# THE FUTURE OF IMMIGRATION

**Europe as the Land of Promise After the War.**

(By John Gabriel Soltis.)

Considerable thought is given in the various expressions of the labor movement on the future of immigration. It is held by most labor men, both in this country and in the United States, that once the war ceases there will be a veritable deluge of immigrants to our shores from the continent of Europe. This belief is predicated upon the assumed fact, that this supposed immigration will receive an impetus from the circumstance of a Europe ruined and devastated; that the workers of Europe will flee the sorrow and misery which the scientific butchery of the working classes, otherwise known as war, will leave as their heritage. This opinion is very plausible, but it ignores both the point of view of our arrived immigration and changing economic and social conditions of Europe.

The immigration to America for the last decade has been studiously solicited by the despicable capitalistic class. It was not voluntary as immigration used to be. It flowed to America, lured by the false and specious promises of merciless labor assassinators. To induce the Polish peasant to leave his clod of clay, and enter a mine, mill or factory, in America, required indeed a sparkling array of lies, once the tenacity of the peasant to the land is known. He left his clod of clay, but it was with the understanding that he would acquire a large farm.

He entered the grinding and pulverizing shell of capitalistic industry. He is still in it. Instead of acquiring a large farm he lost his clod of clay, and his social life. Not only that, when he combined to better his lot in the capitalist hell the gentleman who imported him to our shores turned the machine guns on him and the prostituted press called him names, as it still continues to do. Consequently the immigrant within our midst to-day has anything but respect for "our" institutions.

Mr. Frederic C. Howe, commissioner of the port of New York, an eminent authority on immigration, and a man who combines knowledge of the needs and aspirations of the immigrant with a sympathetic understanding, a rare combination indeed, says that there will be no immigration from Europe after the war. However, he does prove that there will be a vast migration to Europe. It is estimated that there will be two million people who will return to Europe the first year after the war. This estimate is based upon a canvass made of steamship lines and railway ticket offices, where applications have been made for passage. These figures are for the United States. There will also be a proportionate exodus out of Canada, and for very much the same reasons.

When Mr. Howe was asked to explain the raison d'etre of this emigration, he said: "Many, perhaps a majority, will leave America because of industrial conditions. It has been said that the Texan hates the Slovak and the Northener hates the 'greaser'; but, to both, it is America who has not welcomed them." Further, Mr. Howe stated: "The increasing difficulty, and in many cases the practical inability of the immigrant to acquire permanent homes," is a good and sufficient reason.

Mr. Howe also recognizes what has been known for a long time to the Socialist, namely: "They came here after having been told that this was the paradise for the home lover. That in the United States every man could easily acquire a home, which, in a former generation was true, but not now. So they are going back where they think they can get homes."

It is clear, therefore, that the immigrant has all the reasons in the world to return to his native sod, and none to remain here. He has been terribly disillusioned and has awoke to the existence of sad realities.

In contrast to the inhuman and therefore unbearable conditions which the immigrant has to face in America, Mr. Howe makes reference to the changing conditions of Europe, due almost entirely to the war. He says:

"It is universally predicted that the end of this war will see a swift rising tide of legislation along Socialistic lines. That may mean the distribution of lands."

"Every country in Europe is working out organized plans to foster this very movement which I am forecasting. In every country from Ireland to the Black Sea, the days of absentee landlordism and of vast uncultivated estates, no matter who owns them, are probably over. Every European government is awake to this condition.

Mr. Howe states the case admirably. He could have said en' passant, that the revolutionary Socialists of all nationalities will be the letit motif behind this legislation.

We conclude then, that instead of Europe pouring hordes of immigrants to America after the war, it will be just vice versa. Undoubtedly the worker who has ascribed all of his social and economic ills, to the influx of the "foreigner," will hail this chang as a solution of his misery. This worker is due for another good jolt if he thinks so, and he is sure to get it. It is well to remember Tolstoi's adage: "The capitalist will do everything for the worker save get off his back."

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## THE MILITARY REVOLUTION.

Gun cotton was discovered in 1846 by the Swiss chemist Schoenbein; nitro glycerine was discovered in 1847 by the Italian chemist Sobrero; but it was not until the close of the eighties that means were discovered of applying these two important smokeless explosives for military purposes. Both gun cotton and nitro glycerine (the latter in the shape of dynamite—invented by Nobel in 1866) had been put into use for blasting purposes before a successful military smokeless powder was prepared by their use. It was in fact not until 1889 that Cordite, a gelatinized form of gun cotton mixed with nitro glycerine, was invented. It was also not until the latter half of the eighties that picric acid was applied to the preparation of high explosixe shells. This application of picric acid, under the name Melinite, was first made in 1886 by a Frenchman, Turpin.

The Whitehead torpedo in its earliest form was produced in 1866. A practical automatic gun was produced only in 1884, when Maxim invented his machine gun. The Holland submarine was not built until 1900. The first Dreadnaught was built only in 1906. Aeroplanes had developed sufficiently to fly across the English channel only in 1909. The Bessemer process for the preparation of the metal without which the means of destruction could never have reached their present degree of development—steel—was discovered in 1855 only. And, as regards the metal aluminum, which is so important for aviation: there was no commercial process at all for its manufacture prior to 1885. The production of it in 1890 was only 280,000 lbs.; in 1912 it was 130,000,000 lbs.

I cite these data in order to direct attention to the fact that the application of scientific and technical knowledge to military preparation has brought a Military Revolution comparable in many senses with, but later in date than, that change in industry which the use of steam power and machinery brought about and which is usually known as the Industrial Revolution. In this article I wish to consider the significance of this Military Revolution and the fundamental issue which it presents.

Socialists have always insisted that, since the Industrial Revolution took place, the continually-increasing productivity of human labor and the continually-increasing complexity of the tools of industry, which have resulted from the application of natural forces to industry, have given to the question of production in the present period a character very markedly different from that which it has borne at any former period of human history, and have made it essential that the tools of industry should not be allowed to remain under private control and that the extra productivity of industry should not be allowed to operate for the special benefit of the privileged individuals. Socialists may well point out in addition that, not only in regard to production, but also in regard to destruction, has the scientific application of natural forces and revolutionary effects which make radical changes essential and (it is now clear) even urgent. It is important to insist that, not only in its industry, but also in its warfare, is the present era strikingly differentiated from any preceding era, by the immense changes which the application of engineering and chemical processes have effected and will further effect. If the Industrial Revolution has made powers of destruction many times greater than they formerly were, so the corresponding Military Revolution, brought about by the application of science and mechanical knowledge to the instruments of war, has made the powers of destruction vastly greater than formerly. The Industrial Revolution took place at the close of the eighteenth century. The Military Revolution took place considerably later, but proceeded from similar general causes and presented the same general character, namely: a greatly increased degree of mechanization.

### Military Rivalry Must Cease.

The Military Revolution has brought such an increase in powers of destruction, and the development of its earlier counterpart, the Industrial Revolution, has at the same time made possible the release when desired of such a large number of men from their ordinary occupations for the purpose of devoting themselves, either in the field or in the factory, to destruction, that the problem raised by preparation for war is now profoundly different in its character from that at any former period and has an urgency which makes a radical solution imperative. The matter is one on which the race cannot afford to sit down and theorize at leisure. The provision of a solution within a comparatively short period is to civilization a matter of life and death.

The world's future cannot like its past be full of battles; for, if it were, civilized society would shortly come to an end. Civilized mankind must cease to devote its energies to extending and improving the means of destruction; the rivalry in armaments must be brought to an end; or the race will destroy itself. These statements are not the sentimental exaggerations of a pacifist, but the coldest and most certain facts. The "historical mind," which tends to be bound in its contemplation of the future by an assumption of "historical continuity" with a past which it envisages as filled chiefly with rivalries between states expressed and decided by a series of significant battles, is not the type of mind to which mankind must now look for leadership. Since the Military Revolution occured, it has become imperative that, in regard to national rivalries, the future shall be definitely discontinuous with the past.

I have already pointed out that the high explosives which were so important a factor in the Military Revolution were first brought into military use only about thirty years ago, and even that a material so fundamentally important in modern warfare as steel plates, as regards its production in quantity, from 1855 only. It will not appear surprising that the Military Revolution, which has so greatly extended man's powers of destruction, should have occured only thus recently, when it is recalled that the rapid development of experimental science, which distinguishes the present age from any preceding one, and on which the Military Revolution depends, began little more than a century ago.

If competition in armaments continues after the present war, it is almost certain that powers of destruction will become even more devastating and will develop even more rapidly than during the last fifty years. For the war has greatly stimulated the development of destructive agencies. Poisonous gases, asphyxiating and lachrymal bombs, fire ejectors, aerial torpedoes, land battleships ("tanks"), and other mechanical appliances or applications of chemical knowledge, have been added to the available means of destruction; and, if military rivalry continues when the war has closed, there is no doubt whatever that a very much larger amount of scientific and technical research will be directed by the civilized nations to developing and perfecting means of destruction than ever before. And, if such rivalry and such development is allowed to continue, can there be any doubt as to the ultimate outcome?

### Mechanism of War.

Many persons who admit the essential folly of war, nevertheless regard as Utopian any suggestion that wars should cease in our own age, and are ready to contemplate a further period of, say, a thousand years, during which the nations will fight among themselves, before they finally abandon war. To such persons it must be pointed out that, since the Military Revolution, it is quite impermissible to contemplate a future era of successive wars. Long before a thousand years had elapsed, civilized society would have been destroyed. What such persons regard as Utopian must come to pass comparatively shortly, or civilization will disappear. I can see no other possibility for the future.

Society controls the use of poisons; and, for the sake of its own survival, mankind will have to bring the use of explosives and other means of destruction also under control. Poisons are extremely valuable in their proper application. Thus, for example, a large quantity of arsenic—a quantity many times in excess of that which would be required to kill the whole human race—is used every year with beneficient results in agricultural and horticultural practice. Explosives, too are very valuable in their proper application; but, as in the case of poisons, application to the destruction of human life will have to be prevented. In the case of explosives, however, the control will have to be international, and not, as in the case of poisons, local or national, because the chief danger from the use of explosives for life-destruction arises in regard

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