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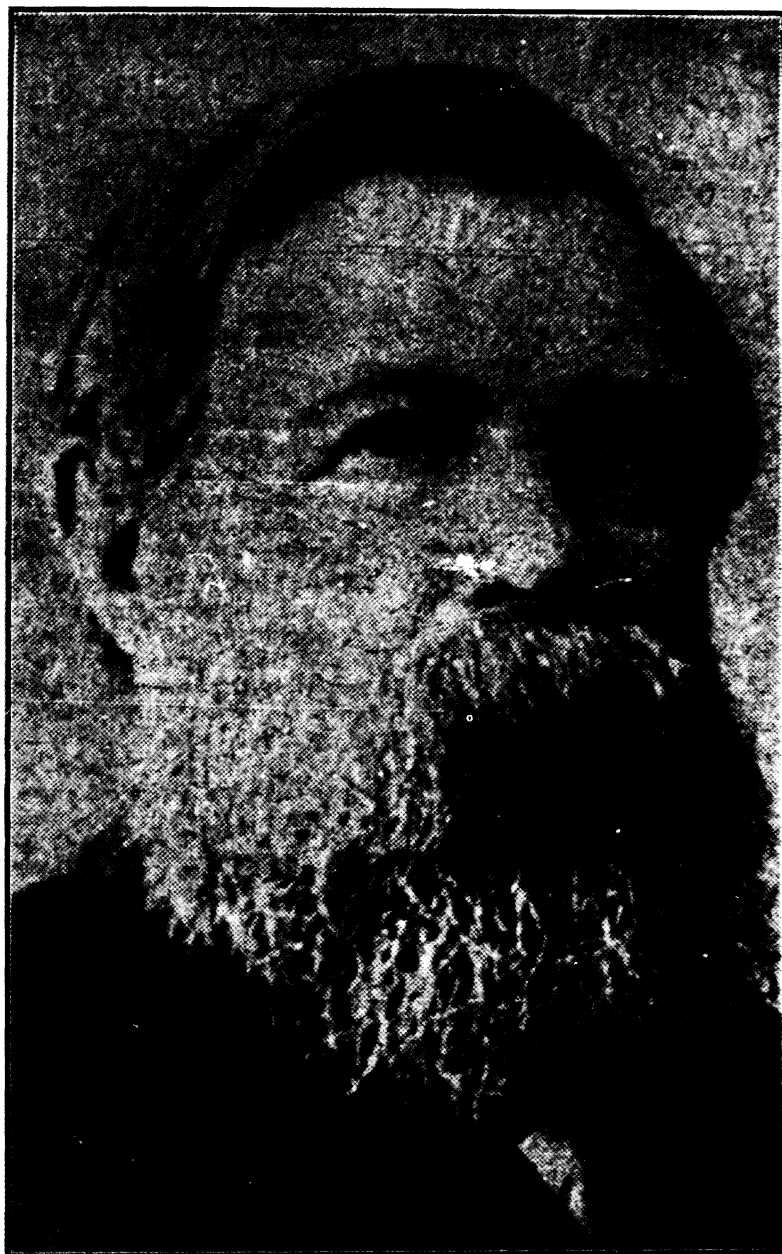
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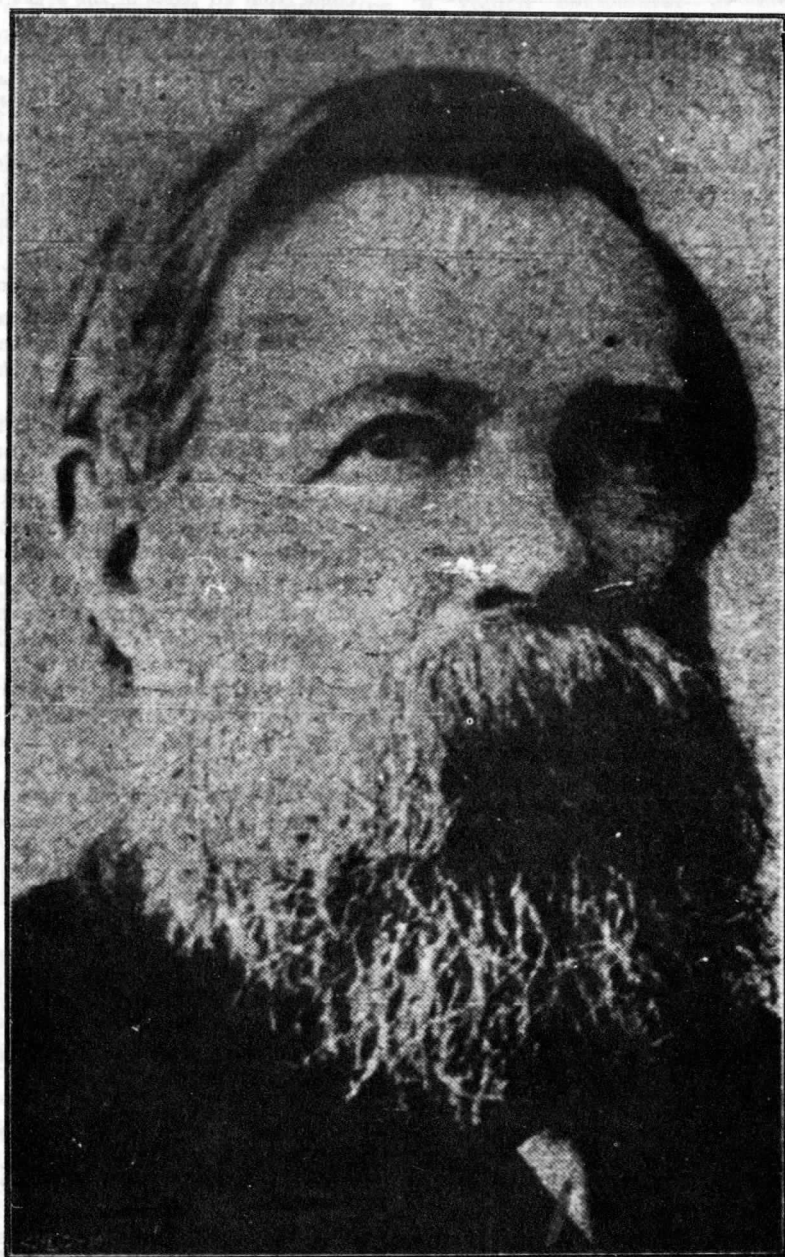
NUMBER 6

FREDERICK ENGELS



Born November 28, 1820; Died August 6, 1895

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THE SOCIALIST WORLD

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AN EXPLANATION

Much of the material that had been prepared for this issue of THE SOCIALIST WORLD had to be omitted because of lack of space. One of the articles thus crowded out was an analysis by Eugene V. Debs of the Socialist vote in the recent election, and its meaning.

Frederick Engels

In this issue of THE SOCIALIST WORLD we print the first portion of a remarkable article by Frederick Engels, centenary of whose birth the whole Socialist world celebrated last month. Engels wrote the article just before his death; indeed, in a certain sense, it is his swan song to the great work he performed in his lifetime.

We are printing the article, not only as a monument to a very great man, but also for its intrinsic value today, in 1920. In reading it, you are cautioned to bear in mind the fact that Engels wrote a quarter of a century ago; that he was dealing, not only with what was the past both to him and to us, but likewise with what was to him the present, but to us is history. That accounts for certain allusions that meant everything to the people in 1895—and that mean nothing in 1920.

Outside of such minor matters, however, the article might be printed as if it were written today by a keen analyst of conditions viewing the Capitalist world; and as such it should be read.

Those Black Atrocities

War is a terrible thing, and all right-minded people are opposed to it. Militarism in some ways is even worse than war, not the least of its evil fruits being the collapse of the ordinary moral standards and decencies.

Militarism unleashes the worst in man; it is an axiom that war and soldiering go hand in hand with sexual immorality. Further, in war time, certain sections of the female population become enamored of the uniform, and readily lend themselves to the immorality that goes with war and militarism.

Now, it happens that under the Versailles treaty, certain portions of Germany are occupied by French soldiery. There are the usual atrocities, the usual immoralities, the usual cases of rape and outrage.

But these are black soldiers, Frenchmen from Algiers and Senegal and Madagascar. Whereat, there is a howl of rage, and magazine after magazine, paper after paper, calls for the removal of the "black brutes."

Doesn't this make your blood boil? Doesn't this make you want to—do something? This is from a current periodical, significant of many.

Through the occupation of a large part of Germany by the aid of black troops whom France designates as "Frenchmen of regular nationality," conditions have been created which are a disgrace to civilization. The most heart-rending accounts come from all parts of the areas occupied by black military, accounts dealing with the robbery and raping of German women and girls.

Surely all white women must shiver on learning of such misdemeanors. Surely all white women must feel horror and disgust at the incredible shame that Negroes are set over white women and girls as a "protection"—set over them by a nation which for decades proudly calls itself the leader of all cultured races!

Rescue us from the Black Peril!
Rescue your white sisters from the brutal hand of the Negro!

Help us in our dire distress!
For the Sake of Your Own Honor!

Of course, it is a disgrace. But would robbery, would sexual violence be pardonable if inflicted by drunken Frenchmen upon struggling German girls?

And once we have begun, there is nowhere that we can stop. The Polish bandit-imperialism incites the Polish workers against the Soviets, because they are Jews, although they are not,—and the result is pogroms in Poland. And next may come bitter assaults upon French, and English and Irish—and where will be the end?

The blood of the normal human being boils, of course, upon reading of such atrocities. But they should be indignant, not at the fact that BLACK MEN are set over white women where they can outrage at will, but at the fact that any men are set over any women and men, to rob and outrage at will.

They should be indignant, not at the fact that Negroes are set to patrol parts of Germany, but that there is militarism anywhere, that requires patrolling by soldiers. They should be indignant at the system that permits the subjugation of any territory by the soldiers of any race or color.

And clean minded people should be indignant at the attempt that is being made to turn the righteous indignation of all decent men and women against atrocities, into race hatred—which is the one thing that the world can best get along without just at this time.

There is not a "Black Peril." There is the peril of militarism, and of the capitalism, of which militarism is the logical fruit. And any one who centers his attack upon the feature of the story that is being emphasized in all these horror-tales is feeding a race prejudice that cannot but lead to more and ever more of the outbreaks that have disgraced America and the world. And that, incidentally, serve to keep the workers in subjection by keeping their minds occupied by non-essential matters.

Race hatred is the best ally of the exploiter. Guard against it!

FREDERICK ENGELS

By William M. Feigenbaum

In the turmoil of world revolution, with old systems cracking and the proletarian movement finding itself everywhere as the heirs of the ages, it is sometimes forgotten that the movement that is now sweeping the whole world is less than three-quarters of a century old. For it was in November, 1847, that two young men, one twenty-seven, the other twenty-nine, received the commission, as a sub-committee of a committee of a political party to draft its political platform, and when that committee read its work a few months later, the world movement was born!

For it can positively be said that until Karl Marx and Frederick Engels read the Manifesto of the Communist League in January, 1848, the vague restlessness of the workers everywhere was—vague restlessness. And from the time of the publication of that little volume, packed full of dynamite, the Socialist movement was definitely on its way.

Socialists have a way of speaking of Marxian Socialism, but as a matter of fact, the Socialism that alone arouses hopes—and fears—is the movement that was launched jointly by Karl Marx and his intimate friend, co-worker and Comrade, when they drew up the glorious Manifesto. And the contributions of Engels to the Socialist and revolutionary movement were fully as great and as valuable as those of Marx.

* * *

Frederick Engels was born just a century ago—on November 28th, 1820, in Barmen, in the Rhenish provinces. His father was a wealthy manufacturer, with heavy interests in England. His plans were to make his son his partner and successor. But as that son grew to manhood, the world was in a state of flux again. The world had not yet quieted down after the volcanic eruption of the French revolutionary period and the Napoleonic age. The Bourbons had been expelled in 1830, the Citizen King installed, and the Bourgeoisie had full sway. But at the same time, the industrial system was growing, and the workers were filled with growing pains.

The agitation of the gifted Weitling was attracting much attention, and the working people were being filled with unconscious class feeling, and a desire for political freedom.

It was no time to bring up a brilliant, high spirited, altruistic young man to be the manager of a cotton factory.

Engels was educated in the "gymnasium" (high school) of Barmen, and served out his military training between his seventeenth and his twenty-first year. In 1842, at the age of twenty-one, his father sent him to Manchester, England, to look after his cotton factories there. While at school, the boy had been more interested in philosophy than in trade. He had consorted with the young intellectual lights in Berlin, "die Freien," and had contributed articles to the *Rhenische Zeitung*. This may have had something to do with his father's determination to send

him abroad.

Engels Meets Owen

But Frederick was more interested in the condition of the workers than in his father's balance sheets. He came into close contact with Feargus O'Connor, and other leaders of Chartism then gathering strength as the beginning of the democratic movement in England. He became a valued contributor to the *Northern Star*, O'Connor's paper. At the same time, he became intimate with the Owenite movement, and with Robert Owen himself. He likewise contributed to the *New Moral World*, Owen's paper. At that time, the Owenites were called "Socialists," the word at that time meaning philanthropic friends of the worthy poor, or something like that. Engels belonged in Owen's class at first, the latter likewise being a wealthy manufacturer. But Engels was not content to be a mere "Socialist."

Possessed of a wonderful mind, the master of at least ten languages, the young man instituted an inquiry into the condition of the workers. The results of the inquiry were made into a book. "The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844," a volume that stands to this day, after three-quarters of a century, as a landmark in economic literature.

In 1843 Karl Marx had gone to Paris, and together with Arnold Ruge, he founded the *Deutsch-Franzoesischer Jahrbuecher* (The German-French Annuals) of which one consecutive number appeared. Engels had already attracted a good deal of attention by his articles and was invited to contribute. He wrote a criticism of Carlyle's "Past and Present," and a review of the state of the science of political economy, two brilliant studies.

Marx and Engels Meet

In 1844, Engels went to Paris, and met Marx. The two men had been interested in each others work, and were interested in comparing notes. They found that they were in complete accord with each other, that they agreed philosophically and politically. Within a short time, they were intimate friends, an intimacy that continued without a break for thirty-nine years, until the dreary March day when Engels stood beside the open grave of his friend and exclaimed, "The greatest mind of the nineteenth century has ceased to think!"

The first result of the collaboration of the two men was "The Holy Family" a fine piece of polemic writing. There were a number of other writings, planned and executed, some of which have never been published. But the stirring events of 1847 put a stop to the speculation of the philosophers.

Wilhelm Weitling had established the "League of the Just," a sort of secret, underground propaganda organization. The word "Socialism" meant something other than its present meaning, and the movement of the workers for emanci-

pation was known as "communism." The "League" became the "Communist League," with branches in many cities. Marx and Engels had been expelled from France by Guizot, and found themselves in Brussels, where they edited a German Socialist paper. It was in November, 1847, that the two men were instructed to draw up the platform of the League, which they did in the immortal Manifesto.

The Manifesto

"The Manifesto," writes Engels, "being our joint production, I consider myself bound to state the fundamental proposition which forms its nucleus, belongs to Marx. That proposition is: that in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained the political and intellectual history of the epoch; that consequently, the whole history of mankind . . . has been a series of class struggles . . . that the history of these struggles forms a series of evolution in which, nowadays, a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class—the bourgeoisie—without, at the same time, once and for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class distinctions and class struggles."

That theory has given the working class of the world its political platform, its inspiration, and its tocsin. And although the theory pervades the Manifesto, it was first written down explicitly in these words by Engels, in the preface of one of the numerous editions of the Manifesto. Engels himself had arrived at it independently as early as 1845.

The Manifesto was proclaimed in February, 1848, but shortly afterwards, the revolutions broke out all over the Continent, "at the crowing of the Gallic cock" as Marx said. Marx went to Paris, and Engels shouldered his musket and marched in South Germany. But the revolutions were abortive, and the two intimates founded the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, whose career, short lived though it was, was brilliant. The editors advocated resistance to Hohenzollern taxes and were tried for high treason for their pains. But they were acquitted—and expelled from Prussia in 1849.

From 1849, Engel's home was in England. He devoted himself to his father's business until 1869, and from that time, to his death in 1895 he devoted himself entirely to the Socialist movement.

The Duehring Episode

In 1875, Dr. Eugen Duehring, instructor in Berlin University, noisily announced his conversion to Socialism. At the same time, he wrote a book explaining that Marx was all wrong, and that the Marxian Socialism that was already a giant political power in Germany, was unscientific; meanwhile he gave the world a brand-new Socialism of his own.

The two wings of the German Socialist move-

ment, the Lassalleans and the Eisenachers, had just united, and the feeling of elation over the union was everywhere manifest. Socialists felt that the period of disunion was over, and that they were going to concentrate all their forces upon the Capitalist enemy, rather than upon each other.

And just at that moment, a number of highly enthusiastic youths became followers of Dr. Duehring, forming a sort of "wing" within the party; "Dr. Duehring," said Engels, "openly proceeded to form around him a sect, the nucleus of a future separate party."

"We Germans," wrote Engels, "are of a terribly ponderous *Gründlichkeit*, radical profundity, or profound radicalism . . . Whenever anyone of us expounds what he considers a new doctrine, he has first to elaborate it into an all-comprising system. He has to prove that both the first principles of logic and the fundamental laws of the universe had existed from all eternity for no other purpose than ultimately to lead to his newly-discovered, crowning theory. And Dr. Duehring, in this respect, was quite up to the national mark. Nothing less than a complete 'System of Political Economy and Socialism;' and 'System of Philosophy,' mental, moral, natural and historical; a complete 'System of Political Economy and Socialism;' and finally, a 'Critical History of Political Economy'—three big volumes in octavo, every extrinsically and intrinsically, three army corps of arguments, mobilized against all previous philosophers and economists in general, and against Marx, in particular—in fact, an attempt at a complete 'Revolution in Science'—all and every possible subject, from the concepts of time and space to bimetallism; from the eternity of matter and motion, to the perishable nature of moral ideas; from Darwin's Natural Selection to the education of youth in a future society."

Engels replies

Engels was in England, of course, but the Socialists in Germany were certain that a reply was necessary. A Duehring cult was on the way; certain party papers greeted his "revisionism" with warmth, and the officials of the party requested Engels to reply, and to dispose of the pretensions of the Herr Professor, Doktor.

Engels did not like the job, but his friends convinced him that the party needs required it. "Anyhow," said Engels, "the systematic comprehensiveness of my opponent gave me the opportunity of developing, in opposition to him and in a more connected form than had previously been done, the views held by Marx and myself on this great variety of subjects. And that was the principal reason that made me undertake this otherwise ungrateful task."

The articles appeared in the German party papers, *Volksblatt*, and *Vorwaerts*, where they attracted the widest attention. They constituted, indeed, what Engels said they were designed to do, that is, make up the first connected exposition of the Socialist theories. First, of course, they riddled the Duehring arguments, and settled once and for all the fact that has been written down by an American, that "the Socialism that

arouses hopes and fears is the Socialism of Marx and Engels, and of the Communist Manifesto."

But more than that, they furnished a text-book of Social Democracy, of the Socialist theories, that were the fundamentals of the giant Socialist movement, then so young and virile. Written profoundly, and with all the great intellectual gifts at Engels' command, nevertheless the work is not all dull and stogy, but rather easily comprehended.

The articles appeared in 1877, and later as a book, "Mr. Eugene Duehring's 'Revolution in Science'." In 1880, Engels combed out the controversial portion of the book, revised the remaining chapters, and made a shorter book of it, printed first in French, and now known the world over as "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific." The English version of the longer work is sometimes known as "Landmarks of Scientific Socialism."

The book, one of the most popular of the shorter discussions of Socialism, has become a classic, second only to the Manifesto itself, and fully as clear and concise. It has been said that any one who reads and grasps these two books understands Socialism fully. In addition to the sound reasoning, Engels displays a humor in the treatment of various portions of the subject surprising in a profound philosopher.

Another of Engel's works is his "Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," a favorite target for the dishonest opponents of Socialism who tear certain portions of the text from context and make believe that they find an assault upon the family and religion. The book is a popularization of Lewis H. Morgan's "Ancient Society."

Engels had amassed a comfortable fortune, and lived on his income from 1869. Marx was not a money maker; indeed, he suffered the severest poverty, but Engels helped him out whenever he would allow him.

Das Kapital

Marx's greatest work, of course, was Das Kapital, the three volumes of which are the foundation of the Socialist movement. But only one volume had been published at the time of his death, in 1883. Engels, who was closer to Marx than any other man, undertook to edit and publish Marx's notes for his other volumes, and finally he did so. The first edition of Volume II appeared in May, 1885, and the first edition of Volume III was printed in October, 1894. In these two later volumes, there is as much of Engels as there is of Marx. Only his almost romantic loyalty to his great friend caused Engels to refrain from mentioning his own great part in the monumental work and to attribute it all to Marx.

But with the publication of Volume III, there was a mass of material still unpublished. Engels felt his end drawing near, and in 1894, he turned

over the notes and manuscripts of Marx to the great Socialist economist, Karl Kautsky, who published them in three additional volumes under the title of "Theories of Surplus Value."

Engels the Man

Engels never married. He lived in Regent's Park Road, London, reading, studying, receiving friends, a sort of Socialist sage; Hyndman, who disliked him intensely, called him "The Grand Llama of Regent's Park Road." There was a dignity about him, a consciousness of the great services he had performed to the Socialist movement that displeased people who felt that the mantle of leadership should have been on their own shoulders.

Engels, like Marx, was intensely interested in the progress of the political Socialist movement. But, like Marx, he was unable to participate in the political movement to any extent. Marx devoted several years to the International Workingmen's Association — the "First" International — and when that organization was destroyed by anarchist treachery, he was compelled to give up all work in politics, except, of course, the keen interest that he naturally felt in the political Socialist movement, and an occasional lecture before some organization. Both men had lost their Prussian citizenship, and never acquired other national allegiance.

Engels was not trammled, as Marx was, with a family to support, nor yet was he poverty stricken, like Marx. But he was a very shy man; short, timid, and execrable speaker. Among his friends he was affable, happy. In public, he was unhappy. A short man, his great beard served to emphasize his lack of stature.

Engels, like Marx, followed the progress of the Socialist movement in all countries, indeed, his last article (printed in another part of this issue of THE SOCIALIST WORLD) was a discussion of political problems of the movement. He attended all International Socialist congresses, but in mortal fear lest he be called upon to make a speech.

The great work, known variously as "Landmarks of Scientific Socialism," as "Anti-Duehring" and as "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific" was written at the request of the party in Germany, and first printed in the party organ.

Engels died of cancer of the throat on August 6th, 1895, honored by the working class the world over. Since that time, a quarter of a century ago, it has become increasingly manifest that he stands with Marx, as an equal and not as a mere assistant, at the highest peak, as one of those who have made the proletarian movement the giant force that it is today. The revolutionary movement of the world is a monument to the great intellect of these two men, and even more than to their intellect, to their devotion to the cause of those who are the heirs of the ages!



MARX AND ENGELS

By Morris Hillquit

The growth of the Socialist movement has been so fast and its current so swift that to the vast majority of the Socialists of today the twin-figures of its theoretical founders and practical organizers stand in the dim background as mere abstractions, mere historical if not mythological characters. Yet it is barely more than thirty-five years since the death of Karl Marx, and only thirty years ago Frederick Engels was still active in the struggles of international Socialism. Marx and Engels are practically men of



Morris Hillquit

our own generation, and it is important for us to know them in the flesh, to know how they lived and fought and suffered and vanquished. For nothing is a better aid to a true and sympathetic understanding of the thought and the work of a creative genius than an intimate knowledge of the man and his life's story.

Such an intimate insight into the inmost beings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels is opened to us by the recent publication of their mutual correspondence. The correspondence extends from September, 1844, when Marx was twenty-six years old and Engels twenty-four, to January, 1883, two months before Marx breathed his last. The number of letters printed is 1,386, and they make interesting, fascinating reading. They are written freely, frankly, carelessly, sometimes even recklessly. They are intimate, heart-to-heart chats of necessity reduced to writing—gossip about persons, things and movements; household affairs and personal matters; thoughts, theories, doubts, plans and aspirations; trivial cares and world-moving ambitions. The letters were obviously written with no thought of their possible publication, and that feature constitutes their greatest worth, for only thus could they fully reveal the souls of their authors. The souls revealed in the letters are great and sublime, but thoroughly human nevertheless.

It is doubtful whether history affords a single other instance of such perfect friendship. Neither of the two men was in the slightest degree sentimental or demonstrative. On the contrary. To judge from all indications they were rather reserved in demeanor and unemotional in outward appearance. Their correspondence opens with the more or less formal address "Dear Marx" and "Dear Engels." It takes Marx seven years of the closest intercourse before we find him unbending to a "Dear Frederick," and several years more before he adopts the more intimate "Dear Fred" style of address; nor is Engels any quicker in adjusting himself to Marx's family-term of endearment; "Moor." But in spite of the total lack of ostentation, or perhaps largely on account of it, their mutual affection is true, abiding, we almost are tempted to say organic. It is not a mere political friendship, nor is it a friendship spring-

ing solely from a similarity of tastes, inclinations or temperament. It is a friendship in which the individuality of each merges in that of the other. The two men are inseparately blended in one new being, made better and stronger for this blending of the traits and qualities of both.

Within the Socialist movement the impression generally prevails that of the two Marx was the greater man; that Marx was the genius and leader while Engels was merely a talented follower, whose glory was largely the reflected glory of his friend and master. The impression is entirely wrong, and is due in no mean degree to Engels himself. For Engels, who survived his friend by twelve years, never allowed an opportunity to escape without attributing to Marx the lion's share of the credit for their joint achievements. The letters prove conclusively that neither of them was intellectually inferior to the other, but that they were both equal and supplementary parts of one organic whole. Beginning with the Communist Manifesto, which was their first important joint work and ending with Engels' Anti-Duchrig, the last important work published by one of them during the life-time of both, neither of the two undertook any work of moment without consulting the other at almost every step. Sometimes one would write a whole chapter for the work of the other, and a great many of the letters sent by Marx to the New York Tribune over his own signature were entirely written by Engels. In a few instances Marx and Engels specialized in different subjects, where each of them would defer to the other, but they were equals in general culture and erudition. If Marx was the profounder thinker, Engels had the more practical mind and the more lucid power of expression. If Marx was the greater genius, Engels was the greater man. What one would have been and done without the other is impossible to surmise. With each other they were Marx and Engels.

When we read the works of the great Socialist theoreticians, especially the unimpassioned, unemotional and classic pages of "Das Kapital," we are apt to imagine that they were written in the serene atmosphere emanating from a calm, scholarly life, remote from petty cares and tribulations. What a different picture is revealed to us in the correspondence between Marx and Engels! We cannot read the letters without being appalled by the misery, the privation and the physical discomforts which the "fathers" of modern Socialism voluntarily imposed upon themselves in order to accomplish their cherished work. Marx came from a well-situated bourgeois family and his wife was a member of the Prussian nobility. Had they maintained their social caste, Marx with his great talents and erudition could easily have assured a comfortable economic position for himself and his family. But he preferred to be a rebel and a social outcast and suffered the pangs of poverty and privation. And what poverty! Stoic as he was Marx rarely recurred



Morris Hillquit

to the subject if his economic misery. But once in a while he cannot restrain himself and there is a plaintive cry of despair. "For a week," he writes in 1852, "I have been in the pleasant position where I cannot go out because all my clothing is pawned and I cannot eat meat because the butcher refuses me credit," and again, "every day I have to run six hours in order to borrow sixpence for food." Quite heart-rending is a letter written at about the same period by Mrs. Marx to Engels, in which she relates how her little boy had by stratagem obtained three loaves of bread from a baker reluctant to deliver them on credit, and how he had run away with the precious booty in fear of having it recaptured.

And Engels? Engels in the meantime served as a clerk in a Manchester cotton house in which his father had an interest. He despised the trade from the bottom of his heart. His young and enthusiastic soul was wrapped up in science and revolution. The counting room caused him daily physical tortures. But he made the choice deliberately and unostentatiously, and there can be no doubt but that he thus sacrificed his life and ambitions to his friend Karl Marx. To Marx went a great, if not the greater part of his earnings; to enable Marx to continue his work and studies Engels deliberately enslaved himself. In 1850 the periodical contributions of Engels to the Marx household are about one pound a week, and as his commercial position and his income grow, so grows his help to his friend, until in 1869, when Engels can afford to retire from business, he settles on Marx an annual income of 350 pounds. The fierce struggles with poverty are now ended. The friends are reunited in London, working together in the Socialist movement, which is at last beginning to assume respectable proportions. They are happy. But they cannot wipe out the two terrible preceding decades in their personal lives. Poverty and destitution have ravished Marx's household. Three of his children have died in their infancy for sheer lack of food and air, his noble-hearted wife has been weakened and dispirited by the unspeakable sufferings, Marx himself is a sick and broken man. Still Marx had all the time lived the life he loved. Engels had passed twenty years in distasteful, degrading drudgery to help Marx. Which of the two has made the greater sacrifice?

What sustained Marx and Engels in the years of hardship and privation was their unshakable faith in the great cause to which they had consecrated their lives, and their strong mutual friendship. Describing the last illness and death of his tenderly-beloved son Edgar, Marx writes to Engels in April, 1855: "In the terrible tortures which I suffered these days I was supported only by the thought of you and your friendship and by the hope that together we may yet accomplish something sensible in this world."

This sublime and abiding faith of the sturdy pioneers of modern Socialism was not based on revolutionary romanticism or on the hope of immediate fulfillment. Marx and Engels fully and clearly realized that the struggle in which they had engaged was a hard and long struggle,

a struggle of generations. They realized that the new proletarian movement for human emancipation called for a fight of unlimited endurance, plodding, knowledge and organization, and they patiently settled down to forge the weapons for that fight. While the international derelicts of the shipwrecked European rising of 1848, congregated in London and Switzerland, were indulging in spectacular but vain attempts to revive the corpse of the defunct political revolution, Marx and Engels were preparing the basis for the slower but surer and more radical social revolution of the working class of the world. They were well equipped with knowledge for their great task and they never rested in their efforts to acquire more knowledge.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were among the best-informed men of their generation, and when, around 1875, the friends were invited by Charles A. Dana to contribute articles on several topics to a certain encyclopedia which he was then editing for a New York publishing house, Engels could well suggest to Marx that they undertake the execution of the whole work. Between them they practically covered the entire range of human knowledge of their time. They always kept abreast of the latest word in political economy, philosophy, history, politics, natural sciences and general literature, and in all these variegated spheres they were not amateurs but masters. Both were hard workers and enthusiastic students to the end of their days. Nothing was too obtuse or uninteresting to them. In the summer of 1864 we find Marx sick with a bad attack of influenza. He complains to his friend of his inability to do real work. To while away his time he has taken up the study of physiology, anatomy of the brain and the nervous system, the cellular theory, "and such like things."

And as an aid to their constant studies they cultivated the knowledge of languages. Both knew all the important and several unimportant European languages to perfection. Their letters are curious proofs of their author's linguistic accomplishments. In their correspondence with each other Marx and Engels unceremoniously mixed languages, using whichever happened to lend itself felicitously to the expression of a given thought or idea. The groundwork of their letters is German, but most of them are copiously interspersed with French and English, with occasional incursions into Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Russian, Latin and even Greek.

And so they labored and learned and taught without rest or intermission, without faltering or misgiving, without hope of reward or care for recognition. To Engels it was given in the decline of his life to witness the unfolding of the great international movement whose aims and methods he and his friend had so well formulated. Marx closed his weary eyes to the light of the day before the movement had attained an appreciable degree of power. But neither of them ever flinched in his faith in the cause or relaxed in his efforts. They were plodding and patient and steady, because their aim was great and because they were intellectual giants.

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CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS

For November, 1920

Omitted from Sept. Report—
A. R. Finke, N. Little Rock Ark. \$ 1.00

A. R. Finke, North Little Rock, Ark. 95

Ballard & Booth lists, per A. R. Finke, North Little Rock, Ark. 10.75

11—1—20.
Scott Nearing, New York City, Collections. 13.09

F. E. Blakeley, Toledo, O. Nearing Collections. 59.50

W. M. Brandt, St. Louis, Mo. Nearing Collections. 40.00

O. G. Van Schoyck, Columbus, O. Nearing Collect. 85.92

L. M. Helleburst, Mohall, N. Dak. 5.00

H. J. Hilliard, Sound View, Conn. 5.00

Walter M. Nelson, Detroit, Mich. 5.00

A. Glen Barry, Manistique, Mich. Sub. List. 3.25

John Kotzman, Staunton, Ill. Sub. List. 19.03

Finnish Socialist Local, Ishpeming, Mich. Sub. List. 32.33

Camillo Fortunato, Philadelphia, Pa. 7.00

Martin Saakro, Northland, Minn. Sub. List. 13.85

P. R. Brinkman, Cedar City, Utah 1.50

John Kotzman, Staunton, Ill. Vol. Assessment. 5.50

George W. Snyder, Columbus, Kans. Vol. Assessm't 7.00

Bohemian Fed., Chicago, Ill. Vol. Assessment. 53.10

11—3—20.
W. R. Snow, 220 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill. O'Hare Collection. 297.10

G. F. Lombard, Princeton Depot, Mass., Vol. Assess. 10.00

Alfred Beggard, Loc. Camden, Audubon, N. J. Vol. Assessment. 10.00

A. R. Moebius, Maramec, Okla. Vol. Assessment. 2.00

J. H. Anderson, Branscomb, Calif. Vol. Assessment. 20.00

R. W. Anderson, Los Angeles, Calif. Vol. Assess. 7.00

C. Brown, Branscomb, Calif. Vol. Assessment. 1.15

S. Presti, Indianapolis, Ind. Vol. Assessment. 2.45

S. Presti, Indianapolis, Ind. 2.00

R. H. Howe, 220 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill. Stedman Collection. 250.00

R. H. Howe, 220 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill. Nearing Collection. 78.90

P. Gershonawitz, Jersey City, N. J. Sub. List. 3.25

A. Baum, Jersey City, N. J. Sub. List. 6.00

I. W. Circle, Br. 38, Newburyport, Mass. 5.00

E. T. Melms, Milwaukee, Wis. Collections. 8.57

Finnish Soc. Fed., 220 S. Ashland Bl., Chicago, Ill. 333.06

11—4—20.
Walter S. McCumber, Buffalo, N. Y. Vol. Assess. 1.00

Boston Finnish, W. A. Allston, Mass. Sub. List. 18.50

C. A. Lowe, Independence, Mo. 5.00

Edwin F. Ludwig, Takoma Park, D. C. 15.00

W. R. Snow, Chicago, Ill. O'Hare Collections. 50.00

11—5—20.
Joseph Triguero, I. A. of M. 119, Newport, R. I. Vol. Assessment. 5.00

Eugene Wood, 7 E. 15th St., N. Y. City. Stedman Coll. 347.00

Samuel W. Ball, New York City. Collections. 26.00

L. A. Arnold, Milwaukee, Wis. Stedman Collections. 8.10

J. R. Stone, United Workers of P. of A. Fort Scott, Kans. 2.00

Louis Mayer, Newport News Va. 11.50

Workmen's Circle, N. Y. City. 13.50

Workmen's Circle, N. Y. City. 31.75

Workmen's Circle, N. Y. City. 44.50

Wm. H. Henry, Indianapolis, Ind. Collections. 70.62

11—6—20.
Charles Stastney, Bedford, Ind. Sub. List. 16.00

F. J. Flint, Elkins, W. Va. 1.00

Cook Co. Chicago, Ill. Kirkpatrick Collection. 80.00

Cook Co. Chicago, Ill. Henry Collection. 74.82

Cook Co. Chicago, Ill. Hazlett Collection. 14.05

Joint Campaign Fund, New London, Conn. 10.00

Robert Brockman, Loc. Edinburg, Ind. 6.50

Robert Brockman, Loc. Edinburg, Ind. Vol. Assess. 1.40

Mrs. Grace Mack, Newport, Ky. Vol. Assessment. 8.00

11—8—20.
R. R. Brownson, Upland, Calif. 25.00

Peter Streiff, Jr., Hillsdale, Oreg. 2.25

A. C. Roegner, Algonac, Mich. 1.00

Lilith Martin, 212 Frost Bl. Los Angeles, Calif. Coll. 221.59

T. F. Brough, Amesbury, Mass. Sub. List. 14.45

Wm. Brown, Galion, Ohio. 5.00

Louis R. Schwaab, Boston, Mass. 10.00

Eugene Wood, 7 E. 15th St., N. Y. City. Stedman Coll. 857.27

W. R. Snow, Chicago, Ill. Collections. 20.00

Finnish Soc. Club, Astoria, Oreg. 8.50

Czechoslovak Workm. Council, Davenport, Ia. Sub. List. 28.00

Jdenka, Rudolph, Tony, Ludwig and Jos. Nechanicky, Chicago, Ill. 5.00

Irwin St. John Tucker, Chicago, Ill., Detroit, Mich. Collections. 60.00

11—9—20.
Adolph L. Schmidt, So. Milwaukee, Wis. Vol. Assess. 10.00

Dan Clifford, Oilfields, Cal. Vol. Assessment. 10.00

Theo. E. Zander, Milwaukee, Wis. Sub. List. 10.00

W. F. Euler, Meadville, Pa. Vol. Assessment. 3.50

11—10—20.
Winnie E. Branstetter, Chicago, Ill. Collections. 22.97

D. E. Crouch, New London, Conn. Vol. Assessment. 5.00

2nd Ward Branch, Milwaukee, Wis. Vol. Assess. 4.50

Walter E. Davis, Whitneysville, Conn. Vol. Assess. 2.00

D. A. McLeod, Victor, Colo. Vol. Assessment. 3.50

11—11—20.
W. E. Roeder, Allentown, Pa. Vol. Assessment. 10.00

M. M. Confer, Marion, Ind. Vol. Assessment. 7.00

Wm. Maarberg, Evansville, Ind. Vol. Assessment. 7.00

Charles W. Shaw, Meriden, Conn. Vol. Assessment. 2.80

Isabel King, San Francisco, Calif. 94.59

11—12—20.
Reuben R. Weir, Jasonville, Ind. Local. 5.00

Debs Campaign Conference, Cleveland, O. 75.75

Unknown Contributor. 1.02

H. F. Kendall, Local B., Central Br. Boston, Mass. April Lists. 19.80

H. F. Kendall, Local B., Central Br. Boston, Mass. August Lists. 4.25

H. F. Kendall, Local B., Central Br. Boston, Mass. Sept. Lists. 2.35

H. F. Kendall, S. Party of Mass., Boston, Mass. Apr. Lists. 4.90

Aaron Miller, Dorchester, Mass. 5.00

W. E. Dixon, Sommerville, Mass. 5.00

Silvanus Roden, Local, Harrisburg, Pa. Vol. Assess. 3.50

W. Radloff, Brooklyn, N.Y. Sub. List. 1.00

Silvanus Roden, Local, Harrisburg, Pa. Sub. List. 13.76

11—13—20.
Frank H. Hall, Rockford, Ill. Vol. Assessment. 7.00

S. Yellen, Local, Cleveland, O. Vol. Assessment.....	85.00	11-17-20. J. H. Josselyn, Jamestown, Calif.50	11-26-20. H. Van Aken, 12th Ward, Jersey City, N. J. Vol. Assessment	7.00
Darlington Hoopes, Norristown, Pa. Vol. Assessment	1.00	Verlon T. Ballinger, Local, Richmond, Ind. Vol. Assessment	2.45	Louis Scharstein, Loc. Newport, Ky. Vol. Assessment	2.50
Mrs. Frank Hilger, Br. No. 1, Superior, Wis. Vol. Assessment	7.00	Sol. Zreitell, Grand Island, Nebr.	5.00	A. W. Pettet, Wichita, Kans. Vol. Assessment70
John Brugoni, Italian Br. Clifton, N. J.	10.00	11-18-20. M. E. Edson, Norfolk, Va.	1.00	A. W. Pettet, Wichita, Kans. Sub. List	5.75
11-15-20. 1st & 2nd Ward Branches, Chicago, Ill. Vol. Assess...	7.00	Workmen's Circle, per J. Baskin, Britain, Conn.	10.00	S. S. Osasto, Hibbing, Minn. Sub. List	5.15
Edward Eschrich, N. Milwaukee, Wis. Vol. Assess.	7.00	11-19-20. R. L. Mallory, Elkhart, Ind. Vol. Assessment	2.45	11-27-20. J. S. Brunskill, Ft. Wayne, Ind. Vol. Assessment.....	7.00
Martin Cook, Rochester, N. Y. O'Hare Collection.....	25.00	South Camden Br. Audubon, N. J.	5.00	M. A. Brinkman, Bellevue, Local, Newport, Ky. Vol. Assessment	7.00
R. Schwemmer, Johnstown, N. Y. Stedman Collections	25.00	W. J. McMillen, Huntingburg, Ind.	3.00	11-29-20. P. Belamarich, Detroit, Mich. Sub. List.....	4.50
T. H. Stone, Richmond, Va. Sub. List	4.25	11-20-20. W. E. Davis, Whitneyville, Conn. Vol. Assessment.....	.50	Local Camden, James Ludlow, Camden, N. J.	2.00
Emma Henry, Indianapolis, Ind. Henry Collections.....	10.00	J. A. Albright, Greensburg, Pa. Vol. Assessment.....	7.00	John P. Muller, New Rochelle, N. Y. Vol. Assess....	3.50
Grant Morris, Youngstown, Ohio	1.00	J. Kroeger, Susanville, Calif. Vol. Assessment	2.00	11-30-20. J. C. Kowalsky, 14th Ward Br. Milwaukee, Wis. Sub. Lists	54.00
W. F. Dietz, Lake Charles, La. Sub. List.....	2.00	O. Olsen, Ridgefield, N. J. Local Stockton, Calif. Sub. List	5.00	Scott Nearing, New York City, Pittsburg, Coll.....	50.03
Fred Giebhausen, Local Passaic Co., N. J.	5.00	C. R. Riddiough, Ogden, Utah. Vol. Assessment....	10.00	Scott Nearing, New York City, Cleveland Meeting....	40.00
R. Howe, Cook Co. Camp Conference, 220 S. Ashland Bl., Chicago, Ill.	300.00	Arthur Rubenstein, Detroit, Mich. Vol. Assessment	10.00	Bohemian Fed., Chicago, Ill. Vol. Assessment	25.50
J. Johnson, Roslyn, Wash. Sub. List	8.00	11-22-20. W. M. Brandt, 940 Chouteau Ave., St. Louis, Mo.	471.90	Finnish Soc. Federation, 220 S. Ashland Bl., Chicago, Ill.	146.10
Alex Ruffing, 7th Ward, Milwaukee, Wis. Sub List....	12.15	Cloak Makers Union, 40 E. 23rd St., N. Y. City.....	450.07	Finnish Soc. Federation, 220 S. Ashland Bl., Chicago, Ill. D. O.	16.22
Walter Froeming, 8th Ward, Milwaukee, Wis. Sub List	6.75	J. Wulf, Manchester, N. H. Sub. List	20.00	Ruth Stewart, Detroit, Mich. Sub. List	13.85
John C. Euler, Erie, Pa. Vol. Assessment.....	7.50	Margaret & George Goebel, Newark, N. J.	5.00	Ruth Stewart, Detroit, Mich. Sub. List	13.88
Arthur Sapp, Hamilton, O. Vol. Assessment	4.90	John B. Jury, Tulsa, Okla. Sub. List	3.00	W. L. Kreighoff, per Ruth Stewart, Detroit, Mich. Sub. List	15.00
B. Greenberg, Devils Lake, N. Dak. Vol. Assessment..	10.00	A. Peterson, Scandinavian Local, No. 16. Two Harbors, Minn. Vol. Assess....	7.00	A Friend	7.25
Norman Estby, Russo, N. Dak. Vol. Assessment....	10.00	I. Paul Taylor, Highland Park, Mich. Tucker Coll....	25.00	Carl Moll, Des Moines, Ia. Vol. Assessment	2.30
Warren A. Carpenter, Loc., Woonsocket, R. I. Vol. Assessment	7.50	11-23-20. Ernest Putman, Portage, Pa. Sub. List	4.50	Ida Crouch Hazlett, New York City. Collect'ons....	22.94
Jas. S. Van Horn, Pottstown Br., Pottstown, Pa. Vol. Assesment	1.50	Theresa Malkiel, 7 E. 15th St., N. Y. City	400.00	(Plus \$1.00 from Sept.)	\$6,425.53
S. A. McKee, New-Castle, Pa. Vol. Assessment.....	10.00	Lester B. Woolever, Local, Yuman, Ariz. Vol. Assess.	2.45	Prev. Acknowledged	\$55,823.42
11-16-20. V. Gravell, New Goshen, Ind. Sub. List	22.50	F. Prihoda, New Bedford, Mass. Vol. Assessment....	5.00	Total to Nov. 30th.....	\$62,247.95
Robert Howe, Cook Co. Campaign Conf., 220 S. Ashland Bl., Chicago, Ill.	250.00	11-24-20. S. Marx, Ashland, Wis.	5.00		
		S. Wallner, W. Milwaukee, Wis. Sub. List	3.75		

THE DETROIT CONVENTION

The next convention of the Socialist Party will be held in Detroit, Mich., some time between May 15th and June 26th, 1921, the date to be fixed later. This was decided by the National Executive Committee at its recent meeting in Chicago.

The matters to be discussed at the convention, however, will be decided by the party membership, not by the committee. Under the newly adopted portions of the Party's Constitution (Article VIII, Sec. 12) the agenda of the convention (that is, the items to be discussed) is to be formulated by the National Executive Committee, acting as an Agenda Committee.

The locals and branches of the party have the right (and the duty) to vote upon the matters they desire to have discussed at the convention. Their vote merely brings the matter up; it does not commit the branch one way or another. The National Office receives the items for one month; the special Agenda Subcommittee of the N. E. C., consisting of George E. Roewer, Jr., Otto Branstetter and Edmund T. Melms, will then go over the items and revise the list to the extent of eliminating duplications and combining motions that can best be made into one.

The revised Agenda will then be re-submitted

to the organization, and for another month, locals and branches will have the opportunity of moving amendments, or new motions. The N. E. C. will then make up the final convention agenda from the reports and recommendations of the branches and locals.

This innovation in conducting convention is of the greatest importance. It is believed that by discussing important items in this way, the convention will come closer to the membership than ever before.

Sub-divisions of the party are therefore urged

to vote at once on the items they would like to see discussed. Do you want a discussion on the effects of Prohibition? On anti-strike legislation? On Esperanto? On the Third (Communist) International? So long as the matter is considered of serious importance by a sub-division of the party, all that has to be done is to pass a motion (which doesn't commit the Branch to anything except a desire to see the discussion) and to send it on to 220 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago. That's all.

Do it now!

A PLEA TO EACH PARTY MEMBER

By Eugene V. Debs

My Dear Comrades:

You have always responded to every appeal I have ever made to you. You have done more than that. You have been kind and devoted to me personally, and as a party you have trusted and honored me in every possible way, and I



Eugene V. Debs

have searched my soul times without number for whatever trace of unfitness or unworthiness there may be for such extraordinary confidence and affection, covering so wide a range of years. It is more precious to me than the blood that flows in my veins. I would not for my life betray it in any way, in the least degree, for a single instant.

I love the Socialist Party and I love you comrades who I love the Socialist Party and I love you comrades who

compose it with all my heart. We touch elbows and we face the front together even when a thousand miles apart.

We may be separated but we are never divided. Our hearts throb as one in the steady forward march of the revolution which is sweeping the world!

Comrades, when I make a plea to you it is for the cause we love, the cause in which we are enlisted for life, and to which we owe all we have to the last red drop in our bodies. Sitting at my barred prison window on this Thanksgiving Day, through which the sun shines for me here as it does for you there, symbolic of the light and liberty and love which glow in the beautiful ideals of our cause, I plead with you to remove the millstone from our party's neck and set it free.

The great organized Labor Giant is fettered with debt, the legacy of the war!

That debt must be removed or the Giant is

but a Pigmy!

The present debt of the party is approximately \$10,000.00.

This burden which binds our Giant in utter helplessness must be removed.

It must be done and not only done but at once.

I want to see, comrades, if we can't clean up and start free and without a handicap on the first of the year.

Thirty days is ample time. Let the work begin right now!

Not only must the debt, which gnaws like a cancer, be removed but we must put some surplus money in the treasury so that we can turn a hundred organizers loose in the rotten ripe field that spreads out all over the continent.

Almost every comrade can put up a dollar. Some can spare five, others ten, and a few still more.

When this comes under your eye, if it fits you, send a dollar or more to the National Office. If the fit is perfect, circulate a petition and collect all you can and turn that in. If your local has any money to spare it could be used to no better purpose.

THE COMING YEAR WE MUST BE ORGANIZED!

We were not organized this year or the election returns would have told a different story.

In 1922 we can elect a hundred congressmen and break into the United States Senate IF WE ARE ORGANIZED.

THE FIRST THING WE HAVE GOT TO DO IS TO WIPE OUT THE WAR DEBT AND FILL UP THE TREASURY.

Are you with us as well as of us? Now is your chance to show it, and I pray it may be unanimous and that within thirty days the force at the National Office will be swamped with a flood of dollars eager to serve in freeing the Labor Giant that he may stand erect and have his full measure of strength with which to batter down the rotten system of capitalism and set forever free the Workers and all Mankind!

Eugene V. Debs



Eugene. V. Debs

The Socialist Party and the Communist International

At the last meeting of the National Executive Committee held in Atlanta, the Committee issued a statement regarding the position of the Socialist Party of the United States towards the Communist International. The Committee is glad to note that, except for a few criticisms received, this statement apparently has the approval of the membership.

However, even these few criticisms should not be ignored. They come from the Executive Committee of the Bohemian and Finnish Federations and the State Executive Committee of Illinois and one Indiana local.

The Socialist Party is committed to the support of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. It has unreservedly supported it in its activities and has protested time and again against the inhuman blockade. The Socialist Party rejoices in the fact that the Soviet power has defeated counter-revolutionary intrigues and has hurled back all the armies subsidized by the imperialist powers.

While maintaining this attitude towards the Soviet Government, the party is at the same time confronted with the duty of uniting with class conscious Socialists of the world in an international. The history of the Party's attempt to assist in unifying the Socialist forces of the world was given in the Atlanta statement.

It is objected that the Majority Report in the last referendum providing for affiliation with reservations was adopted by a small majority and that only ten per cent of the membership voted. This is true. But the same thing is true of the Minority resolution adopted last year following the Chicago Convention. Out of a membership of 31,728, less than 4,300 members voted. Yet despite this small vote, the National Executive Committee forwarded the resolution to the Communist International with an application for affiliation.

Now by a similarly small vote of the membership the Committee is instructed to "participate in movements looking to the union of all true Socialists into one International." It is charged by the Executive Committee of the Finnish Federation that we act in "direct defiance against a respectful minority." We maintain that we obeyed the mandate of the membership in both instances.

Our decision to send a delegate to Berne was in accord with the last referendum of the mem-

bership. This delegate was to attend the Conference in a "consultative capacity." The purpose of the Conference was stated in the call as follows: "the Socialist Party of Switzerland invites all those parties which have left the Second International and who desire to establish an International, in conjunction with those parties included in the Communist International, to send one or two delegates to a conference to be held in Berne on November 27th and 28th, 1920."

The call further states:

"We deem it necessary to declare that we have no intention of creating an organization in opposition to the Communist International. On the contrary, we would like to be able to put a barrier to divisions threatening the whole European Socialist movement, and to bring international unity of all true Socialist parties."

It is further charged that any reply or criticism made in answer to bitter attacks hurled at the Socialist Party of the United States by the Communist International is equivalent to attacking the Soviet Government of Russia. This we unqualifiedly deny.

In offering criticism of the conditions of affiliation laid down by the Communist International we are guided by the effect of such conditions upon the American movement.

We concede to the Russian comrades the right to formulate their own internal policies without interference from any other section of the working class movement of the world. What we concede to them we claim for ourselves. Every resolution adopted by our party implies or claims this right for the American movement.

While we hail the Russian Revolution as the one victory for the working class in a bloody struggle of six years, we contend that the American working class battling with American capitalism, knowing its economic basis, its evolution, its present problems, and the ripeness of the working class for its historical mission is alone capable of charting its course.

Finally, for the information of the membership, we submit herewith the twenty-one points of the Communist International.

(Signed) National Executive Committee.

(Note: The conditions of affiliation laid down by the Moscow International have already been printed in THE SOCIALIST WORLD.

RESOLUTION ON ANTI-SEMITISM

The exploiting class has found no better method for keeping the workers in subjection than by dividing them along religious, race and color lines. The stimulation of race hatred is the best and most effective means of keeping the workers suspicious and hostile towards each other. The deliberately stimulated race hatred against the

Negroes in the South, the emphasizing of racial and religious differences in other sections of the country is one of the means by which the industrial masters of America prevent the unity of the working people which is necessary before they can achieve their emancipation.

For centuries the tyrants of Europe have cre-

ated hatred and suspicion against the Jews by causing suspicions and false information to be spread broadcast, and have deliberately encouraged a vast anti-Semitic sentiment which has resulted in the murder of thousands of Jewish workers and the continued subjection of millions of non-Jewish workers kept in subjection by the belief that the Jew, rather than the capitalist system, is their enemy.

This is the explanation of the ghastly massacres and persecution of the Jews that is going on today in Poland, in the Ukraine, in Roumania and other parts of Europe. The government of the United States has been a partner in these crimes by reason of the aid that has been furnished the reactionary government of Poland, the Czarist adventurer, Wrangel, and others who have been the foremost agencies in this policy of Jewish persecution.

The liberal capitalist press of America often denounces this vicious policy and even drops a tear upon the graves of the murdered Jews. Nevertheless, they wholeheartedly support our own and foreign governments whose policies are the cause of these persecutions. The Jewish bankers and business men of the United States protest against the persecution of their co-religionists, but at the same time are warm adherents of that policy and that system which makes the massacres and persecutions inevitable.

The Socialist Party of the United States, through

its National Executive Committee, denounces and protests against the Jewish pogroms and massacres in Europe and demands that the government of the United States immediately cease giving material aid or moral support to the governments which have tolerated the elements which have instigated these wholesale murders of innocent and defenseless workers.

This policy, meaning just what it has meant in Europe, has now been imported into America. The systematic campaign of misrepresentation that is being waged, and the kindergarten story of the mythical Jewish plot to capture the world, are part of a well financed campaign to sow suspicion and breed dissension between the Jew and the Gentile workers in order to take their minds from their own problems and direct them towards hatred of men and women of other blood.

The Socialist Party of the United States, through its National Executive Committee, denounces this campaign as one of the most sinister influences that can enter our National Life. We call upon the working class of America in their own interests to ignore this campaign of hatred and slander, to resist the attempt to divide them on racial or religious issues. We call upon them to unite with all their fellow workers of whatever race, creed or color, to the end that industrial oppression may be ended and the world be made free for men and women of all races and of all nations.

THE WORLD OF BOOKS

By The Editor

The Scars of War

Before the war, the Socialist world will remember, two rising young novelists bade fair to set the Hudson on fire with their Socialist novels;—who does not remember Comrade Yetta and The Harbor?

Arthur Bullard, writing under the pen name of Albert Edwards, took the great shirt waist strike of 1909 and 1910, and the desperate struggle of the New York Comrades in establishing the New York Call, and made a remarkable novel out of the incidents. Comrade Yetta was an epic of the ante-bellum Socialist movement.

A couple of years later, Ernest Poole, who had given much of his time and extraordinary talents to the Call, wrote The Harbor, which this reviewer remembers having reviewed in the Call five years ago, calling the book a picture of Capitalism.

But the war came to America, and both men hitched their typewriters to the Committee on Public Information. Both men went to Russia and wrote books about what they saw. They served the administration well—and now that the war is over, they seem to be rubbing their eyes and wondering what it was all about.

At least, that is the impression one gets from Poole's new novel, "Blind" (Macmillan) and Bullard's recent "The Stranger" (Macmillan).

Ernest Poole is one of the most promising

writers of today. In a sense, he can be called the novelist laureate of New York; The Harbor and His Family write down the great city with a sureness of touch and a fidelity to what New York really is, that is noteworthy. His Socialist faith made The Harbor even greater than merely a novel. Now he finds himself scarred by the war. He resigned from the Socialist party in 1916 in order to be free to vote for Wilson, that we might be "kept out of war". Then he threw his great talents into the war because he believed in it. But was his faith betrayed?

That is what Larry Hart wonders in "Blind". It is a great book; as sure, as true as "The Harbor" in its picture of New York. Then comes The War. What does it mean? First as a war correspondent in Germany and in Revolutionary Russia; then at war, Larry—and Poole—wonder. And so do many people who go gaily and blithely assumed that what the President and the Liberty Loan orators said about Democracy and the Last War was true.

The so-called "intellectuals", who swallowed middle class liberalism, were scarred; so was the world. Only the frank Tories, and the Socialists have no feeling of bitterness and wonderment at what has befallen.

Bullard's Stranger is a sort of exotic novel. A typical "Grinnage Willitch" group of people

have as an intimate chum a brilliant young girl; and the *The Stranger* comes and takes her away. Bullard has traveled much on the Barbary Coast—the real one in Africa, not San Francisco's—and he has met with strange people. The word "exotic" comes to the mind, and although most people don't know just what it means, it seems to describe what Bullard has seen. And *The Stranger* is exotic.

It is a yarn, and a good one. And it seems to at least one reader of books that Bullard is coming back to his former idealism, after the emotional blood-bath of the war.

Clement Wood, one of the best of America's poets, never lost his head to the war fever. His first considerable novel, "Mountain" (E. P. Dutton) is not so much a war novel, as a picture of the class struggle. "Mountain" is located in Alabama; undoubtedly Wood's native Birmingham, and there we see the miners break out into a strike the story of which is a masterly piece of labor reporting.

But the war is there, too. The hero of the book, the Socialist son of the local magnate, fights with the strikers against his own father's interests. And when the strike is over, beaten by brute force and treachery (and Wood is not romancing here; he knows whereof he speaks) the hero seeks other pastures and the war is troubling him. Will it bring Socialism to the world? Should the Socialists support it? And so the hero leaves us.

But Socialism isn't all there is to the book. Clement Wood knows the South and its Negroes and its problems. And the romance of the book is lurid enough to suit any taste.

Many noted critics and literary people have warmly praised "Woman" by Magdeleine Marx (Thomas Seltzer, New York; translated by Adele Szold Seltzer). Maybe it is a great book. But it appears to this reviewer that calling a cow's tail a leg doesn't make it a leg; that living a life of sex immorality, and justifying oneself by highfalutin philosophy doesn't make it anything but—sex immorality. And to describe such a life in excellent literary style, in a well bound book, well translated and well recommended, doesn't make it different in effect than a smut story. It is "radical" of course, to be "free" of all trammels. But the adulterer, the faithless wife, the conscious home-breaker is "free" without inventing a "radical" philosophy to justify himself. He does what he wants, or what he can, and gets away with it if he can. To me there is something contemptible in this attempt to make looseness and faithlessness appear "radical", and therefore worthy of serious consideration.

The Freeman Pamphlets

B. W. Huebsch, a liberal publisher of New York, has been publishing the *Freeman*, an interesting radical weekly. Now, he is getting out a series of pamphlets, the "Freeman pamphlets," as a protest against the high cost of bound books. His first (and thus far, his best) pamphlet is "Socialism on Trial," Morris Hillquit's great closing address at the Albany "trial" last March. The speech, delivered under distressing circumstances by a man who was just out of

a sick bed, will become a historical document; and Socialists will be proud that their cause was presented at that moment by a man like Morris Hillquit, and as ably and brilliantly.

LIBERAL PUBLISHERS

The thought of the world is made by books. Books are the meat and drink of thinkers, and they are the stuff of which life—and progress—are made.

It is a complicated undertaking, however, to make a book and to market it. It takes a business man, a literary man, a mechanic, a practical printer, a salesman, all rolled into one, to make a successful publisher. Most publishers will not undertake to print books unless they can see their way clear to a profit. And there are ten people who will read a popular novel, to one who has time for a serious discussion of important problems.

That is why it happens only occasionally that one of the "big" publishers gets out a serious work that contributes to intellectual progress. In general there isn't any prejudice against it; it simply "doesn't pay". Only an occasional Jack London or Upton Sinclair or Clement Wood writes radical stuff so well that the business men of the commercial publishers are willing to take a chance with it as a business proposition.

A recent development in the literary world, therefore, has been the growth of the "radical publisher", or the "liberal publisher", who is interested in the progress of ideas as well as in the sales of books. Such publishers have published "The Economic Consequences of the Peace", "The Brass Check", "Woman", "The Meaning of Socialism", and many others of the most noted and important works of the past year or two, books that would never have been seen the light had the first consideration been a big sale and a profit.

THE SOCIALIST WORLD will begin, in its January issue, a series of short accounts of these publishers, showing what they are doing for radical and Socialist thought, by subordinating the profit motive to the service motive. There will be an account, first of all, of the work done by the Socialist party itself, and the Rand School; following will be accounts of other "liberal publishers".

These will in no sense be advertisements, but will be informative articles of general interest to the Socialist readers.

RESOLUTION ON IRELAND

The Socialist Party of the United States, in common with the Socialist Parties of the world, protests against the bloody regime in Ireland. The savage repression indulged in by the Lloyd George government in Ireland, in the face of a great popular vote in favor of Irish independence, is a cynical commentary on the ethical pretensions of the ruling classes of England.

We call upon the Government of the United States to use its efforts toward preventing a continuation of the existing outrages now being committed upon the Irish people and officially recognize the Irish Republic.

AFTER FIFTY YEARS

By Frederick Engels

As the February revolution of 1848 broke out we were all, as regards our views of the conditions and course of revolutionary movements, under the influence of previous historical experience, especially that of France. It was just this latter which had controlled all European history since 1698, and from which once more the signal for a general upheaval had gone out. Hence it was natural and inevitable that our ideas of the nature and course of the "social" revolution proclaimed at Paris in February, 1848, the revolution of the proletariat, were strongly colored by recollections of the prototypes of 1789 to 1830.

And particularly as the Paris revolt found its echo in the victorious uprisings at Vienna, Milan, Berlin; as all Europe up to the Russian border was swept into the movement; as then in June at Paris the first great battle for supremacy was fought between proletariat and bourgeoisie; as even the victory of their own class so convulsed the bourgeoisie of all countries that they flew back again into the arms of the monarchic-feudal reactionists whom they had just overthrown; under all these circumstances there could be no doubt in our minds that the great decisive conflict had begun, and that it would have to be fought in a single long revolutionary period with varying success, but that it could only end in the final victory of the proletariat.

The New Struggle

After the defeats of 1849 we did not by any means share in the illusions of the pseudo-democracy which was grouped around the outskirts of the provisional governments. This was counting on an early, once for all, decisive victory of the "people" over the "oppressors;" we were counting on a long struggle after the removal of the oppressors, a struggle between the antagonistic elements hidden in this very "people" itself.

The pseudo-democracy was expecting from day to day a renewed outbreak; we declared as early as in the autumn of 1850 that at least the first chapter of the revolutionary period was closed, and that nothing more was to be expected until the outbreak of a new economic world crisis. And for this very reason, too, we were excommunicated as traitors to the revolution by the very same people who afterwards almost without exception made their peace with Bismarck—so far as Bismarck found them worth having.

But history has shown that we, too, were wrong, and has exposed our opinion at that time as an illusion; it has done more; it has not only demolished our error, it has totally recast the conditions under which the proletariat has to fight. The 1848 method of warfare is today antiquated in every particular, and that is a point which at this opportunity deserves to be closely examined.

Revolutions of the Past

All previous revolutions resulted in the displacement of one class of government by another. All previous ruling classes were, however, only

small minorities compared with the subject mass of the common people. A ruling minority was overthrown, in its stead another minority seized the helm of state, and remodelled the political institutions according to its own interests.

In every case the new minority group was one which the progress of economic development had trained for and called for rulership, and for that very reason and only for that reason it happened that at the time of the revolution the subject majority either took sides with it or at any rate acquiesced in it. But ignoring the concrete details of each particular case, the common form of all these revolutions was this, that they were minority revolutions. Even when the majority assisted it was, consciously or unconsciously, only working in the interest of a minority. This fact, or even the passive non-resistance of the majority, gave to the minority the appearance of being the representative of the whole people.

After the first great victory of the successful minority, as a rule it became divided; half was satisfied with what was already won, the other half wished to go farther yet, and made new demands, which at least in part were in the real or apparent interest of the great mass of the people.

These more radical demands were in particular instances carried through, but for the most part only temporarily; the more moderate party again got the upper hand, the latest gains were wholly or partly lost again. The "radicals" then raised the cry of "treason," or attributed their defeat to accident. In fact, however, matters stood about so:—the results of the first victory were made secure only by another victory over the more radical party. This done, and thereby the immediate demands of the moderates being attained, the "radicals" and their following disappeared again from the stage.

All the revolutions of modern times, beginning with the great English revolution of the seventeenth century, showed these features, which seemed inseparable from every revolutionary struggle. They appeared to be also applicable to the struggles of the proletariat for his emancipation; all the more applicable as in 1842 the few people could be counted who understood even in a general way the direction in which this emancipation was to be sought. The proletarian masses themselves, even in Paris after the victory, were still absolutely in the dark as to the course to pursue. And yet the movement was there, instinctive, spontaneous, irrepressible.

In 1842

Was not that exactly the condition in which a revolution was bound to succeed, though led, it is true, by a minority, but this time not in the interest of the minority but in the truest interest of the majority? If in all the more prolonged revolutionary periods the great masses of the people had been so easily won over by the merely plausible inducements of ambitious minorities,

how could they be less accessible to ideas which were the purest reflex of their economic situation, which were nothing else but the clear, intelligent expression of their own wants, wants as yet not understood by themselves and only indistinctly felt? It is true this revolutionary temper of the masses had nearly always, and generally very soon, given way to lassitude or even to a reaction into the opposite attitude, as soon as the illusion had vanished and undeception had taken place.

Here, however, it was not a question of promoting the most vital interests of the great majority itself—interests which, it is true, at that time were by no means clearly seen by the great majority, but which in the course of practical enforcement were bound soon enough to become clear to it by the convincing force of experience. And now when in the spring of 1850 the development of the bourgeois republic which arose out of the "social revolution" of 1848 had concentrated all actual power in the hands of the great bourgeoisie, and this having monarchical inclinations, too; and when on the other hand this same development had grouped all other classes of society, both peasants and small-bourgeoisie, around the proletariat in such a way and after the joint victory the controlling factor would be, not those others, but the proletariat itself, grown sharp-witted through experience—was there not every prospect at hand for turning a minority revolution into a majority revolution?

History has shown that we, and all who thought like us, were wrong. It has made it plain that the condition of economic development on the Continent at that time was not yet ripe enough by far for the abolition of capitalist production; it has proved this by the economic revolution which since 1848 has transformed the whole Continent and has for the first time effectively naturalized large-scale industry in France, Austria, Hungary, Poland, and, more recently, in Russia, while out of Germany it has actually made an industrial State of the first rank—all on a capitalist basis, which system therefore in 1848 was still capable of great expansion.

Moreover, it is just this industrial revolution which first brought about clearness everywhere in class relations; which shoved aside a lot of middle men who had come down from the early manufacturing period and in Eastern Europe even from the guild system; which created a genuine bourgeoisie and a genuine factory proletariat and pushed them to the front place in the social development. Thereby, however, the struggle of these two named great classes, a struggle which in 1848 existed outside of England; only in Paris, and at most in some few great industrial centers, has spread for the first time all over Europe and reached an intensity which in 1848 was inconceivable.

Then and Now

Then there were many confused sectarian gospels with their different panaceas; today the single, transparently clear and universally recognized theory of Marx, which sharply formulates the ultimate aims of the struggle; then, massed

separated, and differentiated by locality and nationality, bound together only by a feeling of common suffering, undeveloped, tossed helplessly back and forth between enthusiasm and despair; today one great international army of Socialists, unceasingly advancing, daily growing in numbers, organization, discipline, intelligence and certainty of victory. If even this mighty army of the proletariat has not yet attained its object, if far from wresting victory at one grand stroke, it has to press slowly forward from one position to another in a hard, tenacious struggle, this proves once for all how impossible it was in 1848 to effect the transformation of society by a mere sudden onslaught.

A bourgeoisie, split into two dynastic monarchical factions, but which demanded before everything else peace and security for its financial transformations; confronting it a proletariat, conquered but still threatening, and around which the small tradesmen and peasants were grouping themselves more and more; the constant threatening of a violent outbreak, which after all offered no prospect of a final solution—that was the situation, fitted as if made to order, for the forcible usurpation of the pseudo-democratic pretender, Louis Bonaparte, yclept the Third. On December 2, 1851, with the aid of the army, he put an end to the strained situation, and secured internal peace for Europe in order to beautify it with new wars. The period of revolutions from the bottom up was for the time being closed; there followed a period of revolution from the top down.

The Two Napoleons

The setback of 1851 towards Imperialism gave new proof of the unripeness of the proletarian aspirations of that time. But it was itself destined to create the conditions under which they must ripen. Internal peace secured the full development of the new industrial life; the necessity of keeping the army busy and of turning the revolutionary activities away from the home engendered wars in which Bonaparte, under the pretense of giving effect to the "nationality principle," sought to rake up annexations to France. His imitator, Bismarck, adopted the same policy for Prussia; he played his political grab-game, his revolution from the top, in 1866 against the German confederation and Austria, and not less against the recalcitrant Chamber of Deputies in Prussia. But Europe was too small for two Bonapartes, and so the irony of history would have it that Bismarck should overthrow Bonaparte and that King William should restore not only the small German empire, but also the French Republic.

The general result, however, was this, that in Europe the autonomy and inner unity of the large nations, with the exception of Poland, had become a reality; true, it was only within relatively modest limits, but yet far enough so that the developing process of the working class was no longer materially hindered by national complications. The gravediggers of the revolution of 1848 had become executors of its will; and beside them arose the proletariat, the heir of 1848, already threatening, in the new International.

After the war of 1870-1871, Bonaparte disappears from the stage and Bismarck's mission is completed, so that he can now subside again to the level of an ordinary country squire. But the closing act of this period is formed by the Paris Commune. A treacherous attempt by Thiers to steal the cannons of the Paris National Guard called forth a successful revolt.

It was again demonstrated that in Paris no other revolution is possible any more, except a proletarian one. After the victory the leadership fell uncontested into the lap of the working class, just as a matter of course. And again it was shown how impossible it was even then, twenty years after the former effort, for the leadership of the working class to be successful. On one hand France left Paris in the lurch and stood by looking on while it was bleeding under the bullets of MacMahon; on the other hand the Commune wasted its strength in a barren quarrel of the two disagreeing factions, the Blanquists who formed the majority, and the Proudhonists, who formed the minority, neither of which knew what to do. The victory of 1871, which came as a gift, proved just as barren as the forcible overthrow of 1848.

The Wars of the Future

With the fall of the Paris Commune it was thought that the militant proletariat was everlastingly buried past resurrection. But quite to the contrary, its most vigorous growth dates from the Commune and the Franco-Prussian war. The complete transformation of the whole military system by bringing the entire able-bodied population into the armies, now running into millions, and by the introduction of firearms, cannon and explosives of hitherto unheard-of power, put a sudden end to the Napoleonic war era, and assured a peaceful industrial development by making impossible any war other than a world-war of unprecedented gruesomeness and of absolutely incalculable consequences.

On the other hand, the increase of the army budget in a geometrical progression forced the taxes up to an uncollectable point, and thereby drove the poorer classes into the arms of Socialism. The annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, which was the immediate cause of the mad competition in preparations for war, might goad the French and German bourgeoisie into chauvinism towards each other, but for the workingmen of both countries it was only a new bond of unity. And the anniversary of the Paris Commune became the first general holiday of the entire proletariat.

The war of 1870-1871 and the overthrow of the Commune had, as Marx foretold, shifted the center of gravity of the European labor movement from France to Germany. In France it took, of course, years to recover from the blood-letting of May, 1871. In Germany, on the contrary, where industry was developing faster and faster, forced on in hothouse fashion by the providential milliards from France, the Social Democracy was growing faster and yet more enduring.

The Growth of Social Democracy

Thanks to the intelligence with which the German workingmen made use of the universal suffrage, introduced in 1866, the astounding growth of the party is revealed to all in incontestable figures. In 1871, 102,000 Social Democratic votes; in 1874, 352,000; in 1877, 493,000. Then came the high official recognition of the gains in the shape of the anti-Socialist law. The party was for a moment demoralized; the number of votes in 1881 fell to 312,000. But the relapse was soon overcome, and then under the pressure of the anti-Socialist law, and without a Press, without a recognized organization, without the right of association or of assembly, the growth began to increase more rapidly than ever. In 1884, 550,000; in 1887, 763,000; in 1890, 1,427,000. Then the hand of the state was palsied. The anti-Socialist law disappeared; the number of Socialist votes rose to 1,787,000, over a quarter of the total votes cast.

The government and the ruling classes had exhausted all their expedients; they were useless, aimless, resultless. The tangible proofs of their impotence which the authorities, from the night watchman to the imperial chancellor, got shoved under their noses, and that, too, from the despised working men, were numbered by the millions. The State had got to the end of its Latin, the working men were only at the beginning of theirs.

(To be continued in next issue)

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