

# The World Tomorrow

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## Unemployment

A Symposium of Fact and Opinion by

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# Unemployment

## A Symposium of Fact and Opinion

**U**NDER date of January 15th the New York State Industrial Commission reported that the number of workers employed in December "was approximately 300,000 less than in March, 1920, when the highest peak of employment was reached." Furthermore, "during the last three-quarters of 1920, one-fifth of the factory employees of the State were laid off." It is, however, true that "manufacturing activity in general has not yet receded to the level of the period of depression in the winter of 1914-1915." The words "not yet" are significant. The bulletin makes no prophecies.

We have not equally definite figures for the whole United States, but it is certain that New York conditions are typical of American industry. Bread lines, soup kitchens, impoverished lodging houses, the whole paraphernalia of inadequate relief, are again with us. And of the physical suffering and mental anguish in thousands of homes there is no measure.

In view of these facts THE WORLD TOMORROW invited a very considerable number of men and women—social workers, employers, labor leaders, economists, and public officials—to discuss the problem. Not to limit the discussion, but in order to guide it, we sent out the following questions, to which reference is made in many of the replies which we have received:

1. Is the present unemployment likely to continue and to increase?

2. Is unemployment in general preventable?

3. Can unemployment be materially decreased (a) by resumption of trade relations with Soviet Russia, (b) by advancing credit to other European nations?

4. Is it feasible for municipalities, states, or the Federal Government to undertake useful public works at this time in order to furnish employment? Under what conditions could such a plan be made feasible?

5. What other suggestions might there be for dealing with this problem?

6. Is unemployment on a large scale inseparable from the continuance of our present economic system?

The Symposium will be continued in our next issue with further contributions and an editorial summary.

**I** AM not a prophet, neither do I have an acquaintance with business and trade conditions sufficiently intimate to justify me in attempting an answer to some of the questions in your letter of January 12th. I will limit myself, therefore, to questions 4 and 2.

I suppose, in view of the present fact of unemployment, a good many necessary projects will be and should be undertaken by the different governmental units. Doubtless, also, a good many unnecessary and foolish projects will be proposed or entered upon in order to create work for the unemployed. Whatever is done in order to meet the particular emergency now prevailing, and without taking into account the probable recurrence of unemployment on a large scale, is likely to be uneconomic and largely useless. Unemployment cannot be dealt with in any effective way by greeting each new large-scale manifestation of this phenomenon as if it were unexpected, isolated, and temporary. I am not

especially interested in any move that has no broader purpose than meeting the present situation.

The fact that we do not seem to realize is that unemployment is a permanent, and so long as industry is not static, an inevitable phenomenon. It can be reduced to a minimum, but never can be eliminated. What we need to do, then, is to revise our whole notion regarding it and think of the unemployed man, not as an outcast and a liability, but as a social asset. As such, his labor power must be conserved so that it can be exercised in the meeting of social needs when again the opportunity for such service presents itself. In other words, we need to regard labor power as something having at least as much value to society as capital goods. The owner would patch the roof of an idle factory in order to protect the machinery within. It is at least as important to keep a roof over the worker's head and food in his stomach. That much is a social obligation to the man who is willing to work and is denied the opportunity.

JOHN A. FITCH.

**M**Y guess is that the present unemployment will continue in an acute state for the next two or three months and will then decrease.

(2) The hardships contingent upon unemployment are in my opinion to a large degree preventable.

(3) Anything that tends to reestablish industry in Europe will of course affect unemployment most favorably.

(a) Resumption of trade between Russia and European nations would help notably. Our own trade with Russia has never been very important in amount. (b) Advancing credit is a temporary expedient. Our greatest contribution to the reestablishment of European industry is the purchase of vast quantities of her products. Our position as a creditor nation demands that we should import products of from three to five hundred million dollars more than we export.

Economic common sense calls for such legislation as will make this importation as easy and natural as possible.

(4) Present conditions are exactly those under which municipal, state, and federal governments should undertake useful public works on a large scale. Every condition that I see is favorable, except the high cost of money, and the outlook is for a marked reduction in this commodity.

(5) In my opinion, the real solution of our problem of unemployment lies in the establishment by legislation of Unemployment Insurance of half pay to the workers in each industry; this charge being levied against either (a) the individual employer, or (b) fifty-fifty against employer and employee, or (c) against employer, employee, and the state.

The establishment of Federal Labor Exchanges would also assist greatly in the reduction of unemployment.

(6) The hazard of unemployment can be largely eliminated under our present economic system provided this system be reformed as suggested in response to your fifth question.

HAROLD A. HATCH.

**U**NEMPLOYMENT is not a natural or necessary incident of industrial life, but a specific disease of the capitalist order. The people always need clothes, food, buildings, fuel, tools, means of transportation, amusement,

and countless other things which go to make up the requirements of every-day modern life, and workers are always needed to produce these things. A rational and socialized system of wealth production would be based on an accurate determination of the needs of the whole people of a country, the extent of its natural resources, and the full number of its available workers. Such a system would exact from each worker an amount of labor required to keep the community going, and labor would be evenly distributed, regular and continuous.

But our present system of producing and distributing wealth is not organized on a rational plan and has no relation to the needs of the people as consumers or producers. Our industries are managed by numerous competing and conflicting private interests, individual or corporate, operating planlessly and purely for personal gain. The inevitable result is disorder and chaos.

From time to time manufactured commodities accumulate beyond the ability of the people to absorb. The workers get back in wage equivalent only a part of their product. They can not collectively repurchase the things which they have collectively created. The idle minority of the population is not numerous enough to consume the surplus. The "excess" stock of goods can not be exported. In normal times all capitalist countries are in the same situation. In times like the present, when most foreign countries have been pauperized by war, they have no means to import goods.

The accumulated stock of goods therefore remains a drag on the market. It depresses prices and renders it unprofitable to produce more. Factories and plants are shut or their working forces curtailed. Diminished production affects the transportation services and most other lines of industrial activity. Workers are laid off in large numbers. Their earnings are reduced and so is their purchasing power. At a time when the greatest industrial need of the country is to deplete the accumulated and undigested stock of commodities, the people are least able to buy. Overproduction is aggravated by under-consumption.

When the disproportion between supply and demand is relatively mild, industrial stagnation and unemployment are of short duration. When it happens to reach large dimensions, the situation is apt to lead to an industrial crisis, which may last for years and throw millions of workers out of employment.

The government may relieve the misery of unemployment to some extent by various measures often suggested and sometimes tried. But all such measures are of necessity inadequate. No radical method can be devised to overcome the evil under a system of private competitive industries. The cure for unemployment is Socialism.

MORRIS HILLQUIT.

**I** THINK unemployment will grow worse. There might be a seeming improvement in the next twelve months, which I feel will be but temporary.

(2) Unemployment is preventable only when business men change their motive from greed and a narrow selfishness to justice and helpfulness.

(3) Whenever we help anyone with a proper motive, we and they will be helped. If we advance credit to all nations in need, with the idea of making them self-supporting and of getting a very reasonable financial return, I believe unemployment will be started towards a steady decrease.

(4) To make public improvements would help, but I think would be no solution. It would be creating some work to take care of a temporary condition.

(5) Only when we get at a cause will we cure a disease. Creating temporary work is not getting at the cause of industrial chaos. We are about at the end of the Era of Commercialism during which we have tried to make machines of human beings. The blame is equal on the employer and the employee. Each has thought only of self. The employee is now throwing off the yoke of bondage. The biggest need of today, as I see it, is to understand life, which can be done. There is a simple truth that each person is responsible for his acts, even his thoughts. This is a big question and I know the doubts that arise from this statement, but leaving out at this time the doubtful points concerning a child, etc., we must recognize there is only law in the universe. Feelings of anger, fear, greed and lust beget disease, poverty, and crime. We should today begin building for one hundred years hence and see in the child of today the grandparent of tomorrow. Teach them that as their acts wander from justice they punish themselves. The Golden Rule is the only way we can have peace and plenty, which is to get into harmony with life or put love into action. If not, the harm we commit on another, we do to ourselves.

(6) We cannot escape unemployment on a large scale from our present system of commercialism, embodying fear, competition, preying of the strong upon the weak, and our legal system of protecting property and losing sight of the human being.

We need to appoint ourselves citizens, men and women, with a feeling of responsibility for that which takes place within our community and country, and so in a constructive (brotherly) way gradually set our house in order.

MARCEL KRAUSS.

**A**T the outset of any discussion of this problem of unemployment it should be obvious that the reform palliative measures such as a system of Federal Employment Agencies, Labor Union Out-of-Work Benefits, and Unemployment Insurance, necessary as they all are, do not solve the present problem.

The remedy for unemployment is employment; and with the natural resources, financial strength, and labor power of our nation unimpaired, there is no justification for unemployment and no valid reason for considering anything less than the immediate resumption of production at full speed in order to supply the present greatest consumption need of the country and of the world.

The excuses for not resuming industry at full production are: the cry of "over-production," curtailment of our export trade because of Europe's financial crisis, and the refusal or inability of our own people to buy at inflated prices.

Notwithstanding the three billions or more of foodstuffs and manufactured goods stored up in our warehouses because of canceled orders and failure of export trade, there can be no such thing as "over-production" in a nation where one-half of its people own no part of its wealth; where the children from hundreds of thousands of homes either labor in the factories, go to school under-nourished, or are absent from school because of insufficient clothing and shoes.

The problem is one of under-consumption—not over-pro-

duction. Production on a scale never before attempted, and commensurate with the world's needs, should be resumed at once.

Were we to engage in another great war there would be no hesitation in setting all the wheels of industry in motion. What we have yet to learn is that the exigencies of peace are as great as the emergency of war and that if we neglect to act justly and wisely in the present crisis the menace to our country's peace and prosperity may be infinitely greater than any threatened peril of foreign war.

The present system of industry—the system that refuses to produce when the surplus product cannot be sold at a profit—has again absolutely failed to function and to serve the people.

Industry is a scientific or engineering problem. It must be organized on the basis of public service and not of private profit.

It is often said that industry must carry the burden of its own unemployment, and the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations has intimated this in a recent decision.

Under a sane system of industry, however, there could be no such thing as unemployment of able-bodied men and women of productive age where the natural resources of the country are inexhaustible, and the need for production is unlimited for decades to come.

The only obstacle in the way of the resumption of industry in this country is the attitude of those who, through legal and long-established ownership of the resources of the nation, control the machinery of production and refuse to function.

The Housing Laws recently enacted in New York State show clearly how such ownership and control can be regulated and set aside in an emergency. The control of real property—dwellings and apartment houses in New York City—has by these laws been taken from the landlords and lodged in the Courts. Tenants cannot be evicted. Landlords cannot fix rents. Even leases entered into before the laws were passed are set aside, and what constitutes a reasonable rent is decided by the Courts.

It is true that an emergency did not exist, that is, an emergency *in law*, in the case of the 60,000 tenants threatened with eviction, until they had raised such a furore through rent strikes and riots that public attention was attracted to their grievances.

When the public interest was, however, finally aroused, the customary "police club" and "preservation of law and order" methods were not adopted. Instead, a Mayor's Committee to inquire into the complaints of the tenants was appointed; a Joint-legislative Commission held hearings and made its report advocating legislative relief; and the Governor called a special session of the Legislature late in September, 1920, where in a few days, almost without discussion, the housing bills were passed and signed by the Governor; and the 60,000 revolting tenants were not evicted on October 1st.

Intermediate Appellate Courts of the state and nation have passed upon the constitutionality of these laws—two for the laws and one against—and the age-long struggle between human and property rights is being waged in the Courts on the way to the highest Courts of Appeal where, judging from recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court, this "iniquitous and revolutionary legislation" will be promptly annulled and the sacred rights of private

property upheld; and it is true that the laws are revolutionary in effect and without precedent in American legislative action.

In the meantime, the police power of the state, which the U. S. Supreme Court says is the "least limitable of the powers of governments," now used in behalf of the 60,000 rioting tenants, should be invoked to protect the hundreds of thousands of unemployed in our state who may not only be without shelter or means to pay rent, but without food for themselves or their children.

If the condition of these tenants was an emergency calling for the exercise of the police power of the state to preserve the social order and protect the life and health of its citizens, does not a greater emergency exist in the condition of the unemployed, and is it wise or safe for the legislature to wait until hundreds of thousands riot, and create a *legal* emergency, before action is taken in their behalf?

The next step in this state and nation is to appoint State and Federal Commissions on Unemployment and Poverty, which would hold hearings to ascertain conditions and then recommend legislation to at once:

- (1) Inaugurate state and national public works such as road building, modern housing, scientific farming, afforestation, river and harbor improvements, etc., and
- (2) To reopen all closed factories and mines necessary to employ our workers under conditions, as to wages and working standards, in accordance with the proper requirements of American working men and women.

DARWIN J. MESEROLE.

**T**HE best index of the economic situation for the present at least is in the movement of prices. Everybody agrees that prices are going to continue downward. So long as they do, no producer will dare buy to any extent. This of course involves unemployment.

(2) Unemployment is not preventable in a system which pays the worker less in wages than he creates in values. Inevitably, such a situation results in the production of a surplus, the absorption of which depends upon foreign markets and investment opportunities, or some special demand like war. Barring such openings, periods of depression will recur and have recurred ever since 1814, during which unemployment will be general.

(3) Unemployment could not be materially decreased by a resumption of trade relations with Soviet Russia because the total volume of such trade would be a very small fraction of our total product. Neither would the advancing of credit to European nations work. The greater the balance of trade against them, the worse the exchange situation, and the less they will be able to buy.

(4) Officials may institute useful public work at a time like this. Barring the fact that at the beginning of a depression prices are always very high and public funds consequently scarce, this is a palliative, no remedy.

(5) Unemployment is a phase of capitalism and will continue as long as capitalism lasts.

SCOTT NEARING.

#### ADDENDUM: TRADE WITH RUSSIA

**T**HOSE who believe that the resumption of active trade with Russia would materially relieve unemployment in the United States base that belief largely upon the report

brought back by Mr. Washington D. Vanderlip. In a circular of the American Labor Alliance for Trade Relations with Russia which has been sent to us, Mr. Vanderlip is quoted as having said that "Russia is ready to buy three billion dollars' worth of goods from the United States." The statement continues by quoting Mr. Vanderlip's belief:

- (1) That the industrial crisis now threatening us could be prevented because every wheel in the United States could be turning in thirty days if the blockade were lifted.
- (2) That the Soviet Government would fulfill its contracts.

- (3) That the Soviet Government is the strongest government in Europe.
- (4) That Russia could export gold, platinum, flax, furs, timber, pulpwood, ores of various kinds, manganese, oil and oil products, and many other raw materials which America needs.

Finally, Mr. Vanderlip listed in detail an enormous number of materials which Russia stood ready to buy. He even gave the quantities which might be purchased, as for example, 50,000 tons of leather, 2,000 linotype machines, 500 steam engines, 100 ocean-going steamers, 30,000 sets of telephone apparatus, etc.

THE EDITOR.

## The Scab

By Mary Heaton Vorse

SANCHO, the Italian organizer, stood in one corner of the Clothing Makers' Hall talking about the lockout with a friend who had just dropped in on him. Sancho was a big, imposing man; his shoulders were as wide as the door, his chest as thick as a cask. He had an insolently handsome profile, and his laugh when it gurgled out sounded like rich wine gurgling from a tap. Plenty of wine had passed down his throat, you may be sure, and quantities of good macaroni. His whole ample figure smacked of a country where people love music and flowers and gaiety. A rich-looking person Sancho, for all that his clothes were not of the newest. When he shouldered his way through a crowd he walked with so portly an arrogance that people made way for him; when he stopped to speak to a comrade he bent over with an exquisite courtesy and spoke quietly. It made him furious to have to use authority; he liked to get things done through a suggestion, a hint. Now as he talked to his friend he swayed slightly on his small and elegant feet—swayed to and fro like a captive balloon.

"Well, how is it?" his friend asked. "How is the lock-out? Are the people standing firm?"

"You could ask nothing better. Look around, feel it in the air, test it. A labor difficulty is a curious thing. You know that thing that is called *morale*? Who can see it? Who can measure it? No instruments even in this great age, where we discover stars so distant that as your spirit goes out on the track of the star-light it faints with wonder. We have found those instruments to measure distances, but the heart alone is the only instrument for measuring morale. And as I have been watching here in this room week by week it has gone up and up and up, an increasing flame."

He felt that he was speaking well and so he rounded off his periods with loving precision. He saw himself upon the stand talking to an audience, slowly swaying to and fro as he enchanted them with his similes.

"I have been in lock-outs and in strikes where as the weeks went on you could feel the people's courage oozing out. It was like watching someone bleed to death," he ruminated, losing sight of himself a little bit.

Delacato, his friend, said:

"Aren't they working at all in the industry?"

"My friend, a decent coat such as is fit for you to put on your back is not being made in all New York. They can't get tailors to work."

"Then you have no scabs?"

"No," said Sancho, "not what you would call a scab. None of the men are scabbing. I might say that only hunger is scabbing."

Delacato was caught by the phrase. "'Only hunger is scabbing'?" he asked. "What do you mean by that, Sancho?"

"Well, I will tell you what I mean," said Sancho. "I have a friend—you notice I use the word friend—his name is Angelo Tonnetti. And Angelo Tonnetti went to work last week in a scab shop."

"Then I say," said Delacato, "that Angelo Tonnetti is a scab, and therefore he is not fit for honest men to speak to. There is nothing lower on God's earth than a scab, especially a scab in a lock-out."

"And I tell you that Angelo Tonnetti is not a scab," said Sancho, puffing out his great chest. "Hunger was scabbing and not Angelo Tonnetti. And in a day or two hunger can scab no more. In a day or two we will have the commissary open and then hunger will be dead in the industry. Let me tell you a moment before you judge. It is very easy, Delacato, to stand here in this hall and send the soul of another man to hell for doing something we think we would not have done ourselves."

"I say," said Delacato, "that a scab is a scab." He was a broad-shouldered fellow, a little squat, so heavily built that he looked shorter than he was, and every time he said the word "scab" his face flushed as though it hurt him and made him angry to say the word. "And a man who goes to work in a scab shop can be nothing but a scab. And if you begin by saying that hunger scabbed you are doing a dangerous thing, Sancho, for you are excusing a scab. For scabs there are no excuses. A man who scabs in a lock-out puts himself outside the circle of decent men."

"You and Tonnetti would agree well, very well," Sancho said. "That is that Tonnetti thinks, too."

"Well, why did he do it?"

Sancho swayed back and forth. He whistled under his breath in a sort of sibilant whisper as though reflecting how best to put it.

"Tonnetti, you know, is a cripple," he began, as though taking hold of what he had to say at random like a man who grabs a rabbit by the hind legs instead of by the ears. "And Tonnetti was the happiest fellow in all the shop. How

# Ex Libris

## Socialism and Communism

*Karl Marx.* By Achille Loria. Authorized translation from the Italian with a foreword by Eden and Cedar Paul (Thomas Seltzer).

*Creative Revolution.* By Eden and Cedar Paul (Thomas Seltzer).

EDEN and Cedar Paul have presented the thinking public with two very valuable pieces of work. One is an English translation of Achille Loria's *Karl Marx*; the other is an interpretation, from the communist point of view, of the present revolutionary movement.

Loria's *Karl Marx* is published with a foreword, half as long as the essay itself, in which the translators tolerantly accept Loria's views as coming from a previous generation. Perhaps the contrast between the older Socialism and the newer Communism could not be better made than by reading first Loria's essay, and then the foreword by the translators.

The real contribution of Eden and Cedar Paul, or perhaps it might be more correct to say, the larger edition of their contribution, is contained in *Creative Revolution*. With the exception of two pamphlets by Lenin, no sympathizer with the communist point of view has been at such pains to present that view clearly, fairly, and in a manner readily understood.

The authors are not servile followers of Karl Marx. They appreciate his contributions generously, but they move beyond them, recognizing the inability of Marx, a half century before the event, to foresee the detail of the problems which the proletarian revolution would bring in its train.

The book includes several chapters of transcendent importance, notably those on "Socialism Through the Class Struggle," "The Shop Stewards' Movement," "The Third International," "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat," and "Socialism Through Parliament or Soviet."

The thesis of the book is that "the only war that will end war is the class war, fought out to its ultimate issue" (p. 88). The authors add that the struggle should be kept off from the military field if possible. "We pursue our aims wherever possible by the peaceful methods of workers organizing in new and more effective ways. Direct action need not necessarily lead to bloodshed, but fight we shall if fight we must, to promote the coming of ergatocracy. . . . The day for pacifism will not come until all the heads of the capitalist hydra have been cut off" (p. 1063).

There were, the authors hold, three primary lessons from the Russian Revolution:

1. The futility of Tolstoyan pacifism.
2. The supreme value of the Soviet as a revolutionary instrument.
3. The need of a Third International.

Pacifism, the authors insist, deceived the radicals. "During the opening phases of the war few of us in the Left Wing were entirely free from the illusions of pacifism" (p. 99). The experiences of the Russian Revolution have shown, however, the futility of pacifism as a method of attaining the communist objectives. Consequently, "in this

country the pacifists today are not found among the Communists of the Left Wing. Our point was that the war was not our war" (p. 100).

The Russian Revolution has played its part in clarifying the issues as they have never been clarified before in recent times. "The Russian Revolution has simplified the issues, so that he who runs may read. For us there is only one war, that of Labor against Capital" (pp. 105, 106).

Social solidarity, in any comprehensive sense, the authors hold to be impossible under capitalism. Therefore, they welcome the Third International, with its efforts to split the working class of Europe into two groups. On no other basis will it be possible to separate the parliamentary Socialists, who are at heart Nationalists, from the real revolutionary elements in the working-class movement, which desire to make a clean job of the revolution. The remnant may be small, but "we who know that no one is of value to the revolutionary movement who is not ready to go 'over the top' when the tocsin sounds," realize that what is needed is not quantity, but quality of revolutionary fervor.

The chapter on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is well written and very much to the point, following closely the teachings of Karl Marx and Lenin's utterances and writings.

After so much has been written, camouflaged and in equivocal language, it is a pleasure to find a book so clear-cut, so incisive and so direct in its wording and in its thought. The authors have stated the doctrines of Communism popularly, and they have given its practices a relation to doctrine which has not been excelled in any other work published in English during the last two years.

I still believe as firmly as ever that the principles of pacifism represent the most workable social philosophy. I am therefore at total variance with the authors in their interpretation of the lessons which the Russian Revolution has taught. At the same time, I am glad to welcome their contribution because of the splendid effect which it will have in clarifying issues that have puzzled and baffled so many earnest souls during the past few months.

SCOTT NEARING.

## Social Drama on a Large Scale

*The World's Illusion.* By J. Wassermann. 2 vols. (Harcourt, Brace & Howe.)

OF the host of books that one reads year in and year out, most are consigned to a swift oblivion. Some few are recalled with pleasure at times by odd chances of association. A very few we come to feel that we could not do without. These have chanced to strike some deeply sympathetic chord in our nature, so that they have affected us with peculiar and individual intensity.

For myself, I place *The World's Illusion* in the last group. It is one of the novels that I should not care to have missed; though this does not mean that others would have the same feeling about it.

Were there considerable space at my disposal I should tell the story and review the excellencies of the book at some length. A brief description must suffice instead. *The*

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## Some Questions for Christians

*IF* we must forgive if we expect to be forgiven,  
Is it right to hold resentment against a nation?

*IF* we are to overcome evil with good,  
Should we rely on an army and navy to overcome an evil nation?

*IF* we are not to show respect of persons,  
Should we treat people of other races, no matter what their color, differently from those of our own?

*IF* Christ died for us while we were yet sinners,  
Should we deal out retribution to those who break our laws?

*IF* greatness is to be measured by service,  
Should we accord preeminence to those who dominate by their power?

*IF* we are to seek the Kingdom before everything else,  
Can that ideal be harmonized with the present dominant motives in industry?

*IF* love never faileth,  
Need we rely upon force as a last resort?

*The answer of The Fellowship of Reconciliation to these questions can be had from the Secretary, 118 East 28th St., New York City.*

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**SCOTT NEARING**

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versus

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# MORE WAR

By Scott Nearing

“**W**AR is written on every page of the Treaty,” said a friend to me the other day.

“And war is also written in every line of the economic situation,” I replied.

Politically and economically the world is preparing for a continuation of the Great War on a still greater scale, and the United States will be the storm center when the war breaks. Its riches are the largest, twice over, of any of the nations; its power is therefore the most to be feared; its rulers have laid out a program of world conquest, and already they are busy putting it into effect; two empires stand in the way, and with these empires the United States is preparing to fight.

There is only one time to stop this new war—before it begins.

If the war is to be stopped the American people must stop it, and they cannot act unless they have the facts.

I have collected the essential facts about the situation in a book of 272 pages entitled **The American Empire**, which the Rand School has just published.

With this book we are planning to break through the wall of silence with which the press has surrounded the American people, and with a little help from you we can do it.

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