WAR

"Make An End Of War"
by Walter Thomas Mills, M. A.

"Big Business And War"
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Make an End of War

By
Walter Thomas Mills, M. A.
PREPARE FOR PEACE

“In time of peace, prepare for war.” These are old words. This advice has always prevailed.

During the last forty years, all of the great nations of the earth have been preparing for war. The preparation has been made everywhere in order to avoid war. No preparation was ever before made on so large a scale. No other war ever was so needless, so destructive, so world wide as is this war.

It is not claimed that this war has come solely because of preparation for it. Attention is only called to the fact that it has come in spite of preparation, and that no calamity could have befallen any country without preparation, so great as is the calamity which has overtaken all these countries because of preparation.

Preparation for war, as a means of avoiding war, has proven the most colossal failure in human history. Let this evil council be reversed. Let it be said instead, “In time of war, prepare for peace,” and let this be especially said concerning this war.

REAL PROBLEMS

It is needless now, however, to bewail this war. The real question for real statesmanship is how to end this war and to do so in such a way as to make an end of all war and the fear of war, to put an end to armies and to armaments, to put away dreadnoughts, the submarines, the modern furies of the skies, the death dealing motor cars, the machine guns, the shrapnel, the barbed wire entanglements, the floating mines and the great guns which were never heard before. How shall they be made to cease their roaring and made never to speak again?

We are told that nothing can be done at this time, looking to the return of peace—that one side or the other must
suffer a marked defeat before any negotiations, looking to the ending of this war, can be undertaken.

It is admitted that this is true, providing the same powers which caused this war are to be depended upon to make an end of it, but if this is to happen, the new peace can be nothing other than a truce between the warring exploiters, until it shall serve their ends to go again to war.

It can be shown, however, that new agencies can be brought into this matter, that the balance of the earth ought to have, and may have, something to say about the ending of this war and need not wait until the fury of the conflict has spent itself, before it undertakes peacefully to intervene.

THE PLANS OF THE WARRING NATIONS

We are told that it is the plan of the Allies to crush Germany, to make an end of her military power, to exclude her from the seas, to make her a third rate nation and so to end her ability any longer to menace the peace of Europe. But if that could be done, it would not make for the unity of Europe. The same powers which combine to destroy Germany, because that best suits their interests now, will make other combinations or start other dissensions to destroy each other when that shall please them best. If the Allies win and carry out their program, the war policy will have won for one crowd, but it will have lost for the other, and hence, war will not be ended by any such result.

It is the German plan, so it is said, to defeat this purpose to doom Germany forever to a secondary position on the seas and to cut her off from direct connection with the Mediterranean. It is her purpose, so it is claimed, to check the pretensions of the British mastery of the seas and the ambitions of Russia for a corresponding mastery of Europe. It is said to be her purpose to make this the last war with France by a defeat so striking that France will never strike again, to consolidate Germany and Austria, to extend her coast line on the Atlantic by the permanent annexation of Belgium, to extend her boundaries to the Mediterranean, to make Turkey at least a dependency, to attach to her own enterprises the Suez Canal, to extend her power through Egypt and to secure the mastery


of Africa, to make good her grip on South America, and fi-
nally, through the development of her industry and the exten-
sion of her commerce, to establish beyond all question, her
industrial and commercial leadership of all the earth.

It is not now asked whether the inventions, the discover-
ies, the intellectual achievements and the industrial develop-
ment of Germany, better qualify her to be the leader of all
the nations of the earth, than is the British nation qualified
for the same task. Why should anyone wish to be a citizen
in any nation which shall seek to make good its mastery of
all the world? If Germany could do what it is stated by its
enemies it wishes to do, it would not end the war program.
It would only extend it. It could only establish, by conquest,
a new world power and lead the way once more to the repeti-
tion of the long and dreary story of combination and dissen-
sion, of conquest and of rebellion, that same old story to be
written still in blood and fire in the future as it has been writ-
ten in all the past.

PEACE TREATIES AND THE HAGUE CONGRESS

The friends of peace have been undertaking to provide
by mutual agreement through international treaties, for the
ending of war. As to this, it must be said, that every such
effort is to be supported but it really ought to be borne in
mind that no nation in history has ever yet observed the con-
ditions of any treaty when it became seriously to its interest
not to do so.

The British Press is making a great outcry just now on
such a broken treaty and of the British fear concerning Ger-
man domination of the world, but there are no instances
where the British nation has ever kept an agreement when it
was to her own advantage not to do so, and as to her fear of
world domination by Germany, she would be able to find not
a little consolation, in her anxiety for other countries, if she
were to review her own record when the United States was a
British colony, or what she has done for Ireland, for Egypt,
for India, for Persia and for South Africa in more recent
years, through her own humane and progressive policies.
An American railway president once said, in giving testimony before a National Commission, that agreements between railways in the United States were never made with any intention on the part of those who signed them, to keep the agreements. "They were always signed," he said, "with the hope on the part of each signer that the others would keep the agreements while he himself would be able to get a start in securing business by their violation."

The treaty making power cannot be relied upon for restoring peace or for keeping peace, when once it would seem to be restored.

The great private interests which dominate the world, which sit enthroned back of all thrones, and whose strident voice prevails in every cabinet on earth, hold the mastery in every diplomatic service under the sun. These interests make treaties just as they make war, just as they make peace, just as they rob the world in times of peace as pitilessly as they do in times of war. It is this power to use the resources of all the nations, in international bargain making and bargain breaking, that has been the cause of war. You cannot rely on this most prolific cause of war as the agency through which to make an end of war. Secret intrigue behind closed doors and secret bargaining by which every nation, our own nation along with the rest, may be innocently, ignorantly and maliciously committed to policies, may be the wisest, may be the worst, must be made an end of.

The Hague Congress was only yesterday the hope of the world. The Czar had asked for it and the German and the Briton and the Frenchman and the Yankee had agreed. The nations of all the world had sent their delegates, but private interests, each using certain nations as a part of their business equipments, could not agree as to the spoils of industry and commerce, and no steps were taken for establishing peace which could interfere with the armaments of war. The international burglars agreed not to break into each others' houses, but each burglar kept his kit of tools for the very purpose of doing so.
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A BIG ARMY AND A BIG NAVY

The United States seems hopelessly committed to the increase of its army and navy and so it enters finally and deliberately upon a program to become the peacemaker of the world by making greater preparations for war than any other nation, for if it is to equip for war, its equipment must be the strongest, or the equipment will be useless. If this is done, the greatest power on earth for making peace and for maintaining peace, will be thrown into the balance in behalf of war. That will not aid in ending war—that will be most provocative of war.

For more than a hundred years, no war nor preparations for war have been made as between Canada and the United States. It is difficult to conceive of any greater misfortune to either country than to start now the building of international defences between these nations, which have lived so long as friends and neighbors. A better policy is to establish like relations with every other nation willing to enter into such a relationship, and to use the joint power of the peaceful nations of the world to bring about peace now and to establish conditions under which international peace, when once established, shall abide forever.

THE CAUSE OF WAR

Before it is possible to make reasonable proposals for the ending of war, there must be an accurate understanding as to the cause of war. All reasonable discussion for the ending of war must turn at last upon a definite removal of the cause of war.

A little reflection will convince anyone that all the nations of the earth are disposed to be peaceful when that policy pays them best. For a hundred centuries, wars have been undertaken by the aggressive parties, always for the purpose of added tributes, added territory and added markets.

There have been no race wars. The races have not warred with each other because of differences of color or language or habits. These things have been made the surface pretense of war, but the beaten races have always been enslaved, taxed, robbed and oppressed. The real motive back of
the war was not to satisfy race hatred, but to benefit and take advantage of the race hatred of those who fought, in order to secure and appropriate the lands, the industry and the commerce of the conquered territory. The races have not fought each other because they hated each other. They have hated each other because they fought each other.

Religious wars have been innumerable, but in fact, there never was a war that was religious. There is no instance where those of one religion have ever conquered those of another, except that when they had conquered in the name of the Lord, they proceeded with the work of pillage, as though the conquest had been undertaken in the name of the devil.

The Crusades were a marked instance of a series of so-called religious wars, and these wars lasted as long as there was anything left in Asia which the Crusaders could pry loose. But when the Arabs, wearied with war, offered to yield the conquest and to give up the empty grave in Palestine, the nations, which had made these wars, found it inconvenient to accept as a gift what they had pretended to be fighting for all these many years. They did not take the grave they said they were fighting for, but they took everything else in Asia which could be carried away to Europe. They left the grave unguarded, and they left the land in nakedness.

There never has been a war where the aggressors were not fighting in order to get the thing they wanted by whipping those who had it. The religious pretensions were always false, race prejudices only an accident. The instinct of the highwayman is the only cause strong enough and base enough to lead to the regular work of an incorrigible robber or of a deliberate military adventurer. But this is not only true of the wars between nations and races. It is also true of all wars between states, cities, towns, neighborhoods and between individuals. This is the spirit of war:—Men always hate those whom they have wronged. Men always despise those whom they have imposed upon. No man is ever a good man who is in our way. No man is ever a just man who keeps what we want. No man is ever a wise man who does in our stead what
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we wish to do ourselves. Is it not true that this statement finds a natural response in every one who is at heart a thief and a plunderer?

REAL PROGRESS IN ENDING WAR

All justly organized society, all peaceful and orderly methods of justly doing things, have been undertaken in order that those who serve may not be oppressed by those who rob, in order that those who make things may not be impoverishèd by those who take things, and in order that the making of things may be made more effective and the maker of things be better conditioned, that the producer may prosper and the robber be banished.

In this way, the ancient warfare between the petty tribes has disappeared. A hundred petty kingdoms in England alone, have ceased to exist. Yorkshire and Lancashire have outgrown the War of the Roses. Landlords, holding sway over principalities smaller than an American county, have been denied the right to levy war to rob their petty neighbors by force of arms. Nowhere have the warring parties been able to establish lasting peace, except upon the establishment of some central authority stronger than either, and combining the strength and the resources of both. So far as organized society has been able to establish justice between one man and another, it has done so by establishing an authority stronger than either and claiming the allegiance of both. Voluntary agreements between petty lords, treaty arrangements among the barons, repeated and solemn contracts between the states and counties never made an end of war. But when all the petty provinces of England became one nation, war between the barons and between the counties was at an end. When the petty principalities of Germany established an empire greater than any of them and with the strength of all, that was an end of war between the German principalities.

It cost the United States not a little to successfully establish a single, central government, but at least, there are no proposals now made for fortifying boundary lines between New York and Connecticut, and the New Englanders have not
invaded Pennsylvania for a long time. Even Ohio and Michigan have fought no battles with each other for many years.

The great disaster of our American Civil War was not terminated simply by victorious troops. The old division will be healed and the old warfare will be altogether over only when the small interests of the sections, so far as they conflict with each other, shall have grown into the larger common interests of the whole nation.

This European war is no exception to all the other wars. It is not a race war. It is not a religious war. It is the same old fight over again for extending territory, for capturing markets, for enriching the victors at the expense of the vanquished. It is a robbers' war like all the rest.

War within the different nations has been practically terminated by the creation of the nations. War between the nations can be terminated by creating some central world power, composed of all, in which all shall have voice and which shall have power to discuss and to settle international disputes, but no settlement will be effective unless that world power shall have power to compel obedience to its findings. The consolidation of peoples within each nation has made an end of fortifications along interior boundary lines and opposing military equipments within their borders. The only pretense now offered for maintaining armies anywhere is to protect a nation's interests away from home and to resist invasion. A single world power with authority to do for all the nations of the earth what each nation now does in keeping the peace between the states and provinces within its borders, can alone make an end of war.

**A ONE WORLD POWER**

Should such an authority be established, what tasks should it undertake? By what process should it be brought into being?

Formerly men fought duels in the settlement of their personal disputes—now the complaint is made in court. Formerly men fought out their personal quarrels concerning property rights and a thousand and one other things about which men quarrel, but now the courts are established, and even
though their decisions may be unjust, the parties to the controversy have no other alternative than to submit. But every court is provided with a sheriff, is given a means by which it may compel obedience to its orders. An international power must be established. It must be so established that its decisions shall be the nearest possible to justice. It must be clothed with authority. It must be provided with means to enforce obedience to its decisions.

Voluntary agreements with a resort to force between individuals as a means of settling their serious disputes, have been abandoned. The matter is referred to a higher authority. Serious disputes between nations must not be decided in behalf of that nation with the strongest armies, the heaviest guns and the most destructive ships. The nation in the wrong may have the largest armies. Questions of international controversy must be referred to a higher court. That court must be given the authority, it must be given the joint strength of all the nations.

A WORLD DEMOCRACY, NOT A WORLD DESPOTISM

No nation ought any longer to be permitted to rule another in order to impoverish its people, discourage its industry or hinder its progress. The citizens and the enterprises of the smallest of the nations ought to be made secure in all their just relationships with all the citizens and enterprises of all other lands. Should the Allies become a world power, having mastery over all the earth, that power would rest on conquest. Should the Teutonic race become a world power, to which all others would be required to submit, its authority would finally rest on conquest. Single world authorities, based on conquest, have before existed and administered injustice—the injustice which they were created to administer—and that injustice has always led to rebellion, to dissolution, to world wide anarchy and to world wide war.

The one thing which is of sufficient consequence any more to lead to war, is the strife over the extension of markets. This war is nothing more than such a war.

For half a century the most bitter conflicts fought out in the markets and in the courts of every great nation, have all
of them been with regard to industrial and commercial undertakings.

**THIS EUROPEAN WAR IS A RESORT TO ARMS TO SETTLE A DISPUTE BETWEEN THE MERCHANTS AND MANUFACTURERS OF GERMANY AND THE MANUFACTURERS AND MONEY LENDERS OF GREAT BRITAIN.**

"MADE IN GERMANY"—ALL PARTIES ALIKE

It is quite true that a Prince was murdered. It is quite true that some Frenchmen and some Germans had an old quarrel. It is quite true that Russia was anxious to retrieve its military standing and to extend its own territory to the Mediterranean. But with the British navy and British money left out of consideration, there could have been no war.

For many years, in many places "Made in Germany" goods have been crowding out British products. The German policy of building German enterprises in Turkey, in Africa and in China was rapidly outdoing the British policy of lending money for foreign enterprises and depending upon the purchase of goods from the ends of the earth, in exchange for interest payments due the British pawn brokers, not for corresponding services rendered. The monopolists of both countries wanted the monopoly of the wider markets of the world. This war is simply a resort to arms to determine which ones shall have them.

The monopolists of neither country desire this because of any wish to benefit the other nations or races. If one wishes to know what the British monopolists would do if Great Britain mastered the world, it can be easily learned by an afternoon in East London, in the manufacturing districts of Birmingham or Manchester or Liverpool or Glasgow. It can be easily learned by learning what the British monopolists have already done to the helpless people within Great Britain. The only reason why the British monopolists wish to extend their markets is in order to be able to do in other countries the same wretched and inexcusable work which has been done by them in Great Britain itself.

If one wishes to know what the monopolists of Russia would do if they were made the masters of the world, it can
be easily learned by a glance at Siberia or at the broken life of the Poland nation or at the torn up constitutions given to and taken away from the people of Finland.

If one would like to know what the French monopolists would do if they were made the masters of the world, all that is necessary is to study the conditions of industry within France carried on by the very men who are controlling France in this war with Germany.

If one wishes to know what the monopolists of Belgium would do should Belgium be restored and her old government be renewed, all that is necessary is to read again the story of the horrors of the Congo.

If one wishes to know what the American monopolists would do should America become the dominating factor of the world's life, all that is necessary is to read again the record of the Carnegies and the Rockefellers in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Michigan and Colorado.

If one wishes to know what the German monopolists would do were they made the world's real masters, it is easily learned by a study of the German working class, of the robbery and oppression now carried on by the German monopolists and supported by the whole power of the German nation.

Is it not perfectly evident that any world peace secured as the result of a world power established by conquest, is not desirable even while it would last, and that it could not last?

**SHALL AMERICA JOIN IN THE WAR FOR MARKETS?**

What can be undertaken by our nation?

The one thing which our nation ought not to do is to carry out its present purpose to take advantage of the present war to secure the markets previously supplied by the warring nations with the hope of permanently enriching American monopolists to the lasting injury of Europe. Thoughtful people can read the recent message of President Wilson on this matter of getting the trade of the other countries while they are at war, only with deep disappointment, and can think of this policy, which for the present seems to have been adopted, only with shame for this short sighted misuse of our country's greatest opportunity. Such a policy could succeed
at best, only until this war is over and then the same old battle for markets would be renewed with America as against the world. For then, instead of Germany as the center of "a wall of fire," a situation would be created in which America would become the object of the world's attack.

If these markets are to be obtained, they must be defended. The military and naval program and this commercial policy must stand together or they must be abandoned together. This commercial policy can in no way hasten the ending of this war. It will immediately point the way to another war with America in the midst of it.

PEACE AND PROGRESS BY FEDERATION, NOT BY CONQUEST

IT IS ADMITTED BY ALL STUDENTS OF THE QUESTION THAT INTERNATIONAL WAR CAN BE ENDED ONLY BY SOME SORT OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS WITH AUTHORITY TO DECIDE QUESTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL CONTROVERSY AND WITH POWER TO ENFORCE ITS DECISIONS.

The United States can at once take the initiative in creating such a congress. The Czar took the initiative in calling a congress which did not count. This country can call one that will count. The call should not be to the warring nations only, but to all nations, for all nations are vitally concerned, no one more so than is America.

Used wisely, for at least this once, the diplomatic force of our own country now representing us at the seat of every government, the proposal could be made to call such an international congress. That congress should have authority to investigate and to settle the questions now in controversy, whatever these questions may be, and to proceed at once to disband all armies, dismantle all fortifications, and to convert to rational uses all the navies of the world.

This congress should be a permanent body. All its members should be elected on a popular vote. This congress should have authority for all time to come, to finally investigate and to settle all questions of controversy arising between the nations. It should retain the mastery of the high seas. It
should directly administer all protectorates covering the small nations, the backward races and all defenseless peoples. International trade, international credit, international migration, and whatever armies or warships may be necessary to enforce its decisions should be answerable only to this international body.

If the United States would take the initiative in this matter and would pledge at once its special interest in, and its support of all nations that would enter into such an arrangement—if it would refuse to be a party to the final settlement of this war by any other authority than by such a congress—if it would do these things, there would at once arise a situation compelling action by all the world, not because this country had waited for something to turn up, but because this country had realized its opportunity and had itself turned up something.

Under this program it would be perfectly feasible "to feed America and to starve the war" and finally to end the war in such a way that the private monopolists who are seeking to rob the other countries after the same manner in which they are robbing their own countries, would lose their power forever to rule the world and to rob the world they rule.

AN OPEN CONGRESS, NOT A SECRET INTRIGUE

This unfortunate policy, by which our country is being committed to a struggle for foreign markets supported by armies and warships, ought to be reversed:

(1) Because it is in line with the European policy of militarism, which instead of delivering Europe from the misfortunes of war, has only plunged her deeper into disaster.

(2) Because this increase in war-like activities is inconsistent with any effort on the part of the United States to assume its just and proper place as the leading nation, offering to establish a permanent world congress with authority to investigate and to settle all questions of international concern out of which international war is otherwise sure to arise.

(3) Because all the world realizes that the policy of secret bargaining between nations, at the demand of great private interests to determine which of two combinations should dominate the trade of the world, led to this war. Such
a policy cannot be trusted any longer with interests of such grave importance to the welfare of mankind. This war program presumes the continuance of this secret bargaining, mischief making policy.

(4) Because the industrial and commercial power of the United States can be successfully used to consolidate all the peaceful nations of the earth in the support of a permanent world congress, in which everyone of the nations would be given just and fair representation, and that without any extension of the war program.

(5) Because, while the United States government is now using its whole power to promote the export of American goods, which are indispensable to the further prosecution of the present war, it could, by reversing this policy, while maintaining complete neutrality, largely influence, if not compel, an early cessation of hostilities.

(6) Because this peace program here proposed would be taking advantage of this worst of all wars to make an end of war by establishing a world power, democratic in its character, representative of all countries, never sitting behind closed doors, always acting in the open, with the power to enforce its decrees and so provide for peace without injustice.

(7) Because, then a final world power and a world peace, so often established by conquest and given to the enforcement of international injustice, would at least be established, not by a despotic conquest by one nation over all the rest, but by the democratic, self-governing co-operation of all nations not to enforce injustice through conquest, which would lead again to war, but to establish justice through federation, and to promote the common welfare which would only lead to lasting peace and to the final brotherhood of all mankind.

OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED

If it is objected that Capitalism would be sure to dominate such a world power and so continue to rob the world, the answer is:

That Capitalism now dominates and robs the world in all international matters, but it does so by secret intrigue and private bargains. Under this proposal, if it did so, it would
be obliged to do it in the open and under the authority of this world congress. But then the workers of all nations could be heard in the elections and they could change the character of the delegates from being the representatives of the exploiters to becoming the representatives of the useful people. Once the character of international control is changed in this way, secret intrigue is at once exchanged for an open congress.

If it is objected that such a congress would interfere with local matters and that under it local self-government of the nations would become impossible, the answer is:

That the local policies of all the nations are now determined by international considerations so far as they affect international affairs. International affairs are now controlled by agencies, secret and despotic in their character and hence, beyond the control of the common people. Such a congress would give the people a voice not only in local affairs, but in international affairs as well.

If it is objected that a better way would be to submit to a vote of the people the question of declaring war in any case, the answer is:

That such a vote would probably help some, but it would in no way interfere with this proposal. Still it should be remembered that such a popular vote would be quite as likely to get a nation into war as to keep it out of war. What is wanted is a vote by the people at regular intervals, not on war, but on all those international questions which would otherwise be likely to lead to war. That vote ought not to be a vote representing any one nation or any one side of any such question. It ought to represent all nations and all sides. If such a vote is to be effective, the congress we propose or some other world power, must formulate and enforce the findings of such elections.

If it is objected that a clique of money lenders and industrial monopolists would capture and control the congress, the answer is:

That they have already captured and do now control all agencies for dealing with international matters and that in all the countries of the world. Now they do this with no democratic elections in any of the countries able to interfere.
Such a congress would make possible, through such elections, a democratic mastery of international affairs. The field would be an open one for the democrats as well as for the despots to capture and control this world congress.

If it is objected that neither the Germans nor the Allies would agree to such a proposal, the answer is:

That neither body will agree to anything just now, but when either side is ready to sue for peace, the people on that side would prefer to make peace in such a congress as is proposed rather than in the usual conference with their enemies only.

If the United States would lead in proposing such a congress, all the other neutral powers would speedily give it their support. If the vanquished party in this war would appeal to such a congress for terms of peace, not to their enemies, then those in control among the victors could not refuse to enter such a congress without losing position and power at once with the people of their own countries. There is not one country now at war where such a refusal under such circumstances would not lead to a revolution at home. It is a practical certainty that if our country would act now, all the rest, including the countries now at war, in good time would fall in line.

If it is objected that this would be an abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine, the answer is:

That it would, instead, be a return to the Monroe Doctrine and give an extension of its real principles to all the earth. The Monroe Doctrine committed the United States to the protection of all American countries from invasion or pillage from European nations. But while the United States has kept the European flags from Southern American territory, the exploiters of both the United States and of Europe have gone on with the work of pillage in all these nations and under all the flags of America.

This proposal would make an end of international pillage by making an international democratic power the protector of all nations from invasion and from pillage, and so would be an extension of the original principles of the Monroe Doctrine to all the nations, both in the benefits promised and in having a voice in its administration.
If it is objected that this proposal would mean the surrender of all hopes for an Anglo-Saxon domination of all the world, the answer is:

That the clamor for Anglo-Saxon, Teutonic, Slavonic or Oriental domination of the world would by all of them be abandoned and in this world government, the welfare of the whole human race would become the governing motive, not the misuse by private interests, of any portion of the nations to enslave all the rest as is now the case and as would surely continue to be the case, should Anglo-Saxon, or any other race domination of the world be fixed as the established order of affairs.

If it is objected that this proposal would mean a "United States of all the Earth," and that now tariffs protect the workers of one country against the cheap labor of the pauper populations of other countries, and that in such a "United States of the World," such tariffs would become impossible, just as is now the case between the several states of the United States of America, the answer is:

It is now true that the more fortunate countries are flooded both with the products of that pauper labor of other countries, and with the pauper laborers of other countries under conditions under which all laborers in all countries are rapidly becoming pauper laborers.

THE ONLY WAY THAT THE WORKERS IN ANY COUNTRY CAN VERY MUCH LONGER MAINTAIN A HIGH STANDARD OF LIVING, IS BY RAISING THE STANDARD OF LIVING IN ALL COUNTRIES.

Other temporary make-shifts, like the regulation of immigration and the exclusion of "undesirables" must not be ignored or neglected. But in the end, the only possible defense of the white races against the competition in the world markets of the cheap products of yellow labor, employed in the yellow countries by the white capitalists from the white countries, is by establishing just such a world power as is proposed. No one nation can legislate for the control of the high seas. International agreements are now controlled by exploiters only. In order to maintain a high standard of living anywhere for very much longer, it must be extended every-
where. The destructive competition of cheap labor and disas-
trous, ignorant and helpless immigration can be made an end
of only by a world power which will take over the mastery of
the high seas, of international trade and of international credit
and that, on a basis of democratic organization and control.

Under such arrangements, it would be only a question of
time when all nations could have equal access to the world
markets on equal terms and the workers within all nations
free access to the natural resources, to the machinery of pro-
duction and to the benefits of the world credit, and that with-
out the intervention of any private monopolists of any sort.
Under such conditions, the standards of living would at once
advance to the highest possible point in all countries, and
pauper laborers and the products of pauper laborers would
disappear forever. The purchasing power of the workers in
each country, would become as great as is their power to pro-
duce, and the war for a foreign market would be over forever.

If it is objected that this proposal would mean that
America would need to surrender the Phillipines, and Ger-
many, France, Holland, Great Britain and all the rest give up
their colonies, the answer is:

That this is quite true, but the Phillipine Islands would
not be given up to Japan, nor would any of the colonies be
given up by any of the nations to any rival power. All the
outlying colonies and all the smaller independent countries
would be given up to themselves, guaranteed representation in
the world congress and protection against invasion or pillage
from any one and this secured by the joint power of all the
earth. That would add enormously to the security and to the
peace of all the dependent countries and it could not in any
way injure any of the mother countries unless indeed such a
mother country had intended to withhold these advantages
and opportunities from her colonial children. If the United
States or any other country entertains such a purpose, the
quicker it is abandoned, the better for all concerned.

If it is objected that this proposal would at once bring
the United States into the midst of world problems and might
even involve our country in this world war, the answer is:
That our country is already involved in supplying the materials to support the armies of the Allies and that unless some such world power as is here proposed, shall be established and if the policy now adopted by our country, in its struggle to obtain the British and German markets, while these countries are at war, is continued, then a further war is as inevitable when this war is over between both Germany and Great Britain as against America, as was this war inevitable between Germany and Great Britain. It was their contest for these markets which led to war now and to transfer that contest to a new struggle between America and Europe only means a further war for the further control of these same markets. Besides this, America is now a world power. It cannot be a world power and avoid all responsibility for world policies which are permitted to prevail with its consent.

If it is objected that the nations would never consent to disarmament, the answer is:

That whatever may be thought about the matter, it is more than likely that no great nation will ever disarm in the presence of the threatening armaments of contending nations. But they do even now surrender the command of both armies and navies to a joint command in the face of a common enemy. At this very time, all the armies and navies of all the Allies are acting under a joint command of some sort.

Can any one doubt that if such a congress could be established to end this war and that it could be ended by the creation of such a world power and that the order was made that everywhere forts, ships and soldiers should be disarmed and the navies and armies disbanded and that as a condition to the ending of this war and if the neutral nations would take the lead in this proposal—can any one doubt that then disarmament would take place and that it would take place accompanied by such enthusiasm as would send the men now destroying one another literally into each other's arms?

That would be a new birth to a new world life that would produce at once a world patriotism, a world peace and a world brotherhood that could not fail to hasten the coming of a world-wide justice founded on a world democracy that would last forever.
WHAT OF THE SOCIALISTS

If this policy ought to be adopted by the United States, what ought the Socialist Party to do in the matter? Whatever it ought to do, one thing is very clear as to what it ought not to do. Resolutions cannot end this war. It has been seen above that treaties and even contracts cannot put an end to war. So long as the conditions remain under which great prizes can be won by the private act of the robber or by the public act of the military adventurer, so long will men be found base enough for the purpose.

The only way to make an end of stealing mines, railways and factories by private gamblers is to make these great instruments of Social Service subject to public ownership. When private ownership no longer exists, as related to these vast agencies, the private theft of them would become impossible. What is wanted is not more men in jail for being thieves. What is wanted is an end of the possibility of theft, through the Social answer to the prayer "Lead us not into temptation." In the same way, the remedy for war cannot be found by any proceedings against the war-like nations, so long as prizes of world wide significance can be won by war.

No amendment to our constitution, no policy adopted by any one nation can make an end of war, and no nation so vast in its resources and of such world wide influence as the United States, can long avoid responsibility by assuming an attitude of neutrality as to what goes on in the rest of the world.

Because this is true, the Socialists cannot do their whole duty by joining in any effort by amendments to the constitution to simply keep America out of war. A popular vote, whether to fight or not to fight, may help some, but the Socialists have heretofore been following the right program—the program of internationalism, and that program must not be abandoned because of the great misfortune of this present war.

The Socialists of America must not be betrayed into an attitude of criticism and fault finding toward the Socialists of Europe, and this applies with equal force to the Socialists of all countries of Europe, both British and German along with the rest.
It is easy to complain because certain things have not been done. The Socialists of America must not be betrayed into giving their attention to criticising the European Socialists now hurled against each other in a death struggle which they did their utmost to avoid, for which they are in no wise responsible, and as a result of which immeasurable disaster is upon them.

Just because the United States has the greatest opportunity which has ever come to any country to act now in behalf of peace, so the Socialists of the United States have now a greater opportunity as a peace party than have Socialists of any other country. Then let criticism of the European Socialists cease. Let the pointing finger of scorn be withdrawn. Let there be an end of complaining at what others have not done, and let attention be given to the task before ourselves.

If it is the duty of the United States, as a nation to take the lead and to use its economic power to make that leadership effective in an effort to establish a permanent world congress, with authority to settle this controversy and the power to take over the ownership and mastery of the high seas and of the whole field of international relations, and that on the basis of universal democracy, as opposed to economic, political and military despotism—if this is the duty of the United States, then it is the duty of the Socialists, who have the most to gain through making a rational ending of all war, to use their power to the uttermost in forcing this discussion and in hastening this action.

CLOSE AT HOME

If this is the duty of the Socialists of America, it is also the duty of the Socialists of every portion of this nation.

Before the Socialists of any district should assume to be the instructors of the Socialists of Berlin or of Paris or of London, they ought first to build an organization of their own, strong enough so that Berlin and Paris and London might be given some favorable knowledge concerning these particular Socialists before hearing from them only in words of criticism and condemnation.
The pitiful thing about the situation in our own country, is that for many years many American Socialists have been so busy giving the world advice that they have neglected to build their own movement into a position of sufficient strength to be able to command a respectful hearing for any counsel given by them, regardless of its wisdom.

It is true that Socialism will make an end of war. But it is also true that Socialism cannot make an end of war except Socialism itself shall be established, and the greatest difficulty now in the way of the speedy coming of Socialism, is the neglect and indifference of the Socialists themselves to the building up of their own party.

No anti-war resolutions could be written by the Socialists of any American city, that could have a hundredth part of the influence against this war as would be felt should the Socialists of any such city elect their own candidates, as the Mayor and Councilors of their own city.

Were the call made to enroll soldiers in a cause as just as is the cause of Socialism, all the streets would be filled with the volunteers. It is easier to fight for a cause than it is to work for it. A battle awakens all the beast that lies dormant in the heart of man. Working for a cause puts to silence the beast and appeals to the angel only. Were you asked to be angry, to hurl hard words, to get ready with bullets for a desperate encounter, the inherited blood thirstiness of a thousand centuries would awaken and would answer the call. You are asked instead to turn your back upon the cruel centuries, to give your strength to building an organization that shall be so compact, so active, so united, so powerful, that its message must be heard. The appeal is to the new born angel in the heart of man. It too has been born out of the black and bloody centuries. So far it has been the sacrificial victim of the beast. But tomorrow it may be the Savior of the human race.

This war is the greatest disaster that has befallen man, but it brings to America the greatest opportunity in the face of which America will render the greatest service or America will once more be guilty of the worst betrayal.

FALL IN LINE.
Big Business
And War

By
Charles Edward Russell
BIG BUSINESS AND WAR

The rest of the world stands horrified and baffled by the hideous spectacle of the European war. The Socialists alone are entitled to say,

"This cataclysm was the inevitable product of the system that we have denounced to you incessantly all these years. You would not heed us when we warned you that you were walking a perilous road. We told you that the economic system you maintained could lead only to destruction and disaster. The lure of Profits deafened your ears to our appeal and blinded your eyes. This, then, is the result. You have sowed the wind; you are reaping the whirlwind."

The greatest catastrophe of all human history did not come unheralded. It did not drop out of a clear sky, as some shallow observers perhaps believe. To warn of the steady, relentless approach of the world's climax of horror a stalking specter went before, which Socialists could clearly see and to which they pointed in desperate attempt to show the world what was impending.

The name of the specter to which they have pointed again and again in repeated, earnest, agonized warning is Commercial Competition.

Many factors, more or less self-evident, have contributed to bring about the Occasion for war, the assassination of the Arch-Duke, the monarchical form of government, the overweening ambition of the lunatic Hohenzollerns, the crazy philosophy of the Blood and Iron school. It is not necessary to go into these here. When powder is stored in an unsafe magazine what matter whose the hand that drops the match?

The Cause of War is more fundamental than any of these. The cause of the war is commercial and the basic, under-
lying conflict in this war, as in all modern wars, is the struggle for Commercial Supremacy.

The struggle for commercial supremacy means the competition between Big Business of one country and Big Business of another to find a foreign market for commodities which the owners of these commodities are not able to dispose of at home.

Even the most shallow observer of the trend of events cannot have failed to note of recent years the growing commercial rivalry between England and Germany for the trade of the “undeveloped” countries of the South and East, South America, Australia and the Islands. In a thousand outposts of commercial advance the German selling agent has followed close on the heels of the Englishman, looking for a new market for a German product or a new investment for German capital.

With Germany's tremendous commercial expansion came the necessity for new outlets for trade, new routes and new seaports. To see how imperative to her great Business Interest were additional seaports on the Atlantic you have but to look at the map. Geographically Germany has been as a nation bottled up. She has had steadily increasing commercial expansion within and no outlet for her products to foreign markets. Since she, like England, ceased to be an agricultural country and became a manufacturing country, consider her disadvantage when compared with England and the latter's practically unlimited coast and shipping facilities.

This has been the real conflict between Germany and England and the real reason for Germany's aggressions. Seaports on the Atlantic it was absolutely imperative for her to have unless she was to go under in the struggle for commercial supremacy. Before this supreme necessity France and Belgium, Servia and the minor nations were but pawns in the game. Do not fancy that the Servian incident was the cause of the war nor that racial hatreds were its cause. Racial hatreds have feeble existence except as they are sedulously maintained and fostered, in order to work up to the point where they are willing to butcher one another, men that would otherwise have no quarrel. The assassination of the Austrian
Arch-Duke afforded a pretext. If it had not come other opportunity would have been found.

The struggle for "foreign markets," reduced to its simplest terms means the struggle for an opportunity to sell abroad surplus products that cannot be disposed of at home.

In olden times, in days of "Savagery" the chieftain of one tribe ordered his henchmen to fall upon a neighboring tribe in order to seize from that tribe skins, weapons and food, let us say, and other articles that were needed.

Today, in the age of "Civilization" Big Business of one country forces out a million men to attack and slaughter a million men of another country in order to get rid of commodities that are not needed.

Why should Big Business have products that it does not need and why is it compelled to resort to such desperate means to get rid of them?

This is why.

Under the present form of industry, which we call the Capitalist or Profit System, let us say that a man makes daily in a factory the equivalent of four pairs of shoes. He gets paid in wages $2. But the shoes are worth $6 in the factory.

This leaves $4 worth of wealth in the form of shoes, hats, cloth, or whatever the product may be, for the capitalist, the owner of the factory. From this he deducts the cost of his raw material, rent and other expenses and still has left a profit in the form of product. The amount of this profit varies in different industries, but its existence must be assured under the present system, if the enterprise is to continue; for our entire industrial organization as it is constituted today is based upon the assurance of profit.

The owner must sell the $6 worth of shoes. The worker with his $2 in wages can buy back and use only $2 worth of commodities. His labor has produced more and put more wealth into the market than he is able to buy back out of the market. On the other hand, the owner of the factory himself has only one pair of feet, one head, and the number of his tribe and kind is small. He has only one body to clothe, one stomach to feed. With his best efforts he is unable, as an individual or as a class, to consume all the wealth that is created
for him by other men's labor. Thus the rich cannot use up this surplus of over-production, and labor, which would otherwise be able to consume its own product, is not allowed to, because the wages of labor permit it to buy back only a fraction.

So we have what is known to economists as the Unconsumed Surplus. Every year all the countries of the world that are by some mistake called "civilized," produce in various forms of wealth more than they consume.

To get rid of this unconsumed surplus is the problem of industry today.

There would be one sensible, obvious and reasonable method of getting rid of it, namely to pay the workers that have produced it enough in wages and salaries to enable them to buy back their own product, in other words to increase the purchasing power of the working class. If the workers received in return for their labor as much wealth as their labor produced, they could themselves afford to use the commodities which are now overstocking the market.

But the masters of industry of the country, the "managerial brains" by whose wisdom we set so much store, appear never to have thought of so simple a solution as that.

So manufacturers and merchants continue their present futile efforts to get rid of their surplus stocks by "making business better." That is, they attempt by one childish device after another to compel the small percentage of the population that has any purchasing power to buy things that it does not need.

To this worthy end are employed a vast army of advertising experts and salesmanship specialists. An appalling sum of human effort and intelligence is perverted from legitimate channels of activity and is prostituted to the service of designing and forcing upon the market continual changes in "fashion."

Though no form of human product escapes it, the most obvious manifestation perhaps of this form of insanity is apparent in woman's wearing apparel, for the reason that the idle rich woman has more per capita spending power than any other class and that her desires have not evolved beyond the
primitive demands that are gratified by endless variation in the decking of her own person.

We have therefore one ridiculous fashion in April, another in May. One monstrous absurdity assaults our vision in January, another in February. We no sooner accustom our eyes to womankind tied in around the ankles than they suddenly flare out at the base.

Season after season the unsophisticated public is treated to the same delighted announcements of the fashion mongers. The commercial insiders bear these tidings without shock. Naturally. What else would you expect?

Blame the extravagance and folly of womankind? That is the easy and superficial thing to do. If you think the responsibility for the silliness of fashion lies in the vanity of woman, suppose, Mr. Superior-minded Philosopher, you try arraying yourself this season in the hat and shoes that you set away a few seasons ago.

The responsibility lies not in the folly of individual woman or man. The responsibility lies in a social and industrial system which is deliberately designed to compel its members to buy things that they do not need. If they did not do this our whole industrial and commercial organizations, as at present constituted, would fall to the ground with a crash. Against this system the individual is helpless.

Under the present organization of Society a vast majority of the population is unable to buy more than the barest necessities of life. Great masses are unable to buy even these. If the small minority that possesses purchasing power was not practically forced to buy more than it really wanted or needed, our whole present system of industry would fail. And in spite of what may be called the desperate efforts of manufacturers and merchants and their hired talent to compel ever quicker and more reckless changes of fashion, signs are not wanting to indicate that this crash nevertheless can not much longer be averted.

It is estimated that last year two billion dollars was expended in the United States on advertising and "salesmanship" and still is heard from Maine to California a general complaint that Business is Bad.
The President assures the nation that this condition is but Psychological. Glowing Crop Reports are circulated as evidence of a well fed populace. Old party political orators find assurance of national prosperity in the annual report of the Department of Commerce, which shows American Exports exceeding Imports by $653,000,000.

But all the time the merchant looks with dispirited eyes upon his shelves of goods which will not sell. The commercial traveller finds it hard to maintain that light assurance and optimism, which salesmanship experts assure him is the successful commercial manner, in the face of ever lighter order books and ever mounting household expenditures. The eyes of the Unemployed leap across the Crop Reports to scan with eager ferocity the Help Wanted column. And as mayhap one of this gaunt army catches the light assurance of the well-fed that with Exports exceeding Imports all is necessarily well with us, perhaps at least a glimmer flits across his confused and tired mind of that profound though seldom regarded economic fact, that over-Exportation abroad indicates under-Consumption at home.

In every city and village in this country today human beings are walking the streets looking for work and destitute of the barest physical necessities of life, necessities which lie stacked up on counters and in warehouses, which their labor has produced and which the insane Capitalist or Profit system does not allow them to use.

This condition of industry in which factories shut down, stores close and men are laid off is called variously a slump, a business depression, hard times. What it really means is that men must walk the streets and beg for work because they have worked too much. They and their families must do without the barest necessities because they have produced too much.

All the wheels of industry must slow down until the Unconsumed Surplus is worked off. Sometimes even with all the resourcefulness of high salaried managerial skill this can not be accomplished at home.

Then the capitalist owners of industry begin to look abroad for a foreign market for their goods and foreign in-
vestments for their surplus capital. While the capitalists of one nation are seeking a market for their surplus, so also are the capitalists of every other nation. For the high purpose of finding and holding a dumping ground abroad for a surplus domestic product, capitalists force wars.

Then under the guise of "Patriotism" the workers of one country are fooled into going to the front in defense of their Nation's Honor. There they murder in battle the workers of another country and help to destroy some of the wealth that they have produced and for lack of which their families are suffering at home. Also they help to send interest rates up for the gentlemen whose patriotic services in the nation's honor consist in staying at home and financing these undertakings.

In addition to this, there is that other class of gentlemen who help control the nations' destinies, while they themselves are reaping large dividends from army and navy contracts for the manufacture of munitions of war.

In 1913 we were startled with the scandal of the Krupp gun works. An investigation conducted by authority of the German Reichstag, instigated by Herr Liebknecht, Socialist deputy in that body, revealed the fact that this armaments firm, in their insane race for profits, had subsidized the press in France in the publishing of articles advocating an increase in the French army in order to arouse a war-like spirit in Germany, and thereby bring in larger orders to themselves. This same firm also bribed subordinate officials in the German war department to disclose secret correspondence concerning the prices quoted by other armament firms, in order that the Krupp company might always be the successful bidder. In other words, it has been conclusively proven that the German armament firms have been engaged directly for years in stirring up and finally precipitating wars and rumors of wars in the interest of their own private profits.

But the exposure of this treacherous greed, which is yearly contributing to the increase of armaments in the nations of Europe, came too late to deter these nations in their headlong and ironic rivalry for superior military protection.

Parallel with this exposure comes the astounding infor-
mation from England, through the pen of George Herbert Perris in "The War Traders," concerning an almost exactly similar procedure by the armament makers of England. He shows how the capitalistic interests in this line of production have stopped at nothing in their search for profits. They have run the whole gamut from bleeding the national resources of their own country, and rousing international "scares" and fairly dictating international relations in all parts of the world, to forming combinations of capital, whose boards of directors include men from the very nations that they would set at each others' throats, until the community of interests and the international solidarity of these particular capitalists would make the long-desired internationalism of the workers look almost like a sham, or at best like a feeble suckling. In Mr. Perris' concluding paragraph he states:

"The great bulk of the so-called defence expenditure of the British Empire goes into the hands of private profit makers. It is an immensely large and lucrative trade. It consists of companies and combines, the strongest of which are closely allied, and compete less and less. It is essentially, and is becoming more and more, a cosmopolitan trade; its owners' nationalist pretentions are, therefore, rank humbug. It employs the usual touting arts of commerce; but it also manufactures two special kinds of opportunity: (1) The flotation of new types of arms, which result in enormous 'scraping' of existing material; and (2) The international scare, of which the Mulliner 'crisis' of 1909 is a type. It is these two processes which mainly account for the ruinous level of our present national expenditure. In the person of retired military, naval and civil servants of the highest rank whom it employs, the trade possesses secret information supposed to be available to the heads of government alone. And it is so firmly entrenched in the governing class of the country that no ministry has yet dared to make a serious effort to dislodge it.

"Such is the modern trade of arms; and I will add only one word about it. If British Democracy does not soon find a way of destroying this Hydra, it will destroy British Democracy."

This is what is happening in Europe today.
These alone are the reasons why millions of our brothers abroad are lined up on opposite sides of an artificial boundary line, maiming and mutilating and butchering one another, while the stench of the slaughter house rises from the festering human bodies that strewn the once fair fields and plains.

For the high object of finding "foreign markets" for the owners of industry to dispose of surplus products which the producers need but have not the purchasing power to buy back and use.

For years shallow minded thinkers have been preaching that what was needed in this country was a return to competition. Competition is the Life of Trade and the Survival of the Fittest were among the favorite slogans of this type of reformer.

We now see the logical conclusion of the savage doctrine of Competition and the survival of the fittest.

Millions of the Fit of the European nations are at the front, mutilating and maiming and butchering one another, while the unfit are left at home to carry on industry and to propagate the race.

And where does Big Business come in?

This is where Big Business comes in.

Big Business has made war. Big Business is now feeding it.

Perfect illustration of this fact is now furnished by the neutral countries, our own among them.

The only exception furnished at this time to the universal complaint of Hard Times is in those industries engaged in manufacturing and supplying Munitions of War.

We observe the President's proclamation and pray for peace on Sunday. And on Monday we ship $10,000,000 worth of cartridges to any of the foreign belligerents that is able to receive and pay for them.

Neutrality could hardly be more impartial than that.

And if one foreign belligerent resents and strives to prevent shipment of war supplies to another foreign belligerent, our own Business Interests hotly resent this "interference with neutral shipping."

Big Business makes war. Big Business feeds war.
Does Big Business admit this terrible charge?
It not only admits the fact, it proclaims it and boasts of it.
Pick up any American newspaper during these days of
the titanic European conflict and what do we read?

"Return of Prosperity." "New Opportunities Abroad for
American Enterprise." "Big Trade Boom On." And then
some such sub-heads as these:

"Five hundred armored motor trucks to be sent abroad."
"Twelve thousand cavalry horses shipped to France." "A
million dollar contract from abroad for the Bethlehem Steel
Co."

Or how do you like this?
1 "More War Contracts Rush Mills. Chicago Feels Good
Times."
Or this.
2 "War is Thanked for Business. Saddle and Harness
Manufacturers in St. Louis Running Overtime to turn out Or-
ders for Foreign Countries."
Or this,
3 "Vast War Contracts. $400,000,000 Orders Received
at New York from Europe. List Includes all Munitions."

"Remington Arms Co. of Bridgeport on a 24 hour a day
schedule to complete ammunition orders from the Allies."

What care we that a million murdered mother's sons rot
on the plains of Europe?
Business for America is getting good!
Or consider this aspect of the matter.

Ever since the war began our Department of State has
been walking on thin ice, diplomatically speaking, in the face
of repeated protests from Germany against shipping munitions
of war to the Allies and of similar protests from the Allies
against sending supplies to Germany. Protests made with
equal justice on both sides.

And why do we insist upon sending munitions of war to
feed the conflagration abroad?

1 Washington Post, Feb. 6, 1915.
3 Washington Post, Feb. 10, 1915
For the sake of profits. Simply and solely for the sake of profits. Is it conceivable that, if we had for instance merely so elementary a step toward Socialism as government ownership of the manufactories of armaments and munitions of war, with the profit element eliminated, our Government would now be engaged in supplying the belligerents abroad with the material for carrying on their diabolical trade?

Again, our "Captains of Industry" are sedulously pointing out at this time in the columns of the kept press, in lectures before Chambers of Commerce and in legislative halls that in South America now lies the United States' "great commercial opportunity." We must "jump in and seize the South American markets" urge these zealous ones.

Yes, by all means let us do that. And after we have jumped in and seized the South American markets, then what? This is what. In ten years or less we shall come into commercial conflict with the victor of the present struggle, Germany or England, whichever the case may be, and pretext will readily be found for precipitating our country into war with that country, and our sons and brothers and husbands will be the men marched forth to become cannon food.

For the sake of foreign investments and foreign markets. If you think this statement extravagant kindly recall to mind Mexico and Vera Cruz in which 31 American marines and 156 Mexicans were killed because certain great American Business Interests tried to force intervention in Mexico for the sake of their invested capital.

And with only 187 human beings unnecessarily killed for the sake of profits we think we have gotten off so luckily that we have already practically forgotten that little detail and we point with pride to our "peaceful occupation" of Vera Cruz.

All of this the logical outcome of the Competitive, Profit System.

Here let me interject a note of hope for those Humanitarians that may be unduly depressed by the postponement into the indefinite future of the Socialists' dream of Internationalism and the Universal Brotherhood.

The great mass of human beings are still nationalistic in
instinct. It is true. Our dream was premature. We sadly admit it. But the idea is not impossible, for even today in our present organization of Society two things are ideally international in character.

These two things are the Royal Families and Invested Capital.

The poor, deluded masses of every country can still be deceived by the alarm of "the enemy" into obeying the commands of their masters and going forth to kill one another.

But the Kings and Kaisers and Krupps do not kill one another. Whatever their paper interviews and threats, they continue to regard scrupulously one another's lives and prerogatives and their invested Capital continues to draw its dividends with strict neutrality from either side of an artificial boundary line.

Meanwhile just in the name of common sense how does the whole thing strike you?

You pinch and scrimp and save, Madam House-wife and Mother. You force your weary eyes to remain open a little longer at night in order to put another patch on the little fellow's trousers. And your reward for that will be to learn at the end of the season that your boy's father has been laid off from work because the manufacturer for whom he toils has hundreds of dozens of pairs of unsold trousers left over on his shelves. You save and scrimp and pinch, you cherish eggless recipes and learn to feed your family on six eggs a week and your reward for that is to read one day that $50,000,000 worth of eggs in this country never reach the consumer at all but are sent to the garbage dump and destroyed.*

In the very face of the most palpable and desperate efforts of our owners of industry to work off their surplus product we are cursed in this country with a breed of shallow minded reformers who assume that the remedy for all our economic and industrial ills is to create more product. Back to the Land is a popular slogan with these profound thinkers. Let us raise two hogs where but one was raised before. Or let us put up more dwellings that all may be well housed.

* Statement of Dr. M. E. Pennington, Chief of the Food Research Laboratory of the Department of Agriculture.
Meanwhile miles of bill boarding beseech the prosperous in pocket to buy Our Particular Brand of bacon. And rows of good houses and apartments stand vacant while the poor pack their tenements a little closer. Also rents are no lower but the price of bacon is shoved a notch higher to cover the cost of our latest "advertising campaign" and to pay the latest fine imposed for violation of the Sherman Act.

But the shallow minded reformer apparently uses neither his eyes nor his reasoning faculties. To him appears no flaw in the argument that if 96 per cent of our population are ragged, underfed and ill housed for lack of enough production it should be necessary to expend two billion dollars annually in the insane devices of advertising in order to get rid of a surplus product.

He never once questions the reasonableness of an arrangement by which it is necessary to employ a vast army of shopkeepers, market men, clerks, sales persons, agents, solicitors, advertising staffs and selling experts to supplicate possible purchasers to buy in a country in which the vast majority of the population are lacking the barest physical necessities.

In this country of ours this winter, in the land of boasted Prosperity and Opportunity, it has been estimated by careful investigators that 10,000,000 persons are maintaining existence below the poverty status on the very border line of destitution.

In New York City alone, the wealthiest city of the world, 450,000 men have been in the army of unemployed this winter, 25,000 children go to school each morning unfed and not a day passes without its record of victims perishing in the streets from causes that are politely entered upon police registers as "exposure" and "mal-nutrition."

Freezing and starving to death in the midst of plenty! Freezing and starving in the midst of wealth so abundant that wars are forced if needs be, in order to open "foreign markets" in which to dispose of the surplus.

When the country was young and the wilderness to be conquered men often worked from sunrise to sunset to produce for themselves and their families the things that they needed. Today the great masses of men and women toil long
hours to produce more commodities for those that do not need them because they already have too much.

Between those that do need the wealth and the wealth that they need is interposed the Capitalist or Profit System. They are not allowed to consume the product of labor except by paying a profit to the owners of labor.

The basic principle of Capitalism is that money breeds money. If an owner invests in the stock of an industry $100 this year he expects to take out of that industry $105 next year. If he does not get his increase the enterprise is called a failure. But money does not breed money, wealth does not breed wealth, except out of human toil. Mr. Rockefeller might stack up a pile of dollars as high as the Woolworth building and they would not turn one wheel or stoke one fire. He might cover his vast acres with stocks and bonds and they would not bring out of the earth one gallon of oil.

It is only through human toil that the resources of earth are delivered up to swell the fortunes of the owners. For every dollar of wealth an owner or investor gets that he has not earned, some toiler has earned a dollar that he did not get.

And the dollar that he earned and did not get will be added to the already staggering hoards of the Unconsumed Surplus of the Rockefellers, Astors and Morgans. There all the devices of Newport villas, steam yachts and boarded up Fifth Avenue mansions will not enable these men and their heirs to squander all of their surplus product upon themselves. It will therefore have to be reinvested and will once again constitute an additional demand for profit out of the sweat and blood of labor.

A favorite defence of capitalists used to be that "they give employment to labor." Mrs. Grabbitall's $75,000 dinner dance was justified on the plea that so many persons were given employment in its preparation. The order of mind that finds in this argument a justification for capitalists would doubtless hold that fires and cyclones perform a useful and beneficent service to society. These also destroy what they cannot consume.

"Fleas," observes some philosopher, "give employment
to a dog." But no one ever called them a benefit to the dog. Neither is capital a benefit to labor.

It is not additional toil of which labor stands in need but a chance to gather to itself more of the fruits of its toil.

Under a sane instead of an insane economic system the more the workers produced the greater would be their rewards from their toil. Under a Co-operative or Socialist form of Society increased efficiency on the part of a man or a machine would result in shorter hours of labor and greater benefits to all. Under the present Competitive, Private Ownership form of Society increased efficiency on the part of a man or a machine results merely in throwing greater numbers of his fellow workers out of a job and in piling up the Unconsumed Surplus for the fortunate few.

One man's gain, another man's tragedy. Have you ever stopped to realize that this is what Competition always means?

It has been estimated that even in the present stage of invention all the work of the world necessary to supply mankind with all of its legitimate needs could be performed if each adult person worked four hours a day. The excess time that the great army of workers now toil is in order merely to pile up more interest and dividends for the Rockefellers, the Vanderbilts and the Morgans and more Unconsumed Surplus for which a foreign dumping ground must be found.

Meanwhile Business does not get good and it will not get good. All the tariff tinkering, currency reform, trust busting and the entire program of regulative measures of the Democratic Party, the Republican Party and the Progressive Party will not make business good. All the advertising campaigns and efficiency contests of the commercial experts will not make business good. Strive as we may to conceal this condition, to disguise it under the head of "a temporary depression," to place the blame for it upon the war or upon the tariff, business is bound to get worse and steadily worse. In the very nature of things it can not be otherwise so long as the present organization of Society endures.

More and more factories will shut down, greater numbers of stores are bound to fail, railroads will lay off still more men, an ever increasing army will tramp the streets begging
for what should be the natural heritage of work. While inside
the shops and warehouses will be stored up the commodities
that these men and their kind have produced and for lack of
which their families are suffering in destitution and misery.

There will be not one essential change in these conditions
of widespread wretchedness, Mr. Reformer; your business will
never again be good, Mr. Merchant, until labor gains the pur-
chasing power to buy back its own product.

This will come about only when the wages and salaries
paid to labor equal the full value of the product of labor. That
will be when labor itself instead of capital owns the Nation's
industries. The first big step toward peace, serenity and in-
dustrial freedom will be for the Nation to own and operate the
Trusts, and not to own them and operate them for the benefit
of the Idlers and the Parasites, but to own and operate them
for the sole benefit of the Workers.

In other words to substitute production for use in place of
production for profit.

If this were done, then, when all the legitimate needs of
mankind had been supplied the hours of labor would be short-
ened, production would be reduced and we should be spared
the future spectacle of men lined up to butcher one another
for the sake of foreign markets.

The automatic, relentless Force of invested Capital seek-
ing profit in foreign markets is the one fundamental, economic
cause of this war and of all present day wars.

Only by the re-organization of Industry on a Co-operative
instead of a Competitive principle and by the nationalization
of the machinery of production in order to eliminate the profit
element can the economic cause of war be eliminated.

And we shall not abolish war, make no mistake about
this, until we abolish the cause of war.

Until this is done all the efforts of the Peace Propagand-
ists, all the Hague treaties, all the Arbitration Courts and
Tribunals, all the "enlightened public opinion" are but chaff
before the wind.

So long as we maintain in operation the steady, relentless,
implacable force of invested Capital seeking profit every
would-be safeguard of reason and sentiment will go down before it like a house of cards.

We shall never abolish war until we abolish the economic cause of war.

But this is impossible, you say.

Well, let us see.

Today twelve foreign nations are bending all the resources of government to feed, shelter, clothe, transport and nurse men in order to make them "fit" to go forth and butcher one another.

If our country should become involved in war tomorrow our Government could and would, without legislative formalities and without opposition, seize the railroads, the telegraphs, the coal supplies, all the necessary machinery of production and our Government would begin to feed, shelter, clothe, transport and nurse men in order to make them fit to go forth and butcher one another.

But if governments can do these things for the sake of destroying life why can they not do them for the sake of preserving life?

There are only two reasons why they could not begin to do them tomorrow.

One is the Greed of the present Owners of Industry, the minority. The other is the Conservatism of the non-owners of Industry, the majority, who stupidly acquiesce in the domination of the majority by voting year after year against their own interests and for the continuance of the present system.

Conservatism is the essence of all stupidity.

"What the Hand of Man changeth not for the Better, Time, the great Innovator, changeth for the Worse."

A conservative finds satisfaction in doing a certain thing in a certain way because it always has been done and done in that way.

This in itself should be enough of a reason for doing something different.

Conservatism concerns itself only with reproducing its own previous efforts and is satisfied therewith. It preserves for the sake of preserving, whereas that which has served its purpose should be allowed to pass.
Capitalism has served its purpose and should be allowed to pass.

For if it endures, if this out-worn, perilous system is allowed to continue, mark you what the hideous consequences will be.

The time will surely come, if you allow the Profit System to continue, when the hideous blight and curse of war will descend upon your country, when all of your protests and lamentations will be voiced too late, and when your sons and brothers and husbands will be the victims marched forth to the Human Slaughter House.
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