Aims,' which corresponds very closely with President Wilson's fourteen-point war aims speech, they have analyzed the sources of war and disharmony, which they want removed, and they have asserted the need for a new motive animating the industrial system.

"In their emphasis on the need for distributing raw materials on a basis of need, they have gone to the heart of the world's industrial anarchy. They are saying that production must be in relation to a known, and therefore organized, demand.

"To carry out this idea, they are committed, as are all liberals, to the creation of international commodity commissions after the war. The only question about this commission is whether if national interests are the only ones that are represented, there will be a maximum assurance of intelligent management.

"The question arises whether it is not also necessary to represent the real economic interests involved. Should not the workers, the consumers and the public-at-large be represented on these world bodies? If we secure representation for workers' interests we not only begin to bring about genuine representative government in industry the world over, but we give a voice in the world councils to that group in the community which is most clearly devoted to maintaining a permanent peace. Labor representation on international bodies promises to be one of the surest ways of voicing the motive of industry for serviceability, for actual need and not for economic aggression."

Women Labor

The final speaker of the evening was Mrs. Florence Kelley, who discussed the problem of "Woman Labor During Wartime" and spoke of the grave dangers incurred in the proposed policy of employing young girls and mothers in night-work. She also emphasized the fact that two groups in the population—namely, the negroes and the women in comfortable homes—were not being adequately utilized in the industrial system and suggested that if they were so utilized the need for the employment of young girls and mothers at night would be greatly lessened.

Reconstruction and Education—Our College Government

An intensely interesting discussion on "Reconstruction and Education" was held on Saturday morning with Professor Morris Cohen of the College of the City of New York, Evans Clark, Director of the Research Bureau of the New York Socialist Aldermen, and a former instructor at Princeton, Dr. Harry Dana, formerly of Columbia, and Dr. Jessie W. Hughan as speakers. Mr. Clark discussed the lack of democracy in the management of American universities. He spoke in part as follows:

"We are too apt to think of education in terms of what is taught rather than of who controls the teaching. At bottom the college problem in this country is political.

"Our colleges are not so much educational factories to be talked of in terms of output, efficiency and management. They are in a very real sense communities. They are small cities where men and women gather to get an education and just as in every community, the most important public question in them is the question of government. Who has the political power? To whom is the ruler responsible? Whom does he represent?

"The government of our colleges and universities is in the hands of small groups of men who are in a very real sense czars and kaisers. The Boards of Trustees of our leading colleges are self-perpetuating bodies responsible only to themselves for their appointment and dismissal. In their hands is vested by the college charter a control over all the affairs of the institution that is absolute and final. They can appoint and dismiss the teachers and students. They can direct the educational administration and financial affairs of the college in any way that suits their pleasure. They are absolute sovereigns of their educational communities. That they delegate matters of routine to their agent, the college president, and their servants, the faculty, is not from any lack of power but disinclination and lack of time. They are the sovereigns none the less.

"These boards are not only autocracies but they are Junker autocracies. They are dominated by influential business men, bankers, manufacturers, and prominent lawyers tied together and motived by very definite class interests.

"The war will make the American people realize that here is an autocracy at home that must be the first to be swept aside after the crushing of autocracy abroad. The reconstruction that is to follow the war will result in widespread changes in American college government. The only way to democratize our education is to give it self-government under public ownership and control. The faculty and students must have an increasing share of the political power in the college until the present autocracy of the influential business man is replaced by a genuine democracy. The rise

of faculty unions and student self-government are the first steps in that direction."

Professor Harry Dana spoke of the reactionary state of education in America during wartime and the tremendous educational progress that is now being made in Europe. His paper will appear in a subsequent issue.

Cultural vs. Vocational Training

Jessie W. Hughan dealt with reconstruction in education in elementary and high schools, a reconstruction even more vital than that in the college, especially vital since most of the members of the community never see college. She especially dwelt upon the necessity of emphasizing the cultural phases of education and of not making the schools into institutions merely for the purpose of teaching vocational training. She said in part:

"There are several definite problems connected with lower education which I urge you to consider. One of these is the matter of vocational training. Radicals are demanding this training, but are they right in so doing? Will the working-class be benefited by becoming better craftsmen and clerks, more profitable servants to their employers? Will their share in the product they create be therefore rendered the greater? To me one of the finest points in the British Labor Party program is the demand for an education of the workers not in mere skill but in fulness of life,—in what in the old days we called culture. Even the moribund Latin and Greek and mathematics, by contributing to that disciplined reasoning in which this age has proved so deficient, might be more valuable in the emancipation of the workers than stenography and carpentering.

"If I could teach a boy to find delight in the 'book of verses underneath the bough.' I should feel that I had accomplished more than in training up a maker of victrolas or motor-cars or advertising signs. My ideal of education is to educate men to full and free personality rather than efficient creators of encumbering impediments."

Professor Morris Cohen of C. C. N. Y. condemned the attitude taken by many Socialists that they could absolutely predict future events. Social forces, he maintained, are so complex that all we can do is to predict probabilities, not certainties.

The other programs of the week were given over to the discussion of "Reconstruction Programs Abroad" and "Reconstruction in Politics and Industry." Rev. Richard Roberts of the Church of the Pilgrims, Brooklyn, in the opening session on Tuesday night, gave a survey of British Labor and their ideals, a summary of which is contained elsewhere in this issue.

The Near East and Russia

Rev. Bedros K. Apelian, of the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, contrasted the conditions in England with those in the Near East. He emphasized the fact that radicals should give attention to backward nations as well as to forward looking nations, for on their welfare may depend the peace of the world. He spoke of the suffering endured by the people in the Near East under the Turkish rule and the difficulty of federating into one group the score or more distinct nations in that part of the world, and prophesied that the greatest railroad center of the future was likely to be in the fertile country known as the Near East. He suggested that international action should be taken for the protection of the people of Northwestern Asia, and that the wealth obtained therein should be used for the development of the Near East and not for the enrichment of the rest of the world.

Mr. Apelian concluded by speaking of the possibilities of development on the part of such people as the Armenians who had sacrificed much in their fight against the Turks, because of their intense desire for education, for freedom and for greater democracy.

On Wednesday morning, the question of "Reconstruction in Russia" was discussed from different angles. Santeri Nuorteva of the Finnish Information Bureau and representative in America of the people's republic of Finland declared that knowledge of the land problem was absolutely essential to an understanding of Russian conditions. He said:

"It was a desire for land that was one of the underlying elements of the Russian Revolution. When Kerensky came into power he was not willing to declare definitely for a policy of confiscation of the lands, nor was he willing to send armies against peasants who were taking part of the land. This inability to take either one side or the other led to his downfall. The adoption by the Bolsheviki of a policy of expropriation assisted in making this wing in the Socialist movement a dominant wing.

It was the desire on the part of the soldiers to return home to secure part of the land, which was being divided up, that was one of the big elements in disintegrating the army.

"The land problem in Russia cannot be solved by any methods which leave capitalist property rights unviolated, first, because such methods would involve expenditures incommensurable with the present economic strength of Russia, and secondly, because such methods would impose upon the broad masses burdens which they, being today a conscious majority, under no circumstances would consent to carry, nor is there any possibility of forcibly compelling them to do so. But if the revolutionary settlement of the land question by the Russian peasants must be accepted as a *fait accompli*, then one has to accept its logical economic consequences,—the annulment of financial values based on investments in land. And if we are to accept that, we will at once be asked to accept a complete deterioration of capitalism in Russia as a whole, and a weakening of capitalism all over the world."

Mr. Nuorteva dealt also with the question of the breakup of the Constituent Assembly and explained the reasons given by members of the Soviet for the repudiation of debts. A vigorous discussion followed, in which Dr. Percy Dearmer defended the Constituent Assembly, and maintained that its dissolution had weakened the revolutionary forces in Russia. Rose Strunsky and Anna Strunsky Walling informally discussed the Russian situation and asked the reasons why the intellectuals deserted the proletariat in the time of a crisis. They urged that radicals think through the problem more than they have done in the past as to whether and to what extent, if any, the ends justify the means, and maintained that all revolutionary groups become increasingly tolerant and realize that truth triumphs not through suppression, but through free discussion.

An illuminating picture of progress in agriculture was given on Wednesday night by Robert J. Wheeler, Superintendent of Parks and Waterworks of Allentown, Pa., and active in the Pennsylvania Council for National Defense. A summary of his talk is given elsewhere. Harry W. Laidler also briefly told of the progress of collectivism in this country during the last year, and dealt with some of its advantages and dangers.

Proportional Representation

On Thursday morning, C. G. Hoag of the League for Proportional Representation gave an enlightening talk on the need for proportional representation in American political life. Mr. Hoag told of a recent election in Indiana in which the Democrats secured 291,000, the Republicans, 266,000, the Progressives, 237,000, the Socialists, 38,000, and the Prohibitionists, 17,000, and in which the Democrats with less than a majority of the votes elected the entire 13 representatives. In a system of proportional representation each group would be represented in proportion to its strength. Various modifications of this plan, he declared, were in practice in Sweden, Belgium, in ten Swiss cantons, in Bulgaria and France. The Hare system, which provides that voters give their first, second and third choices, is already in operation in a number of English cities, in Boulder, Colorado, and Ashtabula, Ohio. After the meeting, Mr. Hoag gave a practical demonstration of this last-named system.

Industrial Democracy

Richard Kitchelt of Rochester, formerly president of the National Lithographers' Union, spoke briefly of democracy in industry, and told of the development of democratic management in the United States through trade union action and the decisions of the Labor War Boards, and the Industrial Councils and shop steward movements of England. Mr. Kitchelt maintained that the ultimate of industrial progress ought to be a system wherein workers were made to feel a greater interest in their task and not merely one wherein wages and better hours were secured. The session closed with a picturesque talk by James Eades Howe, popularly known as the "millionaire hobo," who gave a sketch of the informal conferences at Stockholm held during the Spring of 1918.

Two masterly papers on the "Minimum in Education" and "Socialization of Health" were read at the Thursday night session by Professor Ellen Hayes and Dr. James P. Warbasse, respectively. Both of these papers appear in part in the current issue of the magazine.

William M. Feigenbaum concluded the program by giving a survey of the work of the Socialist Assemblymen during the last year.

"Experience" Meeting

On Friday morning a thrilling experience session was conducted by Miss Mary Crawford, of Boston, in which many present told of their relation to the Socialist movement and their main interests in life. Among these were: Mary R. Sanford, Helen Phelps Stokes, Mrs. William C. Gannett, Dr. and Mrs. James P. Warbasse, Professor Ellen Hayes, James Eades How, Dr. Percy Dearmer, Rose Strunsky, Elizabeth Freeman, Bertha W. Howe, Ruth Pickering, Dr. S. S. Goldwater, Mrs. Louis B. Boudin, Mrs. Charlotte Lawrence, Mary Winsor, Richard Kitchelt, Mr. Berman, Mr. Hires, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Ruprecht, William M. Feigenbaum and Harry W. Laidler.

Reconstruction and Subject Races

The problem of subject races, especially in the Balkans, was discussed on Friday evening by Reverend Percy Dearmer of the Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn., for years active in the radical movement of England and during the last two years professor in one of the universities of India. He spoke in part as follows:

"The question of national self-determination is more important than even the finest social reconstruction; because it is no use having the most ideal social conditions if you are liable to have your throat cut at any moment. This has been the condition of the Balkan States under Turkish misrule for five centuries; it has been the lot of the Armenians for longer. Reports, a year ago, showed that the Turks had murdered a million men, women and children since the war began. This number is vastly increased now that the Russian anarchy has thrown the Armenians back into the hug of their ancient suppressors. The same policy of extermination is at this moment being carried on in Austria, where thousands of Serbs and Slavs are the victims. What is the use of talking about Socialism for such people, until they are given national freedom?

"Bad as the record of Germany is in Alsace-Lorraine, in Prussian Poland and in North Sleswig, the record of Austria is worse, and the record of Turkey worse still—is indeed a long history of indescribable abominations. Yet people constantly speak as if the fight for democracy were against Germany only, as if the inequity of the Austro-Hungarian domination over subject peoples did not matter, and as if 'all we had to do with Turkey' was to 'drive her out of Europe,' and leave the Asiatic part of Turkey—once the most civilized and prosperous part of the world—in the misery to which the Ottomans and other tribes of Huns from central Asia had reduced them.

"If Austro-Hungary should survive this war as a State there would be no peace or decent living for the majority of its inhabitants. The ruling race of Austria—the German-Austrians—are only 12,000,000 in number; the ruling race in Hungary—the Magyars—only 8,000,000. Thus out of a total population of over 55,000,000, the majority, mostly Slavs and Rumanians, are utterly subject to a minority of 20,000,000; and elections have always been so managed that the subject majority have had a merely nominal representation. How they resented the misery of their existence the world was beginning to learn from the marvellous record of the Czechs of Bohemia, and the Slovaks in Russia and Siberia. For a long time past there have been also 150,000 Szecho-Slovaks fighting with the Allies in France. It is absurd to think that these are merely questions of 'national sentiment.' They are social questions, alas, and concern the very fundamentals of democracy. The subject races of Austria—Poles, Ruthenes, Serbians, Croats, Slovenes, Czechs, and Slovaks (who are all Slavs), Rumanians and Italians, are the peasants, while the German-Austrians and the Magyars are the landlords and the masters; and these peasants have lived for centuries a life of poverty, oppression and misery—many having fled from the intolerable conditions in their own country to find the opportunity for a decent life in the United States.

"It is no use finding fault with nationalism and saying that it is responsible for the wars of the nineteenth century. They are indeed all wars of nationalism: but the cause of them was the Congress of Vienna in 1815, which ignored nationality and treated the peoples of Europe like droves of cattle to be herded under the various dynasties. It was the growth of democratic ideas (which always followed in the wake of Christianity) that caused the rise of nationalism. Men ceased to be serfs and began to discover their corporate existence. Bohemia, for instance, began to remember that the despised language of its peasants was really the language of a great and brilliant nation reduced to decay by the Hapsburg autocrats—a nation which in the Middle Ages placed the University of Prague side by side with those of Paris, Bologna and Oxford, in days before there was a single university in either Germany or Austria.

"Socialists like other people must realize that there is no short cut to Utopia. The

question of national liberty must be settled first. And this war gave us a unique chance of settling it thoroughly—a chance that is not likely to occur again. Pacifists in the same way must remember that they cannot take refuge in their ideals (which after all nearly all the world shared) by just walking away from these problems. They have to be faced. The study of geography and history is the first duty of everyone at the present time.

"In the same way, there is no solution for the problem of backward peoples by the easy utterance of shibboleths. You could say, for instance, "Poland for the Poles," "Jugo-Slavia for the South Slavs"; but you could not say "Mesopotamia for the Mesopotamians." People like that will need protection by the League of Nations, and education in unity and self-government—as the British Protectorate of India produced a national feeling and desire for self-government in India, which is quite as diverse a continent as Europe. The less advanced peoples must be protected from exploitation and trained to democracy; because without democracy there can be no self-government. But the people of Christendom are ready and more than ready for self-determination now. To lose the present opportunity would be the greatest disaster that modern civilization has ever suffered. And it might be lost through the ignorance of us, who have to be the sponsors and champions of democracy."

Reconstruction and the Supreme Court

Louis B. Boudin emphasized the need of taking from the Supreme Court the power to declare laws unconstitutional. The Supreme Court, he contended, had taken to itself increasingly large powers in regard to the vetoing of laws. For many years after the adoption of the Constitution, this power was not assumed. Finally, the court declared that such power resided in it, but that that power had to be exercised with great caution. The judges could declare laws unconstitutional, if such laws were not within the province of Congress, but not because they deemed laws socially unwise. It was furthermore contended that laws, concerning whose unconstitutionality there was any doubt, should be deemed constitutional.

These and other self-imposed limitations seem now largely to have been swept aside. Surely there is some doubt concerning the unconstitutionality of statutes when four out of nine judges decide that Congress had the power to pass them, and yet many recent decisions of the court making laws a dead letter have been rendered by a five to nine decision.

Mr. Boudin described the manner in which judicial personalities entered into Supreme Court decisions. It happened, for instance, that the judge appointed by President Wilson when the latter was inclined against the Federal Child Labor law decided that that law was beyond the province of Congress, while the judge appointed after the president had changed his mind on that point, favored the constitutionality of the law.

"We ought to put it beyond the power of a small group of men to abrogate the will of the people," concluded Mr. Boudin. "A number of countries have taken our constitution as their model, but all have refused to give to the judges any such power as we give to them in America."

The final informal session of the Conference occurred on Sunday night, when many new angles of the Russian situation were discussed by Mr. Boudin, Miss Doty, Miss Strunsky and others.

On Monday, the last day of the Conference, a score of those remaining took a picnic lunch and rambled into the country side, talking over the experience of the week, discussing the latest phases of the international problem, making the hills ring with college and Socialist songs and just enjoying the delights of nature.

Among the chairmen at the various sessions were Louise Adams Grout, Judge Ryckman, of Los Angeles, Elizabeth Freeman, Helen Phelps Stokes, Mary R. Sanford, Mary Crawford, William Spofford and Agnes D. Warbasse.

The surpassing beauty of the surrounding country, the fine spirit of fellowship pervading the conference, the scholarly and constructive talks and vital discussions throughout made the Delaware Water Gap Conference an event of real significance in the life of the Society and of its members and friends who were so fortunate as to attend.

H. W. L.

Notes on Socialist and Labor Movements

By the Editor

THE UNITED STATES

Social Democratic League.—During the last year and a half the Socialist movement of the United States has undergone considerable change. As a result of the adoption by this party of the St. Louis anti-war platform, several of the leading writers and publicists resigned, among them John Spargo, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Rose Pastor Stokes—who later returned—W. J. Ghent and A. M. Simons. These were followed a year later by Allan L. Benson.

In the Spring of 1918, the pro-war Socialists who left the party organized a Social Democratic League which, at the present juncture, is officered by John Spargo, chairman, William English Walling, secretary, and J. G. Phelps Stokes, treasurer. The object of the League, as stated, is "the practical advancement of democratic Socialism" through educational methods, its politics being non-partisan. During the summer and winter, the officers of the League issued a number of manifestoes and declarations on the European situation, and, on June 19, 1918, a delegation representing this League sailed to Europe for the purpose of overcoming "war neurasthenia" in the ranks of European labor, and of protesting against the holding of a labor and Socialist peace conference participated in by Socialists from the Central Powers. "These," Mr. Spargo declared, "except for small groups, have forfeited their right to be called Socialists, and to be admitted to the International." The resolution they planned to present to the London Conference in June was as follows:

"We do not believe that any advantage can result from the holding of a plenary international Congress at this time, but if the majority of the conference takes a contrary view we agree to a Socialist and labor conference at the present time,

"(1) Provided that all delegates admitted accept as the minimum democratic demands the peace terms declared by President Wilson on January 8, 1918, and the terms adopted by the Entente Socialists at London on February 22;

"(2) Recognize that this war is a struggle between autocracy and democracy and are giving their wholehearted support to the democratic nations;

"(3) and provided that all delegations from autocratic countries are working for the immediate overthrow of their autocratic governments."

"The need for this mission in Europe," declared the leaflet of the League, "is urgent to the last degree. The secretary and other leaders of the Italian Socialist Party are now in prison convicted of treason in connection with the great Italian disaster last August. Two-thirds of the members of the French Socialist Party and an even larger proportion of the labor unions are now pledged to Bolshevik peace ideas and an immediate international conference to end the war—either by general strike or by other 'proletarian pressure.' Fully one-third of the British labor unionists are pledged to the same program, and the British labor movement is entirely in the hands of an intermediate faction which is more or less in sympathy with the Bolshevik peace program, is fanatically in favor of an international conference with the Germans and bitterly opposed to those pro-war Socialists who stand uncompromisingly for the continuation of the war until President Wilson's peace terms and those of the Entente laborites and Socialists are accepted by the enemy."

The delegation met with various groups in England, France and Italy, several of them returning to America in September, Mr. Spargo remaining in Italy to influence the Socialist movement there to his point of view. Reports of conditions found by this group and of their actual accomplishments have been conflicting.

During the summer of 1918, the officers of the League issued an extended program on social reconstruction after the war, dealing both with national and international relations, containing a number of very suggestive planks, and which we hope to analyze later. The League's headquarters are 277 Broadway, New York. It has no dues, has as yet called no general meeting, and all of its declarations and decisions have thus far been left largely to its officers. The principal organ of the League is "The New Appeal." The League possesses approximately 1,000 members.

The Socialist Party.—In spite of the defections of some of the leading writers from its ranks, and the bitter attacks made on the Party by ex-members and the press of the country, the Socialist vote in the November elections of 1917, in a number of American cities, increased manyfold.

"Fifteen cities from which we have been able to secure accurate election statistics," declares Professor Paul H. Douglas, "show that out of the total vote of 1,450,000, the Socialists polled 314,000, or 21.6 per cent. of the whole. This is four times the total of the vote polled by the Socialists in the previous elections, in these cities. Had the Socialists polled an equal proportion in the presidential election of 1916, their total vote would have been 4,000,000."

The New York city vote for the Socialist ticket was 145,895 as compared with 32,057 in 1913, while 7 aldermen and 10 assemblymen were elected from the

Greater New York District as the representatives of the party. This increase was due to the attitude of the Socialists toward the war, the reaction against the suppression of speech and press, the economic pressure caused by the rise in prices, and the remarkable vigor with which a number of the campaigns were pushed. In the Spring campaign in Wisconsin, Victor L. Berger received 110,000 votes for the United States Senatorship, on the Socialist ticket. His vote would undoubtedly have been greater had it not been for his personal plank demanding the immediate withdrawal of American troops from France. The Milwaukee Free Press, in interpreting this vote, declared: "We do not regard the Berger vote as essentially an anti-war vote, and certainly not as wholesale conversion to Socialism, but first and foremost as a vote of protest against a domestic policy, which, on the one hand, was instinct with racial antagonism and, on the other, involved the curtailment of cherished rights."

During the year most of the Socialist press has been denied second class privileges, and it has been impossible for Socialists in many cities of the country to hold public meetings. Several prominent Socialists were arrested and convicted under the Espionage Act and other laws. Rose Pastor Stokes was sentenced to ten years in prison for alleging that this was a "profiteer government." The case is now being appealed. Eugene V. Debs, three times candidate for president on the Socialist ticket, has also been sentenced to ten years prison, and is likewise appealing his case. Max Eastman, Art Young and several members of The Masses' staff were twice tried in New York on the ground that they had obstructed the draft, but in both cases the jury disagreed. The last jury, on October 5, reported eight for acquittal and four for conviction. Scott Nearing, Adolph Germer, Victor L. Berger, Irwin St. John Tucker, William Kruse and many others are now on trial, and hundreds have been sent to prison.

During the Spring there was considerable agitation in Party circles for the reconsideration of the St. Louis Platform. A referendum repudiating the St. Louis stand was proposed, but the National Executive Committee urged that the referendum be discontinued, declaring:

"To submit any resolutions on the subject of the war and the Socialists' attitude towards it at this time would mean that only one side of the question could be heard in the discussion in our press and at Party meetings. This procedure would violate the most fundamental principles of democracy. There is also the danger that thousands of comrades may be led to express opinions which might subject them to criminal prosecution under the drastic provisions of the Espionage Law and the arbitrary application of that law to Socialists."

On August 10, the National Executive Committee met in Chicago, and adopted a Congressional Platform on Reconstruction. The program does not mention the St. Louis Platform. Under the title of "International Reconstruction," it declares "that the American Socialist Party is in agreement with the announced aims of the Inter-Allied Conference. We reaffirm the principles as announced by the Socialist Party of the United States in 1915; adopted by the Socialist Republic of Russia in 1917; proclaimed by the Inter-Allied Labor Conference in 1918; and indorsed by both the minority and majority Socialists in the Central Empires; no forcible annexations, no punitive indemnities and the free determination of all peoples."

It protests against the refusal of the Allied governments to admit free exchange of opinion between the labor groups of the Allied nations, and demands that passports be given to bona fide representatives of labor groups, regardless of their political or economic relations. It urges that the peace conference provide for a Federation of the Peoples of the World and declares that under the control of capitalist nations such Federation might be used to aid "the capitalist powers of different nations to keep down their working classes, whereas the Socialist Party desires a Federation of the socialized nations for the purpose of coordinating the affairs of the world and establishing universal brotherhood."

It demands that representatives of labor and Socialist groups, women and suppressed races and nationalities be permitted at the peace conference; formulates a plan for world federation which will include adequate provision for the exercise of legislative and administrative as well as judicial functions; urges the reduction of armaments to the point of eventual elimination, and demands that the proposed Federation give international recognition of the union principles of union wage, systematic reduction of hours of labor and abolition of child labor.

Under the heading "Internal Reconstruction," the Party demands public ownership and democratic management of basic industries, including railroads, express, steamships, telegraphs, telephones, power and other large-scale industry. It declares for self-government in industry as essential to a truly democratic nation and the only guarantee of freedom for the workers. It demands that the right to organize be a fundamental right of all governmental employes and that the right to strike be not in any case denied or abridged.

The platform further presents an extensive program for solving the unemployment problem during the coming demobilization. Under the title of "The Structure of Government," it demands various dem-

ocratic reforms. It urges the abolition of unnecessary restrictions that war has brought on constitutional rights of freedom of speech, press and assembly, and immediate repeal of those clauses in the federal statutes which give the postmaster-general the power of censorship over periodicals and printed matters; the immediate unconditional pardon of all political prisoners and the amendment of the existing espionage legislation which will restrict its further use by the government against political opposition.

The Party favors steeply graduated income, inheritance and excess profit taxation and taxation of unearned increment of land, the public control of the credit system, extensive reforms in agriculture, a comprehensive scheme of labor legislation, radical prison reforms and a change in the status of negroes, which will insure them equality of opportunity, and adds:

"No security can be had from imperialism, trade and investment rivalries, reactionary diplomacy, intrigues against backward lands and peoples, militarism and exploitation of the masses without a complete transformation of capitalist society."

The program has been favorably commented upon by many organs of opinion. The "New Republic" declares that the planks "reveal the fact that a new political sagacity is at work in that doctrine-ridden political group. We are no longer confronted by a series of corollaries from Marx, but by issues set by the time. Point by point the Socialist program corresponds with the facts of recent experience." It declares that if the Republicans and Democrats refuse to conduct fundamental reforms suggested in the Socialist program, "the Socialists may get final title to the claim which they have staked out in their program. In such an event the Socialist Party may well have a significant part to play in American political history."

The "Nation" asserts that the platform is "the first political doctrine published in this country which merits comparison with the pronouncements of the British Labor Party." The "Dial" declares that "it is flexible and pragmatic in the best sense. It wrestles with specific American problems, instead of attempting to enunciate pure a priori principles. It is a living document, not a doctrinaire creed."

Three-quarters of a million of these Congressional Programs have been published in booklet form, and the Party this Fall is waging a persistent campaign in many centers. The actual dues-paying membership in the Spring of 1918 was estimated at 82,000 as against 80,000 a year ago. The Party headquarters are at 803 W. Madison Street, Chicago.

INTER-ALLIED SOCIALISTS

During the last few months, the chief event of importance in the field of international Socialism has been the gathering of the Inter-Allied Socialist and Labor forces in London, from September 19 to 25, to consider again the question of war aims. The gathering was called partly on account of Samuel Gompers' visit to England at that time. It was the largest and most representative gathering of these groups ever held. There were 42 delegates present from Great Britain, representative of 6,630,000 members. Five delegates attended from America—all members of the American Federation of Labor, representing 3,000,000 members. France sent three delegates, for 1,500,000, Italy four full and five consultative delegates for 172,000, Belgium eight delegates for 350,000, while the delegates from other countries represented smaller numbers.

The conference adopted, at the suggestion of Mr. Gompers, the fourteen points in the peace program of President Wilson, as well as the American delegates' labor charter, including a demand for labor representation at the peace conference and for a concurrent labor congress. The labor charter included the following:

"That in law and in practice the idea shall be recognized that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or an article of commerce; that involuntary servitude shall not exist except as a punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; that the right of free association, free assemblage and free speech shall not be abridged; that seamen of the merchant marine shall be guaranteed the right of leaving their vessels when same are in safe harbors; that no article or commodity shall be shipped or delivered in international commerce in the production of which children under sixteen have been employed or permitted to work; that it shall be declared that the basic work-day in industry and commerce shall not exceed ten hours per day, and trial by jury shall be established."

The resolution of war aims, which called on the allied governments to state their terms unequivocally in accordance with the principles laid down by President Wilson, reads in part as follows:

"The conference welcomes the participation of the American Federation of Labor and recognizes, in agreement with the Federation, in this world war, a conflict between autocratic and democratic institutions, the contest between the ideas of self-development through free institutions and that of arbitrary control of the government by groups or individuals for selfish ends.

"The conference agrees that, after four years of war, it is essential that the peoples and governments of all countries should have a full and definite knowledge of the spirit and determination of this inter-allied conference, representative of workers of the respective countries, with reference to the prosecution of the war.

"In accordance with the declaration of

the previous conferences of February 14, 1915, and February 20 to 24, 1918, the conference declares it to be its unqualified determination to do all that lies within its power to assist the Allied countries in the marshaling of all their resources, to the end that the armed forces of the Central Powers may be driven from the soil of the nations which they have invaded, and now occupy; and, furthermore, that these armed forces shall be opposed so long as they carry out the orders or respond to the control of the militaristic, autocratic governments of the Central Powers, which now threaten the existence of all self-governing people.

"The conference further welcomes the confirmation, in all essential features, which the 14 propositions laid down by President Wilson and presented to the conference by the American Federation of Labor, give to the proposals contained in the memorandum on war aims agreed to by the conference of Feb. 20 to 24, 1918, and appended hereto. The conference accepts these 14 propositions as a concise summary of the main principles which the memorandum of war aims expounds in detail on the various questions to be dealt with, and agrees that only in these principles can the groundwork for a lasting peace be found.

"The conference accordingly calls upon the several governments of the Allied nations unequivocally to adopt these principles as formulated by President Wilson and expounded in the memorandum of war aims in a joint declaration of allied policy; and the conference recommends the representative organizations of the workers in each country to bring pressure to bear upon the government in order to induce it to adopt this course." The resolution then proceeds to embody in substance and in confirmation of the demand of the Inter-Allied Conference of February last, the whole of the latter part of the American delegation's statement, and continues:

"The conference notes that most of these aspirations find expression in general terms in the memorandum of war aims of Feb. 20 to 24, whilst others, such as those relating to trial by jury and restriction of industrial employment of children under 16, are not universally applicable in all countries and require adaptation to circumstances of each nation. The conference accordingly invites special consideration of these aspirations by Labor and Socialist movements of the several Allied nations. The conference places special importance on paragraphs A and C, which provide for an advanced conception of the right of the worker to complete self-control and for unabridged freedom of association and expression."

"In pursuance of the policy of the memorandum of war aims of the 20-24 February, the conference declares its objection to all treaties and agreements purporting to bind nations, which have been, or may be, concluded by their governments without immediate publicity and without parliamentary authority or ratification; and protests against the continuation for a single day of the present war for the purpose or obtaining any objects aimed at by any of the secret treaties or agreements which are not in accord with the 14 propositions of President Wilson, or the memorandum on war aims appended hereto.

"Finally, the resolution proposes that the conference should take none of the declarations and replies to the war aims memorandum received from the enemy countries, as summarized in the report submitted by the British delegation, and which the resolution embodies, together with the conclusions thereon set forth in report."

The conference warned the Allies against taking a merely negative attitude toward the Austrian note, and urged them to make clear their views by collective declarations and to interrogate their opponents regarding the latter's general and particular war aims. "It is by defining their own war aims in connection with the United States in the same precision that the Allied governments will give the workers the conviction that they in continuing the struggle with the Central monarchies are undertaking in their turn not a war of conquest, but for the single purpose of establishing on an unassailable foundation a peace which will be just and lasting, and in conformity with international democracy."

In considering the Russian situation, the delegates declared that, "in conformity with article B of the fourteen points of President Wilson, the present efforts of the Allied governments to assist the Russian people must be influenced only by a genuine desire to preserve liberty and democracy" and for a world peace, "in which the beneficent fruits of the revolution shall be made secure."

The conference referred to the International Socialist Bureau the appointment of a commission to investigate the conditions in Russia. It also denounced refusal on the part of the governments to issue passports.

GREAT BRITAIN

The London Conference of June, 1918.—From the standpoint of social reconstruction and of distinctive labor politics, the Labor Party Conference of June 26-28, 1918, was the most significant since the outbreak of the war.

The question of the labor truce caused heated discussion. In the Fall of 1914, [the outbreak of the war, as has been stated], representatives of the Labor, Liberal and Conservative Parties agreed not to contest elections in case of Parliamentary vacancies. The truce held good until December 31, 1916, when some of the other parties undertook to institute provisions unsatisfactory to the Labor Party. At that

time the written compact ceased. For some time the spirit of the agreement was kept, however, although several of the affiliated organizations decided to run their own candidates. But dissatisfaction with the no-contest policy steadily increased, and finally the Executive decided to bring the matter before the party. After prolonged discussion, delegates at the Conference representing some 1,704,000 members voted to break the truce, those representing 951,000, to continue it. As a consequence, the Party decided to run in the neighborhood of 400 candidates in the by-elections in the Fall of 1918. The breaking of the truce, however, did not apply to the Labor members of the Cabinet, although many insist that a complete break here also is inevitable.

The Reconstruction Program.—The Labor Party at the conference also showed a definite shift toward Socialism. This was especially evidenced in its radical program of reconstruction. This program demanded "the retention in public hands of the railways and canals; the expropriation of the present stockholders on equitable terms"; a steadily increasing participation of organized workers in the management of public industry; the construction by the government of a score of gigantic super-power stations by which the whole kingdom may be supplied with electricity; the public ownership of the nation's coal supplies and the fixing of a uniform price; the appropriation by the state of the whole function of insurance and of the nation's agricultural lands; the reorganization of the distribution of foods; strict regulation of private industry; conscription of wealth to pay for the war debt; the development of the Post Office Savings Bank into a national banking system for the common service of the whole community; the construction of public works as one method of eliminating the unemployed problem; the building by the government of a million soundly constructed, spacious and healthful cottages; a systematic reorganization of the whole educational system, which shall eliminate "all class distinctions and class privileges, and bring effectively within the reach, not only of every boy and girl, but also of every adult citizen, all the training, physical and mental and moral, literary, technical and artistic, of which he is capable," and the maintenance of standard rates of wages relatively to the cost of living in all trades.

The task of reconstruction, according to the Party, ought to be regarded as involving "not any patchwork or jerrymandering of the anarchic individualism and profiteering of the competitive capitalism of pre-war time . . . . but a gradual building up of a new social order, based not on internecine conflict, inequality of riches, and dominion over subject classes, subject races, or a subject sex, but on a deliberately planned co-operation in production, distribution and exchange, the systematic approach to a health equality, the widest possible participation in power, both economic and political and the general consciousness of consent which characterize a true democracy."

The Conference also indicated its growing radicalism by its election of officers. The executive committee is composed of twenty-two members. Of the new officers elected, nearly one-third were members of the Independent Labor Party, the Socialist branch of the Labor Party, which possessed but 2 per cent. of the total membership. Ramsay Macdonald was unanimously re-elected treasurer, while F. W Jowett, Sidney Webb and Mrs. Philip Snowden, all prominent Socialists, were elected to the board. Arthur Henderson was re-elected secretary.

Albert Thomas, formerly Socialist Minister of Munitions in France, Jean Longuet, leader of the French minority, Vandervelde of Belgium, Hjalmar Branting of Sweden and Kerensky of Russia also delivered fraternal greetings from their respective countries. The delegates denounced the refusal of the British government to permit Troelstra, the Dutch Socialist, to attend the Conference, as well as its failure to allow Margaret Bondfield to attend the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Following the June conference of the British Labor Party, an attempt was made by Arthur Henderson, Charles Bowerman, Secretary of the Trade Union Congress, and other members of Parliament to meet the Dutch Socialist leader, Troelstra, at Berne, but passports were denied, the reason given being that Troelstra had "passed through enemy country." Strong resolutions of protest against this action were passed by the Parliament committee of the Trade Union Congress and the Labor Party.

The Derby Trade Union Congress.—From the sixth to the ninth of September, the Trade Union Congress held an important conference at Derby. Of thrilling interest was the discussion on the war aims resolution introduced by J. H. Thomas. The resolution urged the Congress to reaffirm the Blackpool resolution of war aims; called on the Socialist parties of the Central Powers for a reply to the Inter-Allied Socialist memoranda, and urged the government to establish negotiations as soon as the enemy voluntarily or by compulsion left French and Belgian soil. It also reaffirmed its belief in the International as the safest guarantee of the world's peace.

Despite the opposition of Havelock Wilson, the resolution was passed with but few dissenters.

Samuel Gompers, an invited guest of the Conference, gave his position on the war and stated that entire agreement existed in America between the government and the labor movement.

Mr. Bowen of the Bricklayers' Union

took a fling at the participation of labor in politics, declaring that all efforts to form political parties of organized workers in America had subsided. His sentiments were echoed by J. H. Kennedy of the Canadian unions. Mr. Henderson took up the cudgels for the Labor Party, declared that it was never so necessary as at present that the workers be strongly united on the political and industrial fields, and prophesied a great future for the party. He repudiated misrepresentations of the international policy of the British Labor Party, declaring that it was not one of compromise, but that the Party had faith in the internationalism of the people. The coming settlement, he said, should leave no bitterness or sense of wrong on either side. The victors should abandon all idea of economic boycott after the war, and should repudiate all intention of attempting to rule Germany or crush her economic life. In short, the Labor Party's policy was one of reconciliation, and the moment all belligerents, including Germany, were ready to substitute reason for force, international co-operation for national aggression, war should cease. The Party officials had sought an opportunity of stating their policies and aims in frank conversation with the German Socialists, but facilities had been denied them. Mr. Henderson repudiated the talk of differences between himself and Mr. Gompers, asserting that they were the best of friends, that they aimed at the same object, their method only being different. After the forthcoming Inter-Allied Conference closed, he declared, there would be even a smaller difference than now exists between the position of American and British labor.

The Congress repudiated by a large vote the resolution of Havelock Wilson in favor of a five-year boycott of the German nation. Mr. Wilson and a group of his followers also introduced a resolution for the formation of a separate Trade Union Labor Party on the ground that the Labor Party was controlled too much by the left Socialist wing, and that it was too wide in its scope. The last-named argument of Havelock Wilson and W. J. Davis, former members of the Liberal Party, was in direct contrast with their former contention that the Party was too narrow and sectarian. The resolution was defeated, while an amendment for the continuation of co-operation between the trade unions and the Labor Party was carried by a vote of 3,815,000 to 567,000.

Further resolutions of the Congress reaffirmed by a vote of about five to one labor's adherence to free trade; unanimously demanded a generous measure of Home Rule for Ireland; protested against certain regulations of the Defense of the Realm and Munitions Acts; pledged the unions to work for full restoration of civil and industrial rights after the war, and called on the government to apply the ideas of the Whitley report to all of its state services.

One of the Labor Party's most interesting acquisitions is in the person of John Burns, active in the Socialist movement in the early days of that movement, but for twenty years a member of the Liberal Party. Mr. Burns now stands for election as a candidate of the Labor Party. Some 300 candidates of this party will run in the next election.

FRENCH SOCIALISTS

The last few months have witnessed a titanic struggle in the French Socialist and labor movements between the so-called majority and minority. The latter group has persistently favored an international peace conference of Socialist and labor forces, and has finally become the majority.

The Trade Union Congress.—Several conventions of organized labor held during August went on record in favor of liberty of international action for the working classes, and a democratic peace. These conventions were followed by the Paris Congress of the Confédération Générale du Travail, the first held since the beginning of the war. The Majoritaires were represented by M. Jouhaux, the secretary, and the Minoritaires by M. Merrheim. The latter warned the Congress against the abandonment of revolutionary syndicalism and the substitution of co-operation of the classes for the struggle between them.

By a vote of 908 to 253, with 46 abstentions, the Confédération passed a resolution advocated by the Minoritaires, denouncing secret diplomacy and demanding that the people be acquainted with the terms on which a general peace, just and durable, might be concluded, such conditions to embrace among others the following:

> No annexations, the right of peoples to control their own affairs, no war indemnities, no economic war to succeed hostilities, freedom of the seas, the establishment of compulsory arbitration to settle international differences, the constitution of a Society of Nations; these conditions being defended by President Wilson, by the Russian Revolution at its beginning and confirmed by the Inter-Allied and International declarations and even at Zimmerwald.

The resolution denounced the refusal of the government to grant passports to Socialist and labor delegates, suggested that future refusals be opposed by all the strength of the C. G. T., declared against armed intervention in Russia, if against the will of the Russian people themselves, and finally appealed to all working class organizations to act methodically so that recognition of the rights of labor might be universally imposed.

Socialist Federation of the Seine.—The next meeting of importance was that of the Socialist Federation of the Seine, which

contains the important Parisian sector of the Socialist organization. The Minoritaires at this gathering introduced three resolutions, while the so-called majority failed to submit any. The first resolution came from the extreme Left, and proposed that the Socialists refuse to vote for the war budget and that they demand a social revolution and peace. This resolution received 985 votes. The second resolution and the one which received the overwhelming majority of votes, was that advanced by M. Jean Longuet on behalf of the Minoritaires. This also favored refusal of war credits, pronounced against intervention in Russia and demanded a revision of the war aims of the Allies. It received 6,099 votes. The third, obtaining 1,077 ayes, and introduced by M. Cachin on behalf of the Centrists, emphasized the necessity for vigorous participation in the national defense, but called for an international conference at which the proletariat could endeavor to establish peace on the basis of President Wilson's declaration.

The Resolution of the Socialist National Council.—Of importance also was the meeting of the Socialist National Council, which resulted in the passage of a vigorous resolution of the Minoritaires by a vote of 1,544 against 1,172. This was the highest party pronouncement prior to the meeting of the Socialist Party early in October. It reaffirmed the Socialist Party's determination to support entirely the defense of the nation. It decried the harm done by the political, diplomatic and military mistakes of the leaders of the country, especially denouncing the refusal of the government to grant passports for Stockholm, and questioning the rejection of peace proposals in 1917 without serious examination. It demanded from the French government the revision of its war aims and denunciation of militaristic schemes, and urged "a clear and definite statement of our peace conditions on the basis defined by the Russian Revolution and by President Wilson, whose general ideas on war and peace were ratified by the Conference of London, of February 10, 1918."

The resolution also demanded the preparation of a scheme for a League of Nations in the terms and spirit indicated by President Wilson. "A definite peace," it declared, "can only be assured by the establishment of a Socialist régime, capitalist society being essentially the régime of disorder, of despotism and of violence. The Socialist Party renews its adhesion, complete and without reservation, to the assembly of an international congress . . . The National Council affirms its desire to obtain complete liberty of national and international action for the working class organizations and for the Socialist Party. . . . The National Council determines to employ, in agreement with the working class and the Socialist organizations, in the Entente countries, every means in its power to obtain passports. . . On its side it calls upon its Parliamentary representatives to prosecute a vigorous campaign before proceeding to refuse the military credits."

In dealing with the Russian situation it declared: "Whatever the situation may be, it subordinates all intervention to the unanimous consent of Russian Socialism, without which such intervention can only be adverse to the interest of the Allies." The declaration concluded by condemning the Varenne Quarante group for their open opposition to its decisions, and reminded "all Socialists and federations of the necessity, more imperative now than ever, for discipline and unity of action in the Socialist Party."

The Varenne Quarante Group. During the summer, following the visit of the American labor delegates, the forty Socialist members of the extreme Right in the House of Deputies formed a separate Parliamentary group known as the Varenne Quarante. This group pledged itself to the prosecution of the war until the Allies secured a complete victory over the Central Powers. Later it established a paper called "La France Libre," edited among others by M. Compère Morel. The paper declares editorially that it is for the war and nothing but the war, and that social questions are to be discussed when France has finished with her enemies. Albert Thomas, formerly minister of munitions, afterwards joined this group, and is now its outstanding figure.

The Left wing, on the other hand, has secured control of "La Populaire," edited by Longuet, and contributed to by Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland and others. The official Socialist paper, "L'Humanité," founded by Jean Jaurès, has found it difficult sailing during the tempestuous days of the last few months.

The delegation from the Social Democratic League of America, led by John Spargo, who visited Paris during the summer, about the time of the Congress of the Seine section of the Party, was enthusiastically received by the Varenne group and was given much publicity in the non-Socialist press. The French Socialist and labor organizations have conducted a wide campaign against the imprisonment of M. Malvy, which they regarded as a direct slap against the workers, and have expressed their sympathy for the imprisonment of Eugene V. Debs. Gustave Hervé of "La Victoire," formerly one of the most vigorous opponents of war, but now on the Right wing, has, as a result of the decision of the Socialist Federation of Yonne, been excluded from the Party.

The National Socialist Congress.—One of the first acts of the National Congress of the Socialist Party, which opened on October 6, was the adoption of a resolution addressed to President Wilson concern-

ing the proposals of the Central Powers. This resolution declared that while incontestable and diplomatic guarantees should be exacted from the enemy, it was the duty of the Allied nations not to reject without discussion such proposals as had been made. The message notes with joy the result of the new efforts put forth and the sacrifices made by the soldiers of the Allied democracies and sees in the movement made by the Central Powers the probability that the enemy peoples will be brought to a clearer understanding of right and liberty. It urges the Allies frankly to declare their purpose and declares that the party itself is more than ever in accord with all acts of President Wilson, and that justice to the struggling masses requires that a response be made to the note not open to any misunderstandings. As we go to print, full report of the conference has not as yet been received. For lack of space we are unable to deal with the latest developments in a number of other countries.

COLLEGE NOTES

Attention is again called to the TENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION of the I. S. S. to be held on Friday and Saturday, December 27 and 28, 1918, in New York City. Full details will be given in the next issue of the magazine. It is hoped that all collegians interested in the great problems of reconstruction who can possibly avail themselves of the opportunity will attend this Convention.

The virtual revolution in college courses and attendance due to the operation of the new draft law and general war conditions has led to the suspension of practically all outside club activities in the men's colleges. The I. S. S. Chapters have, naturally enough, suffered with other organizations.

In the women's colleges, the work of the Chapters is progressing, although, in some of the cities, it has been curtailed by the influenza epidemic. Elizabeth Boody, president of the RADCLIFFE Chapter, reports that greater interest is being evinced in the Chapter's work with every passing year. Dr. Laidler gave two lectures on "The Socialist State" before Professor Day's economics classes in Radcliffe and Harvard at the end of last term.

Mary E. Cover, secretary of the VASSAR Chapter, is endeavoring to arrange some interesting public meetings at that college this year. Miss Sonya Forthal of OBERLIN writes that the group there is planning a discussion course on reconstruction problems. On October 14, Secretary Laidler addressed the members and friends of the ADELPHI Chapter on "Reconstruction Programs of Political Parties" at its opening meeting. Martha Wallerstein of the BARNARD Chapter is planning an interesting program of lectures at that institution during the coming months.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC.,

required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of The Intercollegiate Socialist, published quarterly at New York, N. Y., for April, 1918.

State of New York,
County of New York.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Alice Kuebler Boehme, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of The Intercollegiate Socialist and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in Section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, Intercollegiate Socialist Society, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City. Editor, Harry W. Laidler, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Managing Editor, Harry W. Laidler, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City. Business Manager, Alice Kuebler Boehme, 70 Fifth Ave., New York City.

2. That the owners are: Intercollegiate Socialist Society, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Membership approximately 2,000. The principal officers are: President, J. G. Phelps Stokes, 88 Grove St., N. Y. C.; First Vice-President, Florence Kelley, 289 Fourth Ave., N. Y. C.; Second Vice-President, Ernest Poole, 130 E. 67th St., N. Y. C.; Treasurer, Mary R. Sanford, 90 Grove St., N. Y. C.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities: There are no known bondholders, mortgagees or other security holders.

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

Alice Kuebler Boehme.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 23rd day of March, 1918.

Walter C. Campbell, Notary Public, Westchester County. Certificate filed in New York County. Register's No. 8106, in New York County, No. 106. My commission expires March 30, 1918.