

# War Is Doing Strange Things to the Socialist Party

IS THE blot on the Socialists' scutcheon? Is a process of disintegration afoot? What is the meaning of this apparent rift in the party? These are questions which are being asked, and which may doubtless be met in many ways. But there seems no question that socialism, as represented by the St. Louis platform, has lost the support of its most important "intellectuals," men and women who, thrilled by its utopian dreams, have unselfishly given of their time and labor, even of their money, to build up an ideal. Their ideal had been the socialism of Karl Marx and the Fabian Society, and not that of the Reichstag bloc which upholds divine right and militarism in the person of the Kaiser, nor of the Bolsheviks or Mensheviks in Russia. But strange and unforeseen things are happening these days to all sorts of ideals. War and socialism are in the throes of sharp conflict.

Who are the "intellectuals"? The list is a long one, but among those who, it is said, have repudiated pacifism, "kultur" and what may be called "professional socialism" of America are Charles Edward Russell, twice the party's nominee for Governor of New York and once candidate for President of the United States; John Spargo, author and biographer of Marx; William English Walling, author and sociologist; George R. Lunn, twice Socialist Mayor of Schenectady but now a loyalist member of the national House of Representatives; Upton Sinclair, author and organizer; Chester M. Wright, A. M. Simons, W. R. Gaylord, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Allen R. Benson and H. L. Slobodin.

It was to be expected that men like these, perceiving a new light, would follow it, but still more serious to socialism as a party appears to be the defection of the Jewish Socialist League, whose revolt against Austrian and German socialism as reflected in the party here was one of the most striking incidents of the week.

**German Socialists Supply the Most Painful Disillusionment**

"The war has been to the world a series of disillusionments," wrote Charles Edward Russell in "Harper's Magazine," discussing "The New Socialist Alignment," an article from which the Tribune has already quoted freely. "But none of them," he continues, "of sharper or more painful meaning than when we saw all the fine professions of the German Socialists in favor of peace and universal brotherhood were soluble at the mere touch of the imperial scepter, waving to war."

"When the war broke out the civilized world was amazed at the spectacle offered by the German Socialists, ardent in the support of their government in a wanton and wicked assault upon a small country then at peace with Germany. Nothing more repugnant to the announced principles of socialism could be imagined than the brigandage Germany practised upon Belgium; and the German Socialists not only acquiesced in it, they took a hand in it. Instead of the beautiful martyrdom in the cause of peace that we had been promised, German Socialists, apparently with great good will, seized arms and went forth to shoot their Socialist comrades of Belgium and France." Mr. Russell then asserts:

"Not all of them did this, of course; we are not to forget the example of Liebknecht and his handful of followers; but in these cases we can deal only with averages, and no one can pretend that the average German Socialist showed any more hostility to the war than the veriest Junker."

"Some of them attempted to take shelter in an ingenious but unsubstantial plea that an inexorable necessity drove them to the firing line. Civilization, they said, was in danger from Russian barbarism. Germany was about to be overrun by Russian hordes. German Kultur, the real hope of the world, was in peril of annihilation. Russia, envious of German success, prosperity, and superior intelligence, was about to descend with its vast, ignorant millions upon a defenseless Fatherland. Under these conditions, their duty was to fight. The cause of Socialism, as of the world's intellectual welfare, demanded that the invasion be stopped; that the Russians, standing now with boots upped to trample out this benign light, should be driven back."

"So to drive them back and rescue Kultur from the threatened destruction by the savage north, Germany marched due south, invaded Belgium, and made its historic lunge at Paris."

Mr. Russell disclaims any interest in indicting the German Socialists, and says his purpose is to estimate what will be the effect of all this upon the Socialist movement of the world. In the old days, he points out, "the German Socialists used to bring to the triennial International Socialist Congress a spirit of prideful arrogance that other delegates often found extremely indigestible." And he thinks that kind of domination never will be possible again.

"Moreover, while there may be English Socialists that will take the chance of sitting at an International Congress by the side of a man that pointed a rifle at the heart of Edith Cavell, and French Socialists willing to go cheek by jowl with apologists for what happened at Senlis and Lille, something else is to be reckoned with, and that is the feeling of the rank and file of the workers in England and France. What the workers in England and France think about a show of tender sympathy and warm regard for Germany they have made fairly well known, and the chance is small that their views will change much in this generation; German air raiders and submarines have attended to all that. But the most important phase of the matter still remains. Socialists advance outside of International Congresses is supposed to be through the conversion of the proletariat. The small chance it will have with the English proletariat if English Socialists meet on terms of cordiality with the men that killed Captain Fryatt, let us say, while the German Socialists continue their ardent support of German autocracy, is apparent. We are to remember that almost every other nation that has been at war with Germany has cases like that of Captain Fryatt. It is contrary to human nature that these things

should be wiped out in an instant and as with a sponge from the memories of men."

Events in Russia and the utterances of such men as Mr. Russell have been potent in setting up a ferment in the American Socialist body. Representative Meyer London, who was strongly criticized in earlier stages of the war for pacifist votes in the House on big war issues, put reverse English on his address last Sunday night in the heart of the East Side. To quote The Tribune's account of the meeting:

"Not only did Representative London urge a continuation of the war against Germany as the only agency that could bring about a lasting peace, but he denounced Trotsky and Lenin, the Russian Bolshevik leaders, with all the eloquence at his command, calling them leaders of a group of industrial proletarians with exaggerated ideas."

"I don't agree with Trotsky and never did, and what is more to the point, I have always had the courage to say so. His international aims may be sound, but he did not take into consideration the stupidity of the people, the masses, those who will do anything if you give them time-and-a-half and overtime."

"Trotsky thought it possible to overthrow an autocratic government and build up a Socialist republic over night. The demobilization of the Russian army was a crime, an invitation to Germany to come in and bayonet the people. Trotsky himself said in 1914 that a revolution during the war would fail. If Russia had kept her troops on the Eastern front, I would have been in favor of holding the German people isolated until they themselves compelled their militaristic rulers to withdraw from the fight."

**The Case of Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes Considered**

It must be admitted, however, that the conversion of Meyer London would seem to be offset in some degree by the "backsliding" of Rose Pastor Stokes. Born in Russia, this remarkable woman abandoned the cigarmaker's bench for the typewriter, and made a name for herself in this country as the leader of "the sentimentalists of socialism," so called. With her husband she withdrew from the Socialist organization when America entered the war, but later renewed her affiliation. Mr. Phelps Stokes remains an outcast from the party, and his brother, Harold G. Phelps Stokes, is a captain in the army. Without registering any question of the perfect sincerity of Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes, her efforts to visualize the truth that she may impart it to others savor to a good many, it would seem of the little Mother Goose rhyme.

*There was a man in our town,  
And he was wondrous wise;  
He jumped into a bramble bush,  
And scratched out both his eyes.  
And when he saw his eyes were out,  
With all his might and main  
He jumped into a bramble bush,  
And scratched them in again.*

Her vision restored, it must appear, by the bramble bush of socialism of one genus or another, Mrs. Stokes made an alleged pro-German speech at a Zionist meeting, also on Sunday night, in the course of which she was quoted as saying:

"There are thousands of Jews in labor organizations who are standing dumb before British tyranny. If you are Socialists you cannot stand by while Great Britain and France take the initiative of having Japan and China do the work in Siberia which Germany might fail to do."

"Great Britain and France are no more democratic than Germany. The Allies are seeking the ends of the capitalists because they want to get rid of the Socialists. They are fighting like dogs among themselves and are all seeking territory. Watch England and Russia and you will see how much England loves democracy. Great Britain has been the enemy of 90 per cent of the working people."

Herman Simpson, a former editor of "The New York Call," who is said to have repudiated the Socialist party because of its anti-war declarations, replied to her. "I am not surprised at Mrs. Stokes' attack," he said, "because it shows the attitude of the Socialists, who say they are neither for nor against the war. But it makes no difference. Noble France and liberal England have made the offer without strings."

What might he said to heap the scales

## Leading Articles in the Current American Magazines

### The Third Liberty Loan

**Munsey's**

THE leading editorial in "Munsey's" for March deals with the third Liberty Loan, and proceeds in part as follows:

"In the third Liberty Loan the people of the United States face a summons without precedent in history. They also face an opportunity without a historic parallel. There have been great war loans in the past, as measured by the wealth and resources of individual nations. Such was the British Victory Loan of a year ago; such was the second Liberty Loan, the first adequate recognition by Americans of their latent leading power; such also was the Victory Loan of our northern neighbors, in which one in every eight of the men, women and children of Canada gave to the war. But our third Liberty Loan is an undertaking vaster than any of these, by whatever standard we apply, and more intensive, too, in that it calls for personal sacrifice by every one of our hundred and more millions."

"Not every one can subscribe, it is true, but to make the loan the success it ought to be will demand a subscriber in every six of our population. Consider what this means. The average family is still figured at five persons, and this is probably accurate enough if the test be earning power and joint support rather than the mere fact of housing under a single roof. Then of every six families in the length and breadth of the country a third Liberty Loan subscription must be had from all but one."

"And it must, in every case, be the largest possible subscription. It must, on the average, be for no \$50 bond, nor yet for a \$100 bond, but for much nearer \$500 worth of bonds. That means the pledge of the saving power of every member of the family, not for a month, or two months, or three, but for a year, a year, a year and a half. It means a patient, sustained and unremitting

## The St. Louis Socialist Platform

These are some of the more salient anti-war paragraphs which are now causing a distinct rift in the Socialist party

"THE war of the United States against Germany cannot be justified on the plea that it is a war in defence of American rights or American honor. Ruthless as the submarine war policy of the German government was and is, it is not an invasion of the rights of the American people as such."

"It is not a war against the militarist régime of the Central Powers. It is not a war to advance the cause of democracy in Europe."

"The American people have been plunged into this war by the trickery and treachery of the ruling class of the country through its representatives in the national administration and in the national congress, its demagogic agitators and its subsidized press and other servile instruments of public oppression."

"No greater dishonor has ever been forced upon a people than that which the capitalistic class is forcing upon this nation against its will."

The conference pledged itself to:

"Continuous, active and public opposition to the war, through demonstrations, mass meetings, petitions and all other means within our power."

"Unyielding opposition to all proposed legislation for military or industrial conscription. Should conscription be forced upon the people, we pledge ourselves to continuous effort for the repeal of such laws, and to the support of all mass movements in opposition to conscription. We pledge ourselves to oppose with all our strength any attempt to raise money for payment of war expenses by taxing the necessities of life or issuing bonds which will put the burden on future generations. We demand that the capitalistic class, which is responsible for the war, pay its cost. Let those who kindle the fire furnish the fuel."

"We recommend that the convention instruct our elected representatives in Congress, in the state legislatures, and in all local bodies to vote against all proposed appropriations or loans for military, naval, or other war purposes."

against Mrs. Stokes was a letter from Upton Sinclair telegraphed from his home at Pasadena to "The New York Times" and published before she made her address to the Zionists. It reads:

"I ask space for brief remarks to American Socialists whom this may reach."

"The Bolshevik government is summoning the workers to the defence of Petrograd against advancing pan-Germanism. I wish to point out to the American Socialist party that it also is in Petrograd; its St. Louis platform is fighting for life in the trenches before the Russian capital."

"The American party declared for immediate revolt against war. The Russians tried this platform, then gave it as fair a trial as the most ardent pacifists could have asked. They dishonored their army in the face of the foe, and the answer of the foe is a fresh campaign of murder and pillage."

"I am not blaming either Russian or American Socialists. I am merely pointing out the facts and urging that the facts be faced."

"What is the response of the American Socialist movement to the battle cry of the

Bolsheviks? Will the movement take any steps to save revolutionary Russia, or is this to be left entirely to the President, who was not elected as a Socialist and quite possibly does not know that he is a Socialist?"

Even Morris Hillquit, who declined to aid the sale of Liberty bonds, and talked pacifism while candidate for Mayor of New York, was so affected by the Russian débâcle as to offer his services to the President. He volunteered to distribute propaganda. This defection from pure

socialism moved "The Chicago Daily News" to say, editorially:

"Now, however, when Morris Hillquit, the Socialist beau ideal, sees the handwriting on the wall and notes the utter, the epochal failure of the visionary Socialist scheme as it was tried out in Russia, with all the equipment it demanded, the Germanophiles in the Socialist ranks begin to tremble. Hillquit having come out 'on the side of the angels,' the American branch of the international Socialist party may even disintegrate, though the Kaiser helpers are still working heroically to hold this branch together despite the Hillquit defection."

Of the Socialists whose new reactions have thus been recorded it might be many be said: "Ye are the salt of socialism." But even without their savor the party, others contend, might survive if the "proletariat" remainder could preserve solidarity. The Jewish Socialist League, embracing the class for whom Rose Pastor Stokes assumed to speak, has issued a proclamation warning American Socialists of Prussian intrigue here which aims to bring about disruption similar to that which followed Hun propaganda in Russia. It reads:

"That which all honest Socialists have anticipated, what all real revolutionists have feared, and all true friends of humanity and democracy have foreseen, unfortunately has come to pass. The German Kaiser is marching with an army on Petrograd, on the free Russian republic in order to destroy it, to drown it in blood and to reestablish the audacious throne of the Romanoffs."

"The majority Socialists of Germany and Austria have betrayed liberty and socialism. They have outraged and sacrificed them upon the altar of Hohenzollernism. They have abandoned revolution and internationalism and have entered into a miserable pact with their Kaiser and the junkers so that, as a united, powerful nation, they may conquer and rule all democratic peoples. At present Wilhelm and Scheidemann are forging chains for the Prussian working class."

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And the proclamation further charges that while America was still neutral Hillquit and Berker "found it impossible to condemn Wilhelm and Scheidemann, and Mr. Hillquit expressed his open 'revolutionary' approval of the patriotism of the German social democracy." It continues:

"Then the great American Republic entered the war. And here began the contemptible, reactionary deception of the patented Socialist leaders of America. A convention was called in St. Louis, where Scheidemann 'revolutionary' stamp, together with a few naive labor leaders, who are blessed with innocence and dense ignorance. They invented a convenient formula for this mysterious war revolution: 'The war against Germany is the most unjust of all wars. It is a struggle of capital against capital—a conspiracy of imperialism against the nations.'"

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"The American Socialists have learned a great lesson from the world war in its various phenomena. The destiny of the world cannot be entrusted to the Hillquits or the Scheidemanns."

"Like one man all the workers and Socialists of America must now unite to fight kaiserism, and, if necessary, even above the heads of their demagogic and blind leaders. The war is deciding the destiny of the world, the fate of history. It was a dynamic war at the beginning. It soon became a democratic war, it was later lifted to a revolutionary war. Now it is a holy war. It must guard the sacred treasure of Freedom, Democracy and Socialism."

In view of so many omens pointing to the destruction of socialism in the form it took at St. Louis and holds to in Austria and Germany, the outbreak of rancor between the Socialist leaders and their colleagues in New York must seem no more than a tempest in a teapot. The seven Socialist leaders declined to support

## Information in Small Packages

### An Iron Foundry in the War Area

AN interesting narration of operation under unique and difficult conditions of an iron foundry in the war area is given by the correspondent of a British paper writing from the firing line in France. He relates: One does not see much foundry work out here, but a few weeks ago I was billeted in a town nearby, and actually saw a cupola in full blast. I at once got permission to have a look around, and was greatly surprised at what I saw. The foundry was a very primitive affair—just a little jobbing shop—and was mostly run by French women and girls, superintended by a few men. These women were making work up to three or four hundred pounds in weight, and in a little side shop some half dozen women were making component parts of machinery by the simple method of bedding-in. I afterward saw some of the finished work, and it would put to shame the work done by many of our so-called molders at home. The women work in ordinary dress, and work very clean and exact in both iron and brass, and also under shell fire and air raids. In the shop was a great hole where a German had dropped a great bomb the night before, but the women still worked on.—*Scientific American*.

### Bringing Home the Germs

WHEN our soldier boys mingle with the soldiers of all nationalities and fight over strange and disease-soaked soil they may acquire many strange disease germs and, returning to America, bring them along. Pestilence has generally been a camp follower of war. But science is dealing with this problem with unprecedented vigor. Sir William Osler said: "Never

### The Menace in Europe

**Yale Review**

AMERICA'S place in the world is the theme taken by George Louis Beer in the current number of "The Yale Review." In the course of this article the writer says:

"Every effort was made by Germany to drive a wedge between the two political branches of the English-speaking people. But, in the end, it was only Germany's arrogant defiance of American rights that converted their cultural unity into political cooperation in joint defence of a common cause. Since America's entrance into the war it has become increasingly apparent that all the English-speaking peoples have a common destiny and that the forcible disruption of the British Empire would be a portentous blow to the United States. The immediate danger to this commonwealth was eliminated by the British navy's assured control of the sea and by the battle of the Marne. But the menace still exists and will become even more serious in the future if Germany should by any chance escape clear-cut defeat. Should the Central European bloc remain intact and should the peace treaty leave the Teuton empires predominant in the Balkans and masters of a nominally independent Poland it requires but little perspicacity to see that the settlement would be immediately disastrous to the liberties of Europe and probably in this end also to those of the whole world. With the added economic resources

### Zoology and the War

**Scientific Monthly**

"SPEAKING broadly, no other science is doing more, perhaps none so much, as zoology, or rather biology, to promote effective and successful prosecution of the war," writes Professor Marquard M. Metcalf, in the March issue of "The Scientific Monthly." And he continues:

"This seems a strong statement, as one thinks of our dependence upon chemistry for explosives and a thousand other products, upon mechanics for ordnance and all sorts of war engines and upon engineering for the great activities of military and naval construction. Of course all the sciences are so interdependent that no comparisons can really be drawn. The statement is of value chiefly to challenge attention and persuade the reader to examine the relation of zoology—purely scientific zoology—to the problems of the war."

"Man is an animal and all our knowledge of him and his activities is biological and all our methods of dealing with him and his life must be founded upon biological science. A mere roster of the biological sciences is sufficient to show our dependence. Some of these are: Morphology, including anatomy

and with millions of subject peoples available for her armies, Germany would be supreme in Europe. There would be but scant freedom of decision for France and Italy, not to mention Holland, Switzerland and the Scandinavian states. Nor would there be anything to prevent Germany from building a vast armada with which to challenge any, and possibly under better auspices, the position of the English-speaking peoples throughout the world. This duel would unquestionably be renewed unless the British commonwealth and the United States were fully and betimes prepared to play their joint defensive part."

Some of my neighbors prophesied dire calamity—said my hens were bound to die, being forced to go contrary to nature like that; and I believe it's only a question of time before the use of artificial light, during the short winter days, to make hens lay will become a general practice."

"Young Goelzer didn't have just what he wanted to breed from last spring, so he bought 1,000 day-old chicks, but he is now trap nesting and weeding out the inefficient, and next spring he expects to hatch his own chicks."

"Yes, I've done very well for a beginner, the experts tell me," Roy admitted modestly. "I've got a layout here that cost between \$200 and \$400, and 240 hens and as many more pullets, worth \$150 apiece."

**Concerning Oysters**

AS EARLY as 50 B. C. the fame of the British oyster had extended as far as Rome, and Sallust seems to have been more impressed by the oyster than by any other feature of the country, for he wrote: "The poor Britons—there is some good in them after all—they produce an oyster." In 80 A. D. oysters were exported from the Thames estuary to Rome, and ever since that time England has had an oyster industry of respectable proportions, although for many years the supply has been inadequate to fill London's gigantic demands, and importations from the United States, Holland and France have been necessary.—*San Francisco Argonaut*.

### How to Fool Mrs. Hen

A WRITER in "Farm and Fireside" tells of a seventeen-year-old boy, Roy Goelzer, who is making good profits from hens. The youth says, in explaining how he makes his hens work overtime:

"Every afternoon at 4:30, when Biddy began to chant 'The Shades of Night Are Falling Fast' and prepared to turn in, I put one over on her by lighting a couple of those 'daylight' style of gasoline lanterns. The scheme worked like a charm. The hens stayed right on the job till 8:30, when I turned out the lights. At 5:30 a. m. I lighted them again and back they came to the floor later, scratching away for dear life. I kept the lanterns burning in the morning till 8 a. m.

### Eat Corn: Grow Beautiful

THE statement that comes from Kansas to the effect that corn is a beautifier is going to do more than anything else to increase its consumption. For so great is the demand for beauty milady will consume anything that is to be obtained if it promises to produce it. In this she is right, for beauty is worth all it costs to obtain it. But to get back to the subject. It seems that at a beauty contest half a dozen girls who outranked all others admitted they ate nothing but cornbread. They stood "100" for complexion and "98" for shapeliness. We can easily see wherein cornbread might influence the complexion, but we have never before heard that shapeliness was a matter of diet, further than as shapeliness pertains to size. But we must accept the verdict of the judges—and go ahead advocating cornbread as a moulder of form as well as a producer of complexions.

The truth is that cornbread is a wholesome diet, and beauty is a matter of health. We need not pursue the subject any further.—*Regina Daily Post*.

### The Freedom of the Seas

**Century**

ONE of the most vital questions raised by this war is the question of sea freedom. Ellery C. Stowell, in "The Cen-

socialism moved "The Chicago Daily News" to say, editorially:

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## American Labor Notes

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A strike affecting 8,600 workers in New York City has been called by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The strikers demand a wage increase amounting to 25 per cent and the recognition of their union.

The first message of American organized labor to the Russian people was sent by Samuel Gompers, president of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, and other officers encouraging the Russian people to resist the German invasion.

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