

There is even less political democracy in Austria-Hungary than in Germany. It was thus long since obvious to those who were willing to cast aside romanticism and face facts that the German army was the ONE great menace to peace, to civilization, to progress and to those free democratic institutions which are a condition precedent to anything approaching a socialistic or communistic organization of modern societies. It was thus clearly the duty of all Socialists in all lands to do their utmost to avert the growth of the threatening Teutonic power. But this was pre-eminently the duty and the high privilege of the German Socialists, for they alone had the power to offer effective opposition to the ambition of militant autocracy to dominate the world and crush out representative democracy all over the earth.

There is only one conceivable answer to this argument. And that is to say that political liberty and representative institutions without industrial democracy and economic equality are empty, worthless baubles not worth fighting to retain. I am aware that there are Socialists who take his position. But that way madness lies. I believe that every upward, forward step the race has taken has been worth while, has been worth fighting for, aye, has been worth its cost in bloodshed. I believe the bourgeoisie have played a great and beneficent role in history. I believe that such democracy and political liberty as they have achieved has gone far to make life endurable to such village-minded anarchists as ourselves. I believe that their mission is still far from being fulfilled; that the world has not yet been made "safe for democracy," and that to join in the task of making it so is the duty of every Socialist just as it is the duty of every good citizen. I believe that Magna Charta was worth while. I believe that the Declaration of Independence, the Virginia Bill of Rights, Valley Forge, Bunker Hill, the Fall of the Bastille, the Battle of the Marne, the heroic defence of Verdun, the recent Russian Revolution with the release of the prisoners in the Fortress of Peter and Paul and the glorious home coming of the Siberian exiles were worth while, and worth all they have cost in human life and treasure. I do not believe our struggle upward and for-

ward has been in vain. And I think it a glorious privilege to be living to-day to do one's part, however humble, in saving the world from the domination of the Habsburgs and Hohenzollerns.

But let us go back to the year 1910. The one great threat to peace and freedom then, as in 1907, was the great German army. We gathered in the great Socialist Congress at Copenhagen well knowing that to be the case, and knowing also that the German Socialists and Socialist Trade Unions had the organized power to make German mobilization both difficult and dangerous for the Kaiser, if they could but be induced to use their might. Once again the attempt was made, this time by the late Keir Hardie of England and Edouard Vaillant of France. They introduced their resolution for a General Strike in case of war. It was well known that the Germans alone had the power to make it effective. And again the Germans would have none of it. I do not wish to attack anyone. But it is well to remember that of the eleven American delegates there only two (Haywood and myself) were outspokenly in favor of the only effective proposition to make aggressive war by Germany impossible. I will not mention names, but at least two of our Socialist "leaders," who, since August, 1914, have been most active in advocating an embargo on food and munitions and other steps directly in the interest of the Hohenzollern, were at Copenhagen, and did not utter a word or cast a vote to bind the German Socialists to make an honest effort to avoid war. They took their cue for guidance from the German Socialists then, just as they have taken it from Scheidemann, Suedekum and other Kaiserites since the war began its devastations.

What is the proper attitude of American Socialists toward this particular war? Let us rather ask what has their actual attitude been thus far? I find the answer on page four of the first number of this magazine in what appears to be a manifesto by the editors. Here it is: "The action of the German Socialists in supporting the Kaiser's government in this war was either openly approved by our official leadership or else we