the Cause of the Left Wing Socialists

THE

Workers of the World, Unite! You have a World to Gain!

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SC THEST PROPAGANDA LEAGUE

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Our Action Against Conscription

By S. J. RUTGERS

T HE St. Louis convention of the Socialist Party declared in favor of "unyielding opposition to all proposed legislation for military or industrial conscription" and for the support of "all mass movements in opposition to conscription."

If we do not wish to stop at mere words, we must organize action in accordance with this resolution.

First of all, we must encourage and support all strikes during war, particularly in important industries, such as transportation and mining. This will not only help to keep the workers from starvation and enslavement, but it will at the same time be the most efficient weapon against the reaction of conscription. The capitalist government seeks to make each struggle on the economic field a political issue. In fact, we have had in New York a strike of truckmen, who asked that a new arrangement made by their masters, and to their disadvantage, should be repealed. This was merely an economic conflict and the bosses were the agressors, but still the workers were d to drop the strike on account of

reduced to serfdom. If it does not, it comes into serious conflict with the organization of the Capitalist State and an intensified class struggle will be the result. Gompers, as a faithful servant of Capitalism and a traitor to his class, grasped the situation exactly when he declared his willingness to prevent any and all strikes during war, because he knows that any serious strike under the circumstances may develop into a political strike, into a general conflict between the two classes.

Our task lies not so much in an effort to start or to proclaim a general strike, as some of our opponents seem to believe; our task is to support any tendency towards strikes, which under present conditions and when waged uncompromisingly, may develop into more general movements.

The English miners, as well as the railroad workers and the metal workers, did strike during the war against the orders of their capitalist government, and they gained results.

The government actually had to implore the workers to stop their fight, on the presumption that the future of the country was at stake. Labor "leaders" had to be rushed to the danger zones, and once more succeeded in fooling the workers into submission. But it shows the power of the workers and their opportunities.

The Russian revolution started with partial strikes, combined with street demonstrations, gradually growing into more general mass actions, and the American workers should take to heart the lessons of recent history.

The St. Louis resolution demands support of mass actions against conscription. But this cannot mean that we have to wait until some mysterious general action against conscription falls from heaven. A general action has to develop out of smaller local actions, as soon as conditions become favorable. Our first duty is to organize meetings and demonstrations against conscription in all districts all over the country. Get a meeting together, even if it is a small one, try to arrange or a demonstration in combination with that meeting, and you will do more towards the support of mass ac-

tion than in declaring your willingness to support "mass action" if "others" (who the devil are those others if not we!) will be kind enough to start something. Our opposition to conscription voiced at these meetings, small or large, should be uncompromising, should be a part of our fight against militarism, and against Imperialism.

It is true that the police have already prevented some of the Socialist meetings, but this should not discourage you. Other districts have held meetings since; we should try every district, every hall, every street corner; we can change our subject, if only not our spirit, and if we are driven by force out of every corner, we will have accomplished at least something. This would help greatly to show the workers the kind of "democracy" and "freedom" they are supposed to go to war for, and they will ask why this is a fight against "foreign" autocracy.

And even when driven from the last hall, even when denied the right to hold street corner meetings, we need not give up the fight. We can print and distribute leaflets, and we can come together in streets and squares for propaganda and protest until dispersed by the police. If the hundred thousand Socialists, together with their six hundred thousand "voters" and that part of organized labor that did not surrender to its exploiters, organize this form of protest all over the cou

events, it will mean some problem for the ruling class.

No doubt, one of the topics at such informal gatherings would be the refusal to be conscripted. We may be assured that many will refuse, as was done in England, where several thousand conscientious obejetors are still in jail. But it would be more effective if those prepared to refuse would get in touch with each other, could organize in a certain way to carry their action and their sacrifices in one and the same

This concerted action should start

with the taking of the military census, with the registration for the prospective conscription. Among the questions as issued by Governor Whitman of New York, there are two which enable us at least to make some form of protest; and no doubt other registration forms will contain similar questions. Question 50 asks: "Do you claim exemption from military service?" Everybody should answer "Yes." The Socialist Propaganda League of Brooklyn adopted a motion, subsequently adopted at the Borough Meeting of Local Kings County of the Socialist Party to answer question 51, asking why you claim exemption, with: "Because I am a conscientious objector." No matter what other reasons you may have for exemption, first of all state that you are a "conscientious objector." This may give us an opportunity to get a public hearing on our objections as in England, and to make propaganda and muster our forces. And because the census most likely will include all the inhabitants of the United State up to 45 years of age, the grown up people will have an opportunity to join their protest with that of the younger generation. There is no use stating on the registration form what these conscientious objections are, because this will not be given publicity and may cause your exemption to be rejected without any further hearing.

We may expect different kinds of conscientious objectors: religious humanitarian, non-resistance advocates and class-conscious workers. Each group will have its own arguments, but there can be no objection to co-operating in the effort to get a public hearing and an efficient action.



IN EUROPE AMERICA?

"NOW will you enlist?"

By ARTURO GIOVANNITTI

HEAR frightful shrieks of joy and around. When people whisper and accouchement. For the third time or nmoners get suddenly intoxicated. since the resurrection of Demos she roll going to bring forth the Impossible the Gigantesque, the Terrible. Every seventy years, every life of man, slow harrows the earth and winnows man kind. 1776-1848-1917. Mark these o blind in the eyes and in the soul dates,-the gods have selected them as that cannot see it advancing, fierce and winners in the great handicap of kings chricking and irresistible, with the and peoples." The first was the Ad- torch and with the axe? Is there any vent; the second the Crucifixion; the one so deaf to the mighty detonations third will be the Resurrection. It is to lof this immense apocalypse who canhe. The auguries are read; the omens not hear the same song wafted across propitious; the signs are all here, the trenches by the cannon smoke, by same as then: war and famine and in- the deadly gas, by the breath of fire? sanity and dread of the to-morrow.

Julies come again with the scythe.

Tribunal Revolutionaire, fuming, size going to protest against Death? zling, splurting late at night, first charcoal and saltpeter in the moun-Black Forest mixing a new incence for the thuribles of Liberty. I smell something milky and rich and warm, something qui sent comme l'amour, and it is no longer the blood of plebeians. I filling their gourds with a black flowng thing that is not wine and is not liquid. I see women braiding hemp into lean and viscid ropes, all twelve feet long. A strange hymn is being chanted in the churches; the anthem of the Antichrist, the Te Deum of change, the Marseillaise. People get together everywhere. They no lo speak aloud. They whisper and look

agony amidst the crashing fugues look around, beware, for it bodes ill to of thundering guns. History is lying hose who speak very loud and look again on her childbed and again the down. An air of madness blows from whole world attends her tremendous the East; kings feel suddenly sober, d stops yawning and looks intered. Spring is everywhere, and rywhere is the other youth of the rld-the Revolution.

It is coming, it is coming. Who is Is mankind to be utterly destroyed and I smell something burning in these no living seed of thought and love is to perfidious spring winds and it is not germinate in its ruins and debris? Are only the dead grass of last year. Be- ideals, held more sacred than life, to be ware of the Ides of March; eschew the dragged like carrion a ross the red breaking thaws and the prickly suns of looze; and the souls of one thousand Aprils if you are not the one who is million men to be polluted, violated, going to plow and to sow. But if you raped with steel-gauntleted hands, are, rejoice, for you shall reap a rich bought and sold like chattels and harvest of proud heads when the red wares, without any one raising a voice or without that voice being heard? I smell again the torchlight of the And if not men, is not Life at least

She is. Already the program of that daughter of the sun. I smell the protest, athunder with anger, has been smudgy pitch rainbowing down the at- heard. A greater one will soon take tics of papal Rome; the Devil, blond place. And what form do you think and red-shirted fighting the holy father. it will take, O lords, O masters, O in the holier rame of freedom. I smell rulers? Will they supplicate to kings and potentates? Will they petition tains of Silesia; the dog-eaters of the parliaments? Will they pray to gods? Fools, fools! For three years you have taught people to talk and demand things through the muzzle of the gun. Fools! You have changed the jargon of the tribune into the explosion of the see again peasants biting dry flax and shrapnel and the torpedo. You have told them that democracy, liberty, their daily bread, the sacredness of human life, the very right to be depend no longer on peace and reason and co-operation, but on their readiness to die for these things, which means their readiness to kill. And now do you expect them to turn back and unlearn all you taught them and discard all you forced them to try and

they found serviceable and perfect? Fools, fools! They are going to keep on, yea, but they are going to turn about and look behind their shoulders for the target.

All around you old systems are crumbling and new orders are arising. But you don't see. New forces are bursting into being. New weapons. New understandings. New tools of destruction. But you don't see. Because you have a few jails you think you are preme in the British government. safe. You have forgotten that children romp where the Bastille stood and that the Czar babbles his rosary in the tower of Peter and Paul. Because you still have lumber for a few scaffolds you think your tranquillity is assured. Idiots! Not all the spindles of hell are enough to spin nooses for the numberless traitors and rebels you'd have to hang. Because you are forcing every man to drop the hammer and shoulder the gun, you feel amply protected and safeguarded. Poor fools! But what about Hunger that calls like a weary beggar at the cold and silent homes of those men, and throws the bible off the table, and jerks up women and old men from their knees and whispers wrath and disobedience in their ears? Know you not the omnipotent magic of this wondrous alchemist, who, when potatoes rise to fifteen cents a pound can transubstantiate every ounce of them into a ton of balestite? Have you not learned from the past the terrible cabala of starvation which can aise every loaf of bread to the proporbefore them? Cannon have wheels. Canada and England must act. And we They can be turned around. They were going to be turned around in Dark Russia, had it been necessary. And, Gentlemen, these rotatory motions are characteristic of all sorts of cannon,

ter think and beware! Nel her is Russia alone. Spain is seething with rebellion. They have suppressed another general strike there. Every year they suppress one, every twelve-month they have a new one to suppress. Some day there will be no one to suppress strikes and nineteen millions to suppress a king. In Sweden starved men with crazy glares in their eyes hailed to the Republic under the towers of their monarch. In Greece the war that was dammed at the borders is going to burst within, redder and madder and more glorious. In Ireland priests preach the resurrection and youths and maidens cultivate red flowers of passion over the graves of men that were hanged and shot In Italy, in Germany, in Austria, in France, throughout the world May Day is returning acclaimed and praised, the Red Easter of martyred humankind. Beware!

regardless of geographical positions

and climatic influences.

And in America? Because two hundred sleek and fat men in frocks and top hats have declared that universal butchery is the supreme avocation of the manhood of the land, think you that they who plowed and built will turn back from their meek and joyful tasks and whet cutlasse for the throats of their brothers at your bid? Think you that America can really become the revolution in Russia! Russia now that Russia has become America? And is it possible to go back when bread and peace and love and the dawn lie forward on the highroad of progress? Never. Someone will "No!" Someone will shout, "Enough!" In a few days, Perhaps to-morrow. Perhaps even to-day. Then they will be thousand. Then they will become millions. Then they will be the whole population of the earth. It will be the hurricane. The typhoon. The avalanche, The Resurrection. The Second Advent of Man. The Palingenesis. The Revolution!

"Words, words; cheap rhetoric, the demagoguerie of the agitator," you say. You say that is harmless utopia

The Seizure of Trotzky

By CHARLES LOUIS

THE physical power of Czarism was dethroned in Russia, but its spirit seems to have survived and reigns su-

Leon Trotzky, the Russian revolutionary exile, left New York City recently with a party of eight to return to Russia. The provisional government at Petrograd was compelled, by the Socialists, to issue a general amnesty, and ask all exiles to return to their country. Trotzky answered the call. But at Halifax the military minions of the British government seized Trotzky and his party, deprived them of their possessions, and imprisoned them in a detention camp at Amherst.

The action is outrageous, and worse than that, it is stupid. Here is a man returning to the country of his birth upon the explicit general request of that country's government; his passport was vised by the Russian Consul in this city; and then an ally of that country, fighting for "civilization and democracy," refuses to allow the man to proceed on his journey, and adds insult to injury by imprisoning him and separating him from his wife and children.

The infamy must not be allowed to

may depend upon it that revolutionary Russia will act, unless the British government succeeds in suppressing news of the outrage-in which practice, by the way, it is peculiarly adept.

Why does Great Britain fear Trotzk and his party of revolutionary Socialists? The answer is simple. The revolutionary forces of Russia are clarifying their aims and organizing their power. They are a majority. The provisional government is pro-war, the Working Class is against the war. The pacific tendency of Russian labor has already compelled the provisional government to declare officially against conquest and annexation-only a few days after Miluykov had made a demand for Constantinople and other imperialistic objectives! It is the fear of these revolutionary forces that induces the provisional government to hold off the elections for a Constituent Assembly. in which the majority might very possibly be revolutionary.

Great Britain fears these forces and their action against the war and conquest. Trotzky is a thorough and uncompromising revolutionist, and he must therefore be kept out of Russia!

The hope of Russia lies precisely in the programme of men of the character of Trotzky. Their programme declares for a real revolution and a Social Republic. And unless it succeeds, we shall see a repetition of Germany's experience-the compromise of Capitalism with autocracy against the Working Class and for war and conquest.

Protest and act! Release Trotzky for

The Janus of Capital

IMPERIALISM needs words as much as it needs soldiers, money and munitions. Without words to conceal their real purposes, to deceive the workers about their real interests, no modern war would be possible. The silent Bethmann-Hollweg becomes eloquent, the eloquent Lloyd George becomes dictator, and Woodrow Wilson adds speeches and resolutions for home consumption to his notes for export.

It is part of our task to tear off the masks, to expose the real forces behind

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The Janus of Capital

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The Class Struggle During War

By ROSA LUXEMBURG

(Before she could finish this article, Rosa Luxemburg was sent to prison to serve a sentence for anti-militarist agitation. It appeared in The International, a magazine started by Franz Mehring and Rosa Luxemburg, and suppressed by the censor upon the appearance of the first issue.)

THE German Social Democracy I handed in its political resignation on August 4, 1914. On the same day the Socialist International collapsed. All attempts to deny this fact or to conceal it merely serve to perpetuate the conditions which brought it about.

This collapse is without a parallel in history. Socialism or Imperialism-this is the alternative which summed up the political life of the various labor parties of the world during the past decade. In Germany especially it has formed the basis of countless programs, discussions and publications. One of the chief purposes of the Social Democracy has been the correct formulation of thought and sentiment with regard to this alternative.

, With the outbreak of the war the word became flesh; the alternative changed from a historical tendency to a political situation. Face to face with this alternative as a fact the Social Democracy, which had been the first to recognize it and bring it to the consciousness of the working class, struck its sails and without a struggle conceded the victory to Imperialism. Never before, since there have been a class struggle and political parties, has there existed a party which, after fifty years of uninterrupted growth, after the attainment of a pre-eminent position of power, has thus by its own act within twenty-four hours wiped itself off the map.

The apologists for this act, Kautsky among them, maintain that the whole duty of Socialists in time of war is to remain silent. Socialism, they say in effect, is a power for peace, not against war. But there is a logic of events none can elude. The moment Socialists ceased to oppose war they became, by the stern logic of events, its supporters. The

en who have ofthdrawn from Socialist agitation in order to help minimize the horrors of war, and the Socialist party leaders who spend their time in the press and on the platform securing support for the government and suppressing every effort at criticism-all of these are not merely maintaining silence. They are supporting the war as heartily as any Conservative or Centrist. When and where was there ever a war which could exhibit a similar spectacle?

Where and when was the disregard of all constitutional rights accepted with such submissiveness? Where was there ever such glorification by an opposition party of the strictest censorship of the press? Never before did a political party sacrifice its all to a cause against which it had sworn again and again to sacrifice its last drop of blood. The mighty organization of the Social Democracy, its much praised discipline, gave the best proof of themselves in the fact that four millions of Human beings allowed themselves to be hitched to the war chariot at the command of a handful of parliamentarians. The half century of preparation on the part of the Socialist party comes to fruition now in this war. All our education of the masses make them now the obedient and effective servants of the imperialist state. Marx, Engels and Lassalle, Liebknecht, Bebel and Singer trained the German proletariat in order that Hindenburg might lead it.

Our official theorists are not without an explanation of this phenomenon. They are perfectly willing to explain the slight disagreement between their actions of to-day and their words of yesterday Their apology is that "although the Social Democracy has concerned itself much with the question as to what should be done to prevent war it has never concerned itself with the problem as to what should be done after the beginning of hostilities." Ready to do everybody's bidding, this theory assures us that the present practice of our party is in the most beautiful harmony with our past theories. The delightfully adaptable theory is likewise ready and willing to justify the present position of International Socialism in reference to its past. The International treated only the question of the prevention of war. But now, "war is a fact," and, as it turns out, after the outbreak of war Socialists are to be

guided by entirely new principles. After war has actually begun the great question for each proletariat is: Victory or defeat? Or, as an "Austro-Marxist" explains, a nation, like any other organism, must preserve its existence. In plain language this means: The proletariat has not one fundamental principle as scientific Socialism heretofore maintained, but two, one for peace and another for war. In time of peace, we are to suppose, the workers are to take cognizance of the class struggle within the nation and of international solidarity in relation to other countries; in time of war, on the other hand, class solidarity becomes the dominant feature of internal affairs and the struggle against the workers of other countries dominates the proletarian view of foreign relations. To the great historic appeal of the Communist Manifesto is added an important amendment and it reads now, according to this revision: "Workers of all lands unite in peace and cut one another's throats in war!" To-day, "Down with the Russians and French!" to-morrow, "We are brothers

This convenient theory introduces an entirely novel revision of the economic interpretation of history. Proletarian tactics before the outbreak of war and after must be based on exactly opposite principles. This presupposes that social conditions, the bases of our tactics, are fundamentally different in war from what they are in peace. According to the economic interpretation of history as Marx etsablished it, all history is the history of class struggles. According to the new revision, we must add: except in times of war. Now human development has been periodically marked by wars. Therefore, according to this new theory, social development has gone on according to the following formula; a period of class struggles, marked by class solidarity and conflicts within the nations; then a period of national solidarity and international conflicts and so on indefinitely. Periodically the foundations the moment of the signing of a treaty of peace, they are restored. This is not, evidently, progress by means of successive "catastrophes"; it is rather progress by means of a series of somersaults. Society develops, we are to suppose, like an iceberg floating down a warm current; its lower portion is melted away, it turns over, and continues this process indefin-

Now all the known facts of human history un straight counter to this new theory. They show that there is a necessary and dialectic relation between the class struggle and war. The class struggle develops into war and war develops into the class struggle; and thus their essential unity is proved. It was so in the medieval cities, in the wars of the Re-formation, in the Flemish wars of liberation, in the French Revolution, in the American Rebellion, in the Paris Commune, and in the Russian uprising in 1905. [And now in 1917, in Russia, again.]

Moreover, theoretically this new idea leaves not one stone of the Marxian doctrine on another. If, as Marx supposes, neither war nor the class struggle falls from heaven, but both arise from deep social-economic causes, then they cannot disappear periodically unless their causes also go up in vapor. Now the proletarian class struggle is a necessary aspect of the wage system. But during war the wage system does not tend to disappear. On the contrary, the aspects of it which give rise to the struggle of the class become especially prominent. Speculation, the founding of new companies to carry on war industries, military dictatorship-all these influences tend to increase the class differences during time of war. And likewise the class rule of the bourgeoisie is not suspended; on the contrary, with the suspension of constitutional rights it becomes sheer class dictatorship. If, then, the causes of the class struggle are multiplied, strengthened, during war how can their inevitable result be supposed to go out of existence? Conversely, wars are at the present time a result of the competition of various capitalist groups and of the necessity for capitalist expansion. Now, these two forces are not operative only while the cannon are booming; they are active in peace as well, and it is precisely in time of peace that they influence our life in such a way as to make the out-

break of war inevitable. For war Kautsky loves to quote from Clau "the continuation of politics by means." And the imperialist ph capitalist rule, through competiti building of armaments, has made pe lusory, for it has placed us res under military dictatorship and thereby made war permanent.

Therefore our revised economic pretation of history leads to a dile Our new revisionists are between devil and the sea. Either the class gle persists in war as the chief life dition of the proletariat and the de ration of class harmony by Socialist ers is a crime against the working or carrying on the class struggle in of peace is a crime against the of the nation" and the "security o

The International Movement

In spite of the suppression and do not news and an abundance of an each other, it is each other, it is each other. tion of news and an abundance of ors that contradict each other, it is that in Russia the revolution is s but relentlessly getting the upper Agrarian revolts are spreading, at some sections the peasanty is fo dividing the land and taking posse. The Council of Workmen's and Sol Delegates is virtually giving the d'ordre to the Provisional Govern and this revolutionary pressure has pelled the government officially to clare against conquest and annexa action. They are waging the class strug- audiences. gle energetically, relying upon their mass. power and not upon prospective parliamentary decisions. The Constituent Assembly that is soon to convene will

THE great majority of the French their demands are granted. Party not only supports the Government but takes an active part in its organiza tion. The Socialist opposition is

At the Zimmerwald Conference, Bo deron and Merrheim were the Free delegates. They denounced the "u

represented by Blanc, Raffin Dupres and lage or town in such leagues." Brizon. They were the first to vote against the war credits, although their motives were not based on the principle of an uncompromising fight against their imperialistic government under all cir-

support in defense of the country.

Only a hundred votes were cast in dustrial justice." favor of the resolution of Loriot and Brizon, and even this resolution bases its action against defense upon the fact that the French Government cannot claim to fight a defensive war, as long as it does not offer definite peace proposals and ar-

THE Young People's International of March (No. 7) takes an uncompromising and firm stand throughout its columns against defensive wars. An open letter is published to protest against the inactivity of the Zimmerwald International Committee in Bern, concerning the expulsion from the party of members of the Young People's Organization in Sweden. The letter directs itself particularly against Robert Grimm, who demands the rejection of all war credits by French and German Socialists, but does not actually oppose military credits to continue the mobilization of the Swiss

In the issue of March 18 of the Left Wing Daily "de Tribune" (Holland), we find an article on the Propaganda League of America by Comrade A. Kollontay. She gives a summary of the principles in our Manifesto and calls the League the centre of opposition which is developing in the Socialist Party.

fatherland." Either class struggle or class harmony is the fundamental factor our social life both in peace and war. Either the International must remain a leap of ruins after the war or its resurction will take place on the basis of the class struggle from which it took its rise in the first place. It will not reappear by magic at the playing over of the old tunes which hypnotized the world before August 4. Only by definitely recognizing and disowning our own weaknesses and failmes since August 4, by giving up the tacs introduced since that time, can we gin the rebuilding of the International. ad the first step in this direction is agitation for the ending of the war and the securing of peace on the basis of the com-

On the Firing Line Against Capitalism

THERE is a strike of 500 workers in e railroad shops at Hagerstown, Md. ais is what the New York Evening Sun says, editorially: "Any serious attempt t · cripple or paralyze the industry of the untry in the interest of some minor oup or groups of its workers will suse general resentment and damage reputation of union labor." viould worry about our reputation!

A STRIKE is developing in the Lumber Trust district of Montana where a complete tie-up is expected. Indians from It is a heartening thing—this dependence Minnesota refused to scab. Organizers of the Russian workers upon their own om the I. W. W. have enthusiastic

THE bakers in Chicago, out on strike, e compelling the mayor to seriously consider federal intervention. The bosses register the decision now being made in are able to supply less than ten per cent the struggle. And it is precisely in this of the normal demand according to news of the normal demand, according to news revolutionary activity that the hope of reports. The union bakers, who are Russia lies.

Striking for more wages and better conditions, assert they will stay out until

> In the official column of the Y. P. S. L. ork Call we read: "The task

lentiment throughout the land is inst conscription and it is left to the Lipsels to crystalize that sentiment in countless groups pledged to oppose consacre," or civil truce, without, however, from many quarters report the organizacription when it comes. Already news breaking completely with the social pa- tion of Anti-Conscription Leagues. The Y. P. S. L. members should conscript In Kienthal, the French opposition was the young people of their own city, vil-

In its headquarter notes Solidarity says: "All class-conscious members of the I. W. W. are conscientiously opposed to spilling the life blood of human beings, not for religious reasons, as are the As a matter of fact, this Zimmer- Quakers and Friendly Societies, but bewalder and Kienthal group, although cause we believe that the interests and writing sharp articles against the leaders welfare of the working class in all counof the centre group, Longuet and Presse- tries are identical. While we are bitterly mane, combined with them in supporting opposed to the Imperial Capitalistic Govresolution at the last Christmas Con- ernment of Germany, we are against gress in favor of an International Con- slaughtering and maiming the workers of ference through the old International any country. In many lands our mem-Bureau and to modify the policy of the bers are suffering imprisonment, death civil peace, but not to give up their and abuse of all kinds in the class war, which we are waging for social and in-

> BRANCH BROOKLYN of the S. P. L. A. adopted a resolution to answer questions 50 and 51 of the military census form in New York State as follows:

> Question 50: "Do you claim exemption from military service?" to be answered with "Yes."

> This resolution was also presented at the borough meeting of the Socialist Party of Local King's County and carried by an overwhelming vote. It will be sent to all the branches of the Socialist Party of New York State, and our members should become active in organizing the "Conscientious Objectors."

> LET our flag run out straight to the wind! The old red shall be floated again When the ranks that are thin shall be thinn'd.

When the names that were twenty are -Swinburne.

THE patriotic fervor and idealism of the American citizen is immeasurable and beyond reproach. As soon as General Ioffre arrived in this country the price of French flags went up about fifty per

Conscientious Objectors in England

made their protest against compulsory military service in the past half year, by claiming exemption based on conscientious objections. The majority of them accepted "alternative service," many were finally exempted for some other reason, and about five thousand thrown into jail.

The majority of the conscientious objectors are workers and a great number of them are Socialists. The anti-conscription propaganda has been carried on with such vigor and conviction, that the general temper gradually has improved. The brutal outrages against the objectors has caused so much protest, as to stop some of the most ferocious manifesta-

In the earlier period fifty objectors were forcibly transported to the war zone in France and after again refusing military orders were court martialed and condemned to death. Strong protests in England, however, changed these sentences into ten years' penal servitude. Others were beaten and tortured by military authorities in so-called "special rooms," and denied trial. Gradually, however, there developed a more systematic treatment, combined of course with special offenses and ill-treatment, differing, according to local authorities and local conditions. The system works out as follows:

The C. O. (conscientious objector) is turned over to the military authorities and with few exceptions is court martialed and sentenced to imprisonment, generally for 112 days in a civil prison. During this period the Central Tribunal decides whether the objector is "genuine," and if found so, he is offered "alternative service" of "national importance" under the so-called "Home Office" scheme. If he refuses to accept this, he is sentenced to a longer term in prison,

Gilbert Canaan, who claimed to have

been for many years a conscientious objector to the whole state of modern society and therefore was a conscientious. objector against war, was ruled out of order as being a political and not a coneneral Secretary of the I. L. ., was accepted on a statement that he objected as a Socialist to whom Socialism is a religion, based upon a belief in International Brotherhood. One of the judges called this "political," but the majority agreed that: "Though the objections are rather based upon moral than upon religious grounds, they are acceptable as conscientious objections," which, however, did not keep our comrade out of pledged to refuse military service in any jail, because he refused to do "alternative

Lately the proceedings have been systematized by decisions of the "Central Tribunal," as follows:

1. Absolute exemption is ruled out entirely, although this is clearly against the spirit of the law.

2. It is denied that men who are opposed to this particular war, or who are prepared to take human life under certain circumstances, are C. O.'s at all.

3. It is declared that to young people exemption should be refused, because their views cannot be regarded as "deliberate and settled." Membership in a Socialist organization is in itself considered no evidence of a conscientious objection to military service.

Against these rulings, although not binding for the local judges, the No-Conscription Fellowship carries an intensive propaganda. It certainly requires audacity to demand that young people shall kill and be killed, and at the same time deny them judgment because of being too young!

The chief argument presented by the Socialists is their International conception of a general brotherhood. Clifford Allen argued: "I am a Socialist and so hold in all sincerity that the life and personality of every man is sacred, and that there is something of divinity in every human being, irrespective of the nation to which he belongs. I cannot betray my belief in the brotherhood of all men. To me war is murder."

Particularly striking and interesting, for this country, is the following argument:

"I am a Negro, born in Jamaica. My parents were sent in bondage to Jamaica. They were torn from their home. My country is divided up among the European powers, who in turn have oppressed and tyrannized over my fellowmen. The Allies of Great Britain, i. e., Portugal and Belgium, have been among the

WENTY thousand Englishmen have worst oppressors, and now that Belgium is invaded I am about to be compelled to defend her. . . . Even Germans or any aliens who are white men are preferred to us. I have been buffeted from one labor exchange to another. . . . In view of these circumstances, and also

> rather than fight." There is no doubt that extensive arguing before the different courts and the courage of conviction shown by a great number of Socialists will bear results,

if not at once, then in the near future.

the fact that I have a moral objection to

all wars, I would sacrifice my rights

No-Conscription Groups

D ESIDES of the Socialist parties and the Industrial Workers of the World, a campaign against militarism and conscription is being carried on by several other organizations, among which the American Union Against Militarism and the Emergency Peace Federation are

A special organization for the purpose of resisting conscription is the No Conscription Fellowship, with a platform as follows: "We believe that all men are brothers, that liberty of conscience is a fundamental purpose of true democracy. and that the highest service to our country and our fellowmen calls us to uphold these ideals; therefore we are opposed to war and must resist any compulsory service in actual war."

The No Conscription Alliance is a similar organization, with the following pledge: "We are unalterably opposed to war and we affirm the duty of the individual to follow the dictates of his own conscience; therefore we can't accept any military or other compulsory service. which is in conflict with these ideals."

These organizations do not carry on an actual propaganda, but enroll and support persons who are willing to sign the

A more active and aggressive organization is that of the World's Patric

the slogan, "I will not kill nor help kill my fellowmen." A few thousand men have signed this pledge.

In the Bronx, New York, an Anti-Military Training Parents' Association has been formed, with headquarters at 1167 Boston Road.

In addition to these organizations are a large number of local groups

Revolution!

(Continued from page 1)

and that it will never be because reason is against it. You are wrong, Gentlemen. Utopia is the most terrible reality on earth. It has destroyed empires and executed kings and torn down temples and obliterated gods. Utopia is nonsense when it is the mere crystal-gazing of a dreamer or a philosopher; but it is more potent than an earthquake when it becomes the sunlit horizon of the people. Nor has reason any power against its unarrestable march. But where is reason now? For three long years it has been dead, this great reactionary, this enemy of all change, this servant of all indolence, this assassin of all heroism. You yourselves have slain and offered it on an altar of roaring guns to propitiate the Dream, when you broke down all the dykes of restraint and flooded the world with this ocean of molten lava. Let it stay dead now, Gentlemen, for the Dream is really going to come true. The dream of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, the Folly that has survived the ages and has now encircled all the world in the swirl of its mad and merry saraband. Joy and victory to Folly. Let us get out the caps and jingles of the fool. Let us laugh to the end the shrill cachinnation of the maniac. Let us enthrone the Absurd. Let us enshrine Folly, the great mother of the New, the turgid-breasted nurse of Genius, the midwife of Freedom and Revolution!

Dansons la Carmagnole! Vive le son du canon!

Gentlemen, Her Majesty the Mob is knocking at the door. You need not get up and open this time. Just sit still and pray, for the only thing you are going to save now, Gentlemen, is your soul!

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labor unionists who have discontinued their structure who have discontinued change and or wire and against Imp

The reasonable of the control of the hostilities. Reads to do everybody to causes if the confidence of the bidding this theory assures us that the displace strengthers of the calibrate of our party is in the difference of the calibrate of the cali most beautiful harmony with our past out of existen conversely wars are theories. The delightfully adaptable at the present time a result of the some. In the second willing to petition of various capitalist groups and. Wing the virial result we justify the present position of Interna-tional Socialism in reference to its past.

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May Day, 1917

May symbolizes the awakening of nature, and May Day symbolizes the awakening of Labor. A year ago, two years ago, one couldn't celebrate May Day with any feeling of enthusiasm. Labor seemed dead; everywhere reaction was triumphant. But this year, there is a real awakening of Labor. In Russia there has been a revolution, and it still is in process of achieving great things. In Germany the Working Class is asserting itself. Great strikes and demonstrations were planned for the First of May, in spite of Vorwarts' hysterical injunction to the contrary. The revolutionary minority backed up the plans for the strike, and thereby inspired and united the forces of aggression against the government. Austria itself is on the verge of revolution, and our uncompromising comrades in France are waiting for an opportunity to act. The revolts against the government Spain have been only temporarily supessed. Swedish workers demonstrated

finn Socialist party has naintained an uncompromising opposition to the war, and is in a physical and oral position of great strategic power. In Argentina the Socialist party in its envention voted down a proposal to compromise with the ruling class in favor of action that might lead to war. In this country, in spite of the triumph of the reaction and the apparent moral and physical bankruptcy of the party, in spite of Gompers and the A. F. of L., strikes are being organized and the radical forces lining up for the fight. Truly, the promise of May Day this year is indeed a revolutionary promise! And the meaning of May is clear!

A New Trial for Mooney

Two of New York's newspapers comment on the "astonishing fact" that millions of Americans heard of Mooney for the first time when the cable report came of the demonstration in Petrograd in favor of Mooney. Astonishing? It is the usual thing. Outrages against representatives of labor are suppressed as much as possible. Mooney is to have a new trial; the conspiracy has been exposed. But the danger is not past. The business interests of San Francisco are determined to "get" Mooney. Workers of America, defend your own!

The Other War

THE Socialists who would suspend the class struggle in time of war are blind as bats to the facts of capitalist aggression. The ruling class does not suspend the struggle against labor during war, but emphasizes it. Leon Trotsky is still in a concentration camp in Canada, imprisoned by that British government which is fighting for democracy. And Trotsky is not the only victim of the "other war" that the social-patriot wishes to forget, but which the capitalist doesn't. The war has produced its victims in this country. Men and women have been arrested for exercising their constitutional "right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition their Government for a redress of grievances." Men have been thrown son for refusing to register in the ry census. Men have been shot of implicitly obeying the orders litary mards. And over in Blackry guards. Alle Berry Jager, a Socialist

arrested on a preposterous charge of "disorderly conduct," given six months in jail; and, a new trial having been ordered. Jager is denied bail as a form of persecution. These are the victims of that "other war," whom we must defend. And this is the war that we must pledge our hearts and minds to wage in spite of

Expel Meyer London!

Mr. MEYER LONDON is still a member of the Socialist party. He is still actively disgracing Socialism-and the party takes no action. In a speech in Congress justifying his recent action, he said: "I did not vote against the bond issue for the simple reason my sympathies are in the main with the cause of the Allies, and I believe that we should render them every form of non-combatant aid." This was preceded by: "I voted against the war resolution. I would vote against it to-day." A simple reason, indeed! Doesn't Meyer London know that of the seven billion dollars, the maximum that may be loaned the Allies is three billions? This leaves four billion dollars to wage a war with, and to pay for developing a menacing American militarism. This is the important thing for Capitalism; the aid to the Allies is incidental. This is what Meyer London cowardly or stupidly didn't vote against. And yet-Meyer London is still a member of the Socialist

Aid and Comfort to the Enemy!

THE mind reels at the actions of some of our Socialists. A. M. Simons stigmatizes as "treason" the Convention's resolution on the war, and Allan L. Benson joins in the chorus. William English Walling has whole-heartedly accepted the hypocritical idealism of the ruling class. Charles Edward Russell brands as "anarchists" the Socialist objectors to the war. Frank Bohn-of all men!-in the New York Times proposes a plan for virtually starving the Edror pean neutrals. Russian Socialists in this country, the social-patriotic group, are urging on the cabal against the real revolutionary forces in Russia.' Meyer London in Congress misses a magnificent opportunity, and disgraces himself and his party. All these men are giving aid and comfort to the capitalist enemy. It is the symptom of a corroding disease in the party-Nationalism.

The Convention Referendum

THE acts of the Emergency Convention are now before the membership for radical can find very little comfort. Louis B. Boudin having withdrawn his minority report, there are now two resolutions on the war-the majority report adopted at the Convention, and the prowar report subsequently issued by a group of delegates. The issue is clear: the majority resolution does declare against war, it does propose a form of aggressive action; whereas the report of the social-patriotic minority accepts the war and proposes an essentially bourgeois course of action. Adopt the majority report! And then-compel the party to aggressively carry out its general proposals!-On the action to abolish the National Committee the vote should be No. In spite of its faults, the N. C. was a preventive against the autocracy of the party bureaucracy. Obviously, the repeal of Article Two, Section Six, should be sustained. The proposed new platform was jammed through in the last. days of the Convention, and without debate. It is futile, and worse. It should be voted down, and a representative platform drafted by a representative body. And while these actions of ours cannot completely express our policy, they can at least prevent the more complete demoralization of the party.

Proletarian Preparedness

N the state of New York, and presumably in other states as well, sinister capitalist interests are making a vigorous and vicious onslaught upon the labor laws. They wish to destroy the few barriers that labor has erected against ruthless exploitation.

The forces of the enemy are preparing an offensive against the unions-and Gompers falls in the trap by pledging the A. F. of L. not to strike.

The cost of living rises higher and higher, distress becomes more acute, and the general indications are that worse things are to come.

And on top of it all, the ruling class is preparing to impose a tyranny upon the Working Class that will discourage action. The right to strike may be abrogated through legislation.

The projecariat must fight all these measures of reaction and all the causes of its suffering-fight them fearlessly, relentlessly. To allow these measures to pass, these conditions to exist, is to put our neck into the noose with Capital pulling the rope.

Captialism uses the war to promote its own class interests. And what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

The danger is immediate, and it is ultimate. These measures of reaction and oppression are not for to-day alone; they are being prepared for to-morrow. Capitalism looks ahead and is organizing for the future. The conditions of war are a direct consequence of the conditions of peace. War does not alter the struggles of peace, but emphasizes them.

In times of war the proletariat prepares for peace. Every strike, every struggle, every act of the proletariat now arouses its strength for the days ahead, develops its moral and physical prepared-We have a particular menace to fight; but all our actions have an ultimate as well as an immediate scope. Our action to-day prepares the proletariat for the coming struggles to overthrow Capi-

The suspension of the class struggle during war is a great calamity for the proletariat, vielding aid and comfort unto our capitalist enemy. It sacrifices our immediate and ultimate interests. It means lower wages and worse conditions of living; moreover, it makes difficult the resumption of an aggressive class struggle during peace. It impairs the morale of the proletariat and dulls its fighting spirit. It is the worst menace of war.

On with the struggle against Capital-

The Great Betraval

T is unique in the annals of revolutionary movements-the betrayal of Socialism by the Socialist party of America. It is a harsh characterization, perhaps, but true; and these are not the times for mincing words.

The party had ample opportunity to express itself and prepare its action. For two years this country had been on the verge of war; for two years the greatest pro-war propaganda that history records had been going on; for two years the forces of American Imperialism had been organizing and preparing for aggression; and for two years the Socialist party had

as as proper, da se press, virtually abandoned the class struggle. Its peace propaganda was largely insincere and bourgeois in spirit. Its press suppressed the facts of the real Socialist situation in Europe. The party leaders either openly or tacitly justified the actions of the European Socialist majority, particularly the Socialist majority of Germany. During this period, Victor L. Berger carried on a propaganda in the Milwaukee Leader for war against Mexico, and Meyer London in Congress pledged the party's support to "the country" in the event of war. And the party on the whole supinely accepted this betrayal. The radical spirit of the membership was unable to express itself, because of the officials' control of the press and machinery of the party.

After the severing of diplomatic relations with Germany, the party had an opportunity to act. It did not. True, the party carried on a propaganda against the declaration of war; but it was largely on non-Socialist lines and in co-operation with bourgeois pacifist groups. The party officially did not organize a program of action in the event of war; when such a program was proposed, it was either sneered at or howled down to the tune of "treason!" Nor did the party organize its forces to resist conscription, and other reactionary measures of war. (This is true except in the case of minority groups, and of such locals as Local Kings County, New York.)

The policy of passive protest against the coming of war is futile. The only threat that the ruling class heeds is the threat of aggressive action during the war. And if you do not organize your forces before the declaration of war, you are hampered in your action during the war. This is exactly the colossal error of the European movement, which our party did not heed. And a part of the party, as expressed in its officials, seems to have had neither the will not the desire to prepare for action.

Then the war came. The Emergency National Convention met in St. Louis. It was a radical convention, largely; but the politicians organized a conspiracy to crush this radical spirit. A resolution was adopted declaring against the warnany thanks! But the resolution itself was a marvellous and impudent expression of insincerity, of compromise, of fear and hesitancy, and of downright dis-

honesty. The measure of this resolution is taken in the action of about fifty of its supporters who, after voting for the resolution, drew up a pro-war resolution of their own that smells to high heaven.

Is there a word too harsh to characterze this contemptible and treasonable pro-

Whatever merit the majority resolution may have is vitiated by the conditions of conspiracy under which it was adopted, and by the action of the fifty delegates who first voted for it and then repudiated it.

This is the great betrayal. These are the circumstances under which this crime against Socialist integrity was perpe-

The party is doomed by these acts, unless the revolutionary minority acts and acts immediately. If the minority does not organize itself definitely and aggresively, it will become a particeps criminis the great betrayal.

Comrades of the revolutionary minonty, organize and act!

The Safety of Democracy

The world must be made safe for demarky."-President Woodrow Wilson.

HE process of war may promote demoeracy directly, providing that the wr uself arose out of democratic im-

he great war is the consequence of th clash of rival economic interests as epressed in nations, Serbia and Belgium bing incidental and unimportant factors. Tridealism of "the war for democracy as the rights of small nations" is simply th moral justification for a brutal econnic fact, and the means of inciting pople to war.

in the past, wars of national liberation asing out of democratic impulses pronted the interests of democracy. But t era of national wars is past. The or of 1870 apparently promoted dexracy in France; actually it did not. ne decrepit empire of Louis Napoleon s dying of its own evils; while the amph of Prussia crushed the bourgeois dral aspirations of the German people, articularly in the Rhenish provinces. ntl the Russian Revolution was accomsed by the revolts of 1905, and not

atorship might serve the ends of ress and democracy, as during the of the French Revolution; but it t be a dictatorship of the progressive revolutionary forces. A dictatorship he Working Class in Russia to-day ld serve the ends of progress. And ould be a temporary dictatorship. ut the dictatorship created by this

is a dictatorship of all the reactionary s as expressed in the ruling class, that strikes directly at democracy; alone for purpose of war, but as a dent and a weapon for the future. this dictatorship of the ruling class manent in its character.

e American measures of war are ng directly at the freedom of action Working Class and at individual y-is this making the world safe for cracy?

e President is acquiring virtually all owers of government, becoming a or-is this making the world safe emocracy?

nscription is to compel our youth tht in, and the Working Class to piece for, a war they did not will and profit by-is this making the safe for democracy?

apologists of Capitalism argue that reactionary measures are tempothat after the war democracy will e and the civil rights of peace re-This is a justification that does stify. The war is creating the conout of which new wars may arise. cite the testimony of the enemy head. The New York Mail, one perica's most aggressive and conapostles of Imperialism, says in

e have no permanent continue with the entente. . . . When ar is over we shall face the future our industrial productive capacity ed, our stores of loanable capital telied tenfold over their pr -war prons. Where shall we sell the cotton

voolen goods, the glassware and are, the steel and iron which these ies are to-day turning out for all orld, our industrial rivals being abi in the business of war? . great industries have been doubled ve the export trade; their market continue to be found abroad. It t be found in the entente countries; ill produce for themselves. Both

they and we will engage in a desperate struggle for the markets of the undeveloped non-industrial world-Central and South America and China before all lands. Every nation's accumulations of capital will seek those same lands. The predominance which we seek, and must have, on this hemisphere may disrupt any temporary military alliance that we form. In the same way Great Britain and Japan are already developing points of difference over China. Interests clash! . We must be armed and strong for the future."

Are these the conditions that can make the world safe for democracy? They are an incitement to perpetual war. And the identical measures of autocracy that are now necessary for this war, will be deemed necessary as a preparation for the next war.

There is no hope in Capitalism for democracy. And the democracy of Capitalism is itself a sorry and tattered thing. It means the minimum of democracy that may pacify the Working Class temporarily, and that will provide the fitting conditions for the development of the forces of Capitalism.

Bourgeois democracy marked an upward and onward era in human annals. Its historic mission was to destroy feudalism and to allow Capitalism to develop. Being now grown up, Capitalism has little need of its past democracy, and has

been and is still developing a form of autocracy much resembling the absolute monarchy of Louis XIV.

The world can be made safe for democracy only by the democracy of Socialism; and that is the task of the revolutionary Working Class of all nations.

The Collapse of Parliaments

THE press of the country assumed I that conscription would pass Congress without a struggle. When the opposition developed real strength, the press denounced Congress and unanimously agreed that, "President Wilson will get conscription if he wants it." The whole problem was "put up" to the President as if he were the arbiter of legisla-

And the President is the arbiter of legislation. In the days of peace, trementhe Congress having slight influence or

lodges complete power in his hands.

The war has shown conclusively that the parliaments are dead. They may function as talk-fests, they may give a Liebknecht the opportunity of using parliament as a forum for revolutionary propaganda; the actual power, the real control over events lies in a dictatorship of one man or a small group of men. The parliaments make motions, but they do

This holds good in all the belligerent nations, except Russia. In that country the situation is different. The parliament there is in its revolutionary age, as it was in France in 1789 and in England a hundred years before. But parliaments elsewhere are in their conservative age, even in their dotage.

The futility of parliamentary control in this war may lead to a misconception, that it is a temporary phenomenon. It is not. The collapse of parliaments, the centralization of power in the Executive, was proceeding rapidly before the war. All that the war has done is to accentuate the development, to blazon it to the world in a new and revolting way.

The economic basis of the collapse of parliaments lies in the concentration of capital. The huge economic units of today cannot function properly unless coordinated through the national government. Industry and the state are being merged into one. More and more the complexity of industry imposes new regulative functions upon the govern-ment; and these functions become centralized in an administrative control with virtually unlimited power. Parliaments may talk, but the administrative power directs as the economic power decides.

The war is not simply emphasizing this development; it is creating a demand for a reconstruction of government. The New York Tribune, in its February 23, 1917, issue, expressed it this way:

"Our governmental machinery-city, state and national-is not geared to deal with serious economic problems. It breaks down when a demand is made on it for aid in regulating big economic forces. It does not know how to compel economic and social efficiency."

This is drastic criticism, but not quite as drastic as the proposals of the archimperialistic London Times, which urges the reconstruction of the House of Commons, favoring the abolition of political representation based on geographical divisions, and insisting upon elections by trades, industries and occupations.

All these changes and demands are the political expression of the concentration of industry and the accumulation of capital, out of which arises Imperialism. And a determining development of Imperialism is the centralization of power and the consequent decline of parliamentary prestige. The accelerating factors are the economic unity of Capitalism and its merging of interests in State Socialism, and the increasing severity of the struggles of Imperialism for the control of the investment markets of the world.

This collapse of parliamentary control may lead to one of two things:

Congress and parliaments generally may sink still lower in actual power, and become mere verbal outlets of repressed

Or, their basis of representation and functions may become transformed and adapted in accord with the new conditions, as proposed by the London Times.

But whichever course is taken, parliaments will become less and less responsive to the democratic instincts of the

The task that these developments impose upon the Socialist is obvious. Parliament never was, and is still less today, a means of revolutionary action for the proletariat.

Parliamentarism showed itself utterly futile in the European crisis. The supreme utility attached to parliamentarism was a strong factor in destroying the morale and taming the fighting energy of the International Socialist movement. Marx bitterly satirized those who consider parliamentarism creative and dynamic. Even had the Socialists had the will to organize actual opposition to the war, what effective means could they have adopted? Parliament had no control over events; all the Socialist parliamentarians could have done was to vote against the war credits, which would not have stopped war. The unions had no initiative, the political movement having dous power is lodged in the Executive, always played the dominant role. A

tacit dictator. And in war, Congress leading part and not acting in obedience practically disappears as a factor; the to a parliamentary-mad bureaucracy. The President becomes an open dictator. All Social Democracy has always denied the the proposed legislation for purposes of unions any vital function, conceiving war centre around the President and them as an auxiliary of minor importance with no revolutionary mission to per-

Parliament-political government-is bourgeois institution, developed by the bourgeois in their fight against feudalism, and expressing bourgeois requirements of supremacy. Socialism, of course, cannot ignore political government; the political struggles are an expression of class war in capitalist society, and political action becomes a necessary form of action. But the proletariat must develop its own fighting expression, its own organ of government-the revolutionary union. Socialism seeks not control of the State, but the destruction of the State. The revolutionary union alone is capable of dynamic, creative action.

Economic mass action assumes dominance in our tactics as the Socialist movement becomes more definite and aggressive; political action becomes an auxiliary. Revolutionary unionism develops the initiative and virility of the proletariat, unites the proletariat as a fighting force. It organizes the proletariat not alone for every-day struggles but for the final struggle against Capitalism. Revolutionary unionism prepares the workers for their historic mission of ending political government and establishing an industrial government-the "administration of things." Revolutionary unionism. finally, can secure for the workers all necessary immediate reforms through their own efforts, without the action of the State. In this process Revolutionary Unionism develops itself as the means for the overthrow of State Socialism and Imperialism.

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The Other War

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Do Your Bit!

Etchings

By JEANNETTE D. PEARL

The Fighter

HE was a little shrivelled up ok me.a. look. He was all huddled up, his hands in his pockets, walking along like a conscious trespasser, hesitatingly, as if cialist Propaganda League: presuming on other's space.

The rowdies on the street corner spied him and siezed upon him for their sport. They hurled missiles at him, scratching their chins in derision at his beard, while all the time mocking with their coarse brutal laughter.

The poor man in bewilderment sought to shield his body with his now swiftly moving arms. Then he began to run, to find himself hemmed/in. For a second he stopped still, like an animal at bay. Then, dashing down upon his pursuers with surprising fierceness, he captured one of the gang, furiously beating him. The rest took to their heels, the old man making after, panting heavily, his lean arms striking out into space.

His frenzy soon spent itself and he ran around and around without sense of direction, like a top before toppling over. His hat fell to the pavement. His open coat and touselled hair flying in the wind, his eyes wide and confused, with distended nostrils, he emitted rasping sounds, to the merriment of an increasing crowd.

II An Idiot

Ir was pitiable the way he jerked and twisted his little body, to amuse and get at the baby in its cart. His antics were so queer, so morbid, and continued with such dogged persistency, I had to stop on the curb to watch.

He suggested a child of ten. His features were as if melted, and ran one into the other much like an unfinished picture exposed to heat. His

and in it there lurked I for a child. The nose was long and hooked, with restricted nostrils. The mouth was a wide opening from which the tongue hung out like that of a panting dog, without the animal vigor; while with his sleeve he kept wiping the saliva dripping from his mouth. His chin hung loose, somewhat elongating an otherwise round face.

His clothes fell about him like a collapsed balloon, and flapped as he jerked and jumped up and down, while in the air there dangled, with sickening limpness, arms, legs, head, and even his flesh twitched and quivered. Then, these movements would cease, and his body curve forward as, with outstretched arms and feverish lust, he struggled to get at the baby.

His attempt to get the baby was blocked by a woman's watchfulness. The grief in her resignation indicated a relative. He paid no heed to her obstruction, as if it were not at all aimed against him. He persisted, unperturbed, stretching out his limp arms, annoyed, emitting blunt incoherent sounds of vexatious desire.

And as he reached out for the baby there spread over his face a lascivious grin, the gloat of morbid possession. His eyes widened and rolled. The crooked one teared as it greedily peered on what he wanted.

As desire reached its height, the contortions of his body increased, his breathing became labored; while in his throat gurgled sounds of sinister pleasure, the pleasure of gratification. Then he stopped, exhausted, but not satisfied. The pause was brief. Precipitately his contortions began again. So he continued over and over, his lewd reaching out followed by his perverse glee in the imaginary enjoyment of actual possession.

Passers-by viewed him with disgust, amusement, inquisitiveness. "An idiot." a hatless one sympathetically volunteered: "what is there to look at?"

Sixteen-year-old Miss - daughter of the late - appeared in Surrogate's Court yesterday and asked for a arly allowance of \$15,178 from her ather's estate, since her present annual ncome of \$2,078.67 is not sufficient.—

A STUDY IN CONTRAST

T is interesting, as a matter of record and a study in contrast, to reprint the resolution adopted at the Emergency National Convention of the Socialist party and the proposed resolution of the Socialist Propaganda

The resolution of the League was introduced in committee, but rejected, although some of its proposals were incorporated in the majority report subsequently adopted by the Convention. This is the resolution of the So-

The Socialist movement is not neutral in a war, nor does it simply adopt passive measures of protest; it fights the war, continually, relentlessly, and by all the means of action in its

Realizing that there is a division in the International movement on the problem of action against war; realizing, moreover, that this problem is crucial in the reconstruction of Socialism, the Socialist party declares against participation in a war waged under any and all conditions of Imperialistic Capitalism, including wars of national defense and democracy, so-called.

The Socialist party cannot compromise its unrelenting opposition to war; it seeks to use every opportunity that may arise to transform a war into the Social Revolution of the proletariat.

In conformity with and applying these general principles, the Socialist party of America lays down the following program of action during the war:

1. Representatives of the Socialist party in the various governing bodies shall refuse to vote for war credits or any other measures of war. Action shall immediately be taken to expel party members violating this decision.

2. We pledge ourselves and our organization to resist all efforts at recruiting, by means of meetings, an aggressive educational propaganda, mass demonstrations, and by any other means in accord with revolutionary Socialist principles and tactics.

We call upon the working class, organand unorganized, to institute strikes against the mobilization of industry and military forces, under the guise of which the ruling class deprives the people of its civil and industrial rights; and we pledge ourselves to encourage and support these strikes, and develop them into a general revolutionary movement against war and Capitalism.

In the event of conscription being forced upon the people of this country by the ruling class, we shall initiate a movement for the refusal of military service; moreover, we

against the war, we declare that we shall not allow the class struggle to relax; moreover, we affirm that the general revolutionary class struggle shall proceed with new vigor and increased intensity during the period of war along the lines of general mass action of the

The Socialist party of America, in short, declares war upon the war and the measures adopted by the government for purposes of war. No "Civil Peace!" No truce with the ruling class! War does not change the issue, but emphasizes it: War against Capitalism. On with the class struggle!

We declare that we shall carry on this propaganda and action even should the government declare it illegal-if not legally, then

Contrast this with the majority resolution which was adopted as follows:

1. The Socialist party of the United States, in the present grave crisis, solemnly reaffirms its allegiance to the principle of internationalism and working class solidarity the world over, and proclaims its unalterable opposition to the war just declared by the government of the United States.

Modern wars, as a rule, have been caused by the commercial and financial rivalry and intrigues of the capitalist interests in the different countries. Whether they have been frankly waged as wars of aggression or have been hypocritically represented as wars of "defense," they have always been made by the classes and fought by the masses. Wars bring wealth and power to the ruling classes, and suffering, death and demoralization to the

They breed a sinister spirit of passion, unreason, race hatred and false patriotism. They obscure the struggle of the workers for life, liberty and social justice. They tend to sever the vital bonds of solidarity between them and their brothers in other countries, to destroy their organizations and to curtail their civic and political rights and liberties.

2. The Socialist party of the United States is unalterably opposed to the system of exploitation and class rule which is upheld and trengthened by military power and sham naonal patriotism. We, therefore, call upon the workers of all countries to refuse support to their governments in their wars. The wars of the contending national groups of capitalists are not the concern of the workers. And we particularly warn the workers against the snare and delusion of so-called defensive war-

The only struggle which would justify the workers in taking up arms is the great struggle of the working class of the world to free taself from economic exploitation and political oppression. As against the false doctrine of national patriotism, we uphold the ideal of international working class solidarity. In support of capitalism we will not willingly

The Resolution adopted by the Emergency Convention of the Party, and the proposed Resolution of the Socialist Propaganda League

a single life or a single dollar; in support of the struggle of the workers for freedom we pledge our all.

3. The mad orgy of death and destruction which is now convulsing unfortunate Europe was caused by the conflict of capitalist interests in the European countries .

In each of these countries the workers were oppressed and exploited. They produced enormous wealth, but the bulk of it was held from them by the owners of the industries. The workers were thus deprived of the means to repurchase the wealth which they themselves had created.

The capitalist class of each country was forced to look for foreign markets to dispose of the accumulated "surplus" wealth. The hage profits made by the capitalists could no longer be profitably reinvested in their own countries, hence they were driven to look for foreign fields of investments The geographical bomdaries of each modern capitalist country this became too narrow for the industrial and conmercial operations of its capitalist class.

The efforts of the capitalists of all leating nations were, therefore, centered upon the domination of the world markets. Impeialism became the dominant note in the polics of Europe. The acquisition of colonial pssessions and the extension of spheres of mercial and political influence became the ject of diplomatic intrigues and the cau constant clashes between nations.

The acute competition between the capital powers of the earth, their jealousies and trust of one another, and the fear of th ing power of the working class, forced of them to arm to the teeth. This led to mad rivalry of armament, which years bere the outbreak of the present war had turne leading countries of Europe into armed c with standing armies of many millions, of and equipped for war in times of "peace."

Capitalism, imperialism and militarism thus laid the foundation of an inevitable eral conflict in Europe. The ghastly w Europe was not caused by an accidental nor by the policy or institutions of any nation. It was the logical outcome of the petitive capitalist system.

The 6,000,000 men of all countries and who have been ruthlessly slain in the thirty months of this war, the millio others who have been crippled and ma the vast treasures of wealth that have been stroyed and the untold misery and suffe of Europe have not been sacrificent struggle for principles or feels,

the ruling class of this country.

When Belgium was invaded the government duty of remaining neutral, thus clearly den servile instruments of public expression.

fic is seriously threatened our government calls upon us to rally to the "defense of democracy and civilization.

Our entrance into the European war was instigated by the predatory capitalists in the United States, who boast of the enormous profit of \$7,000,000,000 from the manufacture and sale of munitions and war supplies and from the exportation of American foodstuffs and other necessaries. They are also deeply interest in the continuance of war and the success of the allied arms through their huge oans to the governments of the allied powers and through their commercial ties. It is the same interests which strive for imperialistic domination of the western hemisphere.

The war of the United States against Germany cannot be justified even on the plea that it is a war in defense of American rights or American "honor." Ruthless as the unrestricted submarine war policy of the German government was and is, it is not an invasion the rights of the American people as such, but only an interference with the opportunity of certain groups of American capitalists to oin cold profits out of the blood and sufferings of our fellow men in the warring countries of Europe.

It is not a war against the militarist regime of the central powers. Militarism can never be abolished by militarism.

It is not a war to advance the cause of democracy in Europe. Democracy can never be mposed upon any country by a foreign power by force of arms.

It is cant and hypocricy to say that the war is not directed against the German people, but against the imperial government of Germany. If we send an armed force to the battlefields of Europe, its cannon will mow down the masses of the German people and not the Imperial German government.

Our entrance into the European conflict at this time will serve only to multiply the horrors of the war, to increase the toll of death and destruction and to prolong the fiendish slaughter. It will bring death, suffering and destitution to the people of the United States and particularly to the working class. It will give the powers of reaction in this country the pretext for an attempt to throttle our rights and to crush our democratic institutions and to fasten upon the country a permanent militar-

The working class of the United States has no quarrel with the working class of Germany of any other country. The American people

rechery of the ruling class of the country through its representatives in the national adinistration and national Congress, its demaenjoined upon the people of this country ti gogic agitators, its subsidized press, and other

onstrating that the "dictates of humanity" We brand the declaration of war by our and the fate of small nations and of dem government as a crime against the people of cratic institutions, were matters that did n the United States and against the nations of

Perpetual Peace Perpetual Battle?

The World Patriots are united fore purpose of promoting Peace and Freedom (at a time when these benefits seem be fast disappearing from the so-called civilized portions of the globe) at homod abroad. They desire to banish all hatred and fear and remove the causes of nanal jealousies and suspicion and to replace injustice, privilege and oppression by bherhood in co-operation.

They believe that as long as peophre willing to kill their fellowmen there can be no end of war. That to kill one pon even in order to save another is wrong—and that no good has ever resulted from use of violence.

They consider American guns moof a menace to our lives and liberties than those of any foreign enemy; for theseuns, by their very presence, are an invitation

Also, these same guns may any d be turned on those who are endeavoring to resist injustices in their daily occupation They realize that war, poverty, me and most diseases are unnecessary, as

there is plenty in the world for everperson to live in luxury and comfort—that these evils are due to the concentration most of the wealth and resources of this (as well as that of other couries) in the hands of a few people who are country (as well as that of other couries) in the name of the population, to keep them thus able to control the lives of a ke majority of the population, to keep them

ignorant of their power of betterment.

They believe, as it has been prove the world tragedy across the sea, that war cannot conquer war nor can militaris be conquered by more militarism and the real issue is permanent liberty or peanent bondage, perpetual peace or perpetual

They deny the privilege of paren to visit their sins on their children and to mortgage the minds, bodies and souls coming generations for the empty title of "National Honor."

They desire to "call the bluff" of one patriots who are endeavoring to enforce conscription for purposes of home dense and at the same time are planning to send thousands of American men awayom home to fight across the seas.

They therefore describes the same time are planning to send thousands of American men awayom home to fight across the seas.

They therefore demand that Amica be kept out of active warfare and the immediate termination of the carnage soss the sea.

They further demand that the with of the country be returned to the people thereof so that all who are willing to ork may live and enjoy and not be forced to kill or starve.

Remember there is enough in the orld (and more) for all people alive today.

Trouble comes because a few peoplewn all that makes for the necessities and comforts of life and allows them to admulate wealth while the masses of the people are wanting and thus obliged to obey use who own the country.

Demand that land be given peoplesiring same, with instruction and care until such land is productive. The World threatened with a shortage of food (resulting from the millions engaged in the works destruction instead of that of production).

Demand mothers' pensions to the done who bring life may be rewarded instead Demand mothers' pensions so that ose who bring life may be rewarded instead of those who extinguish it.

It is in your power, you, who are a people, to force this program.

Easily paid for from t'e people's nomics now in Washington Treasury instead one week's war expenses. of one week's war expenses

Wanted: Sons and 'aughters of living Revolution—a patriotism unconfined by narrow boundary lives, a larger ecception of the words, "Love thy neighbor," which includes the people across the prod as well as those across the street. Remembers there is no compromise in the words, "Thou shalt not kill."

Men and women, will you sign a side in the name of humanity not to kill and help in killing any human beings?

Help conquer war with peace.

Write to your Senator, your Coressman, your President, demanding their practical aid to carry out this program. Act now. Tomorrow may be too late.

I will not kill nor help kill my fell Mrs. J. S. Cram Room 909, 32 Union Square, N. Y. April 11, 1917

In all modern history there has been no war more unjustifiable than the war in which we are about to engage

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

In harmony with these principles, the Socialist party emphatically rejects the proposal that in time of war the workers should suspend their struggle for better conditions. On the contrary, the acute situation created by war calls for an even more vigorous prosecution of the class struggle, and we recommend to the workers and pledge ourselves to the following course of action

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

2. Unyielding opposition to all proposed legislation for military or industrial conscription. Should such conscription be forced upon the people, ve pledge ourselves to continuous efforts 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 noney for the payment of war expenses by taxing the necessaries of life or issuing ponds which will put the burden upon future generations. We demand that the capitalist class, which is responsible for the war, pay its cost. Let those who kindle the fire furnish the fuel.

3. Vigorous resistance to all reactionary measures, such as censorship of press and mails, restriction of the right of free speech. assemblage and organization, or compulsory arbitration and limitation of the right of

4. Consistent propaganda against military training and militaristic teaching in the public

5. Extension of the campaign of education among the workers to organize them into strong, class-conscious and closely unified political and industrial organizations, to enable them, by concerted and harmonious mass action, to shorten this war and to esteplish last-

6. Widespread educational propaganda to enlighten the masses as to the true relation between capitalism and war, and to rouse and organize them for action, not only against present war evils, but for the prevention of future wars and for the destruction of the causes of war.

7. To protect the masses of the American cople from the pressing danger of starvation which the war in Europe has brought upon them, and which the entry of the United States

maximum prices, and whatever may be necessary to prevent the food speculators from holding back the supplies now in

The socialization and democratic management of the great industries concerned with the production, transportation, storage and the marketing of food and other necessaries of

c. The socialization and democratic management of all natural resources which are now held out of use for monopolistic or specu-

These measures are presented as means of protecting the workers against the evil results of the present war. The danger of recurrence of war will exist as long as the capitalist system of industry remains in existence. The end of war will come with the establishment of socialized industry and industrial democracy the world over The Socialist party calls upon all the workers to join it in its struggle to reach this goal and thus bring into the world a new society in which peace, fraternity and human brotherhood will be the dominant ideals.

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

2. We recommend that this convention instruct the National Executive committee to extend and improve the propaganda among women, because they as housewives and as mothers, are now particularly ready to accept

3. We recommend that the convention instruct the National Executive committee to initiate an organized movement of Socialists, organized workers and other anti-war forces for concerted action along the lines of our

The fundamental differences in the spirit and practice of these resolutions will play a great part in the movement for Socialist reconstruction when peace allows the International to function once again.

Notice to Members of Local Kings County, N. Y.

At a meeting of Local Kings County, Socialist Party, it was decided to answer questions No. 50 and 51 of the military census as follows:

Question No. 50: Do you claim exemption from military service? Answer: Yes.

Question No. 51: Why? Answer: I am a conscientious ob-

To a Contemporary Bunk Shooter

By CARL SANDBURG

(From "Chicago Poems")

OU come along ... tearing your I shirt . . . yelling about Jesus.

Where do you get that stuff? What do you know about Jesus?

Jesus had a way of talking soft, and outside of a few bankers and higher-ups among the con men of Jerusalem everybody liked to have that Jesus around because he never made any fake passes, and everything he said went, and he helped the sick and gave the people hope.

You come along squirting words at us. shaking your fist and calling us all damn fools, so fierce the froth slobbers over your lips . . . always blabbing we're all going to hell straight off and you know all about it.

I've read Jesus' words. I know what he said. You don't throw any scare into me. I've got your number. I know how much you know about Jesus.

He never came near clean people or dirty people, but they felt cleaner because he came along. It was your growd of bankers and business men and lawyers, hired sluggers and murderers who put Jesus out of the running.

I say the same bunch backing you hailed the nails into the hands of this Jesus of Nazareth. He had lined up against him the same crooks and strongarm men now lined up with you paying your way. This Jesus was good to look at,

smelled good, listened good. He threw

out something fresh and beautiful from the skin of his body and the touch of his hands wherever he passed along. You slimy bunkshooter, you put a smut on every human blossom in reach

of your rotten breath, belching about hell-fire and hiccuping about this Man who lived a clean life in Galilee. When are you going to quit making the carpenters build emergency hospitals

for women and girls driven crazy with wrecked nerves from your gibberje

Go ahead and bust all the chairs want to. Smash a whole wagon load of furniture at every performance. Turn sixty somersaults and stand on your nutty head. If it wasn't for the way you scare the women and kids I'd feel sorry for you and pass the hat.

I like to watch a good four-flusher work, but not when he starts people puking and calling for the doctors.

I like a man that's got nerve and can pull off a great original performance, but you-you're only a bug-house peddler of second-hand gospel-you're only shoving out a phoney imitation of the goods this Jesus wanted free as air and

You tell people living in shanties Jesus is going to fix it up al! right with them by giving them mansions in the skies after they're dead and the worms have

You tell \$6 a week department store girls all they need is Jesus; you take a steel trust wop, dead without having lived, gray and shrunken at forty years of age, and you tell him to look at Jesus on the cross and he'll be all right.

You tell poor people they don't need any more money on pay day and even if it's fierce to be out of a job, Jesus'll fix that up all right, all right-all they've got to do is take Jesus the way you say.

I'm telling you, Jesus wouldn't stand for the stuff you're handing out. Jesus played it different. The bankers and lawyers of Jerusalem got their sluggers and murderers to go after Jesus just because Jesus wouldn't play their game. He didn't sit in with the big thieves.

I don't want a lot of gab from a bunkshooter in my religion.

I won't take my religion from any man who never works except with his mouth and never cherishes any memory except the face of the woman on the American silver dollar.

I ask you to come through and show me where you're pouring out the blood of your life.

I've been to this suburb of Jerusalem they call Golgotha, where they nailed Him, and I know if the story is straight it was real blood that ran from His hands and the nail-holes, and it was real blood that spurted in red drops where the spear of the Roman soldier rammed in between the ribs of this Jesus of Nazareth.

1 to homes

The Resolution adopted the Emergency Concention of the Party and re-proposed Resolution of the Socialis's opaganda League

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