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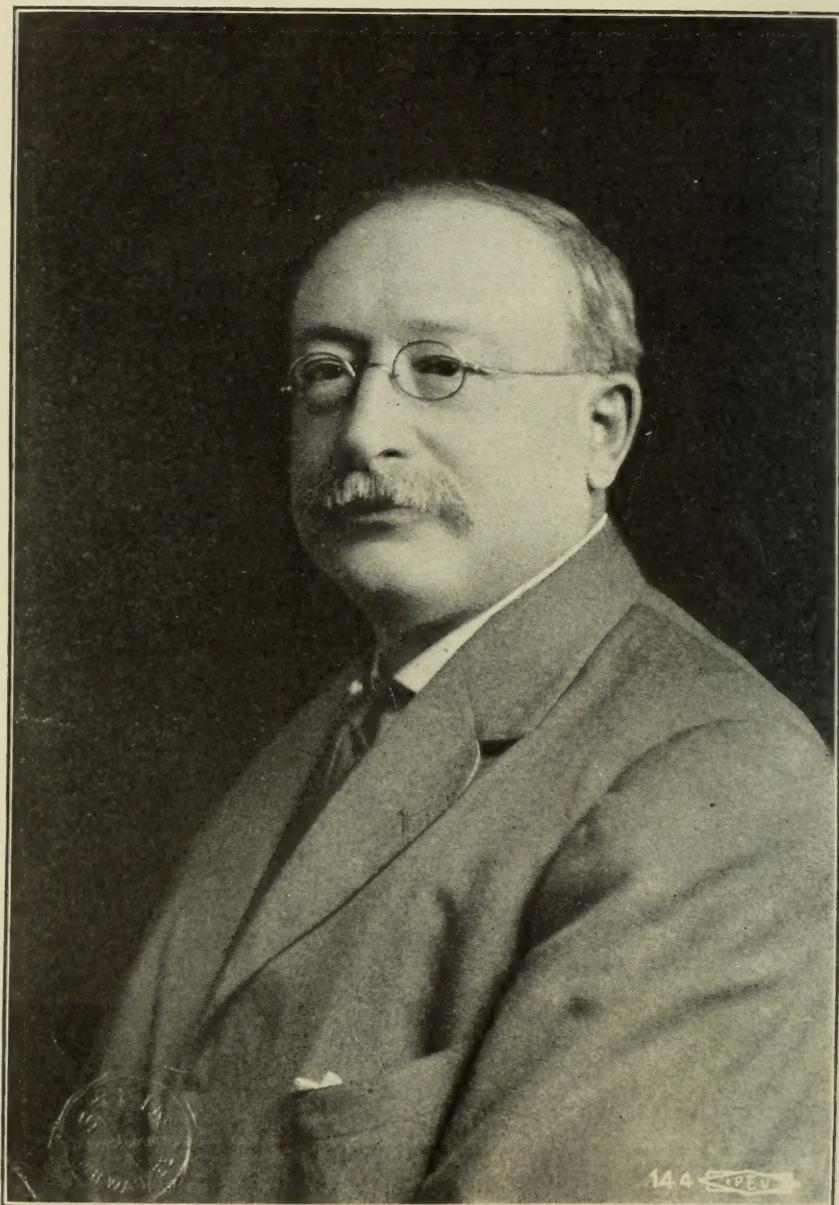




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VICTOR L. BERGER
First Socialist Elected to Congress

BROADSIDES

By VICTOR L. BERGER

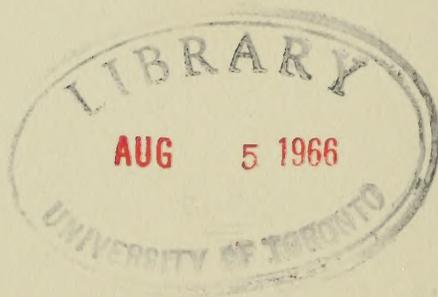
First Socialist Congressman



Third Edition

Milwaukee
Social-Democratic Publishing Company
1913

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Real Social-Democracy.

WRITTEN IN SEPTEMBER, 1906.

As I have often said, whether with or without social reform we cannot escape Social-Democracy. The co-operative commonwealth is the aim towards which, from a law of nature, the entire political and economical development of modern times is moving.

Social-Democracy is the goal of the evolution. And not by any means a far distant goal. Nor is it the *last station* on the road which humanity will have to follow. Progress will never stop.

The Social-Democracy is the *next* station. We are speeding toward it with the accelerating velocity of a locomotive on the road.

It is only a convincing confirmation of this view, that the "*social question*" now stands everywhere in the *foreground of public discussion*.

We all know from history that an old order of society was always doomed, when its appointed guardians and supporters felt called upon to make the demands of the adherents of the new order their own—when they tried to steal the revolutionist thunder, as the saying is.

Of course, LaFollette, Bryan, Hearst, etc., want to "steal our thunder" for exactly opposite purposes from ours. They want to *preserve the system*.

* * *

But we are *revolutionists*.

We are *revolutionary* not in the vulgar meaning of the word, which is entirely wrong, but in the sense illustrated by history, the only logical sense. For it is foolish to expect any result from riots and dynamite, from murderous attacks and conspiracies, in a country where we have the ballot, as long as the ballot has not been given a full and fair trial.

We want to *convince* the *majority* of the people. As long as we are in the minority, we of course have *no right to force our opinions upon an unwilling majority*.

Besides, as modern men and true democrats, we have a somewhat less romantic and boyish idea of the development of human things and social systems. And we know that one can kill tyrants and scare individuals with dynamite and bullets, but one cannot develop a system in that way.

Therefore no true Social-Democrat ever dreams of a sudden change of society. Such fanatic dreamers nowhere find more determined opponents than in the ranks of the true Social-Democrats.

* * *

We know perfectly well that force serves only those who have it, that a sudden overthrow will breed dictators, that it can promote only subjection, never liberty.

We even propose a *general arming* of the *people* as the *safest* means of *preventing sudden upheavals* and of preserving Democracy.

The Social-Democrats do not expect success from a *so-called* revolution—that is, a smaller or bigger riot—but from a *real* revolution, from *the revolutionising of minds*, the only true revolution there is.

Yet we do not deny that *after* we have *convinced the*

REAL SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

majority of the people, we are going to use force *if* the *minority* should *resist*. But in every democracy the majority rules, and *must* rule.

It is clear that this revolution of the minds cannot be brought about in a day or two, nor can it be arranged according to the pleasure of a few. It can only be attained by patient work and intelligent organization.

Therefore the Social-Democrats concentrate their whole force on agitation and organization. The Social-Democratic leaders in every country as a general rule are matter-of-fact, cool-headed persons. The Social-Democratic troops are known to be the best disciplined in existence.

* * *

Up to a certain point, therefore, the tactics of the Social-Democrats and the social reformers are *exactly the same*. Both build upon the past historical development and take into consideration the present conditions.

The Social-Democrats absolutely refuse to break off the thread of history at any one place. No Social-Democrat ever dreams of introducing a year 1 and beginning a new era with it, as did the fathers of the great French Revolution—which was indeed entirely in harmony with *their* “*a priori*” and doctrinaire methods.

The Social-Democrats leave the making of the calendars to *other people*.

But the tactics and the aims of the Social-Democrats do indeed *differ* from those of the social reformers in one *essential* point. The Social-Democrats never fail to declare that with all the social reforms, good and worthy of support as they may be, conditions cannot be radically and permanently improved.

We Social-Democrats say, we are willing to accept and help on every social reform. But we also say that social reforms are but installments by which we must not allow ourselves to be bribed; that full economic freedom will only be achieved by Social-Democracy.

Yet as a *stepping stone*, as a *transition*—and even as a *necessary stepping stone and as an indispensable transition*—social reforms of all kinds are fully and wholly recognized by the Social-Democracy.

We recognize their usefulness and necessity even when we do not agree with the motives of the promoters and leaders of social reform. We are willing to accept these reforms, even when we disagree about their speed and the methods to be employed.

On the other hand, while the social reformers and the Social-Democrats therefore have many points of contact, *they always will form and must form two entirely different parties*. And it is not arbitrarily and willfully that the Social Democrats all over the world constitute a distinct, separate party. It is absolutely necessary. And it does not in any way exclude the possibility of making common cause with social reform in legislature and city councils for this or the other good measure. But to keep our party organically *separate and intact* is a demand of *clearness and truth*, which after all have great importance in political life as everywhere else.

* * *

The Social-Democrats do *not* in the least expect to “make history,” as certain ignorant and fanatical impossibilists dream of doing. What we aspire to is much more modest, more matter-of-fact, and therefore more reliable and more substantial.

We want to observe closely the course of things, the development of economic and political conditions. We want to find out, if possible, where this development leads. Then, supported by this knowledge, we want to put ourselves in line with the march of civilization, so that civilization will carry us, instead of crushing us, which it would do, if—knowingly or not—we should stand opposed to it.

* * *

Thinking workmen and thinking men of any class become Social-Democrats not because we like to be “different” from other people. Not because a man by the name of Karl Marx has “invented the co-operative commonwealth” and painted it as gorgeously as possible—which by the way he did *not* do. We are Social-Democrats because we have recognized that the economical development of the present capitalist system leads toward Socialist production. Not that we wish to urge upon humanity “our” Socialist Republic, but that the *Socialist Republic* has urged itself upon us as the *next stage of civilization* and will urge itself some day upon *all civilized* humanity.

And once *granted* that the Socialist Republic is the *necessary* product of our economical development, the question of the *possibility* of carrying out the demands of the Social-Democracy appears very *naive* and indeed absurd. That which *must* come by *necessity* is for that very reason *possible without further question*.

We Did Not Create Classes.

WRITTEN IN MAY, 1908.

DAVID S. ROSE and his crowd did not make an intellectual campaign of any kind in the recent Milwaukee election. They depended mainly upon money, personal slander and the free beer and whiskey which they gave away to the sovereign voters before and after meetings.

However, in a hazy way they occasionally attempted to convey the idea that the Social-Democrats try to incite class antagonism and class hatred.

As far as Dave is concerned this is hardly worth answering. Dave himself does not know what he was talking about. His idea of politics is graft, a "wide open town" and general debauchery. He and his gang are below our criticism. Dave Rose ought to be answered only by the district attorney, the grand juries and the courts.

* * *

However, there are some decent men who really believe that the Social-Democrats are trying to create class antagonism and are preaching the class struggle.

There are really well meaning men in this country who still believe that, this being a republic, there are no

classes in the United States. They claim that everybody here is free and the equal of everybody else.

There are some such people in the middle class, and there are some even among the working class, who repeat these hollow phrases. And here and there even a capitalist may be found who will say so, although he does not believe it because he knows better.

* * *

As a matter of fact, under the present capitalist system, we have three classes, roughly speaking.

The first class is the plutocracy, composed of wealthy bankers, railway magnates, corporation directors, trust magnates, etc., or people who are doing nothing and inherited their wealth.

The next class is the middle class, composed chiefly of small manufacturers, merchants, farmers and some professional men.

The third class is the proletariat, made up of wage workers and some persons in professional occupations.

Now, according to the census of 1900, the total wealth of this country is about \$95,000,000,000.

The capitalist class numbers about 250,000 persons. They own \$67,000,000,000, or 70.5 per cent of the total wealth.

The middle class numbers about 8,430,000 persons, owns \$24,000,000,000 or 25.3 per cent of the total value.

The proletarian class numbers 20,400,000 persons actually employed, and owns \$4,000,000,000 or 4.2 per cent of the wealth.

It is unnecessary for me here to dwell on the difference in the lives, mode of living and general standard

of the different classes. I may take this up in some other article.

But the existence of classes is nothing new—the class struggle is many thousand years old. It began the very moment civilization began.

In the most democratic republic of Athens and the aristocratic republic of Sparta, and later on in Rome, the people were divided into different classes, with different rights and different duties, according to their wealth. Some of these classes were hereditary to begin with—always provided that the respective family could keep its wealth. In Rome, the Censor would assemble the Roman people every four years, have every citizen show up his wealth and put him into his respective class. And the great Cato the Censor got the honorable name of Censorius because he would expel from the senatorial class the man who could not show the necessary wealth to belong to that class.

And in all these ancient civilized commonwealths there was to be found a large stratum of citizens who owned nothing—and which in Rome was called the proletariat, because the only capacity in which its members could serve their country was by furnishing children for the state.

Nor was this all.

Lower still—most numerous—and belonging to no class were the *slaves*. They did not own their bodies, and were not supposed to have any souls. Plato described the slaves as “animated tools.” The slaves were either captured as prisoners of war or were made slaves on account of debts—or were the descendants of such persons.

The class struggle then was very crude and very brutal. So much for ancient civilization.

* * *

We all know that the classes almost took the form of castes under the feudal system. Everybody was pressed into an iron mould.

Society then was really a pyramid with the king on top. The high clergy and the feudal lords, the patricians and the burghers of the cities formed the upper layers, and the serfs owned by the lords formed the lower layers of the pyramid.

And under the feudal system also as everywhere else, wealth and land gotten by force, cunning, or in any other way, furnished the basis of the classification.

* * *

The capitalist system, of course, has changed the mould. But the class distinction and the class differences and the class struggle have remained. In fact, the struggle is now more subtle, but more bitter than ever.

Under former civilizations, in almost every case the class distinction was the result of war. And the ruling class was made up of the members of the victorious tribe or the victorious nation. This was generally the case in ancient times and almost invariably so during the middle ages.

The ruling class usually was the stronger, the more able part of the population. As a whole it was the only class that had any education fitted for the conditions of the time.

Thus the medieval lord was unquestionably the best fighter of his day. He was trained for warfare, clad in

iron, and spent all his life in hunting or fighting. The average medieval lord in war was good for about twenty peasants. Five or six hundred of these lords could go out to conquer a country.

When the Archduke Leopold undertook to conquer Switzerland, he had an army of about six hundred, and that was considered a most tremendous fighting force. And if it had not been for the mountains and the rocks of Switzerland, he would have accomplished his purpose.

* * *

Without any doubt, in former days the ruling class were made up of the most capable and energetic part of the people. The great mass of the respective nation was also inferior to them intellectually.

Besides, in every one of these epochs they could claim, and did claim, that it was the will of God Almighty that they should rule, and that the others should serve and obey.

In old Greece and old Rome the patrician families usually also claimed descent from some god.

And all during the middle ages the church supported the claim of the feudal system to be "God ordained." The church was a beneficiary of the system to no small extent—the bishops and abbots having great estates and ruling the people.

Besides, the ruling classes were not only more able than these lower classes, but in many cases they differed in nationality, speech and general make-up.

Thus, for instance, the Norman lords spoke French in England for a long time. In France, the Franks were a German tribe who had taken possession of Gaul. In many parts of Germany, the Germans had subjugated

the Wends and other Slavic tribes. Hence there was an element of conquest in every case.

* * *

In modern countries, the conditions are entirely different.

The conquered class is of the same nationality, the same speech, the same mode of thought. And the ruling class is not better or stronger, nor more able in any way.

Since the general introduction of public schools, the proletarians as a whole get at least the elements of the same kind of education. The ability to read and write opens to them the same avenues of knowledge and mental power that the ruling class possesses.

The proletariat and the middle class not only do all the useful and necessary work which is to be done under the present civilization, but they also have to keep up that civilization.

Today civilization depends entirely upon the proletariat and middle class for its existence.

And what is more, the capitalist class is even unable to defend its position in case of danger. If there is any fighting to be done, the capitalist class has to hire the proletariat to do the fighting.

The capitalist class holds its position only because the proletariat is asleep and is not conscious of its strength.

A statesman of old Rome said that the Romans could hold their slaves because they had never counted themselves and their masters.

However, since we have universal suffrage, there is a good chance to count ourselves and our masters at every election.

Nor would the claim that God has ordained class rule, hold good today. Not even the most stupid Slovak would believe Ogden Armour that God has ordained that he should speculate in wheat or put rat manure in sausage in order that he may make millions every year and thus keep up his end in the plutocracy. And there are very few priests who would dare to support such a theory in all its nakedness, no matter how much Armour might be willing to pay.

Nor would any one believe young Thaw or young Gould that they are descended from the gods.

* * *

Unless plutocracy can persuade the majority of the people to close up all the public schools and make illiterates of the next generation, and unless it can also persuade them to give up the electoral franchise, plutocracy is doomed. So much is clear.

And that is the reason why we Social-Democrats can look with such equanimity and complacency into the future.

Are Socialists Practical?

WRITTEN IN MARCH, 1903.

SOME Democratic and Republican politicians sneer at the Socialists because we are "idealists." The others claim that we are as a whole "pretty good fellows," but utterly "impractical."

Now what is Socialism? Socialism is defined as the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. It is the name given to the next stage of civilization, if civilization is to survive.

As a matter of fact, the centralization of the control of property in a few hands is increasing with a rapidity that threatens the existence of civilization.

Within a short time we shall have two nations in every civilized country, and especially in America—both of native growth.

One nation will be very large in number, but semi-civilized, half-fed, half-educated and degenerated from overwork and misery; the other nation will be very small in number, but overcivilized, overfed, overcultured and degenerated from too much leisure and too much luxury.

What will be the outcome?

Some day there will be a volcanic eruption. The hungry millions will turn against the overfed few. A fear-

ful retribution will be enacted on the capitalist class as a class—and the innocent will suffer with the guilty.

Such a revolution will retrograde civilization—it might throw back the white race into barbarism. Let us heed the warning of history.

Every honest and practical man—and every patriot who can think—ought to say to himself the following:

The machinery and all the progress in the implements of production today we do not want to destroy and we cannot destroy, if we are to have civilization. Modern humanity does not intend to go back to the barbarism of the middle ages.

But as long as the instruments of production—land, machinery, raw materials, railroads, telegraphs, etc.—remain private property, only comparatively few can be sole owners and masters thereof. And so long as such is the case, they will naturally use this private ownership for their private advantage.

The present system was a step in the evolution to freedom, but only a step—it has already resulted in making comparatively few the absolute masters of our daily bread.

There is but one deliverance from the rule of the people by capitalism, and that is the rule of capital by the people.

If so much of what has been considered private property is to be absorbed in great monopolistic ownership—and there is nothing that can stop it—then, if we are to remain a politically free people, the inevitable outcome will be that the people must take possession collectively of the production and distribution.

And this is called Socialism.

It is simply a matter of growth and of evolution. Yet we must not forget that though society truly an organism, the evolution of society does not take place precisely like the growth of plants and animals. The former is the result of efforts consciously put forth; the progress of man requires the co-operation of men. Therefore, while it is true that Socialism will be the outcome of economic conditions, if civilization is to survive, we must see to it that civilization does survive.

The idea that because Socialism is bound to come, we do not have to work for it, would be fatalistic, and might prove fatal to civilization. Carlyle is right, when he says: "The history of what man has accomplished is at bottom the history of the great men who have worked here."

An idea to be successful must be in harmony with surrounding conditions, but that alone is not enough. It must be propagated and made alive in men and women. There must be a few people, at least, who care a great deal about the idea and who feel a resistless impulse towards its propagation.

And in that respect the Socialists are eminently practical people. Since Socialism is to be the next phase of civilization—as the trusts, the centralization of property and every new invention seem to prove—those who act as the roadmakers and pathfinders for the new civilization do eminently practical work indeed.

I have indicated before that we are not able to destroy the present order of society at one blow, without destroying civilization. Society is an organization. We are not able to start all afresh. We cannot begin civilization all over again. Socialism must emanate from capitalism, as capitalism developed out of feudalism.

Our present civilization has gradually grown up, and the future civilization must grow out of this.

If society could be compared to a house, we could simply tear it down and build a new mansion on modern lines with every convenience. But we cannot compare a living organism with a house—at the best we could say that our task is to convert the old house into a new, up-to-date mansion and to keep it habitable all the time while we are rebuilding.

We know what we want. The Social-Democratic party is essentially a constructive organization. Whenever and wherever we pull out an old brick or take down a dangerous wall, we have something better ready in its place.

Now it has been shown that public ownership is better than private ownership. Who would hand over the post-office, for instance, although it is not an ideally managed institution, to Mr. Rockefeller or Mr. Gould? Or what Milwaukee citizen would like to see the Milwaukee Gas Light Company take hold of the city water plant? And while "public ownership" is not Socialism by any means, it is a step towards it and trains the mind for Socialism. And it is not too much if we say that the idea of "Public Ownership" is in the air today and that the agitation of the Social-Democrats is largely responsible for educating public opinion in that respect.

The Social-Democrats are students of history and know that sunken and degraded people lose the power to help themselves. Therefore, the Social-Democrats welcome all efforts of the laboring people to better their conditions right now by organization. Social-Democrats consider it their duty to assist the trades unions in their

truggle for fair wages and a better standard of living.

Are we a lot of "impracticals" and "idealists" for so doing?

Moving by the Light of Reason.

WRITTEN APRIL 15, 1905.

CERTAIN "impossible fellows," impossible as Socialists, impossible as Trade Unionists, and impossible as civilized human beings generally, have accused the Social-Democratic Herald and especially Victor L. Berger of "opportunism."

Why?

Because without losing sight of the final aim which the Social-Democratic party seeks to accomplish, we advocate a policy of steady Socialistic reforms that are right in line with Socialism and leading towards it.

We do not believe that a certain "catastrophe" can change very much in the Social System, *per se*, unless economic conditions (besides the education and enlightenment of the people) are favorable towards a complete change. Otherwise we might simply change masters.

In the first place, the world has never seen such a thorough-going transformation of property as Socialism intends to accomplish. The change from slavery to serfdom and from serfdom to the wage system sinks into

insignificance when compared with it, and yet these changes took many centuries in every case.

As a matter of fact, Socialism must create a new kind of property—the collective property.

When slavery disappeared, or when feudalism fell down, the work accomplished was purely negative. A certain well defined property, certain well defined privileges and prerogatives disappeared—but the idea of property was not changed.

We must change it, and that cannot be done in a day, in a year, or even in ten years.

It would not suffice for the Social Revolution to abolish capitalism. Social-Democracy must create a new type under which production is to go on, and the condition of property be regulated in the future.

Such a new Social System cannot be inspired by the minority. It cannot be created by a minority. It cannot be worked without the consent and the co-operation of the great majority of the citizens. The farmers alone—even by passive resistance—could starve the whole Co-operative Commonwealth into submission within a few weeks.

It is ridiculous and criminal to talk about the Co-operative Commonwealth in 1908, as do some of our thinly varnished ex-Populists, who have turned into "impossibilists."

Besides, the city proletariat is still a minority of the population. And outside of Milwaukee, and a few small towns in Wisconsin, the Socialists have only gained a very small part of this city proletariat.

Furthermore, I do not believe that even the proletariat of any civilized country is ripe for Socialism today.

I leave Russia entirely out of the question, because I do not consider Russia a civilized country.

But I do not believe that the English working class which just four years ago applauded the butchering of the Boers in South Africa is in any way morally or intellectually ripe for Socialism—no matter whether a “revolution” or a dozen of them should take place during this or the next generation.

America’s proletariat is not on a higher level. I have studied it for many years and I am fairly familiar with its character. I also more than doubt whether the workmen of Germany have morally and intellectually reached the mark that would enable them to establish the Co-operative Commonwealth within a generation.

In the world’s history there are no sudden leaps. Today, more than 115 years after the bloody abolition of the nobility and the church in France “forever,” Jaures and his Socialist friends had to save the Republic for the French people. The nobles and the church are stronger in France today than they were a hundred years ago.

The pope and the Roman Catholic church did not have nearly the power in the civilized world a hundred years ago or fifty years ago that they have today.

Socialism is inevitable, if civilization is to survive. But it cannot come over night.

Therefore, I say we must have a moral, physical and intellectual strengthening of the proletariat, before all things. We must learn a great deal. And furthermore, we must form a close alliance with farmers of progressive views. In that way we can have a *great deal* of “Socialism in our time,” even though we cannot have the full-fledged “Co-operative Commonwealth.”

And besides all that, I would like to see a systematic way of arming all the people. Not for the sake of "revolution," but for the sake of peace and progress.

Frederic Engels said once: "Give every citizen a good rifle and fifty cartridges and you have the best guarantee for the liberty of the people." Thomas Jefferson held the same views exactly.

An armed people is always a free people. Even demagogues and parasites would have a great deal less to say than they have today.

With the nation armed (as, for instance, in Switzerland) reforms of all kinds are carried easily and without bloodshed. With the nation armed, the proletariat could even trust capitalist parties with at least earnestly desiring social reforms and with making an earnest attempt to carry them out.

With the nation armed in a systematic way the capitalist class need not fear any sudden uprising—there are less riots in Switzerland where the people are armed than in Russia where they are disarmed. But with the nation armed, the workingmen are not in danger of being shot down like dogs at the least provocation.

On the other hand, I am absolutely in favor of *Socialistic* reforms—"One step," two steps, or six steps at a time—as many as we can make—as long as they are in our direction—and I am absolutely opposed to the impotent and good-for-nothing hollow phrases that are the stock in trade of certain hypocritical or ignorant individuals.

* * *

Off and on we are also challenged by so-called "scientific Socialists" who are opposed to a working program

for our party, because "these demands give the old parties an opportunity to parade before the people as Socialistic by taking some of these demands into their platform," and thus "steal our thunder."

Now we on the other hand are of this opinion:

Thunder which can be stolen is nothing but stage thunder, and it concerns us very little whether it is stolen or not. Moreover, the aim of the Social-Democratic party is not to thunder, but to lighten. And the Socialists' lightning must be real lightning, it must rend a cloud and strike—not oratorical colophony that shines a little time on the stage, while a few "true believers of the faith" clap their applause.

Since the time of Prometheus, nobody has stolen genuine lightning. According to the fable, Prometheus stole it, in order to teach men the art of making fire and to lay the foundations of our civilization. If a new Prometheus should steal the lightnings of the "Socialist gods," to give it to men and thus build a higher civilization, the writer like an old heretic, would be most exceedingly rejoiced.

But unfortunately the Titans are all dead—Prometheus was the last.

But enough of mythology.

Some of us have little faith in heavens—either in an ancient Greek, the modern Christian or the future Socialist Heaven. With this declaration I give a Mr. Ford or some other janitor of the Socialistic heaven of the future the right to shut the door in my face if I should apply for admission.

According to my idea, we shall never reach the millennium. We shall never have any heaven on earth. We

shall always have great problems to solve. But we shall have an infinitely higher civilization than we have now. In order to reach it, we must have a truly scientific and truly clear-cut Social-Democratic party.

And what interests this party most at present is the solution of those problems which Socialists must solve within the *present society*.

Therefore, we are compelled to put forth and maintain a working program for this party. The Social-Democratic party is a political organization—if we were a mere sect, then we should only need a sort of confessional faith.

The Social-Democratic party wishes above all things to represent the wage working class in the political field. It is our duty to take care that all people who perform the useful and necessary labor shall be economically, morally, and physically strengthened, rescued from extreme poverty and made capable of resistance in body and spirit.

That is the work we have to do now.

And every success in this direction will naturally compel us to make new demands and attain new benefits for the proletariat which will weaken the capitalist system. In this way—not without many dangers, and perhaps with effusions of blood—the present state will “grow into the Socialistic system,” to use Liebknecht’s expression.

This is the *real* revolution—I know of no other that is real.

How Will Socialism Come?

WRITTEN APRIL 29, 1905.

SOCIALISM is the name of an epoch of civilization—the *next* epoch, if our civilization is to continue.

We must not expect that the Socialist era will come all at one stroke. Neither capitalism nor feudalism arose “at a certain date,” nor can the Socialist form of society have its beginning on any fixed day.

Besides, although capitalistic society has already passed its zenith, yet even at the present day feudalism holds a very important place in modern society. This is the case not only in Germany, in spite of its high economic development, but also in England, the “classic land” of capitalism.

Just so with any revolution.

Capitalism will not vanish in one day, in one year, or in one decade. Even after the triumph of the working class the commonwealth *cannot* take upon itself all kinds of production.

Many industries today are not concentrated, and therefore are not ripe for collective production. Some will become so in time, others perhaps will not. The editor of this paper is no prophet and will not attempt to predict details.

However, the trusts are now showing the Social-Democrats *how* they must do it, only the Socialists will have to do it from a Socialist standpoint and for the benefit of all the people.

But it is not necessary nor possible that all industries should be immediately taken over by the Socialist government.

Every branch of production controlled by a trust, as well as all industries which could be conducted on a similar scale, besides railways, telegraphs, mines, etc., will of course become collective public property and will be managed by the national government.

But there is a whole class of industries (for instance *farming*) which are not yet ready to be worked on this large scale, or which are liable to be decentralized by the technical perfection of the methods of transmitting power. Many small industries have again become possible on account of the transmission of *electric power*. These without any objection can remain in *private hands*. I refer to certain petty industries, as well as to agriculture.

In other cases, the Socialist society can give the opportunity for the formation of co-operative associations, which together with the model industries conducted by the state, will raise the level of the working class to a degree hardly credible at the present time.

The chief reason why workingmen's co-operative associations have been impossible hitherto, has even now been partly removed by the trusts, and of course will be of still less account at the rise of the political power of the proletariat.

The trusts show how a regulated business can be done. The management of the co-operative workingmen's association of the future will find out what the demand is and determine the amount and method of the production. During the transition period the sale of products may take place exactly as at present, only subject to regulation by the state.

In the trusts, the capitalist class even now plays the most superfluous role in the world.

Indeed, in the trusts the capitalist class is already expropriated to a certain extent.

The smaller investors, who are the great majority, no longer have anything to control, and only draw their profits. Their industries are apparently the property of the shareholders; but what sort of property is that of which one has not the free disposal? They can no longer produce what they will, nor at what price they will, nor with what workmen they will; all is prescribed to them by the management of the trust. Properly speaking, they are only profit-receivers.

The trusts are ready now for a change of ownership.

But Wisconsin has been fiercely criticized for a provision in its platform to have the nation "buy out" the trusts and pay the net value. And yet Karl Kautsky, Emil Vandervelde, William Liebknecht, and even Karl Marx, speak of *compensation*.

Engels wrote in 1894, "We do not consider the indemnity of the proprietors as an impossibility whatever may be the circumstances. How many times has not Karl Marx expressed to me the opinion that if we could buy up the whole crowd, it would really be the cheapest way of relieving ourselves of them."

Vandervelde says: "There is no doubt that the expropriation without indemnity with the resistance, the troubles, the bloody disturbances which it would not fail to produce, would be in the end most costly." (Collectivism, Kerr edition, page 155.)

In discussing the question of compensation, Karl Kautsky, the most radical theorist of the German Social-Democracy, says:

"There are a number of reasons which indicate that a proletarian regime will seek the road of *compensation* and *payment* of the capitalists and land owners." (Social Revolution, Kerr edition, page 118.)

In another place (on page 113) Kautsky says: "A portion of the factories, mines, etc., could be *sold* directly to the laborers who are working them, and could be henceforth operated co-operatively; another portion could be *sold* to the co-operatives of distribution, and still another to the communities or the states.

"It is clear, however, that capital would find its most extensive and generous *purchaser* in the state or municipalities, and for this very reason the majority of industries would pass into possession of the states and municipalities. That the Social-Democrats when they came into control would strive consciously for this solution is well understood."

Well understood? Yes, everywhere excepting in America.—

Of course, all industries of national magnitude would be carried on by the government. For smaller industries, wherever necessary, the government could make some agreement with the co-operative associations of workers. We speak of the transition period.

In this transition period, the Socialist government can of course lend the necessary capital to the co-operative societies and furnish suitable guarantees. The government in this transition period will have at its disposal quite different powers than at present. For instance, it will have a monopoly of all water power, coal mines, railroads, rivers, electrical plants, etc.

So perhaps for a time a state of affairs may arise which will combine at the same time *three* forms of production. That is, the capitalistic form in petty industries, where goods will be produced for the market; the co-operative form in which the products will be for use and also for sale; and the purely Socialistic, where the government will carry on production for use only, and the production will not take the form of wares at all.

That all this will take place peacefully, we do not maintain. It will surely not come peacefully if the people are not armed. It will come peacefully if the people will be armed. Riots and bloodsheds are not at all desirable, nor will they help civilization.

Besides, I do not believe that one great revolution can turn topsy-turvy the whole civilized world, and undo or make superfluous any economic development as outlined here.

Capitalism was necessary to give mankind dominion over the forces of nature, which is now assured by our scientific attainments. Considered in itself, capitalism has by no means reached that stage of development where it becomes impossible.

On the contrary, in the trust system, capitalism has just stepped into a new phase, the duration of which is unlimited according to our present light.

Of course, from a civilizing force, capitalism has already become a menace to civilization. But that does not affect its vitality! However, the tendencies which oppose it have now gathered such great strength that a thorough change—*must* not indeed—but *can* take place, if the working class understands its mission.

In conclusion, let me say that the world's history is always made by men, and is *not* a *mere* natural process as some Marxists want us to believe.

Means Toward the End!

WRITTEN SEPTEMBER 9, 1905.

THE FACT IS being recognized more and more by scientists that our civilization is in a constant flow, like a river the current of which is ever changing. Yet one of the greatest obstacles with which Socialists have to contend is the notion that whatever is, must be the immutable order of nature. Because the wage system has prevailed as far back as any one can remember, people fancy that this system constitutes the necessary condition for civilized society. Social-Democrats say this is a fundamental error, and history proves it.

The present state of things grew out of feudalism and serfdom, which followed a system of master and slave.

In the ancient states there was no wage system, there was slavery. The master was the absolute lord of the

persons of his slaves, of the soil, and of the instruments of labor, which then were crude and simple.

Serfdom constitutes the next great stage. The lords of the soil were the dominant class, but the workers of the soil were personally free, although attached to the soil where they were born. Now this second stage, although far below our civilization, was at any rate much above chattel slavery.

But the progress of mankind demanded another step, and that was capitalism. This was unknown during the former periods of the world—which had wealth but not capital. This third stage of the development of our race has given occasion for the rise of a class of exploiters unknown to any of the former civilizations. Our plutocracy, our industrial, commercial and moneyed aristocracy are now the masters of all production in all civilized countries on whose good will, or rather, upon whose profits, the laboring people of the world depend for a living.

And all these evils are heightened by cut-throat competition, which not only forces wage-workers into a struggle to see who shall live and who shall starve, but which also compels the employers to pay as little for their labor as possible.

But the laborers are by no means the only sufferers. The small employers and the small merchants are just as much victims of that cruel kind of competition as the wage-workers. This fierce competition lessens the profit on each article, and that must be compensated for by greater numbers of them being produced and sold; that is, the cheaper the goods, the more capital is required.

Precisely then, for the same reason that the mechanic

with his own shop and working on his own account has disappeared in the struggle between hand-work and machine-work, for the same reason the small employers with their little machinery, their small capital, and their little stock of goods are being driven from the fields by the trusts.

Our social order or rather social disorder may fitly be compared to a ladder of which the middle rounds are being torn away one by one. And this absorption of the smaller fortunes by the large ones is much hastened by the industrial crises, called "panics," which make their appearance every fifteen or twenty years.

The principle involved in "trusts" is the principle of co-operation instead of competition—but it is the co-operation of capitalists only, not the co-operation of the people. The object of a "trust" is greater regularity of production, steadiness of price and a uniform system of credit. It is the shadow of Socialism and it is used for the benefit of a few capitalists, instead of the nation.

And if this goes on, and according to all natural consequences it must go on, for all the great capital wants to be invested, then in a very short time we shall find most of our industries conducted by "trusts" from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

But these phenomena have also another meaning. They bring before the public mind the question whether we are to have organized capital or organized production? For it is perfectly evident that we must in the future have organized business action of some sort. Shall we have it for the capitalists only, or for the whole people?

In other words the "trusts" prepare the public mind for Socialism.

If our "statesmen" were less blind to the logic of events which are pushing us with railroad speed toward a total and abrupt revolution, they might bring about a state of Socialism gradually and peaceably by a series of measures, each consistently developing itself out of the previous ones. They might begin from two poles of society.

Thus, it is now proposed, even by very conservative people, to take the telegraph system and the railroads and the mines of our country under government control and own them like our postoffice department.

Suppose this measure is realized, as it is sure to be in the near future.

Then do likewise with our express business, our steam and sailing vessels and our mines, and thus onward.

Absorb the Standard Oil Company, the steel trust and every other trust, and one great enterprise after another as quickly as possible.

And so from the other pole.

Why could not cities begin by taking under their control and operating their gas works, and electric light, railway and telephone plants? And why should they not operate their bakeries and drug stores? Let cities furnish to their citizens fuel in winter and ice in summer.

For are these things not just as essential to public health as water?

Then let them also furnish all the milk, flour and meat needed. For the millers of the country have a trust now and a few big packers furnish the meat to the butchers. Yes, and let the city take charge of the liquor traffic, so that Milwaukee would have more reading

rooms and fewer drinking places—we have 2,600 saloons at present.

And furthermore, let the city furnish all the school books and at least one meal a day, free of charge, to all the children, not only the poor, and clothes to such as are needy.

I do not say, nor even think, that the social question will be solved in this manner. Our people are neither wise nor peaceable enough to do it. And some of our Socialists are just about as lunatic in that respect as are some capitalists. But it seems to me that would be the most practical way to solve the social question for a practical people.

Socialism or Communism?

WRITTEN IN DECEMBER, 1907.

UNDER Socialism people will produce, but not consume, in common.

Our aim is Socialism, not Communism. We want this understood.

Between Socialism and Communism there is a great deal of difference.

* * *

Collectivism is not a negation of property, nor is Socialism. Please keep this in mind.

Socialism simply demands the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. We will produce in common, but the consumption will remain individual.

Socialism will control only our capital, not *our* property. A Socialist Commonwealth will not do *away* with the individual ownership of property, but *only with individual ownership of capital*.

* * *

It is Communism that denies individual ownership of all property. The Communists want to produce and consume in common. There are few *conscious Communists* in the world at the present time.

To make myself still more explicit, "capital" is that part of wealth which is used as means of production—that is, raw materials, as machinery, factories, etc. To socialize these is the aim of all Socialists.

But all products and wares, after they have been distributed for consumption and personal use, will remain private property.

It is necessary to state this at this time because there are some Communists who think they are Socialists.

There are even some editors who seem to find it difficult to distinguish between capital and property from a Socialist standpoint.

A Social-Democracy must socialize capital because in the Co-operative Commonwealth the industrial democracy must rule.

* * *

Under the present capitalistic system collective capital, especially as organized in the trusts and big corporations, has practically nullified most of the advantages of political democracy, and thus the capitalist class has become the ruler of the people.

It is clear from all this that the people must turn privately owned capital into collectively owned capital as a matter of self-preservation.

The people must do it because private capital, which was formerly a means of progress, is now impeding progress.

In short, the private ownership of capital was for several hundred years an historical necessity. Now the collective ownership of capital is becoming an historical necessity.

That such is the trend of the time we can see at a glance from the discussion that is going on in the daily and weekly papers and in the magazines.

But that trend is toward Socialism, not toward Communism.

The measures that the Socialists will take and must take will closely connect with the present system and evolve from it. As a matter of fact, the collectivity—that is, the nation, the state and the community—will closely follow along the lines of what people have already long been doing, only they will do this from a Socialistic standpoint.

* * *

So Collectivism is not Communism, and Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, for instance, who in their early days were Communists, later on in life became Collectivists and Social-Democrats. Communism has often been tried and, outside of a few small religious communities, has failed.

About 1840 there was a wave of Fourieristic Communism in this country. It was started by Albert Brisbane, and some of the most brilliant and best men and women this country has ever produced participated in the experiments. But all the Communistic settlements where the religious and ascetic elements were lacking came to naught.

* * *

Socialism, or Social-Democracy, has never been tried, because it will be the outcome of modern conditions—of the invention of machinery and the centralization of capital on one hand and the development of political democracy on the other.

Communism would be a step backward, would be a retrogression to a very primitive and low stage of human society.

Social-Democracy will mean a step forward toward a higher civilization than history has ever known.

Just to emphasize the difference between Collectivism and Communism—between the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution and the common ownership of everything—there is nothing in Collectivism that will prevent people who are so inclined from saving.

They will be able to save just as much as they wish; they will be able to utilize their savings in any manner they choose with one single exception. They will not be able in any possible way to “invest” their savings—that is to say, *they will not be able to use their savings to make profit.*

Of course our capitalists will cry out, “What is the use of a man possessing a hundred thousand dollars if he cannot invest his money?” which means, what is the use of a man possessing wealth if he cannot use it to work others and live himself without work?

This, I will admit, is a grievance that cannot be helped.

But it is a grievance that is no grievance: First, because under Collectivism there will not be the slightest necessity for individual saving with a view of providing for the future or old age, for care will be taken of every citizen. Second, there will be no encouragement for saving, for accumulating capital will be looked upon as the function of society, and not of the individual.

* * *

But it is not my intention to describe the Co-operative

Commonwealth, the Socialist Republic or any other state in this article.

I have simply tried to bring out a *few* of the *differences between Socialism and Communism*, and about these a great deal more may be said.

Give Them Hope!

WRITTEN IN JULY, 1907.

THE most formidable obstacle in the way of further progress—and especially in the propaganda of Socialism—is not that men are insufficiently versed in political economy or lacking in intelligence. It is that *people* are without *hope*.

Popular effort has so often been thwarted by selfish cunning—great moral enthusiasm has so often been dissipated by the suspicious organization of the ruling classes that men have *lost heart*.

Despair is the chief opponent of progress.

Our greatest need is hope.

* * *

The majority of our fellow workers know of public measures that would be beneficent—if an upward step were possible. But they claim it is impossible under the present system. Some of them wait for some great “revolution” that is to come “some day.” Others do not wait for anything. They do not expect anything. They have lost hope. Why?

Both the so-called "revolutionists" and the "let-it-go-as-it-is-men" are overwhelmed by a multitude of incidental obstacles which are in themselves of small account.

Petty disappointments cloud the small horizons of these people. Thus they are shut off from the sight of the great universal and historic forces that are working for progress—for Socialism—and *even for progress beyond Socialism.*

Only these forces work slowly. Slowly and surely.

* * *

Revolutions—and special evolutions—are brought about in human affairs not so much by the dissemination of a multitude of ideas, as by the concentration of a multitude of minds upon a *single idea.*

And this idea must be near enough and comprehensive enough and of sufficient importance to stir the very soul of the masses.

Mere theoretical or dogmatic phrases—no matter how "clear-cut"—are not capable of producing the universal enthusiasm required to institute any fundamental innovations.

Besides, doctrinarism and dogmatism lead to splits and to the formation of political sects. But when people are constantly absorbed in *doing things*, and in preparing for still greater things, the petty jealousies and small causes for strife and dissension disappear.

* * *

Furthermore, I say, we ought to have "uniformity" in *general principles* and *general tactics only.* We ought to leave minor details to the different state organizations. Especially where the movement is old and well rooted, where there are plenty of tried leaders and where the

membership is experienced, they are fully capable of the righteous settlement of all incidental questions without interference from the outside.

Instead of more uniformity we ought to have *more unity*.

And we can gain this only when we leave details to the various subdivisions—and concentrate the efforts of our propaganda on the simple realities, self-evident and capable of being understood by all.

The first such central truth, to be proclaimed tirelessly by every Social-Democrat, is that the earth is large enough and wide enough to supply all the good things of life to every human being born on it.

Add to this that the triumphs of modern science make it possible for men to satisfy every natural craving, every healthy desire, every reasonable hope and dream, without any man being compelled to sacrifice another being for his purpose.

This means that this world, now made a *hell* by human greed, abetted by ignorance and prejudice, might as well be a *heaven*.

It means that the misery caused by capitalism on one hand and poverty on the other, can be displaced by happiness and plenty for all.

* * *

Following this, one can demonstrate from history that this capitalist system did not always exist, but succeeded the feudal system, which had followed a system of slavery—each of these succeeding systems being better and more humane than its predecessor.

And we can then easily show that the trusts are the natural outcome of capitalism and competition and

cannot be legislated out of existence as long as capitalism exists.

* * *

The immediate effect of the practical acceptance of these self-evident truths is always wonderful.

Convince men that our country is large enough and rich enough to give them all an opportunity to work and earn enough to support their families in comfort, to educate their children properly and to be absolutely secure in sickness and old age.

Convince men that their present poverty is unnecessary.

Proclaim that capitalism is simply a phase of civilization as feudalism was and Socialism will be—that nothing that is, lasts forever.

Convince them of this and you have them “for good.”

Only take care not to have them tie their hopes for the future to any catastrophe that is to bring the millenium “at one stroke.” Take care not to have them hope for any Messiah.

It invariably leads to fatalism of one kind or the other and destroys the incentive for continuous and hard work at the present time.

Fatalism is always fatal to real progress.

* * *

Therefore, Social-Democratic propagandists, do not weary your hearers with statistics or the definitions of “surplus value.” Do not confuse them by trying to explain all the intricacies of the capitalist system and by describing the beauties of the co-operative commonwealth.

Teach them that in order to get a better world we shall have to work for it and fight for it.

Work and fight are the "Messiahs" of proletarians.

Teach the proletariat that the highest patriotism consists in working and fighting for the new world. And that to work and to fight for it is the sublime mission of *this generation* and possibly also of the *next*.

Nothing else in this world can compare with this work in importance.

Down With the Senate.

WRITTEN IN JANUARY, 1907.

IN the state of Wisconsin we are about to elect a member of the United States Senate, a successor to John C. Spooner, resigned. It behooves us at this time to look into the matter of the existence of the United States Senate—the American House of Lords—the Millionaires' Club—or the Chamber of Trustocrats—as it is variously called.

I have nothing to say at this time about the candidates. I will only mention that the main candidate—the man who significantly enough is put forward by the reformers, and backed up by Senator Robert M. LaFollette—is Isaac M. Stephenson, a millionaire, and for years one of the main corrupters of Wisconsin politics, therefore very well qualified to take a position in that august body.

For the United States Senate, the "Upper House" of our national legislature, was created for the very pur-

pose of representing the wealth and vested interests of the country, as Alexander Hamilton put it. And right from the beginning it was intended to "form a check upon the will of the people." Therefore its selection was removed from the people as far as possible, and put into the hands of the respective legislatures.

* * *

It is almost unnecessary to show what the United States Senate was from its beginning, and what it is now.

We all know that it was the stronghold of the slave barons, compelling the solution of the slavery question by force of arms. We all know that it is the bulwark of the railroads and trusts now.

The oil trust, the railway trust, the sugar trust, the steel trust, and every robber concern preying upon the common people have their representatives in the Senate.

* * *

Under these conditions, and in view of the fact that the Social-Democratic program stands for the abolition of the Senate, it is of great interest to see what several world-famed writers have to say on the origin and the necessity of a second chamber—an "upper house"—in this country and elsewhere.

* * *

We will begin with the American writer, M. D. Conway.

Mr. Conway has made a careful treatise upon the subject of the United States Senate, and I quote the following from his valuable work:

"It was not at all necessary, when it was determined that the states should have a distinct representation in the congress, that they should also have a separate upper

house. The separation into two houses was accepted upon the precedent of the British Parliament, and on no real grounds whatever.

“Of the original states, at the time of the adoption of the constitution, two had but one legislative chamber each, and the confederation of 1775 had no more. When the proposition was made to divide the congress into two branches, three states, the great state of New York among them, recorded their votes against it, and the delegation of another, Maryland, was equally divided on the subject.

“There seems, however, to have been very little discussion of the matter, which was quite overshadowed by the incomparable urgency of the only question—the relative power of the states and the general government—which really was discussed in the convention. The debates were in secret, and we have but brief notes of them; but a passage in the minutes, jotted down by one of the members, Chief Justice Yates, of New York, no doubt tells the whole story.—‘May 31, 1787. The third resolve, to wit: “that the national legislature ought to consist of two branches,” was taken into consideration, and without any debate agreed to.’ To this Judge Yates adds, in brackets: ‘N. B.—As a previous resolution had already been agreed to, to have a supreme legislature, I could not see any objection to its being in two branches.’

“So lightly was a step taken, which has proved to be of momentous consequence to America.”

* * *

It is a notable fact that, while the founders of the American constitution were taking up this relic of feudalism and clothing it with formidable power, the English nation was already preparing the forces which were to

reduce the House of Lords to the secondary position it now occupies. And as everybody knows, there is a strong tendency in England to abolish it altogether.

* * *

After reading the statement of the American historian, it may assist us to consider the following from one of the ablest of recent writers on the English constitution, Mr. Bagehot.

Mr. Bagehot, who is a defender of the "upper house" to *some extent*, basing his defense upon the vices of the House of Commons, shows that since the reform act of 1832, when the House of Lords for the last time really tried conclusions with the House of Commons, and was compelled to yield, it has not even had a pretension to being an equal branch of the government. "The House of Lords has become a revising and suspending house. It can alter bills; it can reject bills, on which the House of Commons is not yet thoroughly in earnest, upon which the nation is not yet determined.

"Their veto is a sort of hypothetical veto.

"The Lords say, 'We reject your bill for this once, or these twice, or these thrice; but if you keep on sending it up, at last we won't reject it.' The house has ceased to be one of latent direction, and has become one of temporary rejectors and palpable alterers."

It is remarkable that it is impossible to find among the political thinkers in England a defender of the two-house principle on *theoretical* and *logical* grounds.

* * *

Having considered the views of the ablest defender of the continued existence of the House of Lords, let us turn to those of one of the many distinguished advocates

of the abolition of that house. I quote from Mr. Goldwin Smith, the famous Canadian scholar, formerly Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford.

Professor Smith writes: "Not by reason or theory alone, but by overwhelming experience, the House of Lords stands *condemned*."

"Who can point out a single great reform, however urgent, necessary or humanitarian, however signally ratified afterwards by the approbation of posterity, which the House of Lords has not thrown out, or obstructed, and, if it could do nothing more, damaged and mutilated to the utmost of its power?"

"To make legislation on any important question possible, it is necessary to get a storm sufficient to terrify the Peers. Thus, all important legislation is made *violent* and *revolutionary*. And this is your *conservative institution*."

* * *

The most profound theoretical statement on the subject comes from Mr. John Stuart Mill, who, in his admirable "Vindications of the French Revolution of 1848," in reply to Lord Brougham and others, expresses the following opinions:

"The great majority of mankind are, as a general rule, tenacious of things existing. Habit and custom predominate with them, in almost all cases, over remote prospects of advantage.

"The difficulty is not to prevent considerable changes, but to accomplish them when most essentially needful.

"Any systematic provision in the constitution to render changes difficult is therefore superfluous—it is injurious.

"It is true that in the times which accompany, or im-

mediately follow, a revolution, this tendency of the human mind may be temporarily reversed—partially, we say, for people are as tenacious of old customs and ways of thinking, in the crisis of a revolution as at any other time,—on all points, *except* those on which they had become strongly excited by a perception of evils or grievances; those, in fact, on which the revolution itself hinges.

“On such points, indeed, there may easily arise, at those periods, an ardor of ill-considered change. And it is at such times, if ever, that the check afforded by a second or ‘upper house’ might be beneficial.

“But these are the times when the resistance of such a body is *practically null*. The very arguments used by the supporters of the institution to make it enduring, assume that it cannot prolong its resistance in excited times.

“An ‘upper house’ which, during a revolutionary period, should resolutely oppose itself to the branch of the legislature more directly representing the excited state of popular feeling, would be infallibly swept away.

“It is the destiny of an ‘upper house’ to become *in-operative* in the very cases in which its effective operation would have the best chance of producing less harm than good.”

* * *

And no doubt John Stuart Mill is right about the conservation of the great masses. We cannot change by a legislative act or acts the habits and the mode of thinking produced by generations. The greatest force in existence in the cosmic world, as in the history of nations, is the force of inertia. This force which holds the globe in its place also prevents unnecessary revolutions.

If any counter-force is necessary, it should rather be in favor of motion than of a standstill.

All that is necessary to give expression to this terrific counter-revolutionary power of inertia would be to give the masses the widest chance to speak their will. Give the people the full referendum, and God knows, progress will be slow enough. The referendum is the most conservative political power in existence, as the example of Switzerland proves, where it has been in use for years. And yet the referendum is infinitely stronger than all senates in the world, because no democratic power is great enough to resist it.

* * *

Why is it then that our plutocracy and our capitalists are afraid of it?

Why?

The answer is simple enough.

Because they feel that the present system has outlived its usefulness and has no more root among the masses of the people.

But we say: *abolish the senate*. And for a good substitute and the best possible check upon any whimsical or hasty legislation, or even crookedness of the legislators, give us the *referendum*.

The best cure for democracy invariably is *more democracy*.

Again I say: "*Down with the senate! Up with the referendum!*"

II.

IN order to fully understand the origin of the *two chambers*, or two houses of our legislative bodies, it may be interesting to look at the origin of parliament in England—the first constitutional government in

Europe—and the one after which our government is largely patterned.*

* * *

So far as any clear impression arises from the hazy annals of the earliest parliamentary government in England, it is that the king called upon the leading noblemen of the realm to become his guests for a time, for purposes of consultation. There was very little consultation, but very much drinking, eating and hunting. The king considered it his duty to feast his guests in grand style. This was the first and only parliament.

To this assembly came groups of petitioners, deputations from the people. These, in order that their humble requests should be presented with some kind of regularity, had to organize their assemblies. They appointed some mouthpiece or "speaker,"—and this is how that most silent official of parliament bearing that name originated.

For it is in this group of deputations that we must recognize the embryo of the House of Commons. These petitioners or "commoners," for a time, sat in the presence of the parliament of peers, until the latter thought it beneath their dignity to sit beside those of the common herd.

* * *

The separation probably occurred at the time when the "commoners" ceased to be a mere crowd of petitioners to their lordships, and showed signs of becoming some little factor in the government.

The House of Peers represented the supremacy of the aristocratic and clerical classes, of which the crown was the head.

The Commons represented the degree to which the people had managed to extort the first point, *recognition of their existence*, and also the recognition of the simplest rights implied in that existence.

* * *

A recognition of their existence—that is all the commons had for a long time.

And the lords?

* * *

For three centuries, dating from the Tudor period, the House of Lords was the most powerful branch of the legislature. For a century, at least, it had, through its nominees and dependents, the virtual control of the other branch. Yet the lords did nothing but—digest.

During the whole of that period, pressing subjects for legislation abounded, not only in the direction of political reform, but in all directions—legal, ecclesiastical, educational, sanitary, and economical. Yet, in all those centuries, who can point out a single great measure of national improvement which really emanated from the House of Lords?

Not one.

* * *

On the other hand, the House of Lords resisted progress of any and all kinds as a matter of course, even in the Nineteenth century.

As a matter of course, the House of Lords upheld the rotten boroughs and resisted the reform bill, till it was overcome by the threat of a swamping creation of peers, having first, in its wisdom, brought the nation to the verge of a civil war.

As a matter of course, it resisted the progress of re-

ligious liberty, because the privileged church was an outwork of the privileged class.

As a matter of course, it resisted the extension of habeas corpus and of personal liberty.

As a matter of course, it resisted the removal of restraints on the press.

As a matter of course, it resisted introduction of the ballot.

Yet that was all natural enough because these were measures and movements which threatened political privilege.

* * *

But the House of Lords has also resisted common measures of humanity, such as the abolition of the slave trade and the reform of criminal law. Romilly's petty theft bill, which stopped hanging as a punishment for stealing over six shillings, was thrown out by the lords; and among the thirty-two who voted in the majority on this occasion, were seven bishops. On all subjects about which popular opinion was not strongly excited, including many of the greatest importance to national progress, reformers in England have abstained from moving, because they despaired of overcoming the resistance of the House of Lords. And that will not change until the Social-Democrats become a powerful factor in English government.

* * *

That is the history of the House of Lords in England.

The history of the United States Senate, if anything, is worse. The hereditary legislator in England is, no doubt, a thoroughly class-conscious exploiter. But *noblesse oblige*—they were not common grafters—at least

not as a rule. But the class legislator in our Senate is not only a class exploiter—or the attorney and representative of a robber concern—but, as a rule, a grafter besides.

There are a very few honest men in the Senate. And even those are very soon thoroughly spoiled by the make-up, by the history, and by the very atmosphere of that “august body.”

If any one doubts this statement, let him read what any thoughtful writer has said about the United States Senate. Let him read the brilliant series of articles on “The Treason of the Senate,” by that earnest and apostolic man, David Graham Phillips.

* * *

It is said there must be in a federal government some institution, some authority, somebody possessing a veto, in which the separate states composing the confederation are all equal. I confess this doctrine has to me no self-evidence. The state of Delaware is not equal in power or influence to the state of New York, and one cannot make it so by giving it an equal veto in the Senate.

The other argument—the necessity of a counterpoise or counterbalance, or of a check against bad legislation—looks a little better. But if one considers it closer, it is even worse. Most good legislation is always opposed in the “upper house”—most of the bad legislation always originated there.

* * *

If there is any correction to be done in a democracy—then let democracy do it. If there is a corrective needed, let democracy provide for it.

Again I say: abolish the Senate. And for a good substitute and best possible check upon any whimsical or hasty legislation, or even crookedness of the legislators, give us the *referendum*. The referendum in any country is stronger than all the houses of lords and senates in the world.

The best cure for any evils arising from democracy is—more democracy.

An Outworn Garment.

WRITTEN IN JUNE, 1907.

ARISTOTLE, the great Greek philosopher, in his famous work on politics, described the constitutions of all the different states known to him. And he said that the state existed longest and prospered most which was readiest to change its constitution and adapt it to changed conditions.

This rule holds good today. It holds good for the United States, and for the state of Wisconsin.

* * *

Our last constitution was adopted in 1848. At that time, Wisconsin was virtually a frontier state. The greatest part of it was covered with one vast primeval forest. The largest city, Milwaukee, had about 30,000 inhabitants. There were only a few towns which had a population of from two to five thousand.

Manufacturing in the United States was then in its childhood, and there was hardly any manufacturing done in a border state like Wisconsin. Corporations in the present sense were not known.

In those days a corporation meant a city or a township. There were no railroads, no telegraphs, no telephones, and of course, no street cars. Public schools were few and far between. A man who could read and "reckon" was looked up to as a wizard in very many country places. Capitalism in its present form and development was not even dreamt of.

The constitution adopted at that time, of course, was made to suit those conditions. It was made to express the needs of a frontier state. It reflected the political, social and economic conditions of the day.

* * *

What a great difference between the Wisconsin of 1907 and the Wisconsin of the Black Hawk war! Today Wisconsin is the seventh state in the Union as far as manufacturing is concerned. The total output of manufactured products was \$360,818,942 in 1900.

In 1848 we had no proletariat in the present sense. Entirely new classes have come into existence since that time. In 1848 any man with a strong pair of arms and moderately good habits could not only make his living comfortably, but also lay the foundation for a prosperous second generation by simply sticking to the land. Today we have not only an economically powerful class of capitalists, but also a very numerous proletariat which to all ends and purposes has become a *fixed class*.

We have tremendous aggregations of capital, big railroad companies, public service corporations, and greedy

and grasping corporations of all kinds. Their oppressive power is felt by the last pioneer farmer in the northern part of the state.

In 1848 the only evil influence which the people seemed to fear was the issuing of wild-cat money by the banks. And the people took especial pains to provide against this in their constitution. Today there is no wild-cat money. The bank money is good enough if we can get hold of it. But the banks themselves have become simply the handmaids of the big corporations and trusts.

The economic conditions have changed absolutely.

* * *

Now, if we were influenced only by party motives, we should simply say, "Keep your old constitution. Under the present constitution, our legislature cannot make good laws. All good laws, such as are made to fit changed conditions, are necessarily unconstitutional. And if no laws are made to alleviate the hardships of the people, the people will, of necessity, become revolutionary and Social-Democratic."

So, from a Socialistic party standpoint, the present constitution would be just the very thing we should want.

But this is not the way we reason. We have so much confidence in the righteousness of our cause and the inevitableness of Socialism, that we know that even the strongest constitution cannot stop our progress in the end. On the other hand, a good and timely constitution will do away with a great deal of *avoidable* friction. It will make *sane* and *constructive progress* possible.

* * *

I will just mention a few details of our constitution as they happen to come to my mind.

There is, for instance, the item of compensation for the state school superintendent. That was fixed in 1848 at \$1,200 a year and was sufficient for that time. But the state school superintendent still gets only \$1,200, although the salary of the superintendent of the Milwaukee public schools is \$6,000 annually. In order to get a state school superintendent who is in any way competent for the position, resort is made to a form of graft. The superintendent is given a number of clerkships, which he does *not* fill, but draws the salaries. Now, if this should be done in any other position, it might be considered a criminal offense. Yet that is the only way that the office of state school superintendent can be upheld.

* * *

Another important point is the way the corporations are treated. In our constitution, only the cities and townships are mentioned as corporations. Virtually, the Milwaukee street railway company and the city of Milwaukee are on the same level, as far as the constitution is concerned, although one represents men and the other represents only dollars.

The power of cities is exceedingly limited. Milwaukee, for instance, a city of 350,000 inhabitants, has no home rule whatsoever. Even in small matters, it is absolutely governed by the legislature. Now these legislators may be well-meaning men, but they are men from up state who know little or nothing about the vital needs of a large city like Milwaukee. In 1848, that was all well enough. There were then no large cities in Wisconsin and the conditions were very much the same in all parts of the state. Today this arrangement is obsolete and dangerous, and is the cause of a great deal of hardship and even of *graft*.

Another point. The state cannot be a party to any interior improvement under our present constitution. So the great state of Wisconsin has not the power to build a little wagon road two miles long. Its own constitution forbids that.

* * *

Amendments to the constitution are very cumbersome. They have first to pass through two consecutive legislatures, which in itself is very difficult, on account of certain vested interests which like to fish in the muddled waters of our constitution. Then each amendment must be signed by the governor, and afterwards voted upon by the people, before it is adopted.

And, at best, such amendments can be only patch-work. The constitution was made for a state in its childhood. This same state has since come to maturity. The constitution is simply a cloak for our body politic. To compel us to live under our present constitution is very much like compelling a grown person to wear baby clothes.

* * *

But it has been said by some ultra-conservative people who hate everything that looks like a change, that the lawyers and the courts understand this constitution and know how to interpret the laws accordingly. They would first have to learn a new constitution, and this would make trouble.

Now, in the first place, the constitution is not made for the lawyers and for the courts, but ought to be made for the people.

We all know that every law is interpreted in three or four different ways, according to the personal likes and prejudices of the lawyers and the courts. Even the

decisions of the Supreme courts have been fearfully inconsistent. A tremendous amount of injustice and barbarism is rampant, on account of our antiquated constitution.

* * *

I repeat that the constitution of Wisconsin was all well enough in 1848 and for its day and its conditions. So were the constitutions of Crete, of Carthage, and of Sparta, in their time. Aristotle mentions them as model constitutions. But would we want to apply them to Wisconsin?

And are we to be tied to an antiquated document for the sole reason that some vested interests worship it as a fetich, because there is no efficient way to curb them under this constitution? Because, when the constitution was framed, their existence was not foreseen?

Are we to live forever under a constitution which makes provision against duelling, but none against trusts?

This is one of the questions that our present legislature has failed to answer.

Do We Worship a Fetich?

WRITTEN IN JUNE, 1908.

The *Evening Wisconsin*, Milwaukee, says editorially:

Here is a plank from the National Socialist platform, as published in Victor Berger's SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD:

The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage, as guaranteed by the Constitution.

A respectful reference to the Constitution of the United States in an official utterance of the Socialists is so unusual that it may be deemed worthy of especial attention. But here are some of the other planks of the same National Socialist platform. They are taken from the section labeled "Political Demands:"

The abolition of the Senate.

The abolition of the veto power of the president.

The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon legislation enacted by Congress as to its constitutionality. National laws passed by Congress to be repealed or abrogated only by act of Congress or by a referendum of the whole people.

Thus it appears that the respectful reference to the Constitution is not to be taken seriously—that the Socialist party is against the enforcement of the Constitution—against American institutions. This attitude of hostility to the Constitution is exhibited in another of the shorter planks of the National Socialist platform:

That the Constitution be amendable by majority vote.

But this plank is a mere redundancy. What would be the need of going to the trouble of amending the Constitution

if unconstitutional legislation by Congress could not be challenged and appealed from the legislative to the judicial branch of the government and declared null and void by the Supreme Court?

The Socialist platform is a wild, visionary, revolutionary farrago, unpatriotic to the core, at war with American traditions, principles and instincts—a political crazy-quilt.

It will fail to command the support of a great many voters who in local elections have cast their ballots for the candidates of the Social-Democratic party.

(Evening Wisconsin.)

At the time of its adoption no one considered the constitution of the United States anything but a miserable piece of patchwork—a stupid imitation of the English constitution—which had to be amended a dozen times before it could be adopted by the thirteen original states. It really satisfied nobody.

However, by and by it dawned upon the Southern slave barons that they could hide behind this constitution to defend black slavery. They were right about that, and it took a *terrific war* to patch up and amend once more what had been poor patch-work to begin with.

* * *

After the war the growing capitalist class, which for a while had been very much dissatisfied with the constitution, found out that, just because the constitution was antiquated and unsatisfactory, the capitalists could make the same use of it for their own ends as did the slave barons for theirs. So the constitution became a blessed and holy document once more. It was again, in the seventies and eighties, the fetich of every lawyer and every school teacher. Only it was then the Northern fetich. The fervor of the South had been rather chilled by the “niggers’ amendments,” as the result of the war.

However, the South has found a way to get around these amendments. And the unthinking of the North and the South unite in doing reverence to a poor makeshift which tried to combine the constitutional ideas of Montesquieu with the archaic conception of an executive with despotic powers, as borrowed by Hamilton from the English constitution.

But the intelligent men of all classes during the last 20 years have become convinced that our constitution must be changed. Not only the proletariat and the middle class demand this, but even the plutocrats admit it. Only men who, Rip Van Winkle-like, have slumbered in a sleepy hollow on the corner of Michigan and Milwaukee streets, seem to know nothing about this necessity.

* * *

No doubt there were many leading men at the close of the American Revolution who were in favor of adopting the British constitution, *as they understood it*. Only this being a republic, they were very much more afraid of the people, of the mob, than they would have been in a monarchy. They admitted that. Therefore they wanted a strong executive, "one that could dare to execute his powers"—as Hamilton stated it.

That is how we got our kind of a president for the United States. That is also the reason why we have the Senate—"to represent the wealthy and the better class of our land."

And that is the reason why we have the "additional check" by the courts.

Everybody was not satisfied with this.

Thomas Jefferson, of course, was not.

But even at a much later day Henry Clay compared our presidency to “an elective monarchy—the worst form of old governments.”

And he was right, inasmuch as with the exception of the Czar of Russia, there is not a monarch in the world who has as much power as the President of the United States. He is not only the chief executive, but also a part of the law-making machine—and what part! He counts as much as two-thirds of the House of Representatives and the Senate combined. No wonder that even Daniel Webster once said, “The contest for ages has been to rescue liberty from the grasp of executive power. The President carries on the government; all the rest are only sub-contractors. A Briareus sits in the center of our system, and with his hundred hands touches everything, moves everything, controls everything. I ask, is this republicanism? Is this a government of laws?”

* * *

And it is almost unnecessary to show what the United States Senate was from its beginning, and what it is now.

* * *

However, even the Senate is not “in it” as an obstacle to progress and justice when compared with the position our judiciary occupies as an illegitimate part of our law-making body—and in telling the people what they may want and what they may not.

And this monstrous guardianship of the judiciary over the people, dictating to them what is law and what is not, is purely an *American* institution.

No other nation in the world has it. No other nation in the world would stand for it.

The British constitution, of which ours is otherwise a faithful copy, knows nothing like it. The germ of the disease was put into our constitution by the conservatives of the type of Alexander Hamilton and had the warm support of all the ex-Royalists—but the disease was developed by the shrewd manipulations of some supreme justices.

The Hamilton clique had created the Senate to take the place of the House of Lords. Yet it was still afraid of the common people. It wanted something in the place of the king. And, mind you, not the constitutional King of England either. They wanted the absolute king of the Fifteenth or Sixteenth centuries, and they got him. He is our American judge.

And this King Judge and his retinue of lawyers is now the distinguishing mark between the American people and all others on earth. And perhaps the most dangerous judge to the rights of the people is the Federal judge. Federal judges are appointed by the President of the United States upon the recommendation of our prominent business men, that is upon the recommendation of our railroad presidents and millionaire manufacturers.

The federal judge almost invariably is a corporation lawyer. He is appointed for life—and his very environment makes him part and parcel of the American plutocracy.

The Federal judge nowadays looks down upon the state judiciary very much in the same way as the regular army looks down upon the militia.

Every federal judge nowadays is an enemy of our democratic institutions and an adversary of the common people. Every federal judge becomes a regular fiend

when he has to decide questions regarding the rights of the laboring class.

The federal judiciary of the United States is the last resort of the corporations, railroads and all kinds of plutocratic evil-doers in their straits. There they can get help and comfort when the legislators, whom they usually own, become frightened at the anger of the people. There they can get "injunctions" galore, or judge-made law to suit every occasion.

* * *

This constitution has never been changed except by bloody war.

It takes a two-thirds majority of Congress, and in addition thereto a majority of three-fourths of the legislatures of all the states, to change it. And that can never be gotten. As it stands now, the constitution can only be changed by revolutions and a sea of blood.

We Socialists want a constitution that can be amended by a majority vote of all the people. The American government is a democracy—at least it pretends to be one. The people ought to rule.

And every law passed by our representatives ought to hold good unless repealed by our law-givers, or rejected by a majority of the people.

Is this idea of majority rule—"a wild, visionary, revolutionary farrago, unpatriotic to the core, at war with American traditions, principles and instincts?"

However, the capitalists make the fatal mistake of their very existence when they trust to judges and senates to check the will of an enraged people.

An "upper house" which, during a revolutionary period, should resolutely oppose itself to the branch of the legis-

lature more directly representing the excited state of popular feeling would be infallibly swept away. And consult any history as to what became of the kings and judges in either the English or the French revolutions.

As to the "judges," they simply *cease to exist* at the very first outbreak.

II.

At the time of its adoption no one considered the constitution of the United States anything but a miserable piece of patchwork—a stupid imitation of the English constitution—which had to be amended a dozen times before it could be adopted by the thirteen original states. It really satisfied nobody.—(Victor Berger in Social-Democratic Herald.)

The same miserable piece of patchwork, which satisfied nobody, was nevertheless adopted by the thirteen original states before it was amended at all; and it has stood the test of 120 years so well as to prove that if it is a stupid imitation of the English constitution, it is an imitation of a very good thing. And how does Mr. Berger know that the United States constitution is an imitation—stupid or otherwise—of the English constitution? Has he ever read the English constitution, and can he tell where a copy of it—another copy than his—may be found? (Milwaukee Free Press.)

EVERYBODY who knows anything about the constitutions of different countries, knows that England is a constitutional monarchy, and has a constitution. And he also knows that the English constitution is not a written constitution like the French, German, Swiss, etc., but an *unwritten* constitution based upon the growth of the English institutions since the Magna Charta. And if the editorial writer of the *Free Press* does not know this, he has no right to write about these things.

However, all this worship of the constitution is at par with the fetich worship of our ancestors 10,000 years

ago. At that time they worshipped fetiches of wood and stone, and now they worship a paper fetich. But what is the difference? A fetich is a fetich.

* * *

A constitution is simply the cloak for our body politic. A garment that may have fitted us well in 1788, when this nation was in its swaddling clothes, cannot possibly fit us today. We do not revere Cotton Mather's book on witchcraft, which was considered the greatest book of his time by his contemporaries. Now why should we worship a document which was patched together 120 years ago by a lot of gentlemen wearing knee pants and—knowing nothing about railroads, telegraphs, corporations and trusts?

The editorial writer of the *Free Press* would not want his son to wear the clothes he wore when he was a baby. I do not believe his son would look very well in them. The editorial writer of the *Free Press* would not want the *Free Press* to use the antiquated facilities which Benjamin Franklin used. I do not believe that with these the *Free Press* could very well compete with the *Sentinel*. But why should our country be compelled to suffer under the anomalies, inequalities and shortcomings of a document which even 120 years ago was only passed after wire pulling of all kinds—a document which even 120 years ago satisfied nobody—why?

* * *

But, says the *Milwaukee Free Press*, the constitution has "stood the test of 120 years so well as to prove that if it is a stupid imitation of the English constitution, it is an imitation of a very good thing."

It was not on account of the constitution that this country has flourished. It was simply on account of our

colonial conditions, our virgin soil and apparently inexhaustible resources. Our people practically tried to use up in a few generations the resources that nature had stored up in many thousands or, in some instances, many millions of years—to use them all up, if possible, in 100 or 150 years. This was the richest country on the face of the globe, that is why we prospered and probably would have prospered even more if we had had no constitution at all. Whenever and wherever this constitution was subjected to any test, as for instance in 1860, then this constitution did not stand the test.

Under present conditions the American people are as absolutely prevented from exercising their full political power as the people of Russia or of China.

Everybody except a few moss-backs, of the type of the editorial writer of the *Free Press*, admits that our federal constitution is exceedingly clumsy and defective, yet it practically cannot be amended except by a revolution and by force of arms.

So great are the difficulties of amendment that in effect they are insurmountable. I believe that we could just as soon overthrow the entire government and the capitalist system as amend this miserable constitution.

* * *

However, this also is to admit that we are bound by a most stupid fetich, and by old chains, which were put around us 120 years ago. It means practically an admission that the American people have not free institutions, are not a free people, and that they declare themselves unfit for a republican form of government. And this should be so stated by all those who defend the present constitution.

Words of the Saints.

WRITTEN IN OCTOBER, 1906.

THE Catholics recently held their annual convention in Buffalo, N. Y. The Socialists, as usual, were bitterly attacked.

Several speakers again declared that the Socialists were on a *level with thieves* because they do not recognize the present "legal" property system.

Other speakers, for instance Archbishop Messmer, acknowledged that Socialism contained "much that is good." But Messmer fiercely assailed the plank in the Social-Democratic platform that "*religion is a matter of private concern.*" This our friend Messmer pronounced godless and wicked, and therefore every Catholic should fight Socialism.

* * *

And before we go any further I want to state again that this fight with the Roman Catholic church is disagreeable to us, because it brings the element of religion into a purely economical and political matter. I am free to say that we would rather run away from *this* fight if we could. But we cannot, the "holy" church would not let us. So "willy nilly" we must defend ourselves against the "dear old priests."

Archbishop Messmer's argument is not hard to answer, because we do not yet have any *state church* in America.

We willingly believe that our archbishop and other priests of his type *wish* that the Roman Catholic church in America was made the state church. He also *hopes* that this will be done some day with the help of the big capitalists who, whether Protestant, Jewish, or heathen, see in the Roman Catholic church their last bulwark. And we also know that the Rockefellers, Vanderbilts, Goulds, etc., would go right over to the Roman Catholic church if such a re-enforcement of that church were necessary for the preservation of the present system. Even now they are munificent towards the church.

Yet a state church will *never* exist in America. To begin with, its establishment would require one of the *most terrible civil wars* the world has ever known. True, the church has started such wars before. But the fact is, even if the Roman Catholic church allied with the capitalists should conquer once, and even if it should conquer ten times, it could never maintain its rule in the long run.

It has just lost its rule *once more in France*.

Therefore I should advise our friend Messmer that it would be better for the Roman Catholic church to adopt the Social-Democratic principle, "Religion is a private affair." This maxim is generally accepted in America. And yet the "only holy church" is *doing a fine business here*. Just consider its growth during the last twenty years.

Furthermore I should advise our friend Messmer not to accept annual passes—we mean *annual passes*, not clergyman's half fares—from so many railroads. It

looks bad when the archbishop has to shuffle them like a pack of cards before he finds the particular pasteboard that gives him a free ride to Chicago. The archbishop is getting money enough to live like a grand duke—he smokes the best cigars and drinks the most expensive liquors—and he ought to be able to pay his fares. Some unbelievers and heretics might be inclined to consider the “annual pass” as one of the connecting links between the hierarchy and the railroad magnates.

So much for our friend Messmer.

* * *

But to the other brothers in Christ who reproach the Socialists with being on a “level with thieves” because they regard the *present* property system as *unjust, anti-social* and the source of social disorder, I will say this.

Not we, but the capitalists and their *defenders* stand on a “level with thieves.” Capitalist ownership is continuous graft and alienation. The working people have produced all the wealth, the capitalists have simply *confiscated* it and are confiscating it *every day*.

Of course this continuous graft and “alienation” is now legal and passes for ownership.

The present laws are made just by the ruling class, and in their interest. They represent might and not right.

And as soon as this sort of thing has gone a little too far for the people to endure, they will surely proceed to *restitution*.

Our opponents, the capitalists, may call this “expropriation.” But we do not care what they call it as long as it is done. And expropriation also sounds well to us.

Just here I wish to explain that the advocates of the new order of society will use the extreme application of

their principles—that is, the expropriation of the capitalist class—for the *general use*, for collective ownership and *not* to put other men personally in possession of land, machines and other means of production.

* * *

By the way, in former centuries, the holy church often undertook such expropriation of heretics or those who did not follow its blessed doctrines. And this was done for the *private* use of lords, bishops, cloisters, etc. And usually they took away the *children* also, after the parents had been killed or driven away.

And the pious in the land always regarded such “expropriations” as godly acts and sang “Te deums” and other praises to God in the Roman Catholic churches.

Later on, of course, when in the Reformation period the *Protestants* played the *same game* against the bishops and cloisters, the church did curse it as outright robbery.

But then the Protestant preachers on their side thought the deed was good. And *they* praised God for it and gave thanks.

So the Lord, at least, was praised any way.

* * *

In other words, the thing was always *legal*, when it was done by the *strongest* party. And we hereby *solemnly promise* not to undertake any expropriation *until* we have the *power*.

And we will take only “means of production” and we will harm nobody.

And after it is done, those of us who are pious will, no doubt, thank God for it. And the Lord, at least, will be praised any way.

Moreover, we do not have to rummage the history of former times for example and precedents. Even *today* expropriations are made by the federal, state and city governments, when for any reason they are considered necessary.

In later issues we may take occasion to return to this subject.

But today, for the profit and edification of the brothers in Christ who cursed us in Buffalo, we wish to cite the opinions of the *saints* on the expropriation question.

* * *

St. Luke writes of the Christian community at Jerusalem, "And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul; neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things in common.—Neither was there any among them that lacked, for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the price of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostles' feet; and *distribution* was made unto *every man according* as he had need."—(Acts. IV, 32-35.)

Now that is clear communism.

Indeed, it was the logical application of the command, "Go sell all that thou hast and give to the poor."

If the communists are in need of a patron saint, they ought to take St. Luke.

The fathers of the church, St. Chrysostom, St. Hieronymus, St. Basil, St. Gregory, St. Clement and St. Ambrose express themselves with equal clearness.

"It is not without reason," says Hieronymus, "that the gospel calls earthly riches 'unrighteous mammon,' since

they have their source in injustice, *for one cannot possess them except through the ruin of others*. It is even a common saying that they who possess them are rich only through their own injustice or the injustice of those whose heirs they are."—(Works of St. Hieronymus, published by Malongues, Paris, 1678.)

St. Chrysostom denounces the grain usurers.

"The land lay dry, parched by the sun, the fruits could not grow, famine threatened. Suddenly black clouds rolled up, it rained, deliverance came, every one rejoiced—except one rich man. When he was asked the reason, he said: 'I had stored up ten thousand bushels of wheat, and now I do not know what to do with it.'

"Does he not deserve to be quartered as an enemy of the community?" asked St. Chrysostom.

St. Chrysostom must have received the anarchist *John Most* with open arms, when he got to heaven.

* * *

And the good saint is no less radical where he speaks of property in general:

"For one to use his property only for himself is to rob the poor of it, that is, to *play the robber* with the property of another, and subject himself to all the penalties which threaten him who steals. What thou mayest keep for thyself is that which is really necessary, the rest belongs to the poor. It is his property and not thine."—(St. Chrysostom, Bibliothek der Kirchenvaeter, Vol. 19, pages 27, 35, 40, 51 and 52.)

St. Gregory says, "The earth is the common property of all men; it is vain for those to think themselves innocent who appropriate to themselves alone the wealth which God gave to all men in common. When they do

not share with others what they have received they become man-slayers." ("Des Soins et des Devoirs des Pasteurs," XXI, pages 303 and 304, Lyons, 1682.)

Pope Basil the Great proclaimed these truths.

"Art thou not a thief, thou who appropriatest to thyself that which thou hast only received in order to distribute it? If he is called a thief who takes one piece of clothing, can any other name be given to him who, seeing before him a naked man, can clothe him, and yet leaves him naked? The rich have just got into their possession the *communal wealth*, and make of it *private property*." (Sur l'Avarice, by Victor Meunier, page 23.)

No Socialist could speak with more fervor.

* * *

St. Clement makes communism or communistic ownership an article of faith when he says:

"The communal life is a duty for all men. It is injustice which permits one man to say, 'This is mine,' another, 'This belongs to me.' From this has come inequality among men."

Now that is a good deal more than any Social-Democrat ever asked.

In conclusion, also hear the father of the church, St. Ambrose.

"God created all things to let every one enjoy them and to make the earth the property of all. *Nature* originated *communist* right, and it is force which has produced the rights of property. Since the earth was given to all in common, no one can call himself the owner of what exceeds his natural needs; what is over and above this, he has alienated from society." (St. Ambrose, Sermon 64 on Luke, Chap. 16.)

Well, this is a small selection from the writings of men who lived in ages when the "rights of property" had not by far such ruinous consequences for the masses of the people as in this century of "culture and civilization."

And I ask our friend Messmer, who has studied church history, and knows his saints as well as I do, whether I have not quoted them correctly?

Let him show me one single misquotation, and I will buy a five-pound candle at Candlemas for the Capuchin church, to be lit before the statue of the saint that I have misquoted.

And of this be sure, dear Christians—these saints, if they were living today, would be Socialists.

Freedom Has Fled!

WRITTEN JULY 2, 1904.

WE AGAIN celebrate the Fourth of July and the establishment of this Republic.

It is obvious that if the fathers of this republic had any special object in throwing off the old form of government, it could be no other than the advancement of the general interests in opposition to the interests of the king and of the privileged classes, which were paramount under former governments. But casting aside the high-sounding phraseology of declarations and proclamations, which characterized those days, and considering only the results as they stand before us, what shall we say of the fathers of this republic? What shall we say of the inconsistencies which pervade their proclamations and render them void in some of their most material points concerning the rights of the people? Thus, after declaring that *all men are born equal* and *continue equal in rights*, they gravely affirmed that property (which all men have not) is an inviolable and sacred right, of which no one can be deprived!

Where is the equality?

One man is born in poverty, with all that poverty implies; another is born in affluence, with all the advantages affluence brings. One has before him a future of hard

labor simply to maintain existence, the other is destined to inherit all that is most desirable in life. One owns princely estates, the other has hardly a roof over his head; yet both are said to be born and to continue equal in rights!

Where is the equality?

They claim that there are no social distinctions, no classes in America. What nonsense! Has there ever existed a greater social distinction than exists between the millionaire and common proletarian in America at the present time? Is there in any country a more pronounced difference between the employing class and the working class than in these United States? Is there a ruling class on God's world more arrogant than the capitalist class of America? Is there a working people on earth more down-trodden than the workmen of Colorado?

* * *

But to come back to the celebration of the establishment of this Republic. We ask again, where, as far as actual effects go, is the much talked of superiority of the republican over the monarchical system? Is it that the civil list of the president is small compared with that of an emperor? What, beyond a moral lesson, is taught by curtailing the expenditures of one individual? He is denied a royal revenue and the splendors of a court, yet his power is greater than that of most modern sovereigns.

Do we actually have a *Res Publica*? In what respect? Titles, which in themselves are harmless, were abolished; but the privileges of excessive wealth, which are a public danger, are maintained. The spirit of 1776 overthrew

the Monarchy as the oppressor and proclaimed the Republic as the benefactor; yet one looks in vain through English history for an example of the American spirit of 1904 as it manifests itself in Colorado today. This democratic Republic shelters a host of proud trustocrats, who, conscious of their power, use the troops of the state to lord it over the land regardless of any laws that may exist.

This people-loving government serves a class of favored plutocrats who enjoy more than princely incomes and whenever they so choose, indulge in more than princely excesses on the poor and defenseless multitude. This wonderful republic suffers our money kings to form combinations and trusts whereby they are enabled to exercise the sovereign right of levying on the governed, and to tax them in all kinds of ways, for the personal support and aggrandizement of these kings, without any parliament or representation. Wander through monarchies and empires the world over, Russia and China probably excepted, and nowhere will you find conditions that are as bad. The seed of democracy was planted in 1776, but up to the present day it has not borne any fruit.

* * *

Our friends in the old country are beginning to see the conditions in America in their true light and we are the objects of their commiseration and of their—contempt.

The German Social-Democratic papers devote considerable space to comments on the treatment by the American authorities of union miners in the Cripple Creek district, and although the Social-Democrats are the sworn enemies of the monarchy and even of the

Kaiser, the German government comes in for a certain amount of praise in this connection.

In a leading article commenting on the persecution of the union miners, the Berlin Vorwaerts says editorially:

"By those who were wont to consider the great republic on the other side of the Atlantic a haven of refuge for the down-trodden classes, the course of political events in America is greatly regretted.

"Daily it becomes more and more evident that the United States is no longer a democratic republic, but a mighty world power governed by an oligarchy of plutocrats.

"In Colorado the so-called higher classes—that is to say, the millionaire mine owners and their followers—are daily violating the laws of the state to annihilate workingmen, whose only crime is that they have formed unions for their own protection, unions which are perfectly legal under the existing laws of the state.

"Workingmen have been **corralled** into pens as if they were wild beasts, and, not **having** a place to banish these unfortunate people to, they have been deported into a neighboring state, Kansas. One wonders what the next stage of the military tyrant will be.

"We Socialists in Germany have been subject to much oppression, and there is little doubt that the late Prince Bismarck, in his palmy days, would have liked to have treated German workingmen in the same manner, but with hundreds of thousands of bayonets behind him he did not dare to do this.

"Nobody will think of accusing our present German government of loving the Social-Democrats or the labor unions over much, but it knows that should it ever try to treat German subjects as citizens of Colorado are being treated today, the flames of revolution would spread over the country like wildfire.

"The kaiser is at least fighting us fairly. The monarchical government under which we live would never think of vio-

lating the law to crush the laboring classes, and the labor bureau in Berlin has even in some respects done good work for the workingmen, but not so in the 'land of the free and the home of the brave.'

"One might be tempted to say that the American laboring men deserve what they get, when their votes give them power to shake off their yoke at any time.

"Surely, no other people would have as much patience as the American, but that patience has ceased to be a virtue."

* * *

Our brother organ in Germany is right: Patience has ceased to be a virtue. But the American workmen have long ceased to claim any virtues. And as to the comparison between the government of Germany and the government of the United States—of course the Kaiser is their mortal enemy, but he is at least a brave man; while our ruling money-bags are shabby and cowardly hucksters and their governors are corrupt "lawyers" and thieves whom they buy and use at pleasure. And the Kaiser—the great war lord of Europe—is fighting the Socialists and the emancipation of the working class fairly and in the open. He obeys the laws. There were two thousand Socialist votes cast in Colorado, there were over three million Socialist votes cast in Germany. But the German emperor did not suspend the constitution like Peabody, the corporation attorney and lick-spittle of the mine owners in Colorado. There is a possibility of a peaceful solution of the social question in Germany. There is none here, although no doubt the orators of this Fourth of July will favor us as usual with glowing accounts of the grandeur of the government under which we live.

But we will say this: In the ancient city of hanging gardens, Belshazzar, indulging in high revelry, sur-

rounded by satraps, wives and concubines, was not blind to the writing on the wall. Struck with awe, he commanded the feast to end; he sent for men of lore, to interpret the mystic words. In America today, mammon attended by slaves of form divine, is still feasting in gilded halls. Drunk with pleasure, dazed by the glamour of his environment, he sees not the writing on the wall. Yet there it is in flaming letters.

Mene, mene tekel, upharsin—In America we shall soon have great bodies of men who are but one remove from the last desperate strait. They are patient, very patient—we see how they take the situation in Colorado—in fact, they are more patient than the Chinese who rose as “Boxers.” They are about as patient as the Russians. But the present industrial system has massed them in the centres of population. Machinery, trusts and other new methods are constantly increasing the proportion of the unemployed among them. Manufacturers’ associations and other combines are constantly at work to reduce their wages and to break down their organizations. The Peabodys, the Bells, the Mine Owners’ Associations, the Citizens’ Alliances are constantly showing them that “law and order” are humbugs, and that constitutions, courts, etc., are simply snares to oppress the non-resistants. They are patient, very patient, but men in great numbers always retain one element of brute force. Like animals when driven into a corner, even the patient American workmen will fight. With the blood of the capitalist class will they write a new declaration of independence—write the sentence that “All men are born equal,” in bloody Red. Those who can see—see the signs; those who can hear—hear the voices, by day or by night. And

yet there are some who see not; there are some who hear not.

Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin.—

Thou art weighed in the balance and art found wanting. Plutocracy and Democracy will part company—the first to become simply a horrible example in history; the second to become a Social-Democracy and occupy the throne which progress and enlightenment have prepared.

For Whom is There Freedom?

WRITTEN JULY 29, 1905.

ONE OF THE MOST common objections to Socialism is that it would take away the freedom of the people. Now I will say right here that this would be a very serious objection, and Communism at least is open to that objection. There may be also certain kinds of Socialism that would take away the people's freedom, but the Social-Democracy will never do it.

But as to freedom and liberty, who has liberty and who is free under the present economic system?

Some time ago, an employer who was on the witness stand gave the following definition of liberty:

“Why, liberty is the right of an American to do as he d— pleases.” And he added, “This is the ideal of American manhood.”

In one way, the man was right. Our present conditions have made it possible for a small class of Americans to do as they d— please, and that is looked upon by the press, the pulpit, and the schools as the ideal of American manhood.

Of course, it can never be real freedom. It may be the liberty of the libertine—of the slave, who has just got free—but it never is the freedom of the free man. The ex-slaves of the old Romans were called libertines, and when set at liberty they were noted for their licentiousness. They did “as they d— pleased.”

If the capitalist right to oppress others is liberty, then our present capitalist liberty is right. Liberty of that kind, of course, can be used or abused, and our economic conditions set a premium upon the abuse by any ex-slave of the system who has become free.

But freedom as such can never be abused. Freedom is inborn with us, and the only trouble is, we cannot enjoy it, because a certain small class, the capitalist class—the libertines of the present economic system—are absolutely at liberty. And they use their liberty to oppress us.

Freedom is closely connected with economic conditions. A man is not free who is dependent upon another for a job—for a chance to make a livelihood. Under the present economic system with its unbridled competition, only the successful are free. Only the successful can throw off the shackles of industrial slavery—and with this liberty they often become libertines, in every sense of the word. For further details, please read the columns of any metropolitan daily.

But we cannot live moral lives, unless we are free. Hence, freedom is the ideal of the Social-Democrats, and

we will combat and defy anything and anybody, even within the Socialist movement and within the labor movement, that will curtail our freedom.

But who has freedom under the *present* economic system?

Take all the different classes of our people, and in all of them you will find the same lack of freedom—all except a handful of plutocrats, who have succeeded in gaining the monopoly of “liberty.” All of the others, business men, farmers, and wage-earners, are not free.

Let us take the business men first. Now we all know that competitive business is by its very nature corrupt. Every sincere business man will tell you that it is impossible to conduct his affairs as an upright man and be successful, for the simple reason that it is always the unscrupulous rogue who sets the standard. It is the rascal who commences with adulterating goods, with using false advertising—but the honest man must follow suit. The same holds good for the manufacturer. It is the rascal who begins cutting the wages of the employes; endangering the lives of the workmen by neglecting to put up appliances for their protection, and employing the labor of women and children—but the honest man must strike the same pace.

Another suggestive fact. About 90 per cent of all business men at least once in their lives go into bankruptcy. Still another, the mammoth store—the department store—is continually wiping out small merchants, and the large manufacturing establishments and the trusts are doing the same thing for the small shops. So it is pretty clear that the business men, the merchants, the manufacturers are not free.

It is hardly necessary to add here that the professional class, lawyers, doctors, teachers, preachers, are not free. They are of course mainly dependent upon the other classes, and especially upon the class *with money*, for a living. Only in rare cases can they follow their own inclinations, and express their opinions without fear or favor. Surely, none of the men here mentioned can in any true sense be said to be free.

Now let us consider the farmers. In times of old, they were looked upon as the "free and independent class" par excellence. The present high prices for the staple goods of the farmers have for a moment relieved that class. They experience a temporary prosperity. But let us recollect the crisis of the nineties and the mournful story of the presidential election of 1896 when the poor farmers, burdened with debts and misery, like a drowning man clutching at the last straw, as a class voted for "free silver." It was lucky for the farmers more than for anybody else that they did not succeed at that time—but this present prosperity is only temporary. It is based upon very good crops in this country, and failure of crops elsewhere—and upon wars, the Spanish-American War first, the Boer War next, and now the Russian-Japanese War. All of these conditions and circumstances will, of course, not always prevail. And then the farmers will deteriorate again. They are bound to deteriorate as long as the present economic system lasts. The farmers are the serfs of the trusts, the railroads, and the speculators. They are not free.

And how about the wage-workers? Are they free? We hardly need to answer. Think of the insecurity and dependence which day by day makes the workman subject

to his employer's favors, and to every whim of his, first in order to obtain his daily subsistence, and second, in order to retain it. And must not a wage-worker give up his identity? He must identify himself with his master's private interests, no matter whether the master is inferior to him or not—nay, he must help him and obey him even when the master is a rogue who adulterates goods, or in other ways carries on a warfare against society.

In other words, the wage system possesses this miserable feature which makes it so similar to ancient slavery, that the workman is used entirely for his master's private ends. This was the definition of slavery.

And how about those who have *no* work and cannot find any? Are they not in a still worse predicament? Are they free? Are they not the slaves of misery, hunger and every other ill? Surely no workman, whether employed or not, can be called free.

So to make a long story short, it is not so much the fact that there are rich and poor in the world under the present system, but the fact that the poor have to depend upon the rich for a living, that makes us all servants and slaves. It is the terrible economic power of the capitalist class that keeps us from becoming free. Only Socialism can help us. And we shall become free only in the degree that we introduce Socialism and Social-Democratic measures into our system.

Capitalist Liberty.

WRITTEN IN APRIL, 1907.

Mr. Frank M. Hoyt, a well-known corporation lawyer, recently delivered a lecture on *Socialism* before the *Men's Club* in this city. He evidently tried to give a fair statement of Socialism, and aside from the error that he considered the "iron law of wages," as formulated by Ricardo and repeated by Lassalle, a part of Socialistic doctrine, he succeeded pretty well.

* * *

But he concluded:

"The objection which is the most potent in this country to the acceptance of the Socialists' proposal that the state shall own or control property to the degree asked by them, is the feeling that such a plan would result in the tyranny of the state, and absolutely destroy all individual freedom.

"The idea is thus expressed by Judge Grosscup in a recent address:

"The deepest instinct of the American is the instinct of individual freedom. Beginning with himself, and those who depend upon him, the American will willingly surrender nothing to the community that he feels bound in conscience to perform himself; nothing to the larger community, called the state, that he feels should be performed by the smaller community of which he is proportionally a larger part; nothing to the nation that he feels should be performed by the state.

“And when you ask him in the interest of this or any other cause to separate himself farther and farther from individual control of those duties that are dearest to him—the education of his children, their religious training, the whole circle of what he has always looked upon as a personal responsibility—you ask him to surrender a thing that rather than surrender he will abandon the cause.”

“Another objection, to at least the present suggestions of the party, is found in what is claimed to be its failure to formulate measures, which shall operate in a practical manner against the evils of which they complain, without doing that which is confessedly impossible, namely: immediately subvert and change our entire existing system.

“As a friend of mine humorously puts it: ‘The Socialists bring us to the banks of a deep stream, assure us there is excellent pasturage on the other side, and fail to supply any means of crossing over to it.’”

* * *

The trouble with our honest opponents—for there are also dishonest opponents, who deal in all kinds of scientific fibs, the hollowness of which they themselves recognize—lies in the fact that these honest opponents cannot, in their train of thought, sufficiently abstract from present conditions. This explains why so many people are frightened away from Social-Democracy by all kinds of catch-words and phrases.

And the objection that is raised with special emphasis against Social-Democracy is that the Co-operative Commonwealth is *inconsistent with “individual freedom.”*

Now, we could make very short work of this.

We could simply answer that the *present* society does not grant freedom to the individual.

We could point to the fact that the great majority of our fellow citizens, during their lives, are in the service of others. All their lives the great majority must work

according to the wish and will of a small minority. And these workers and their families do not get even enough to eat, cannot dress themselves properly or live in a decent home upon the wages they receive. And besides, they are not allowed to speak and act as they feel. If they do so, they run the risk of losing work and livelihood.

We could prove that even the well-to-do classes are *not* free at present. They are tied in their *business* life by *competition*, in their political, religious and social life by *considerations of their position*, by public opinion and by the pressure of the powerful.

And this is Mr. Hoyt's case, for instance.

* * *

This much has already been admitted by every unprejudiced observer, that our present society does *not in reality give* to its members *that freedom*, which the constitution promises—the Fourth of July orators notwithstanding.

Herbert Spencer, who opposed Socialism because he *feared* the dangers to individual liberty, was unprejudiced enough to admit that if he had only the choice between our present capitalistic society and the Socialist system, he would unhesitatingly prefer the latter. And this just from the standpoint of the real and actual, and not of the imagined, freedom of the individual.

I could further point out that every forward step of culture and civilization generally is connected with a certain restriction of personal liberty. The further we advance, the more fields are withdrawn from the discretion of the individual, and put under the control of the community. Even today our entire state rests on the restriction of the liberty of the individual.

Compulsory education and taxation—to speak of these foundations of our present government—are simply restrictions of our personal liberty. But would Mr. Hoyt on that account wish to go back to the times when no father was compelled to send his children to school and when nobody knew anything of taxation? Such regions still exist—in Central Asia and in Central Africa. Yet every one of us knows perfectly well that we civilized servants of the tax commissioner and of the school superintendent are, in fact and truth, infinitely freer than our forefathers were, who roamed “freely” in the deep forests of Germany and Great Britain; or than the inhabitants of this globe who still live in similar conditions.

We all know perfectly well that the great problem of the history of mankind consists just in this: How to *restrict the liberty of each individual* in such manner as to make way for the *greatest freedom for all*.

We all know perfectly well that the most unrestricted liberty leads to the brute battle of each against all.

And this never meant freedom.

It meant slavery in ancient times, and serfdom in the middle ages.

In modern days we find this unrestricted liberty only in the *economic field*. And there it has anarchy in its wake, which reigns supreme in our present society, with its chronic industrial crises (called “panics”), its permanent reserve army of the unemployed, its ever-increasing destitution of the masses, its business corruption and its ethical hypocrisy.

All this should really be quite sufficient to prove to every thinking man the absurdity of the twaddle about the dangers of Social-Democracy to individual freedom.

For a freedom that does not exist cannot be in danger. And least of all can it be endangered by something that does not yet exist, but is going to come, as is the case with the Socialist Republic.

So Judge Grosscup may rest assured that we ask him to surrender nothing.

* * *

Social-Democracy, however, need not content itself with this negative proof. It is fully able to furnish also the positive information that the Socialist Republic is not only entirely consistent with personal freedom, but will bring it to its fullest development.

If there are still many well-meaning and educated people who fear the "almighty" Socialistic state, this probably arises from the fact that they always think of the utopian schemes of the first communists who wanted to rule everything from above.

But modern, scientific Socialists never dream of such a thing.

Indeed, should we, in the Socialist Republic, need other means to keep people to their work than we need in the present society? Why do we work today? In order to live. Will this be otherwise in a society where all means of production belong to the commonwealth, instead of belonging to a few capitalists? Why should a laborer cease to work, because the *entire value of his labor* will go to the laborer?

I cannot see any logical reason.

It is said that man is a "*self-seeker*" by nature. That he works only when he *himself* reaps the benefit; that he will not work for others.

But is it not a fact just now that the *greater part of*

mankind works for others? And is it not just in the Co-operative Commonwealth that everybody will be enabled to call the *full product* of his labor his *own*? Where then will justifiable self-seeking be better satisfied, in the present or in the future society?

In future society, the genius of work will be freed from its most fatal defect, which is inherent today—the fact that the chief aim of all labor is the *individual interest of somebody else, the profit of somebody else, the making of surplus for somebody else.*

In the Socialist Republic this will not be possible. There only that will be produced which the commonwealth needs. And everybody will get the full product of what he has earned. Or, to express it better, the equivalent of his work.

The material and individual interest of the working-man in his work, therefore, will not cease in the society of the future, but, on the contrary, there it will find its real and absolute basis.

* * *

Thus we see, that nothing will be changed regarding the *motive* to work. At least nothing in its disfavor.

It is also clear, on the other hand, that the freedom of choice of work will be much greater than at present.

How it is today every one knows. Of course, our constitution “guarantees” us, in the most solemn way, the most unrestricted freedom. In reality, however, it depends upon a whole series of extraordinarily *fortunate* chances and circumstances, whether any one can really choose his life’s work at will.

With most parents and young people, pecuniary considerations *alone* decide as to the choice of professions.

A single glance at the statistics on this subject show that the choice of a profession depends upon the prospect which the law of "supply and demand" offers at the time. Even theology, which should be above all a matter of sentiment, is not excluded from this rule.

And the overwhelming majority of children have *no choice at all*—they must go to the factory at the age of 14, or even earlier.

How different this will be in a society which guarantees all labor its full product! How all foreign considerations, which today determine the choice of work, will fall away! So much the more, because then the educational institutions will be open to all competent persons. *Not the money-bag*, but solely the ability, talent and inclination will decide. There is some genius hidden in almost every person. And every young man and every young woman will have time to become clearly conscious of his or her inclinations and gifts.

And should any one have been mistaken about his or her choice of work, how much easier will be the transition to another sphere of action than it is today.

* * *

It is not the intention of Socialists to interfere with municipal rights, county rights or state rights which are essential to the habit of self-government. The *American capitalist will lose the liberty of the libertine*—the liberty to abuse—but the American citizen will *gain the freedom of the man who is free economically as well as politically*.

As to the education of the children, their religious training and so forth, that will be less interfered with than today. Religion is a private matter—that is Socialist doctrine the world over. It is for that very reason

that the Roman Catholic Church bitterly opposes Socialism. That church wants religion—the Romanist brand of it—to be a *state affair*.

So much for the observations of Judge Grosscup.

* * *

As for the remark of Mr. Hoyt that we want “to immediately subvert and change our entire existing system,” I will say that no true Social-Democrat ever dreams of a sudden change of society. We build upon the past historical development and take into consideration the present conditions.

We are the greatest advocates of reforms of all kinds and every description the world has ever seen.

Mr. Hoyt ought to know that. We are proposing these reform measures right here in Milwaukee before his very eyes, and at Madison, Wis., in the legislature. And we will advocate them in Washington as soon as we elect members to congress.

Yet these reforms are only stepping stones—very useful and necessary stepping stones, if the Socialist Republic is ever to be brought about peaceably—but our aim is to abolish the capitalist system entirely.

The Socialist Republic will come by evolution. It cannot come any other way. We may see, however, the most fearful revolutions (and many of them) as a part of that great *evolution*.

Bloody revolutions will not hasten—they may even retard—the coming of the Socialist Republic. And whether such eruptions are to take place at all, will depend as much upon the policy of the capitalist class as upon the leadership of the proletariat.

We are Social-Democrats, because we have recognized that the economical development of the present capitalist system, with its concentration of wealth, its trusts, etc., leads toward Socialistic production. Socialism is the next phase of civilization, if civilization is to survive.

So, dear Mr. Hoyt, "we shall have to cross to the other bank of that deep stream." We Social-Democrats supply all kinds of social reform vehicles and bridges to cross. We reach out the helping hand of brotherly love. But those who refuse and fight—will perish in the stream.

And that is the grim "humor" of it.

The Flag Superstition.

WRITTEN IN JUNE, 1907.

AN item on the first page of the *Milwaukee Sentinel* says:

Clarence S. Darrow, the well-known Socialist lawyer of Chicago, created considerable comment recently when he refused to rise in his seat while "The Star Spangled Banner" was being sung in the Silver Grill restaurant of a leading hotel in Spokane, Wash. Among the many who took dinner at the time at this restaurant was C. W. Mott, general emigration agent of the Northern Pacific road, who was in Milwaukee yesterday. Mr. Mott, like all other guests of the hotel, and the restaurant was crowded at the time, was greatly incensed over the action of Mr. Darrow.

"Out West people dine more in restaurants than here in the East," said Mr. Mott yesterday, in speaking of the incident. "Under the circumstances it was but natural that the Silver Grill was crowded. The orchestra had just finished a selection from 'Tannhaeuser' when a young woman stepped forward to sing 'The Star Spangled Banner.' As a fitting prologue the orchestra struck up a medley of national airs that made the blood of each one of us tingle, and when the strains melted into 'The Star Spangled Banner' every one arose in his seat as a mark of respect to our flag. All except Mr. Darrow. He was seated at a table with an associate who arose like the rest of us, but Mr. Darrow remained seated. His friend apparently pleaded with him to rise also, but he shook his head.

"The incident did not pass by unnoticed. Suddenly a woman

began to hiss, and before the next second had passed hisses came from every part of the room, but Mr. Darrow paid no attention to it. Others called to him to rise like an American, true to his country, but he remained undisturbed to the end amid all the excitement.

“Mr. Darrow is considered the archangel of Socialism in this country. If that is their principle of love and gratitude toward the flag that protects them at home and abroad, it seems to me that the people can do no less than crush Socialists wherever they may appear to spread their doctrine of hatred and discontent. Socialism is a serpent gnawing at the root of the nation.”

I have not the pleasure of knowing C. W. Mott—although I do know that he used to live in Milwaukee and was considered a “good fellow,” whatever that means.

But I do know Mr. Darrow. And, therefore, I believe I am safe in saying that Clarence Darrow has more brains than all those present in the Silver Grill combined—“Charlie” Mott thrown in to the bargain. Darrow is one of the best lawyers in America.

Yet Clarence Darrow is no “archangel of the Socialists.” In fact, he is neither an angel nor a Socialist. He is the man who wrote the famous booklet “Resist Not Evil.” He is a “philosophic anarchist” and so considered by everybody, including himself.

Clarence Darrow is not now, and never was, a *member* of the Socialist Party.

But what he did at the Silver Grill is surely not to his discredit. And I believe I might have done the same myself—coming as he did from the trial of W. D. Haywood and seeing what “patriotism” means in Colorado and Idaho.

And what is patriotism at the present time? Today, if ever, patriotism may be considered the "last refuge of the scoundrel."

John D. Rockefeller is a patriot. August Belmont is a patriot, Tom Ryan of New York is a patriot, Sherman Bell and ex-Governor Peabody are patriots, Richard Croker *was* a patriot until he expatriated himself.

The "yellow dog fund" was a patriot fund, and so is the Republican campaign fund. Every big thief, every great exploiter, every huge leech sucking the life blood of the people is a patriot. He will tell you so himself.

And he is protected by the flag, by the star-spangled banner. He is protected not only in life and limb, but also in his stolen possessions.

* * *

But the common workingman, the proletarian, is not protected. He does not have anything, so he does not need any protection. He owns nothing of the country, not even enough of it to build a house on for himself and family.

"This flag" cannot protect the home of a man who owns no home.

And as for his life and limbs—the owner of the factory "insures" himself against any accidents that might befall the man. The man has to fight it out in the courts.

And the flag has nothing to do with it.

And the worker never goes abroad except as a sailor, a stoker or fireman, or a stowaway.

So I cannot see where the principle of love or gratitude of workingmen toward "the flag that protects them here and abroad" should come in.

Yet I will say that the proletarians in general are patriots in the *highest sense*.

They not only build the cities, railways and workshops, but they also protect them against fire and flood. And it is the working class that furnishes the soldiers, or at least the overwhelming majority of them. It is the working class that has to do the fighting, although they have nothing to do with the declaration of war.

If the railroad managers and the bankers and the capitalists should have to do their own fighting, a war would not last long.

And it is no more than right that the workingmen as a whole should love their country as a whole. They will inherit it as soon as they make use of their brains for themselves. They have created these cities with their magnificent palaces, museums, libraries, art institutions, schools, etc., and by right these belong to them, and not to the capitalists.

This brilliant culture of our country—art, education and literature—is by right an inheritance of the white race.

And a nation that will own its country again will be a nation that will have a real reason to become patriotic again. And I hope that America will be among the first.

* * *

The flag fetich is silly when it is not hypocritical. And it is hypocritical when it is not silly.

It is a remnant of feudal barbarism, when it represented the feudal allegiance of the vassal to the "coat of arms" of his lord—usually emblematic of some carnivorous beast or some bird of prey.

I despise every fetich. The green flag of the prophet Mohamet, or of Ireland, is as dear to me as the red flag of the Socialists or the star-spangled banner. A flag is a piece of dry goods that one can buy for 75 cents in any department store.

It is the *idea* that is *behind* it that is to decide whether the flag is worth following or not.

And just now the stars and stripes cover all sorts of oppression, misery, prostitution, graft and exploitation of women and children, not to mention the exploitation of millions of men.

This flag is now the coat of arms of the meat trust and the oil trust and every other trust. It is the banner of E. H. Harriman, Tom Ryan, August Belmont, Chauncey Depew and Tom Platt of New York.

* * *

And as for the silly custom of getting up whenever the "Star Spangled Banner" is played—that was imported from the old country. There the officers and their women—legal or illegal—stand up in the cafe or in the German "Wirthshaus" whenever "God Save the King" or "Heil Dir im Siegerkranz" is played.

Ten, twenty or thirty years ago, before our plutocrats and our middle class traveled so much in Europe this custom was not practiced in our country.

It is a shoddy imitation of a feudal custom—just like the "coats of arms" on the carriages of our millionaires.

I personally would just as soon get up when the band plays "Hiawatha" or "Hail, Hail, the Gang is All Here" as for the Star Spangled Banner. "Hiawatha" stands for a good time, the Star Spangled Banner stood for hell

in Colorado and stands for the same thing in Pennsylvania and other places.

If they want the workingmen to sing "The Star-Spangled Banner, long may it wave,"—then this must become again "the home of the *free* and the brave."

Tear the flag away from Simon Guggenheim of Colorado, who has openly bought his seat in the Senate, and return it to the people. And the people will love it again.

* * *

There is a very serious aspect to all this.

The question is, what are we coming to? Here is the "general emigration agent" of a thievish road—the tool of a Harriman or a Jim Hill—having the criminal insolence to tell people that "Socialism is a serpent gnawing at the root of the nation." Whereas, as a matter of fact, the only persons who gave the sign of the snake were the "ladies and gentlemen" (including Mr. Mott) who hissed Clarence Darrow.

Quo vadis—plain American citizen?

* * *

While the people of the United States have a quasi-republican form of government, the tendency—not only in capitalist circles but also in the well-to-do middle class—is decidedly anti-republican.

While we are supposed to have a democracy, we are hampered by having an uncrowned **king** and a **senatorial oligarchy**—and the well-to-do middle class applauds both.

While we have no established church to support, *church property is not taxed*, and so we are made to support *all* the churches, whether we want to do so or not.

While we have no hereditary nobility, we have a moneyed aristocracy which has now become hereditary. And it is the most oppressive and contemptible the world has ever seen.

And while we have the general franchise in this country—we have at the same time the most stupendous political frauds. Six million black men are now disfranchised, and very soon an attempt will be made to disfranchise the poor whites.

* * *

In short, unless the people will rise in all their might and shake off about 500,000 human lice, which infest our economic and political body, then this country is lost.

And the Star-Spangled Banner, within a few generations, will have about the same meaning as the Green Dragon of the Chinese Empire.

Why the Panic Came.

WRITTEN IN DECEMBER, 1907.

SOME big trust companies and some banks have failed in New York, and Wall Street was paralyzed for a day or two. Interest went up to 100 per cent on "short calls." Stocks went to the bottom. It looked for a while as if an industrial crisis—a so-called "panic"—was coming.

Of course, some of our trust magnates most interested in the industrial stock, which shrank the most, by force of necessity threw themselves into the gap. J. Pierpont Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, and the rest of the big gentlemen, put in about \$100,000,000, loaned them to the brokers at 6 per cent on short calls. Our government, through Secretary of the Treasury Cortelyou, put in also \$25,000,000. Thus the situation was saved once more.

But for how long? No one knows.

* * *

True, all capitalist papers are shrieking at the top of their voices, "Everything is all right. Everything is secure. No one need to fear, etc."

They want to restore "confidence."

And since capitalism is very largely a confidence game, this may have some effect.

* * *

And whether an industrial crisis is now due or not I do not know. In the past, crises used to come in cycles of

about twenty years ever since the capitalist system reached its full development. Thus we had crises in this country in 1819, 1837, 1857, 1873, and in 1893. According to cycles a crisis would be due *about* in 1913. But there are so many causes and conditions acting on this, that it is *impossible* to foretell the year exactly.

Besides, we have entered into an entirely *new phase* of capitalism through the development of the *trusts*. It is less possible than ever to predict when the industrial crisis will set in, or what its character will be.

* * *

For there are several causes for an industrial crisis.

One is the old and rather stereotyped explanation which originated with Proudhon.

Under the capitalist system—the wage system—which is based upon the employer making a profit out of the work of the employes—the employer cannot pay the working man the full value of his product.

The employer *must* make a profit if his business or his factory is to continue.

Thus the workingmen of the country, not getting back in wages the full value of the production of that country, cannot buy back the production of that country. The capitalist class, that is the employing class, is too small in number to use up the difference, because, with the aid of machinery, production has **greatly** increased.

* * *

This surplus has to look for **foreign markets**.

But conditions are the same in every civilized country; all nations look for foreign markets.

Everywhere we find that the producing class of the

country cannot buy back the production of the country with the money it gets for that production.

Therefore the competition for the world market is very keen, and when there is any trouble about it, and the "foreign market" gets clogged up, we have our industrial crises.

In other words: We have a forced under-consumption of the workers. And this forced under-consumption of the workers brings about an artificial over-production.

Factories, workshops and mines close because we have too much, although there are still millions of people who never had enough. People go ragged because there are too many clothes in the country; others starve because there is more wheat than can be sold.

* * *

To the *orthodox* Socialist this is the *only* reason for the crisis—although Marx wrote both for and against this theory. Yet there are many other causes just as important.

Of course, the *planless* production of the capitalist system, by which every employer and manufacturer produces at random without knowing how much is really needed to cover the demand—thus creating a surplus of articles and an overproduction in that branch—has been largely eliminated through the trusts.

The trusts know exactly how much the market needs in their respective branches of industry.

By *controlling* that branch they are in a position to tell. And in that respect, the trusts have been beneficial. The competitive system is being modified and partly transformed by the trusts.

The only trouble is that the *benefits of this economy* have gone only to a *handful* of men, instead of going to the people.

And the trust owners, by withdrawing tremendous sums from industrial life—the profits of the Standard Oil magnates alone amounted to \$900,000,000—not all of which is re-invested, on the other hand hasten crises.

And so do the *high prices* of all the commodities controlled by the trusts.

* * *

And there is also another element inherent in the capitalist system, which is apt to make trouble. I mean the speculation in stocks of the industrial undertakings. And also in wheat and the necessities of life.

This speculation with our life's necessities is in the nature of gambling, and has very little to do with actual values. Still it is very apt to influence our commercial and industrial life at times. And speculation also gives rise to all sorts of swindling undertakings and fictitious values.

Yet as long as capitalism lasts, *speculation is absolutely necessary and unavoidable* in order to protect the system from stagnation.

* * *

So this is another evil that is *inherent* in this system.

It cannot be avoided any more than malaria in a swampy country. And the speculators are the mosquitos.

We should have to drain the swamp—change the capitalist system—if we want to get rid of those mosquitos.

Teddy Roosevelt, by starting a little fire here and there to drive them out, is simply *disturbing* them. He

is causing them to swarm, which makes it so much more *intolerable* for us poor, innocent inhabitants of this big capitalist swamp.

* * *

Yet there is one more *great cause* of industrial crises which must be taken into consideration, although formerly some Socialists used to overlook it. That is the *money* question.

The standard of values under the capitalist system is *gold*.

Gold is capital *per se* under capitalism. And all other goods, commodities and wares are measured by gold.

Very nonsensical, of course, because there is not gold enough in the world to pay for one-fiftieth part of the real value of production and distribution. Yet the capitalist philosophers claim that this is not necessary, since gold is only the standard—not the actual measure.

That may be so. But the curse of the capitalist system is that in a "panic" only money—cash money—is the "*summum bonum*"—the sum of all good in the world. In that pinch all other values do not seem to amount to anything when compared with cash money

* * *

But every epoch has its own money, its standard of value.

Originally everything was barter. They would exchange a coat for so many sheep, or a bow and arrow for so many fish.

Afterwards cattle was the standard of value in many countries, especially in Italy, where the Latin word "*pecunia*," money, comes from "*pecus*," cattle.

Later on metal, which could be handled more easily and did not have to be fed, and did not spoil readily, was made the standard of value, particularly bronze, copper and silver, although iron money was used in Greece and China at some time.

By the way, copper and silver were first used in the lump and by weight. Thus a shekel of silver in the Bible denotes a certain weight of silver. And in England they still speak of a pound sterling, while in France all money is still called "argent" from "argent," silver.

By the discovery of America, and the great silver mines of South America, silver was cheapened and therefore unsettled in value. Gold became one of the standards and finally the sole standard.

A *double* standard of silver and gold, as Bryan wants it, was found to be impracticable. It is nonsensical and unjust in finance, just as a double standard is unjust and nonsensical in morals.

A double standard would continually disturb the equilibrium and therefore disturb business under the capitalist system. It would bring about continual changes in the value of the money and thereby commercial disease.

And the poor fellows who would be innocent of the whole business—that is the workingmen—would suffer the most.

* * *

Yet there can be no question that gold is an *insufficient* standard of value, even for the capitalist system, as capitalism develops further.

The capitalist theorists and magicians try to help themselves and defend this standard by declaring that it is

only an ideal standard—whatever that means—and that most of the business is done with checks, that is, with paper.

This last, is true, of course. But it only gives an additional proof of the *insufficiency of gold*.

As a matter of fact, "the gold standard is a Chinese wall of the capitalists' own creation," as Karl Marx says. And capitalism bumps its head against that wall every little while.

And it usually does so in the midst of its greatest prosperity. And the reason is simple enough: because that is the very time that this *gold cover gets too short for the capitalist bed*.

* * *

All kinds of artificial remedies have been proposed.

The most stupid was the 16 to 1 proposition, the great Populist panacea of a double standard.

The most simple and naive was the proposition of the Greenbackers, who would make artificial money by keeping the printing presses busy turning out greenbacks until—well, everybody had money enough.

Simple, indeed. The good Greenbackers forgot only one little thing—that the production of the country, the factories, railroads, mines, etc., are owned by individuals who would not part with their property and goods unless they got for them something which *they* considered valuable. Not for something of which everybody else would have plenty.

* * *

In other words, as long as the capitalist class controls all the good things of this world, they would not give them away for greenbacks of that kind, unless they could

be compelled to do so. But the government *has no way of compelling* them to part with their goods. That has been tried and failed in several countries—even the terrorists of 1793 and 1794 failed with *their* “greenbacks.”

In order to make money of that kind valuable, the government, that is, the *people collectively*, would have to own the production and distribution. Then the government could issue money for it and exchange its own products.

The Greenbackers put the cart before the horse.

* * *

Yet what the banks are doing just now all over the country, is very little better than what the Greenbackers proposed. During the scare of the present stringency, in all of the large cities the bankers got together and paid no money, but simply issued clearing house certificates. They also take advantage of the legal provision that they have to be given notice in advance when deposits are to be taken out.

Now, paying clearing house certificates instead of money means credit money with a vengeance. It is credit money on the credit of the banks, not even backed by the government.

Of course, as long as people have *confidence* in the clearing house certificates they are all right, but in case of a real industrial crisis, a so-called *general* panic, these clearing house certificates would not be worth very much.

* * *

Besides, there is another danger. The banks are tightening the money stringency which has already compelled manufacturers to lay off many thousand men.

Our banks are, furthermore, disturbing the export business by not giving credit and "keeping the money in their respective towns." And thus they may bring on a crisis for one of the other reasons mentioned above—that is by interfering with getting rid of our surplus production in the foreign markets.

* * *

A much better plan to relieve the money stringency would be the following, which, by the way, did not originate with me:

Let the government issue money on bonds, to states, counties and cities for public improvements—for roads, street lines, sewerage, school house and public buildings, and payable without interest, let us say, in twenty yearly installments of 5 per cent. The returned money to be canceled and destroyed as soon as paid back. And such public improvements to be carried out under the eight-hour day and at the highest current union wages.

Now, this would give employment to hundreds of thousands, even millions, very soon. It would, for a long time to come, absorb the "reserve army," and money would get in circulation.

Besides, this kind of money would be absolutely safe, because it would be backed up, not only by these improvements, but also by the local taxation of the states or communities.

Furthermore, since the money paid back would be destroyed when paid back, it would not become "a drug on the market" and would not destroy the equilibrium.

In short, it would be as "elastic" a currency as could be invented under the capitalist system.

* * *

But, of course, all bankers and the speculators will bit-

terly oppose this kind of a money issue. They will oppose it although the national banks get government money of that type without so good a security. And although the government is assisting not only the bankers, but also the brokers on Wall Street every time they are in trouble.

And there is also this difference: The national banks can put up government bonds as security when they issue money, and then get interest *twice*. Once on the \$90,000 banknotes the government issues on the \$100,000 bonds, and the second time on the interest of the \$100,000 bonds the bankers have deposited as security.

But since the above mentioned plan would make it possible for cities to bring about tremendous and unheard of improvements, without having to borrow money from the *capitalist* class, the capitalist class, as a whole, will also fight this plan.

And yet it is the only way to relieve the situation under capitalism.

* * *

So, to make a long story short, I cannot see very much help under the capitalist system. The great *antagonism* between the social form of production and the individual form of appropriation will continue to break loose in feverish industrial crises.

And while I do not want to create any scare among our readers and friends—and while I have been asked by several of them what they are to do with a few pennies they have saved for a rainy day—I will say this: That I would not guarantee any bank, not the best of them, in case of a panic.

A bank has to lend out its money in order to do busi-

ness, and naturally in case of a crisis, is subject to the conditions of the market, and the industrial conditions.

* * *

But I would advise any workingman who has saved a little and can afford it, to buy a little house near the city with an acre or two around it. He will then at least always have a roof over his head. He can always raise his own vegetables, keep a goodly number of chickens, and have his savings invested more safely than in any bank. Modern conditions and transportation facilities are making this possible for the average city worker who has laid up a little money.

This plan, however, has some disadvantages, especially in small towns containing *only one* industry. In case of an industrial crisis, or lack of work, the man is tied to the place. Yet a man with a family is more or less tied down in any case. Besides, in time of a crisis, the conditions are not apt to be better in any other place, and the advantages of my suggestion surely outweigh the disadvantages.

* * *

The chief trouble is only that so very *few* workingmen have any savings to invest.

Will You Mend Your Roof?

WRITTEN IN JULY, 1908.

THE Declaration of Independence is a document that is supposed to contain the cardinal principles of the American republic and the American mode of government.

* * *

The famous declaration starts with the following gem of thought: "All men are created equal" and are endowed "with certain inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

A fine phrase, indeed!

"All men are created equal." This may be true with some qualifications. But do they live equal? Do they die equal?

The child of the poor is born in a hovel, surrounded by misery and poverty from his first moments. There are three chances to one that he will not survive the first year. And, even if he pulls through, there is a life of misery before him. The dangers of sickness are tenfold as great; the temptations to crime and prostitution a thousand times as great for the children of the poor as for the children of the rich. If he safely passes all these perils, his is a monotonous and laborious life, ended by an early death, which is often to be considered a boon, since it saves the victim from the poorhouse. Usually the poor

man has very little claim on heaven, rarely having belonged to any church, and knowing little or nothing about religion, which is, more or less, a costly article. So it is hell for him even hereafter—so says the priest.

* * *

“All men are created equal.”

How about the child of the rich? Surrounded by all the comforts and protections which paternal love and money can furnish, he grows up in comfort and security and receives an excellent education. His life is a round of pleasure mingled perhaps with as much work as is necessary to health. Unless early killed by excessive luxury or riotous living, he can live to a ripe old age, honored and loved by every one as a pillar of society and of religion. He usually gives liberally to charities and the churches. So when he dies he has even a very good claim to a reserved seat in the front row where the four-winged angels chant.

* * *

“All men are created equal!”

It is a phrase which did well enough in its time, but which now has become a lie.

The reason? The struggle for existence has entirely changed since the days of Jefferson and Paine. All that was needed in those days was to give every individual a chance to fight it out for himself. This great country was undeveloped, and there were thousands of chances for everybody to make a decent and honorable living. Up to 1860 THERE WERE ONLY TWO MILLIONAIRES IN THIS COUNTRY. In those days there was some sense in the phrase “All men are created equal.”

But since the development of the capitalist system, with machinery and railroads, we have a few billionaires, a

number of millionaires, and a multitude of wage-workers and tramps. What has become of the "equality?"

* * *

True, it is also said that we are "all equal before the law," and that the framers of the Declaration of Independence had that in mind when they wrote the phrase.

But *are* we equal before the law?

There are thousands of laws passed by the legislatures of the various states every session, not to speak of Congress. There is a flood of laws.

How many of all these laws are for the purpose of protecting the poor, the weak and the helpless?

Most of them are simply enacted for the protection of "life and property." That is, protection of the property of those who have it. And protection of the life of those whose lives are worth something in a capitalistic sense.

There is no protection for those who have no property whatever. The life of the miner who goes down into the bowels of the earth, several hundred feet deep, for less than a dollar a day, receives scanty protection, or none.

* * *

Equality before the law is a phrase like so many others. Two men with equally big pocketbooks are equal before the law—otherwise they are not equal.

It cost over a million dollars to send a degenerate and deliberate murderer like Harry Thaw to an insane asylum. None of the big insurance grafters in New York were convicted. The big grafters in the stupendous capitol graft in Harrisburg went free. We find the same condition everywhere. In Milwaukee, after tremendous pressure brought by the Social-Democrats, a graft investigation took place. An energetic district attorney

brought about quite a number of indictments against the smaller grafters, but how many of them were brought to justice? Some of the most glaring evil-doers went scot free. Besides, the biggest grafters were never "touched" and were even elected to office again.

* * *

And this is the case all over.

A United States senator openly boasted in that august body that no man with ten million dollars ever went to prison. On the other hand, a poor workingman, stealing a few bones in a packing house of Chicago, gets eighteen months' imprisonment.

In small things, as in big affairs, we have a class government. This shows plainly in the fact that for misdemeanors the culprits have to pay fines in money, which is simply a joke for the rich man, while it hits the poor man terribly hard.

* * *

Suppose an automobile runs down the avenue at a fearful speed, thereby endangering the lives and limbs of hundreds of men, women and children. If the owner is caught he will pay a fine of ten dollars or twenty dollars. He treats it as great fun and laughs over it with his friends.

* * *

But let us take another case.

Suppose a poor tramp—a workingman who has become discouraged during the present panic—is found sleeping on a bench in a park, or on a wagon in an alley. The eye of the law will soon find him, and he will be hauled up before a judge the next morning.

"Why did you sleep in that alley, or on that bench in

the park?" the judge will ask sternly. "Why did you not go to a hotel or a rooming house?"

"I had no money, your honor," answers the hobo.

"What, no money to pay for a room! And sleeping in an alley—that is clearly disorderly behavior. It means ten dollars fine and the costs," says the judge.

"But, your honor, if I had the ten dollars and the costs I would not have been sleeping in the alley," murmurs the tramp.

"That is just it—you will go to the house of correction for thirty days—and if you say another word I will make it ninety days for vagrancy. For you have no visible means of support. You are a criminal in the eyes of the law."

And to the house of correction he goes.

This is equality before the law!

* * *

Under the protection of the laws the steel trust, the sugar trust, the meat trust, the oil trust and many other trusts rob the people of many millions every year. Under the protection of the laws women and children are exploited and their life-blood coined into dollars for the capitalist class.

* * *

Truly, the people learn slowly in this country. Phrases work wonders. It seems as though the masses were only born for the purpose of creating wealth enough for our sugar kings, railway kings and pork kings, to buy European princes for their daughters.

Sifting things to the bottom, the laboring class is even worse off in America than in Europe. Here capitalism has full sway, while in Europe the capitalist class must

reckon not only with the laboring class, but also with the remnants of feudalism and with the monarchy.

* * *

Last year about this time we lived in the "era of prosperity," and most of our workingmen had work and enough to eat. Today there are hundreds of thousands entirely out of work and starving, while millions work only part of the time. The average workingman is like the Irishman whose roof leaked, and who on rainy days always made up his mind to mend it. But when the weather cleared, and his wife asked him, "Pat, why don't you fix the roof?" he answered, "We are dry now. Why should I fix the roof?"

* * *

Now, this is the rainy day. Your roof is leaking. My workingman friend, will you mend the roof?

Pensions for Soldiers of the Common Weal.

WRITTEN IN AUGUST, 1908.

"The Social-Democratic proposition that at the age of 60 years every man shall be entitled to a pension, provided he never received an income beyond a specified amount per year does not arouse the chorus of universal approbation which was probably anticipated by its author. Probably its author was a benevolent visionary, eager that his fellow men should have the prospect of ease and luxury, and never considering very closely the practical question of who would foot the bills.

"There is more than one point of view from which this civil pension proposition seems vicious. A fundamental objection to it is that it would tend to paralyze industry and enterprise. A man with his hope fixed on a pension not to be paid if he raised himself into the ranks of the moderately prosperous would hardly feel like combating indolence too hard, for fear of injuring his prospects. There are too many lazy people in the world now. This would make more.

"Why is it that there should be a proposition to pension elderly men, and none to pension elderly women? Many a woman who has worked hard all her life, either for relatives or for employers paying her wages pitifully small compared with what the same quality and quantity of service would command from a man, finds herself in advanced age without the means of independent support. Would not society do better to pension women for working than to pension men for holding back and not working as hard as they might?

"After all, however, a fundamental question is, how would the great sums required for old-age pensions be raised? Of course, they would have to be raised by taxation, and by reason of grinding taxation, some people possessed of little property would find themselves unable to hold it. A system which would encourage indolence and make paupers by overburdening small property owners is surely not to be welcomed with open arms by American workingmen."—*Evening Wisconsin* (Milwaukee), July 20.

WELL, I happen to be the "benevolent visionary eager that his fellow men should have the prospect of ease and luxury"—if an increase of \$12 a month will put any man into "*ease and luxury*"—and I am sure the editor of the *Evening Wisconsin* would require a little more than \$12 a month in order to live in ease and luxury.

Our friend of the *Evening Wisconsin* is also mistaken when he thinks that our plan does not include women.

Our plank reads as follows:

"To enact a law granting every wage-worker over 60 years of age, who has earned less than \$1,000 a year and has been a citizen of the United States for sixteen years, a pension of not less than \$12 a month for the rest of his or her life."

The term *wage-worker* means a woman as well as a man. It denotes any person working for wages, whether a clerk, stenographer, hired girl or washerwoman, or a railroad engineer, typesetter or bookkeeper. We agree with the *Evening Wisconsin* absolutely on the woman question, or rather we *disagree* with him absolutely, because the *Evening Wisconsin* does not want to pension the women either.

* * *

The *fundamental question* as to "who is to foot the bills?" is a question which is easily answered. Why, of

course, the workmen will foot the bill. They are raising so many thousand millions every year for the capitalists, for the officials, for the army and navy and for innumerable other things. They ought to be able to get back at least a little share of all that for themselves as an old-age pension.

Under our plan there will be not quite a million men and women receiving a pension of \$144 a year. That would amount to about \$144,000,000 a year—a mere bagatelle for Uncle Sam, who was spending \$101,671,881 for the army in 1907, and \$97,606,595 for the navy, not figuring the new battleships.

Besides, the United States pays a pension to 967,371 persons now, to the veterans of the Civil War and their dependents. In 1907 it was \$138,030,894.22. There are still 558 pensioners of the war of 1812, and even three daughters of the Revolution of 1776.

Other countries have been paying old-age pensions to the workingmen for a long time. Germany enacted a sick benefit law in 1883, and an old-age pension law in 1889. A pension is drawn after five years of payment by all when they reach 70 years, and at any age if disabled from earning one-third of their previous wages.

The dues for these insurances are paid partly by the insured (man or woman) wage-worker, partly by the employer and partly by the state. The employer is held responsible for the payment. By law he must pay one-half and often agrees to pay all without deduction from wages. For accident insurance he must pay all of it any way, under the law. Dues are paid in stamps sold at postoffices and pasted on each worker's pass book. By the three kinds of insurances—sick benefit, accident

and old-age pension—every wage-worker in the country earning not over \$467 a year is insured—a total of over 14,000,000 persons.

* * *

Austria established compulsory insurance for sickness and accident in 1888, and in 1898 a plan for old-age pensions. France has had compulsory accident insurance for miners since 1894, dues being paid one-half by the employers and one-half by employes. The government is now working on a bill to give an old-age pension to every working man and working woman in France. A bill of the same type is now pending in the English parliament and on the very day when the article of the *Evening Wisconsin* was written the bill passed the House of Lords with a majority of 123 to 16—because both of the old English parties had agreed to it—both admitting that they were afraid of the English Socialists who had made such terrific gains at the last general election.

And if we elected some Social-Democrats to Congress in this country, you would see how quickly the old parties would try to get things for us!

* * *

Denmark, Switzerland, Sweden and Norway are all now considering various forms of compulsory accident insurance and old-age pensions.

New Zealand, since 1899, has paid \$87.50 to every person, man or woman, past 65 years of age, who has kept sober for the preceding five years, and who has lived twenty-five years in the colony, and whose income from other sources is less than \$260. New South Wales started a similar pension fund in 1900, paying \$2.43 per

week to every person over 65. Why not also in America?

Marcus A. Hanna, the *brightest* statesman of the *capitalist* class *forced* an old-age pension plank into the Republican national platform of 1900. But the plank was quietly dropped by the blockheads who succeeded Mark Hanna in the leadership of the Republican party. They much prefer to make *deals* with Tammany and the Democrats of the Bryan type—to the enactment of any measures which *may mean something in the end*.

* * *

It is ridiculous to claim that such a system would encourage indolence and make paupers of the workers. The average wage of the American workmen is less than \$450 a year—his earning ability begins to decline with the age of 45—some railroads set even a lower limit—and, as a rule, the capacity for earning a livelihood ceases at the age of 60.

How is a man, especially if he has a large family—and workingmen usually serve their country also by bringing up a family—to save a competence for his old age out of an average wage of \$450 per annum? It is the present capitalist system that is making paupers.

Besides, we have to take care of our old disabled workmen any way—either through charity or the poorhouse, both of which are degrading and costly—or by means of an honorable pension, which is the *cheapest* method in the end.

Furthermore, the life-work of the wage-earner in the factory, mine, railroad, steamship, etc., is far more dangerous than that of a soldier—and is infinitely more useful. There are more men killed and disabled in the

mines and factories and the railroads every year than were killed and disabled during any year of the Civil War. (During the last fiscal year 122,855 were maimed and 11,839 killed on the railroads alone.) Therefore, even from the standpoint of risk, the soldier of the common weal, who works and dies for the country—the workman—ought to be entitled to a pension fully as much as the soldier of the common woe, who *lives and bums* for his country.

A Socialist's View of the Single Tax.

WRITTEN MARCH 28, 1903.

THERE HAS BEEN a strong disposition among some Socialist critics to regard Henry George as nothing more than a charlatan, while others think that a passing sneer will dispose of the theory of Single Tax. Both of these views I deem wholly wrong. Henry George in his "Progress and Poverty" has given us a most brilliant criticism of the present system—more brilliant in some respects than that of Karl Marx. And the idea of Single Tax has taken considerable root in some Australian colonies, especially in New Zealand.

Marxism naturally must oppose the Single Tax theory because the latter is a reform of the present system according to a scientific plan invented by a certain man, while Socialists know that human society is an organism; it is a matter of growth and of evolution. The Socialists

simply point to history—to the economic development, the centralization of property, the trusts, etc.—and then merely state the fact that we are growing into Socialism, that Socialism is going to be the next phase of our civilization.

But before all things Socialists contend that Single Tax would not change anything in favor of the propertyless masses—that as a matter of fact, it would infinitely sharpen competition and sharpen it in favor of the man with ready money. From this point of view Single Tax has been declared by Socialist authors “an attempt to exploit Socialist ideas in favor of the mobile capital.”

Let us have a short and concise statement of the two schools of thought.

Socialism is the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. It is based solely upon the present mode of production on a large scale—production with the help of machinery. Formerly hand labor and individual efforts produced the necessities of mankind. Today machine labor and social or associated labor are the means of producing these necessities. The present system of social production by individual ownership has produced two classes—the propertyless class and the capitalist class. A class of toilers who produce all wealth and have none and a class of idlers or superfluous rulers who get it all. Socialism holds that the structure of our social institutions is always determined by the way we get our living. And while in that former time it was the imperative duty of the government to protect the individual in the possession of the property he had produced; so, today, it is equally the duty of the government to protect associated labor, that is to say, the whole body

of working people, in the possession of the products of their toil. We further point to the economic evolution—the trusts, combines, etc.—and say: If so much of what has been considered private property is to be absorbed in great monopolistic ownership—and there is nothing that can stop it—then, if we are to remain a politically free people, the inevitable outcome will be that the people must take possession collectively of the production and distribution. And this is called Socialism.

Now what is Single Tax?

Henry George explains it as follows:

“We propose to abolish all taxes save one single tax levied on the value of land, irrespective of the value of the improvements in or on it.

“What we propose is not a tax on real estate, for real estate includes improvements. Nor is it a tax on land, for we would not tax all land, but only land having a value irrespective of its improvements, and would tax that in proportion to that value.

“When we tax houses, shops, money, furniture, capital or wealth in any of its forms, we take from individuals what rightfully belongs to them. We violate the right of property, and in the name of the state commit robbery. But when we tax ground values we take from individuals what does not belong to them, but belongs to the community, and which cannot be left to individuals, without the robbery of other individuals.”

Now there is no doubt that Socialists and Single Taxers agree on some points, only according to the teachings of history and political economy the Single Taxers put the cart before the horse.

We want to abolish the wage system. In order to do

that, it is necessary to abolish private property in capital. According to our ideas land is an important bastion in the fortress capital. And it is not simply we who maintain this, but some capitalists also fear that George's land theories may hurt the present system and that is the reason they denounce him as a Socialist. George, and even more so his German disciple, Fleischheim, would like to make a compromise between individualism and Socialism. But their compromise is a failure. They would begin with the socialization of that part of the national wealth which is least ripe for it, because it is the least concentrated of any, where there are still over seven million owners of farms in the United States. This alone stamps "Single Tax" as impossible. The collective ownership of land will be the last, not the first, measure of Socialism.

Collectivism is now possible and necessary in very many branches, especially in those that have reached the form of a monopoly or trust—as Henry George rightly indicates—and have thereby proved that they have outgrown the competitive system.

Furthermore, collectivism is now possible and necessary in mining of every description and in the ownership and management of all the means of transportation and in the various public utilities.

But in our history Socialism in land is not possible now and will not be for a long time to come.

For reasons not necessary to explain here, the effect of new inventions in agricultural machinery has only tended to strengthen the middle-sized farm. Many scientists and especially agronomists (specialists in agriculture) claim that the future in agriculture belongs to in-

tensive farming, not to farming on a large scale. At any rate, the farmers will for very many reasons be the last class to be expropriated by society. One very good reason is that the farming class is so numerous that it would simply be impossible to do so. The other reason is that it is the aim of Socialism to return to the workers the instruments of production they have to use, and in the case of the farmers an expropriation would mean that we should take the land from the present owners and forthwith give it back to them.

The farmers as a class naturally object to the Single Tax as much and more than they do to Socialism, before they understand it. The only difference is that they object to Single Tax a great deal more after they understand it. And there surely would be no cause for the proletariat to fight the farmers for the single tax. Land is still to be had very cheaply in many places in the northern part of the state of Wisconsin, at from three to five dollars an acre—in the southern states it is still cheaper. In 1898 land in Ashland County, Wis., was advertised at 50 cents per acre—it was to be sold for the tax, a "single tax" in that particular case. Fifty cents an acre, and only one-fourth of that in cash—that is almost as good as "free land" under the rule of single tax—in some respects even better. But what benefit was the cheap land to the printer or the weaver out of a job? As A. M. Simons in his very readable pamphlet "Single Tax vs. Socialism" (Kerr & Co., Chicago) very pertinently remarks: "So long as capital remained private property and its owners continued to rule, there would be only one thing that the single taxer could do with his "free land"—he could take a sharpened stick and cultivate it, and even then he would have to watch out that

some one did not get a corner on the sticks and leave him to scratch with his finger nails."

To sum up: Single Tax has some good points—the Single Taxers have criticised the present system severely and helped to awaken the conscience of the nation. But it is no panacea for anything.

Single Tax would not abolish our cut-throat competition—competition is considered by Henry George a cornerstone of civilization. On the contrary, Single Tax would sharpen competition. Single Tax would not do away with interest, nor abolish wage slavery. The main difference between the present system and Single Tax would be that instead of many million landlords we would have only one landlord—the state—but the state would give the land only to the men who would be *able to pay* the "single tax," or to make improvements upon it. In every instance this would be the man with the "ready cash." Nowadays at least one poor person in a great many can sometimes inherit a piece of land and hold it, or sell it—this would be out of the question under the Single Tax. Only rich men would have a right to have and to hold valuable property.

The Social Evil.

WRITTEN IN OCTOBER, 1907.

"CERTAIN Social Evils in Relation to Public Health and Morals" were discussed in the Sunset Club of Milwaukee.

It is characteristic that of the six speakers of the evening only *one* dared mention the word "prostitution."

Said Dr. F. Rogers:

Three great perils threaten the health of modern society. The alcoholic peril, the tuberculosis peril and the social peril.

This foul ulcer has lodged and vegetated in the vitals of society, infecting rich and poor, innocent and guilty alike, wrecking families, converting strong men into weaklings, dragging blooming womanhood down to hopeless invalidism, killing our unborn children, condemning thousands at birth to go through life sightless. And yet when a proposal is made to recognize its existence and devise ways and means of treating it, society shudders, closes its eyes and hides its head like the ostrich, calls it unspeakable and so hugs the venomous serpent closer to its bosom.

And the doctor suggested "that every private school, primary school, high school, college and seminary should provide courses in the hygiene and pathology of sex."

The above was the only suggestion of the evening deserving any serious consideration—but it will *not cure the evil.*

There can be no question that syphilis, next to tuberculosis, is the worst enemy of the human race. And gonorrhœa is almost as bad. From 60 to 70 per cent of all cases of blindness of children are ascribed to that dread malady, which is very seldom cured; 75 per cent of all men in Chicago and New York are said to be affected.

I will not go into details—that would be beyond the scope of a newspaper article, although I agree with the speakers that the *fullest publicity* is imperative.

* * *

And what is the cause of it all?

Prostitution.

There are no trustworthy statistics on this vital question in American cities—there is too much hypocrisy. But Paris has about 100,000 prostitutes, London has the same number, and there is no reason to believe that New York is any better in proportion to its size.

Prostitution is as old as *matrimony*.

* * *

Originally it had the form of *religious* prostitution—in honor of the goddess of love or matrimony. Thus women prostituted themselves in the temples of Babylon (for Mylitta), in Phenicia (for Astarte), in Egypt (for Isis), in Greece (for Aphrodite), in Rome (for Venus, later on also for Bacchus), etc. And the priests took the money.

Christianity abolished these forms, but the seducing of girls and women and the commerce in vice took its place. Syphilis, which was absolutely unknown to the old Germanic tribes when they were heathens, came to them with Christianity and civilization. By the way,

this is also the manner in which all the wild tribes—Indians, Negroes, or South Islanders—got it in later centuries. They received it when they got the whisky from the traders and the Bible from the missionaries. Civilization for them usually means syphilization.

* * *

And I will say that the doctors are pretty well at sea, when it comes to the treatment of this question. The above mentioned opinion was about the best.

Another "doctor" proposed sexual abstinence as a remedy, and branded as a "heresy"—and a heretic is evidently the worst being he knows of—the idea that "sexual continence" is not compatible with the best of health.

In the first place only *one* institution has ever tried this—namely, the Roman Catholic Church, for its clergy. It has ignominiously *failed*. Prostitution was never so universal as during the period when the church ruled supreme—according to Catholic authors. It was nowhere so much a state institution as in Rome and Avignon, where the popes resided. Nor was there ever such an aggregation of prostitutes seen in the world as during the church councils of Trent and Constance—and that in spite of all the efforts of the church to keep its members moral.

* * *

And that is natural enough. *Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret*—even if you knock nature with a club, it will always come back—and the strongest impulse of every organism (be it plant or animal) is to reproduce its kind.

And as far as human beings are concerned—Love is

the sum and solution of all desires in man—that in which they converge, for which they *all* exist.

The *other* desires, the self-preservation desires—hunger, thirst, the desire for power—are strong indeed, but when they are satisfied, they all empty themselves in this one. Love is a flame which uses all the rest as its fuel.

This natural law cannot be suppressed by any artificial law—statute or ecclesiastic.

The trouble is only, when man *cannot* get the *real* article, he will accept a *poisonous substitute*.

* * *

And what is prostitution? Before all things, it is also a remnant of the days gone by when men used to *buy* their wives. Prostitution is very much the same thing today. Men buy their wives—some buy them for life, some buy them for a shorter time.

The man who sells himself for life to a rich woman, or the woman who gives herself for life to a rich man, without love, is also a prostitute.

The difference between the prostitute of the street and the woman marrying for life without love is simply a difference of degree, not of kind.

And now to come to the bottom of the subject. Today the *mainspring of prostitution is poverty*.

Very few daughters of rich men are to be found in the houses of prostitution. There are probably as many pathological cases—nymphomaniacs and ethical defectives—among rich women as among the poor, possibly more.

But the rich find other ways of satisfying their propensities.

An investigation in 1888 in Massachusetts of 3,866

prostitutes found 1,236 poor girls with no previous occupation, 1,155 were formerly servant girls, 505 were formerly dressmakers and seamstresses, 292 came from factories, 126 from stores, 52 from the stage.

* * *

Let us take the case of the average hired girl or factory girl, long, tedious hours and lack of refining pleasures. She naturally longs for something better. Besides, she is miserably underpaid. Is it a wonder that she often falls a prey to the first man who will take advantage of her?

After she has once made a misstep, she rarely regains her hold, because every hand is against her. Everybody will push her further down.

This is particularly the case of the women clerks in stores, who, besides, are continually in contact with the so-called upper classes, dressed in silks and satins.

The temptation to accept offers of a "good time"—a dinner, an automobile ride—are tremendous.

* * *

And then there is the *double standard of morals*—still pretty generally accepted.

It is the woman alone who is punished. It is the woman alone who is called a prostitute, although no woman has ever prostituted herself without a man. But nobody ever mentions the man. If he is caught, he is usually let go with a smile—or perhaps they run him for mayor later on.

* * *

And here is another source—the majority of marriages in the middle and upper classes are simply convenience marriages, marriages without love. Naturally the men, in many cases, look for "substitute love."

Still other men marry late in life. And many men cannot marry at all for economic reasons.

All this means additional customers for prostitution.

* * *

It is generally claimed and conceded in bourgeois circles that prostitution is necessary today in order to protect the virtue of their wives and daughters against attacks.

Thus the prostitutes are made out to be a sort of patron-saints for "virtue" and "morality."

Furthermore, many highly "respectable people," and even some churches, like Trinity church in New York, draw profits from the rent of these places. And some very respectable people in our city get big revenues from old shacks by renting them for purposes of prostitution.

Now these highly respectable people are removed only one degree from the keeper of the house, as far as the source of the money is concerned.

* * *

One other point I want to bring out. Under our present society we permit everybody to marry without any regard for his moral or physical make-up. Wealth is the only consideration. We are more careful how we mate our horses, and dogs, and cattle, and even our swine, than we are in the mating of our boys and girls.

* * *

We shall have to make the dissolution of marriages much easier, than it is today. There is a great outcry in press and pulpit against the divorce courts—yet the divorce court is one of the greatest agencies that we have *against* prostitution.

In short, if we want a different world we must emancipate men and women economically, politically and socially. We must break with many prejudices if we want to look this grave question squarely in the face. We must cease to regard superstitions as holy because they are old.

Courses in hygiene and pathology of sex are very laudable—but this remedy is very much like Mrs. Partington trying to sweep the ocean back with a broom.

* * *

But what is the use of going into this matter any further? I have said enough to prove that it is impossible to cope with this subject under the present capitalist system.

The Swiss System.

WRITTEN IN JUNE, 1908.

AT THE LAST convention of the A. F. of L. in Norfolk, Va., I introduced a resolution asking for the abolition of the present militia system in the United States and for the introduction of the Swiss military system, or for some other method of arming in a well organized and orderly fashion *every* sober and reputable citizen of the United States.

I asked the A. F. of L. to advise union men to stay away from the militia as it is now constituted.

* * *

Now the purpose of this measure was very much misrepresented.

On one hand it was claimed that I would leave this country defenseless—that I was not a patriot—because I would boycott the militia.

On the other hand, it was said that we want to “militarize” everybody. James Duncan, the most unscrupulous of all our opponents, even characterized it as a “pistol resolution.”

But, in the first place, why are we against the militia?

Simply because the militia is not a national guard as it was originally intended to be—but has simply become a body guard of the capitalist class and their property.

The militia is not now intended for the defense of this country against the foreign enemy.

The spokesmen of the militia say plainly that they are here for the "internal war"—that is, for the purpose of holding down the masses.

They are here to shoot down union men when upon strike and when the employers are afraid of losing the strike—when they import strike-breakers.

The militia is the power behind "Boss" Farley, the king of strike-breakers.

The militia is armed for that purpose. It is armed with so-called riot rifles and with Gatling guns.

Our militia has never done any work against a foreign enemy since the Revolutionary War, when it was rebel militia—except once in 1814. And then it ran away in the most shameful or shameless manner before the English troops, and Lord Ross sacked Washington and burned the Capitol.

On the other hand, the militia has always shown a tremendous amount of heroism whenever arrayed against unarmed workmen.

Now why are they such great heroes? Because the workmen can't shoot back. It is easy to shoot at a crowd which at the worst has only brick-bats or clubs.

Every time the militia meets a mob of workmen the Battle on the Boyne is fought over again—and in many cases the battle is even fought against the Irish.

* * *

Now I say that shooting down union men is *not* union work and ought not to be done by union men. Union men in the militia have sworn to obey orders. And when

they are ordered to shoot they must shoot. Therefore union men ought to stay away from the militia.

We know that the most peaceful strike is turned into a riot—and the most peaceful strikers are turned into rioters—the moment the militia appears in the field.

The agents and spies of the manufacturers, the temper of the workingmen on strike—and the behaviour of the militia—will always bring about that result.

* * *

Almost invariably the appearance of the militia is also the signal for committing violence.

If the strikers don't do it, then the Pinkerton detectives look out to see that it is done. And then the militia gets into action and shows that it is made up of true patriotic and heroic stuff and it will shoot down men, women and children and break the strike.

* * *

We know how the railroad strike was broken in 1894.

We know of the "heroic" deeds of General Sherman Bell in Colorado. We know of the great maxim of the militia: "To hell with the Constitution." And how Bulkley Wells regards judicial decrees: "Habeas corpus? We will give them "post mortems" instead!"

There is not a country in the world where the capitalist class is as ready and as willing to shoot down workingmen as in this country, excepting Russia.

In Germany, Billy the Kaiser would think twice before he would give an order to shoot down workingmen. He told the Westphalian manufacturers and mine owners so, when they asked him for help in a coal strike.

In France such an occurrence is very rare. We seldom hear of it in England.

But in this country not only the militia shoots at workmen on the slightest provocation, but the deputy sheriffs and even the policemen do likewise.

* * *

In Switzerland there was also a very big railroad strike in 1897. Every railroad in the country was tied up.

Did the government use the militia and the regular troops as they did in this country?

Oh, no.

In Switzerland every citizen is a soldier from his twentieth year until he gets to be forty-eight years of age. And he keeps his government rifle at home.

This fact makes it impossible for the employing class to use the militia against the workingmen on strike, unless there is an overwhelming sentiment among the other workingmen to do so. The employers cannot do it.

In the first place, the working class far outnumbered the employers. And in the second place, even if the militia of other cantons should be transported to the scene of the strike, the strikers themselves are just as well armed, and just as proficient in the use of arms as any possible assailants. And that, of course, settles the question.

The militia of Switzerland is in reality the Swiss people in arms. It can only be used where public opinion is entirely in favor of its being used.

So when the railroad strike of 1897 occurred in Switzerland, all the government could do to settle the strike was to buy the railroads and operate them. And the government has been successfully operating them ever since.

In connection with the arming of the people it might also interest our readers to learn that there are more murders committed in Chicago or in New York in a week than in all Switzerland in a whole year.

And, bear in mind, the Swiss are the best armed people in the world, and the Americans are the most disarmed, the Hindoos, Chinese and Russians excepted.

* * *

The big capitalists do not want the people armed. Why? The British would not allow the Hindoos to be armed. Nor can the czar of Russia afford to arm the great masses of his subjects.

And our plutocrats can least of all afford the arming of the people. The capitalist class might have to consider the people occasionally. And the capitalists do not want to do that.

And that is right. We are a subjugated nation. We have been conquered by the capitalist class. And *conquered nations are always disarmed*. And they deserve no consideration.

* * *

On the other hand, only an armed nation is always a free nation. Ever since the times of the Romans and the Greeks a nation in arms could never be held in subjugation.

The American colonists of 1776 were probably the best armed people of the world in their day. They were a population of hunters, armed farmers and armed traders. They were always ready, and knew how to use their guns, because of danger at all times from Indian attacks.

The American colonists of that day were practically all frontiersmen. , And when the British did not like the

American boycott of English tea and tried to send troops to break down that big strike in Boston, then they showed them at Lexington and at Bunker Hill and at Saratoga and finally at Yorktown, what it means to try to break down a strike with the help of soldiers when *all* the people are armed.

A similar example in history we witnessed a few years ago in the case of the Boers. The Boers were only a handful of armed farmers, but it took ten trained English soldiers to every one of those farmers to subjugate them and *disarm* them.

Now the Boers make no more trouble. They would now even stand for Coolie immigration, if they were compelled to do so—because they can not resist any longer.

* * *

But I will say this:

If the American people would accept the Swiss military system or some similar method of arming, in an organized and orderly fashion, every sober and reputable citizen, then this country at once would become the greatest and strongest democracy this world has ever seen.

As it is now, we only have the biggest plutocracy and may soon have a monarchy, based upon some "big stick," and the necessity of keeping the great "unwashed" in his place.

I predict that if a capitalist congress and capitalist legislature would tomorrow decide that no man is fit to vote who does not pay at least fifty dollars taxes per year—or if they would tomorrow decide that the working class is not fit for the ballot, because the workingmen

didn't know how to use it when they had it—then the working class would have to *submit* to the *inevitable*. It would have to accept the new condition without resistance as a new decree of God Almighty or of his junior partner, George F. Baer.

* * *

On the other hand, it is clear that a scientific and systematic arming of all citizens—a *real national guard*—and the general introduction of the Initiative, Referendum, Imperative Mandate and Proportional Representation—would *make it possible* to introduce a Socialist Republic gradually, peaceably and without any convulsions and revolutions. It might possibly take a little longer—and yet it would prove to be the *shortest* route in the end.

And it would probably be accomplished without the spilling of a drop of blood—by methods of democracy and by having the power to assert the will of democracy.

* * *

I say, if we want to save democracy we must make it possible for democracy to defend itself.

That was the purpose of my resolution.

Is an Alliance Possible?

WRITTEN IN MARCH, 1907.

At a recent convention in Minneapolis, a national farmers' organization, called the *Sons of Equity*, sought an alliance with the American Federation of Labor. The farmers promised to patronize union-made goods. On the other hand, they demanded that the trades unionists should help them to get better prices for farm products.

The Sons of Equity did not try to hide at all the fact that they were simply after more money for grain, meat, butter, eggs, etc. This in the last analysis the city workmen would have to pay, although the farmers did not say so. But they told the delegates at the convention that by making money on the farm, boys and girls would stay on the farm and not flock to the cities. Thus they would diminish competition for labor in the factories.

So far, so good.

* * *

The difficulty in this case is, however, that the farmers will not be able to keep their boys and girls on the farm as long as the farmer's life is what it is—dreary and lonesome and lacking the advantages of modern civilization. The farmer boys and farmer girls hunger for modern life, for theaters, concerts and other entertainments. The farmer boys and girls read of these things in the papers and they want to see and enjoy them. They are not sat-

ified with an occasional circus or a revival meeting—as were the old folks who did not read papers and magazines.

This is one reason why the young folks do not wish to stay on the farm.

* * *

But there is another reason. Hope eternal springs in every human breast, and false hopes are kindled in every school building and every class room of this country. The pupils hear and read of some farmer's boy who went into the city and became a millionaire or a railroad president, although starting as a molder's helper or street car driver. So the boy goes to the city and becomes a molder's helper or looks for a job on a street car. And in 9,999 cases out of 10,000 he will stay on that job all the rest of his life, and make competition for the city proletarian.

The Sons of Equity can do nothing to help this, no matter what they promise.

* * *

And now let us take up the second proposition—in regard to getting higher prices for their products.

The farmers, just at the present time, get better prices for their products than ever before in the history of America since the Civil war. Eggs are 35 cents a dozen, wheat is over a dollar, meat is more expensive than it ever has been since the war. And mind you, all this is not on a *cheap money* basis, but on a *gold* basis.

Many farmers all over the country have paid off their mortgages. Many have money in the banks. Many have pianos, fine carpets and other luxuries which they

never had before. This is an epoch of unparalleled prosperity for the capitalist and a period of *money-making* for the *farmer*.

* * *

But what do the wage-workers have? They are, as a rule, just as poor now as they were eight or nine years ago, although they are constantly employed. And the standard of living of the man and woman working in the shop, and the man and woman working for a "salary" has absolutely gone down, although many of them do not realize it. The necessities of life have gone up 55 per cent since 1897, while wages have only gone up from 10 to 15 per cent.

The workmen eat less and poorer meat, and they get more oleomargarine and less butter. They wear more shoddy and less woolen goods than they used to wear. If the prices of wool and meat and of butter should go up still further, then their standard of living would go down still further.

As for the promise of the farmers to patronize only union made goods, that, of course, in the first place, would help the *manufacturer* of those goods. And, in the second place, the wives of the farmers do most of the buying, and it is one hundred to one that they will buy where they can buy the cheapest, union or non-union. The farmers' wives are known to be very thrifty. And, in the third place, a large part of the buying is done through catalogue houses, and the rest through country stores. There is no union sentiment in those places.

The promise of the Sons of Equity to buy union goods and thereby raise the wages of the proletarians *amounts to virtually nothing* in practice.

The truth of the matter is that these two classes—the agriculturists and the city proletarians—are much *too large in numbers* to get together for the purpose of plundering the capitalist class in its *capacity as a consumer*.

By putting up the prices of the necessities of life they would inevitably plunder *each other*, never the capitalist class, which owing to its small numbers, consumes only a very small percentage of the total product of either farm or factory.

Therefore the idea that the trades unions and the farmers should get together on the basis of the *present system* and on the basis of keeping up the present *competitive methods*, each simply grabbing all they can, must surely be a *failure*. And for a while, at least, the workman in the city (and the man working for a salary) would get the worst of it. But in the end *both* sides would get left.

* * *

All this does not say that the farmers have no good reason for complaint. While they are enjoying a period of prosperity just now, they are exploited by the railroads, the elevator trust (which in a good many instances means the same thing as the railroads), by the bankers and the commission houses. So the fact is that the farmers are really exploited by the *middle man*. Therefore the *elimination* of the *middle man* is the actual basis on which they can unite with the proletariat.

* * *

In order to be successful, such an alliance must closely *follow the economic development* of the country. It can only be done by each class *honestly* taking care of its

own class interests. And it can only be done on a political basis.

Now, to begin with, I am frank to say that the Socialists of this country will have to give up some of their illusions and some of their cast-iron phrases.

Karl Marx's theory about the concentration of industry and the big fellows eating up the small ones and the trusts being the final outcome of capitalist individual ownership has not proven true in the *field of agriculture*. At least not up till today, nor for any time that can be foreseen today. We do not know whether it will be true in a hundred years or not, nor are we figuring on that.

The average size of the farm in America has not changed materially within the last thirty years. And, if anything, it has become no larger, but a little smaller.

* * *

But fortunately Social-Democrats have other *facts* in their favor. Socialist measures will benefit the farmers as they benefit the city workers. We can show the farmers where and how far the national ownership of the means of transportation and communication, of the railroads, telegraphs, boat lines, elevators, etc., would benefit them immediately. We can also show that collective ownership of all the trusts, big iron industries, and mines would help to raise the farmers to a standard of culture, comfort and civilization of which they dare not even dream today.

And on that basis, on the basis of the national ownership of transportation facilities and national ownership of the trusts, there is a close *alliance possible today* between the farmers and the city proletariat, with tremendous benefits for both sides.

And for generations to come, there is no other basis possible. Especially since we do not know whether the economic development in the farming industry will finally wind up in the "bonanza farm" or in "intensive small farming" or in both.

II

A WAY must be found to get the producers of the country together, to get the farmers and the city proletariat into close touch. But it cannot be done on the trades union basis.

* * *

To begin with, we have in this country no class of farm laborers who have been wage-laborers for generations, nor even of those who have to remain wage laborers for life. It is easy for a farm laborer who is willing to work hard to become a farm renter, and later on a farm owner. If he has saved one or two hundred dollars, he can start out to rent a farm. Even the negroes down South who are not very provident, usually succeed in this. In fact, almost every real farmer can soon start out to buy a farm, for there is plenty of land in Wisconsin and other Northwestern states and in the South to be had for five dollars an acre. In the eastern states he can at least rent one for little money. So if a man stays a hired farm hand all his life in this country, there is something the matter with him.

As a matter of fact, it is exceedingly hard all over the country to get hired farm *help*. In Waukesha county, Wisconsin, hired men are offered thirty dollars a month and their board and washing. Yet help is scarce at this price. So it is nonsense to figure on an established class of farm hands which as a fixed class does *not* exist.

Of course, people ought not to study the farm question on the east side of New York or on the west side of Chicago or from books. They should go out and observe with their own eyes.

* * *

I will not try here to explain this phenomenon, and why, in spite of the introduction of machinery, concentration has not taken place in the farming industry as it has in the factories. I will mention only one or two points.

The first is that the introduction of machinery in farming has *not changed the entire mode* of production as it has in the factory.

In the factory, the introduction of machinery has resulted in a tremendous division of labor, one article sometimes going through fifty hands, before the product is finished. Furthermore the big and costly machine has absolutely pushed out of existence the small manufacturer and his shop.

This has not been the case in agriculture. After the introduction of machinery, the mode of production has more or less still remained the same. The wheat is growing in very much the same way as before, and cattle require just about the same kind of care. The machine has so far helped only the *middle-sized* farmer. It has made it possible for him to run a farm of about 120 to 160 acres with the help of a grown son and dispensing with a hired man, where formerly he had to have a hired man besides his son for a farm of that size.

So the introduction of machinery has not worked the revolution on the farm which it made in the factory.

The other point is that while capitalism has found it profitable to go into cattle and sheep raising on a large scale, and into beet sugar and vineyards, *capitalism has failed* whenever it has tried other branches of farming on a large scale.

The bonanza farms have failed or are not paying.

The cause of this is pretty plain. The introduction of costly machinery in factories pays because the capital invested is *used all the year around*. In other words, the machinery is used every day in the year, sometimes even in two or three shifts.

In farming this is not the case.

Most of the machinery can be used only a few weeks in the year, and the rest of the time it lies idle.

The farmers help themselves to the more expensive machinery either by having co-operative threshing machines, co-operative creameries, etc., or by simply renting the service of a threshing machine that is continually going from place to place. These circumstances, of course, are not favorable for the growth of capitalism in agriculture.

* * *

On the other hand, this *co-operation of the farmers*, of which we have hundreds of examples in Wisconsin, and just as many in other states, is bound to form the second bridge that will connect the farmer with the proletarian movement.

The first bridge necessarily will be the *political* movement—the movement for the nationalization of the big *transportation* facilities, the *mines* and the *trusts*.

Co-operation, although still in its infancy, will have a

great and beneficial influence on the laborers in the cities, and very soon it will be fully as important as the political and the trade union movements. At the same time co-operation will be as wide spread and as valuable for the farmers as for the city workers.

* * *

So here is another link.

Electricity makes it possible to use small machinery and transport power from great distances to the farm. And we do not as yet know the possibilities of this for the farmer—if the state or the collectivity in some form should own the electric power.

* * *

Therefore it would be useless to ask the farmers to stand for a collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution that would require them to give up their farms. Socialism wants to restore property to the propertyless, not to take property from those who make good use of it. Socialism wants to restore property to the factory workers, and *there* it can be done only in a *collective* manner. But it would be criminal and absurd to try to take away the land from the farmers as long as they are the only ones who can use it for themselves and for the nation, and as long as they are fairly prosperous.

Besides, it *could not be done*. Any attempt of that kind would very soon end with the worst disaster for the city proletariat that the world has ever seen. The failure of the Paris Commune would be child's play compared with that catastrophe.

* * *

In political affairs and especially in class politics, it is useless to deal in hollow phrases. We have to consider

realities and facts. It is foolish for one class to try to get the support of the other by promising it the millenium in the distant future. Promises for the distant future will not go. Intelligent men want realities and want them today.

* * *

I will close with a quotation from Wilhelm Liebknecht. He says:

“It is true that both farmers and small shopkeepers are still in the camp of our adversaries, but only because they do not understand the causes that underlie their condition. It is of prime importance for our party to enlighten them and bring them over to our side. *This is a vital question for our party, because these two classes form the majority of the nation.* It would be both stupid and naive to insist that we should have a majority sealed and ready in our pockets before we begin to apply our principles. But it would be still more naive to imagine that we could put our principles into practice against the will of the immense majority of the nation.”

So the way must be found.

Only Seventeen Days to the Battle!

WRITTEN OCTOBER 17, 1908.

ONLY two weeks before election, or "still two weeks"—according as you take it. Only he is with us heart and soul who understands that for a Social-Democrat to do his duty in this election, a short period of two weeks would hardly suffice.

* * *

A man who is a soldier in this great international army is not doing his duty only by voting the ticket. A man who merely does that and allows *others* to do the fighting, simply plucks the fruit of a victory, which he did not help to achieve. He even diminished the extent of the victory by his failure to make new recruits.

His vote certainly counts, but he might have multiplied it five or tenfold.

* * *

Only two weeks intervene between now and the election. But every one of these days is precious to the Social-Democrat, while every day is lost which he allows to pass without doing something to further our cause.

* * *

The celebrated Greek painter, Appelles, loved his art so much that he would let no day go by without adding at least a few lines to his picture. The Latin proverb,

“Nulla dies sine linea” (No day without a stroke) thus originated .

Why should not a Social-Democrat manifest as much zeal for the furtherance of Socialism as an artist shows for his art? * * *

From now until election let no day pass without directing a stroke against capitalism.

One need not be a writer, an orator or an agitator to do this.

In the early morning hour, when on the way to work, the Social-Democrat can fly his flag—the Socialist press. In Milwaukee and Wisconsin this consists of the *Social-Democratic Herald* and the *Vorwaerts*. Leave your Social-Democratic paper or a pamphlet lying on your car seat to be read after you have reached “your corner.” This is one simple and easy way.

However, every sympathizer of labor and of Socialism should at all times be equipped with a few leaflets, papers or pamphlets, and deposit them where they will do most good. Women as well as men can aid in this work, especially the women. Naturally we must go about this in a practical and judicious way, not failing to take into account the many languages that are spoken in Milwaukee. But the spirit of Socialism is uniting all nationalities.

The distribution on Sunday mornings—our old established Milwaukee feat—is, of course, still a main feature of the campaign. We still have three Sundays. Let every comrade take special pride in this distribution. It is a great work and *everybody* can help there.

* * *

From now on, comrades, until election, consider the time different from usual. Make every day not a holiday,

but a "holy day" devoted to the cause.

These 17 days are fighting days, and, as in the German army, "war days count double," see to it that these days count tenfold.

* * *

Let your first thought be each day, what task can I fulfill today?

Find a man who is wavering, but whom you could convince.

Find a man, or a couple of men, who would vote our ticket, but who are not registered. Tell them to register on Tuesday, October 27—that is the last chance to register.

Find a man who is with us, but who is not a member of our party organization.

Make a note of people who have moved in or moved out of your election precinct.

Look over the registration list of your precinct and see whether all who have a right to register have done so—or whether there is a false registration.

Get subscribers for the *Social-Democratic Herald* and for the *Vorwaerts*.

Get your friends and neighbors, and wives and grown children to attend our meetings.

Get contributions for the campaign fund and explain that we will not accept anything from the Standard Oil company or the capitalist class, therefore, we must bear the expense of the campaign ourselves.

* * *

Do all this during the next seventeen days, and your work will redound to your credit all your life. You will always look back upon these days as "real holidays"—spent in the war for humanity.

Labor Learns in the School of Experience.

WRITTEN DECEMBER 2, 1905.

ENGLAND is the home of modern trade unionism. There the trades unions developed directly from the old guilds and journeymen's societies of the Middle Ages. It is natural that in England every skilled workman should belong to a union, and under the influence of Socialist thought and Socialist agitation, a good many unions of non-skilled laborers have been formed, as for instance, the dockmen's union through John Burns, and the gasworkers' union through Will Thorne.

Yet although over a million and a half of organized workmen belong to the trade unions in England—which are a giant army of themselves—the trade union movement of England has failed to emancipate the wage-workers or even to alleviate the condition of the masses. Just now the telegraph every day reports the tremendous demonstrations of starving workingmen in London, Birmingham, and other towns. The English trade unionists begin to understand, that without a political class movement, their economic struggle is hopeless. Our American fraternal delegates to Europe reported in Pittsburg that what most struck them at the last British Trade Union Congress as different from our American conventions, was the fact that almost all the time was taken up with

politics, and with the discussion of the political labor movement.

So the workingmen in England have finally come to the same conclusion which the workingmen in Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, Austria, Holland, Sweden, Norway, etc., reached long ago—that the economic movement alone is absolutely insufficient even to materially and permanently improve the condition of the working class, let alone the abolition of wage slavery. They find now in England also that it is absolutely necessary for the workers to get hold of the latch of legislation if they intend to accomplish anything worth while and anything lasting.

* * *

In Germany, as we all know, the development of the labor movement was from exactly the opposite direction. There Ferdinand Lassalle started the modern labor movement absolutely upon a political basis. The Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiter-Verein demanded before all things the universal electoral franchise for the workers, and then a hundred million dollars from the Prussian State, in order to start a co-operative workshop system. These demands, as all the others which Lassalle formulated, were purely political in their character. Lassalle and the iron clad Lassalleans had nothing but derision for the trade unions which had been held up as one of the main panaceas for the working people by Lassalle's bourgeois opponent, Schultze-Delitsch. In the heat of the fight, Lassalle naturally went too far in his opposition to the trade unions. But even Lassalle's friend and successor in the dictatorship of the Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiter-Verein and the young Socialist party of the time, Johann v. Schweitzer, by the mere force of conditions, found him-

self compelled to start trade unions of his own, which have grown to a membership of about 1,400,000, that is, they have now about as many members as the English trade union movement.

Thus while in England the tendency for a long time was to regard the political side of the labor question as something secondary—the labor representatives usually voted with the Liberal party—in Germany, on the other hand, the trade union movement was considered of less account until of late. For even the early Marxian Socialists in Germany had little or no use for the trade unions. As a matter of fact, since the Lassallean wing had started the trade union movement, the Gewerkschaften, the early Marxians thought it their duty to fight them as much as possible—until 1875, when the union of the Lassalleans and the Eisenachers was affected. And similar conditions to those which forced upon the attention of the English working class the necessity of a strong political class movement, forced also upon the German working class the necessity of developing a strong economic movement of the laboring class.

* * *

So the political struggle, as an equally powerful factor with the economic struggle, is now becoming the watchword in England, and the strongest possible trade union movement, as a necessary help and adjunct to the political movement, is now the central idea of the Social-Democracy of Germany. At the last convention of the party, Bernstein and Bebel went so far as to strongly endorse and advocate the idea of a general political strike—an idea which in former years has been repeatedly rejected as anarchistic. Bebel even now would only use it in case of

an attempt to disfranchise the workers in Germany—which the Junker party, the nobility and the emperor would very much like to try—and this would be a case of answering with anarchy from below the anarchy from above. Bernstein, however, would like to go very much further in the use of the strike weapon for political purposes.

So, at any rate, the trade unionists pure and simple, as well as the Socialist politicians pure and simple, have pretty nearly disappeared in the labor movement of the world. The American labor movement derived its roots from England on the one side and Germany on the other. From England it received the idea of the trade union pure and simple, which was in vogue in England years ago, but is now being discarded. From Germany, the American labor movement received its Socialism, an idea which originally was purely political, but now takes in the trade union movement.

But thanks to the fervor of the Socialists in the eighties of the last century, we see from the beginning of the trade union movement in America a constant fight. The Socialists at first tried to run the trade unions simply as an appendix to the Socialist party, and fought and villified the labor leaders who resisted; while on the other hand, these labor leaders—some of whom were capitalist politicians—made use of these attacks to make the trades unionists of the country believe that the Socialists were the *enemies* of the trade unions. This war went on relentlessly for years and found its first natural expression, when Daniel DeLeon (who made his entrance into the Socialist movement in 1892) started the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance in 1896 in opposition to the American

Federation of Labor, for the purpose of creating a purely political trade union movement. DeLeon was logical from the old Socialist standpoint, but that standpoint was wrong and the attempt necessarily failed.

Since then, even the most fanatic Lassallean Socialists in America could not help but learn from the example of the Socialist parties in Europe and also from the failure of their own tactics in this country. The trouble is only that they went to the *opposite* extreme. And while they formerly tried to inject Socialist politics into the trades unions, examples of which were the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and later the American Labor Union, they now try to inject trade unionism into Socialist politics and to solve political questions by the trade union. The trade union is now the fetich before which we must bow down. And "*industrialism*,"—a term which simply signifies *one* form of an organization for trades unions and per se has nothing to do with Socialism—is in future to be considered by Socialists as the magic *key* which will open the gate of freedom for the American proletariat. The result of this other extreme was the formation last June of the Industrial Workers of the World in Chicago, which in its platform demands that the trade union should also do the work of a political party. That is its sense, if any sense can be made out of its contradictions.

* * *

As usual, both extremes are wrong. The truth lies in the middle.

The trade union and the Social-Democratic party are both a part of the labor movement, but they have different and separate functions.

The trade union seeks the raising of wages in accordance with the conditions of the labor market, the abolition of overtime and better pay for it when it is absolutely necessary. Every trade union strives to secure more human working conditions. Every trade union opposes the reduction of wages. Every trade union strengthens the feeling of solidarity. Every trade union is a promise of a better standard of living for the working class.

So much for the trade union.

On the other hand, every lost strike—and every strike won—teaches the trades union man that his economic struggle alone is entirely inadequate. Wage scales adopted are incapable of overbridging the chasm between labor and capital. The fight will break out again, and must break out again. And the interference of the capitalist states and municipal governments—the police, the court, the military—constantly reminds the wage-workers that the economic rule of the capitalist class culminates in its political rule.

It also reminds the workers that the only adequate weapon is the ballot.

The concentration of wealth, the formation of trusts, the industrial crisis, do the rest.

Result? Every thinking trades union man is bound to join the Social-Democratic party, sooner or later.

* * *

And this is what we mean when we say that we must have a *two-armed labor movement*—a labor movement with a political arm and with an economic arm. Each arm has its own work to do, and one arm ought not to interfere with the other, although they are parts of the

same body. That is the "Milwaukee idea." In the personal union of the workers of both, that is, in having the same persons take an active interest in both the trade union and the political labor movement, we find the strongest connecting link between the Social-Democratic party and the trade union organization. This idea works successfully not only in Milwaukee, but everywhere wherever the true relationship between trades unionism and Socialism is rightly understood. Then we find the same men, with the same thoughts, aims, and ideals, working in the economic and the political field, thus forming a grand army moving on *two roads* for the abolition of the capitalist system.

Socialism is a Question of Development.

WRITTEN DECEMBER 30, 1905.

EVERY new truth tends to become a commonplace. Every exception tends to form a rule, originality to become a type.

The commonplace of today was the originality of yesterday. To compare the eyes of one's sweetheart to stars today is trite and silly, but originally the comparison was wonderfully poetical; and just because it was beautiful, it was repeated over and over till it was spoiled.

So it is with all wisdom and knowledge.

A modern labor convention contains a good deal more wisdom than was probably required in Greek or Roman senates, for the mental labor of the best thinkers and investigators of the past, joined to the knowledge of the present, there find their expression. Many old catchwords and phrases may be heard, but all these not long ago were considered fine, significant, original ideas. They, however, have come into common use, and thus have lost the charm of novelty. They are no longer sensational! That is all. But the new sensational ideas of today are not therefore better, wiser or truer.

The commonplace of today is not only the originality of yesterday, but it is yesterday's heart, its life-blood;

for only that which was actually good and of great value could survive and expand into common use.

What before was new and bold, for instance, Copernicus' discovery that the earth revolves around the sun, or Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood, and a thousand other things, are now taught in all the schools and have thus become as commonplace as the art of reading or writing. Public speaking was a rare art not long ago. Now oratory among the masses is quite a matter of course. The ballot and the present education of the people are the results of the mental labor and the efforts of the best men of the recent past.

The so-called genius of today will be the "philistine" of tomorrow.

* * *

If living men of genius were gathered together in one assemblage, they would by no means exhibit an astonishing amount of intellect, but would merely show themselves up as average men, as ordinary philistines. The fact is simply this—every genius, besides his one-sided specialty, which makes him a remarkable individuality, has many qualities in common with his neighbors and with all nameless human beings. All these common qualities we will call A. Besides these, each man of genius has something peculiar, but which with each one of them is different. These peculiarities we will call B, C, D, E, etc. If a hundred men of genius were together, we should have a hundred A's, but only one B, one C, one D, E, F, G, H, etc. And in every vote the hundred average men A would always prevail, and the individuals B, C, D, E, F, etc. would continually remain alone in their wisdom.

One hundred men of genius in public affairs are there-

fore equal to one hundred philistines and probably would be even very retrogressive, since it is well known that remarkable strength in one direction is usually attained at the expense of all other faculties of the individual. These one hundred men of genius, being human in other respects, would probably turn out remarkably reactionary.

America is pretty rich in men of genius, but in consequence of their natural peculiarities, they are called "cranks" for short. This does not prove that every crank is a genius.

* * *

What Social-Democrats teach, and their entire terminology, which twenty-five years ago in Europe and America was sensational, unheard-of and incomprehensible, is now understood by almost everybody. The complete formulas of Socialism are already beginning in many circles to become very commonplace.

Even a bourgeois-radical movement, like the Hearst movement in New York, for instance, ten years ago would have been impossible, but now only the large capitalists are alarmed by it.

The bold and original thinkers, who always outstrip their age, need not be silent because they are not perfectly understood, nor should they withhold the fruits of their mental labor.

But they should not fall into a tone of military authority or strike a commanding attitude, for then they would neither be listened to nor understood, and would only hurt their cause. They must rather preach, teach, agitate, and unweariedly present the same arguments.

The more frequently they are repeated, the more common, the more current their ideas will become, until at last these ideas are universally known and acknowledged,

and the most obstinate philistine will declare that he has always said so.

Our whole agitation is a question of time, since average men want to inherit their views and not work them out. The new teaching, which was brought to the knowledge of one generation even against its will, will be accepted by the following generation as quite a matter of course. Ideas which were known to one generation, will be tried by the next, and if advantageous, will be adopted.

* * *

On this rests the ever growing power of Socialism. By the millions, it will no longer be regarded as something new, unheard-of, but it will be tried, found useful and adopted among other conquered thoughts and ideas. Then these millions will only wait for a favorable opportunity to *realize their idea with the least possible sacrifice.*

Such a harvest is now ripening for Social-Democracy within the capitalistic world in the minds of the masses, and no capitalistic genius has the power, by any new artful illusion, to divert their thoughts from the new system and its trial!

To understand Social-Democracy is to accomplish it. Its most powerful enemies at present are old traditions and habits of thought. But these old notions are very out-of-date and threadbare. Moreover, the actual facts have so plainly demonstrated them to be false, that they have lost their power even over the unthinking multitude. All new mental labor is for the benefit of progress and directly or indirectly aids Socialism. The old dies, the new grows full of vital power. The moment

is approaching, when the new society will be freed from its old swaddling-clothes.

And this entire process we call mental development.

Getting on the Band Wagon.

WRITTEN FEBRUARY 3, 1906.

THE PLATFORM of the Social-Democratic party demands the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution, namely, land, mines, mills, factories, railroads, etc., for the purpose of operating the industries in the interest of the whole people.

The Socialists say that this is no Utopian dream, but the necessary natural outcome of the development of capitalist society.

Antagonists of Socialism used to say that collective ownership was impossible because the personal supervision and control of the owner was absolutely necessary to the success of any enterprise. But today we see that the greatest undertakings are those in which the stockholders have nothing to do with the management of affairs and are only drawing dividends.

In all our large industrial affairs, stock companies, railroads, and trusts, the whole business is managed and carried on by a few paid officials who might just as well be paid by the community, the state, or the nation (as the case may be) to carry on the enterprise in the inter-

ests of the people, as to be paid by a few wealthy men to carry it on for their profit.

This, carried out to its logical conclusion, involves a complete change in the system of government.

The present government is based upon private property. It is necessarily oppressive. Its vital function is the protection of the owning and ruling class.

When productive capital becomes collective property, government will necessarily become purely administrative. It will cease to be unjust and oppressive. And our laws will be few and they will be simple.

Social-Democracy will be the first real democracy that has ever existed. Political equality, under the present system, is a snare and delusion. The wage worker who depends upon an employer for the opportunity to work and support his family, is not on terms of political equality with his master.

Political liberty and economic despotism are incompatible.

The Social-Democratic party proposes to establish industrial democracy. We want to convert the present plutocratic republic into a genuine democracy.

We want it especially understood that the Social-Democracy proposes to increase and not diminish the production of wealth.

We propose to secure private property to the overwhelming mass of people who, under the present system, have none. Capital *only* is to be owned in common. Instead of countless capitalists, constantly at war with each other, there will be only one capitalist and that will be the people. Production will be carried on for use and not for profit

This is the end and aim of the Social-Democratic party.

And the usual argument in defense of the *present vicious system* is not that it is right, but that it is here, and must stay, whether we like it or not. Now, we Social-Democrats deny this.

We Social-Democrats believe that in a civilized country the question is not what *is* but what *ought* to be. If you can prove that a thing is good, let it stay. But if one cannot prove that it is good, he cannot hide behind the assertion that it is here and must remain. We believe that the American people are great enough and strong enough to get rid of anything they do not want.

The capitalist system did not always exist. It followed the feudal system.

The capitalist has done *some good* in this world. The capitalist system was useful.

The capitalist system was a step in the evolution to freedom, but only a step. It has outlived its usefulness and therefore it should pass away. And what is more, it *will* pass away.

The contention that the Social-Democrats as yet have not the majority is foolish. Every great party had a beginning once and was founded by a very small minority indeed.

The Social-Democratic party is growing fast. But the man voting for a principle never throws his vote away. We say: Better vote for what you want, even if you do not get it, than vote for what you don't want and get it.

The phrase of "getting on the band wagon" is a stupid phrase. Who is on the "band wagon?" Not the average voter. The capitalist politician and office seeker are on the "band wagon."

And why should we wait for the beginning until the majority of the votes are with us? The majority is always indolent and often ignorant. We cannot expect them to be anything else with their present social surroundings. They never have brought about conscientiously and deliberately any great social change. They have always permitted an energetic minority to prepare the way and then they *have always gone* with that progressive minority when the *fact itself* was to be accomplished.

In Milwaukee we may gain the majority next April. A great deal may be accomplished in a city for the citizens of that city—although we cannot accomplish everything or anything *near* the whole program. We must wait for this until we have the state and the nation.

In the state and the nation our objective point for the next year or two must be: a respectable minority. One respected as to numbers; respected as representing the most advanced intelligence; and respected as containing the sincere and energetic representatives of the proletariat which must do the bulk of the fighting in the new world.

Given such a Social-Democratic minority in congress and in the legislatures of every state within the next few years,—the future of this country will be safe.

A Few Plain Pointers for Plain Working People---By a Plain Man.

WRITTEN MARCH 6, 1906.

WHAT is the question for you, Mr. Workingman?
For you the question is always the same.

The working part of the population—the very part that does all the hard labor—is now damned to a hell without hope or likelihood of redemption. They are doomed to a life of suffering, of misery, of ignorance, and of constant hardship. They live poorly from day to day, are badly fed, badly dressed and badly housed. And what is worse, they are always in danger of losing their measly little jobs. And such trouble in a short time may turn the well-meaning workman into a good-for-nothing tramp, his wife and daughters into miserable creatures of lust, and his sons into thieves.

The Protection of a Jail.

And while the laws protect property and morals, capitalists and murderers, they do not protect the man in need of work. He finds himself confronted with the alternative of taking "charity" or starving.

If he wants protection, he must commit a crime. He must steal, rob, or become a common drunkard. Then

he is "protected" by the law. He is sent to jail and the so-called "house of correction."

Now that is the condition as far as *you* are concerned. Nor is this all.

Children also Doomed.

By the mere fact that they are the children of a laborer, your children are as a rule condemned to the same fate as their parents. Unless they are saved by a streak of good luck, they are also doomed to become laborers.

For no matter how talented these children may be, they get no training or education or proper care, since the parents, partly from ignorance, partly from poverty, cannot give it. They are sent to work while still very young, for they must help sustain the family, or starve with it. Their suffering begins when they are mere babes, in fact even before they are born.

How to change these conditions ought to be the main question for you, Mr. Workman.

Not Christian Charity.

And this ought not to be so very hard.

For if we look closer, there are all the elements at hand to make a comparative heaven out of this hell. There are all the things that laborers need in all countries and in plenty. Especially is this so in America. There are plenty of all good things, for the laborers have produced them. And if there should not be enough, they would produce more, if permitted to do so.

Why don't they do it?

Because the laborers under the present conditions cannot employ themselves, but are dependent on the will and convenience of some factory owner. And not for love,

nor for Christian charity, does the owner of the factory give the laborers employment. He does so to invest capital and to make a profit.

The workingman's labor has become a mere ware in the market, and as such his labor (that is, himself) is subject to the regular conditions of supply and demand. He and his labor are now subject also to competition.

Worse Off Than the Slave.

The capitalist or employer cares to buy the laborer's time only when he is young, strong and healthy. When he is sick, or when he gets old, the employer has no use for him.

And because of this we see that our so-called free worker is actually worse off than the blacks were under slavery before the war. The black was "property" and represented about \$1,000 of value which his master owned. Therefore the master took good care of him. He was anxious to have his "nigger" in good condition as long as possible.

It is of course different with the white slaves. *They are free to starve.*

What Can You Do?

With a system like this, it is only natural that the rich should become richer, and the poor poorer.

And another thing. The strength on the capitalist side is so great and the capacity for resistance on the side of the workmen so insignificant, that there is actually *no freedom of contract*. The monopoly of tools has made the employers a class of autocrats and the laborers a class of dependents—of hirelings. The laborer is simply a hired appendage to the machine. The machine has become the main thing—*the only thing*. The living appen-

dage, the laborer, can be gotten without much trouble or cost.

It is a paltry evasion of our capitalists to say that the workers are *free* to accept or to *refuse* the terms of their employers. The laborers have to consent. If they refuse the terms, there are plenty of others hungry, starved and desperate, ready to take their places.

He Is in the Same Boat.

But wage workers are by no means the only sufferers. The small employers, the small merchants are also feeling the sting of an unequal competition. For every one of these men of business lives at war with all his brethren. The hand of the one is against the other, and no foe is more terrible than the man who is running a neck to neck race with him every day.

Therefore, in the factory as well as in the store, the profits must be cut constantly and the sales must be always enlarged. The latest improvements, the best labor-saving machinery must be used and as little wages must be paid as possible. The race is for life and death and "the devil gets the hindmost."

The great capitalist triumphs, the small capitalist becomes a clerk, a politician, a traveling agent, a saloon-keeper, a lawyer, or a parasite of one kind or another—sometimes even a wage earner.

Thus the middle class disappears little by little.

The final outcome so far is the trust and the mammoth department store.

We Pay For It.

Private ownership being nowadays a failure in the entire industrial system, it is a double failure in the matter of public service monopolies. These by their very nature ought to be carried on by the state or by the

municipality. For \$9,000,000,000 worth of shares now in existence, the original investors certainly paid not more than \$865,000,000, or ten per cent of their face value and probably less. Without redress or possible remedy under present laws, the American people are paying interest and dividends annually on a capital stock amounting to billions of dollars which never had real existence.

What Is Coming?

Workingmen, think deeply on these matters. Things cannot go on like this indefinitely. *White* men will not always stand it. We are by our present circumstances and conditions creating a race of people in our midst, compared with whom the Vandals of the Fourth Century were a humane race. Within a short time we shall have two nations in this country, both of native growth. One will be very large in number, semi-civilized, half-starved and degenerated through misery. The other will be small in number, over-fed, over-civilized, and degenerated through luxury.

What will be the outcome? Some day there will be a volcanic eruption. The millions of the starved workmen will turn against the few overfed capitalists and their minions.

A fearful retribution will be enacted on the capitalistic class as a class. The innocent will suffer with the guilty.

Such a revolution would even cause a temporary retrogression of civilization and throw humanity back into semi-barbarism. Let us take warning from history.

Meaning of Social-Democracy.

There is but one deliverance from the rule of the people by capital—and that is the rule of the capital by the people. If much of what has been considered private

property is to be absorbed in great monopolistic ownership, as seems to be the inevitable outcome of the competitive struggle, then the people should become the monopolists.

The only hope for the people for either industrial or political freedom lies in their taking "lawful" possession of the machinery and the forces of production and establishing the *co-operative commonwealth*. And this is called Socialism.

Must Grow from Bottom Up.

Now a municipal campaign is a very small and insignificant part of the grand social and economic revolution, which we intend to accomplish.

Yet municipal Socialism is very important. There can be no doubt that the Social-Democrats will carry cities and towns before they carry states, or before they carry a national election. Like everything else that is growing, Socialism must grow from the bottom up.

There is one other great question to be considered, especially in this country.

Must Fight "Graft."

Socialism can never take deep root in a commonwealth that is absolutely corrupt. A Social-Democracy can never be established in a nation that is thoroughly rotten. More than any other citizens, more than any other political party, the Social-Democrats are interested in unearthing corruption, weeding out grafters and fighting boodlers.

Although the boodlers are the natural product of the capitalistic system, of the terrific competitive struggle and of modern business principles, the boodlers more than any other agency poison the minds of the people. And regardless of party affiliation, the boodlers and

grafters concentrate their entire strength against the Social-Democratic party.

We must therefore put down the boodlers and grafters in order to make Socialism possible.

Business Men and Graft.

I do not wish to be misunderstood. We are not simply attacking David S. Rose, who is an arch-grafter, or any Democrats and Republicans personally as "bad men." No intelligent man longer believes in the panacea for social ills that used to be offered, namely, the elevation of so-called "good men" to office.

And right here let me say a few words about "business" and business men.

If there is a fetish in this country today, it is the word "business." The business man is very often by necessity a grafter and "boodle" is simply business applied to politics.

The business world has degenerated. Therefore we Socialists warn the voters not to be caught by the current drivel about "business methods" and "business principles." A government is not a personal contrivance like a business. It should bring the greatest good to all regardless of profit.

Workmen Compelled to Be Honest.

What Milwaukee and other large cities need most just now is workingmen's administrations.

Only the workingman is being taught by all agencies to be honest.

His employer teaches him to be honest. If he is not, he is discharged. His foreman teaches him to be honest; if he is not, he loses his job. His union teaches him to be honest, if he is not, if he becomes a scab he is liable

to get into sore trouble. His class interest teaches him to be honest, because he has nothing to gain and everything to lose by being dishonest. And outside of a few business agents or "walking delegates" here and there, who get into touch with the contractors and politicians, and get spoiled thereby, the working class as a class is *honest*.

They have the New Conscience.

Moreover, their class interest compels them to combine, because only by combination can they resist combined capital. This class interest also awakens in them the sense of *collective social responsibility*. The capitalist class and the middle class do not have this because with them the motto is: Each man for himself and the devil take the hindmost.

Now with the working class the motto has been turned the other way: Everybody for himself means that the *devil* gets them *all*. We *must* hang together or we hang separately.

Once more in the world a new conscience is being formed. It is not formed by our particular goodness, but is formed by iron necessity.

Must Turn to Us.

So in this city as in every other modern city the citizens without difference of political affiliation or religious creed, have to turn to us workingmen for honest government and clean administration. We do not make any special boast of our honesty. While with the capitalistic party honesty is the highest virtue demanded, with us it is the first and the least requisite of a Social-Democrat. A man must also possess a good many other things before he is considered a good Social-Democrat.

Meanwhile in the camp of the enemy, boodle, corrup-

tion and scandals are growing from year to year. If any capitalist party in this city should be victorious, things will no doubt be worse two years from now than today. Look backward in the history of Milwaukee for thirty years. Tell me of a single election when the opposition did not claim, and rightly claim, that the corruption had gotten worse.

What Else Can You Do?

Every honest man and woman who can think ought therefore to come to the following conclusion:

The machinery and all progress in implements of production we cannot and do not want to destroy. Civilization must not go back to the middle ages or be reduced to barbarism. But as long as these implements of production—land, machinery, raw materials, railroads, telegraphs, etc., remain private property, only comparatively few can be the sole owners and masters.

Capitalism was a step in the evolution of freedom, but only a step. There can be no social freedom or complete justice, until there are no more hirelings in the world; until all become both the employers and the employed of society. This is our aim. And this is what we want to bring about gradually and peaceably.

If you want to add one stone to the building up of a new system, where graft and grafters shall be unknown, —if you want to vote for *yourself*, and for the *future* of your *children*, then vote the Social-Democratic ticket and vote it straight.

Is There Any Other Way?

WRITTEN APRIL 14, 1906.

THIS WORLD is a veritable hell for the larger half of the population. Truly, they need salvation. They need it in this world. What, then, must we do to be saved?

And yet, if we look closer, there are all the elements at hand to make a comparative heaven out of this hell. There are all the things that laborers need, and in all countries. Especially is this true in America, where there are plenty of all good things for the laborers who have produced them. And if there should not be enough, they would produce more, if permitted to do so.

* * *

Right here we catch a glimpse of one of the cardinal points of the whole question—the question of all the misery in the world.

The workmen would and could produce everything in plenty, but they cannot do so at will. They must wait for somebody else to permit them to do so, to give them work, for they do not own the tools or the raw materials.

The tools (i. e. the machines) are expensive now-a-days, therefore they are under complete control of the capitalist class. And the tools of today also require a great amount of material, and to buy that requires capi-

tal, which is another reason why capital controls production.

You see then that "capitalism" is the wall which the devil has put up between the laborer and his product.

But the machinery and all the progress in implements of production we cannot and do not want to destroy. Civilization does not want to go back to the middle ages or be reduced to barbarism. But as long as these implements of production—land, machinery, raw materials, railroads, telegraphs, etc., remain private property, only comparatively few can be their sole masters. As long as such is the case they will naturally use this private ownership for their own private advantage.

And capitalism is marching on. In 1901 when the terrible Theodore Roosevelt became president, the trusts controlled about nine billions worth of property. Now they control twenty-nine billions, out of a total of ninety billions.

* * *

Now, what are the people to do? Must progress stop? Are we to go back to feudalism and barbarism because the economic interests of the capitalist class dominate both of the old parties? Our progress, our production on a large scale, the mighty accumulation of capital makes monopoly a necessary condition. Monopoly is here, whether we wish it or not.

The question, therefore, is only, shall it be a private or a public monopoly?

The question is, do we wish to leave the products of this country in the control of a small number of irresponsible men, whose only interest is to exploit us up to the last limit of our endurance?

Do we wish to leave to a small clique the monopoly

of all things which make life good and desirable? Do we wish to make them absolute masters of all the necessities of our lives?

Do we wish to let a small number of capitalists decide how much meat and how much bread we shall eat, how much we shall spend for coal and how much for oil, how nicely or how poorly we shall be clothed and housed—in brief, how well or how ill, how long or how short a time we shall live?

The same economic causes which developed capitalism are leading to Socialism, which will abolish both the capitalist class and the class of wage workers. And the active force in bringing about this new and higher order of society is the Social-Democratic party.

* * *

We still have one way left to conquer these powerful economic lords. We still have the ballot and can avail ourselves of political power. Shall we use this power?

The capitalist parties, the Republican as well as the Democratic, are both upholding the present system with its exploitation and its trust rule. The question is then: Shall we put the Social-Democratic party into power, which will take hold of the meat trust, the oil trust, the coal trust, and every other trust, and put them into the possession of the whole people and thus make all the people shareholders?

If this is impossible, why is it possible for a comparatively small clique—the trust owners—to have this control? These people as a rule do not know anything about the production and distribution of this country. They have no more to do with it than the man in the moon, outside of the fact that they now reap the benefits. Now

if that is possible for this small number of people, why should it not be possible for all the people?

The Social-Democrats propose the change in the mechanism of society, which has been made necessary by the invention and application of machinery, by the concentration of wealth, and the formation of trusts. This change will not mean the "division of property," the plunder of the Haves for the benefit of the Have-nots. It will take place legally, for the majority of the people have a right to make the laws, and the new system will make it possible for everybody to live out his own life and to develop his personality, as long as he does not infringe upon the right of others. Is this Un-American?

* * *

Under a Social-Democratic system then, the workmen will get the full value of their labor and you will all get the benefit of the riches of this great country. We will settle the "bread and butter" question, the question of property which is underlying all the other social questions of the day. Is there any other solution for the question?

And is any other solution of this question a final solution?

Abolish Parties? What For?

WRITTEN JANUARY 23, 1909.

THE GREAT OUTCRY of some "reformers" of the present day is that parties are corrupting our political life—particularly, that national party politics are corrupting our local politics.

Acting on this theory, some of the reformers in the Milwaukee charter convention lay special stress upon the banishment of all parties from the ballot at municipal elections. They hope, thereby, to banish all evil and to elect so-called "good men," simply because they are "good men."

* * *

However, one might ask, if parties are such an evil in local elections, why are they not an evil in state elections? A state election is a local election on a larger scale.

And why not also banish parties from national tickets? A national election is a state election on a larger scale.

* * *

Moreover, we should like to know in what way the national party corrupts local politics in New York? Does the national Republican or the national Democratic party *corrupt* pure, innocent Tammany Hall? And do the "gray wolves" in the Chicago common council

receive their impetus from Theodore Roosevelt or from William Jennings Bryan?

And while I am not at all an admirer of the Democratic party, still I do not believe that Bryan is in any way responsible for the doings of Mayor Rose and his city Democracy.

* * *

If one looks a little closer at some of the men who are proposing to destroy all political parties, one is apt to find the following types:

1. The average bourgeois ideologist, who is looking for some explanation of the political rottenness, and would *under no circumstances* charge it to "business men in politics" and to legal graft. Such an opinion might interfere with the respect for himself, his best friends, and for capitalism in general.

2. The old exploiter, politician or lawyer, grown wealthy by business graft, or legal graft, but who in his old age has retired from business and is trying to appear "good." And if he has often been defeated on some old party ticket because of the well-merited hatred of the voters, then he is apt to flatter himself that he would have had better chances if there were *no* parties.

* * *

As a matter of fact a democracy (the *rule* of the *demos*, the people)—or a republic (*res publica*, government by the people) is *impossible without political parties*.

As long as we have democracy, and particularly, representative democracy, parties will be absolutely necessary for its expression. There will be either anarchy and crude factionalism or organized political parties.

Men who politically organize around some issues and for the same class interest, will always form a party—no matter by what name it is called, or whether they call it a party or not.

* * *

The “reformers” who are trying to smash parties because they are corrupting political life, are acting in exactly the same way as the workmen of old, who wanted to smash the machines because they thought that the machines were responsible for their poverty. However, it is not the machine that keeps the workman poor, but it is the capitalist ownership of the machine.

And in exactly the same way it is not parties that are to blame for the political rottenness of our public life, but it is the *capitalist ownership of the ruling parties*.

* * *

Parties are necessary in our political life as machines are in our industrial life.

Parties in the end are simply the *political expression of economic interests*.

It is therefore only *natural* that *class interest* must sooner or later prevail in all parties. And any *effort to suppress this is stupid*, reactionary and absolutely undemocratic.

If the working class—or any other class, for that matter—is not permitted to express its opinion and demands through parties, then these opinions and demands will be expressed through the bomb, the dagger, the pistol and finally through bloody revolution.

However, the majority report of the special committee of the charter convention of Milwaukee tries to provide for a bill to abolish parties altogether.

All candidates who can scare up the signatures of two per cent of the voters on their petitions, are to be placed at random on the ballot—and all party names or designations are to be eliminated. There is to be nothing on the ballot excepting the *name* of the person *seeking the office*.

* * *

Now if this majority report is adopted it will *eliminate all principles* and ideas from municipal elections and concentrate all attention upon the office seekers.

Dave Rose's motto, "This dying for principle is all rot," will then be embodied in the charter by his supposed enemies, the "reformers." Principle will be nothing—the person of the office-seeker will be everything.

Every election would be a catch-as-catch-can affair. It would be the Eldorado for boodlers, grafters and crooks. It would be just the very condition any grasping corporation could wish for.

* * *

And the office-seeker with the most money to spend—particularly the so-called "good fellow," who knows how to spend it in the saloons to the best advantage, or who has friends who can do the trick for him—would be the winner. Or the men who can afford to advertise the most, or those backed up by the biggest newspapers, would have the best chances to win out.

The next best chance would be for the man who belongs to many secret societies or to many church socie-

ties, where they distribute ballots, after the church service on the Sunday before election.

* * *

Now, I say all this, although I might also add that there is one tremendous factor in this city, a big organization, which would also have a very good chance under that method, and that is the Social-Democratic party, simply on the strength of our organization. Only the new method would require a good deal more work.

However, this method would demoralize all the *other* forces for good. It would undo a great deal of the work that our party, with the help of men who also possess the civic conscience, has accomplished heretofore.

And it would infinitely increase the chances for corruption. The corporations and grafters would have to deal with individuals only, instead of dealing with organizations.

* * *

For we must not forget that at the present day, no matter how rotten a party may be, it is to a certain extent responsible to the people who voted that ticket for the selection of its candidates. These candidates may be grafters and rascals. The party is beyond any doubt responsible for them to the people. Even Tammany Hall in New York is responsible to a certain extent. All the Cook county Democracy, with its "gray wolves" and our city Democracy with its hyenas, is held responsible by the people.

Abolish all parties and nobody would be responsible to the people. We should have absolute political anarchy.

* * *

Compared with these serious objections, it is of comparatively smaller importance, that with nothing to guide

the voters in the wilderness of the long list of names on the ballot, this will result in focusing the attention of the people upon the half dozen men running for mayor.

No one will remember the long list of the other candidates for the other offices, unless he takes a day off to learn them by heart. And even if he did, it will be impossible for the average voter to know their qualifications.

The selection of men for the other offices will therefore be largely a matter of mere chance.

* * *

The so-called reformers have done many stupid things in Wisconsin. No wonder the state is in the hands of the "epigones" of the old Stalwarts—just as grafty, and not so crafty. We have Stephenson, Davidson and Bancroft instead of Spooner, Payne and Pfister, a miserable come-down in every respect. And yet Robert M. La Follette is an able man and an honest man—but he cannot see far enough, nor look deep enough.

And in making the charter for Milwaukee the "reformers" will make the worst botch of all—if we let them.

But we will not let them.

The End of the Roosevelt Episode.

WRITTEN MARCH 6, 1909.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, the man who has just vacated his office, will go down in history as the most sensational and most inconsistent president this republic has had so far.

Theodore Roosevelt was the last great representative of the *upper* middle class in the presidential chair. He never studied political economy, and knows more about bears and deer than about Smith, Ricardo and Marx. But he is otherwise an educated man with good impulses—but intensely capitalistic by descent, environment and training. And he represents an economic stratum which is rapidly disappearing.

* * *

Of course he never analyzed his milieu. He is not capable of doing this.

And having been brought up in the capitalistic sphere of thought—and being an aggressive and “strenuous” man besides—it was natural that he should make all the mistakes he *did* make—particularly in dealing with the trusts and the labor question.

* * *

Theodore Roosevelt tried to do the impossible. He tried to perpetuate capitalism by reforming it. He tried

to make the trust magnates "good" by telling them to behave themselves.

Of course that was ridiculous.

* * *

And he let Peabody do as he pleased in Colorado and declared the Western Miners guilty while their trial was on, yet they were afterwards pronounced "not guilty" by a jury.

And these utterances—and his behavior towards the Western Miners in general—will form a lasting blot upon the history of his administration.

* * *

The Progressives of the senate were rudely handled by Theodore Roosevelt. He stepped on its corns without mercy. He has emphasized the presidency at the expense of congress. He contrived the Panama and San Domingo affairs. He stole the thunder from the Bryanites and wanted to compel representatives of railroad trusts and other monopolies to accept anti-trust laws.

That was fatal to him. Even the majority of the Republicans voted against him.

He leaves his office with the cordial hatred of *all* the dominant factors of the Republican party.

* * *

As it was, Theodore Roosevelt was only an accident in the presidency. No one thought of nominating him for president in the Republican convention in Philadelphia in 1900.

That convention was a typical capitalistic convention—dominated by the late Mark A. Hanna—and it renominated William McKinley unanimously. The delegates did not have much to say anyway in that conven-

tion. And the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt for vice-president was made for the double purpose of adding a popular "war-hero" to the ticket and of finally disposing of Theodore Roosevelt. For it is an unwritten law that the nomination for vice-president means the political death of the nominee—unless the unexpected happens.

* * *

But the unexpected *did* happen. McKinley was assassinated and Theodore Roosevelt—the man Thomas C. Platt of New York wanted to dispose of by making him vice-president—became the president of the United States.

The rest is well known. The outcome could not have been different. It was easy to foretell it, for anybody acquainted with the history of the Republican party.

* * *

And the history of the Republican party furnishes many lessons of interest, upon which we may fitly dwell on this occasion.

The growing hostility towards the institution of chattel slavery as existing in the South, where it was considered perfectly lawful and constitutional, formed the *basis* for the foundation of the Republican party.

The demand for its abolition appealed readily to all idealists. The *constitutional* bar against the abolition of slavery, instead of checking or awing the abolitionists, spurred them on to greater enthusiasm.

* * *

Back of the idealists and their undaunted ardor, however, were aligned powers and interests of a very material nature.

Slavery as an economic institution had run its course

and grown out of date. It was not adapted to modern production. It had become more and more expensive and less productive from year to year. With slave labor a wholesale production of *raw materials* was the only thing possible. These raw materials of the southern slave states were exchanged for the manufactured products of the North, in particular for those of the New England states.

However, the South discovered that it did not derive through this exchange the *advantages* it sought. An exchange trade with Europe, especially with England, offered greater *advantages* for the Southern slave owners.

Under the influence of this material fact there arose in the South a strong movement in favor of *free trade*.

* * *

The manufacturers in the North clearly recognized the danger which threatened them through the loss of their Southern market. They were resolved not to lose this market at any cost.

The Northern manufacturers availed themselves with rare skill and cleverness of the idealistic Abolitionist movement, and the patriotic sentiment for the preservation of the Union, to further their own purposes.

The North finally succeeded in defeating, by force of arms, the attempted secession of the South. In this, the newly organized Republican party served them in good stead.

* * *

The evolution through which the Republican party has passed in the course of time is not essentially different from the development of other bourgeois parties, pro-

claiming high-sounding phrases, but founded on a material basis.

The apparently progressive parties in England, France and Germany have all undergone the same metamorphosis as our Republican party.

The ideal demands for liberty originally set forth by those parties have entirely disappeared after having served to gain the coveted political power for the bourgeoisie.

* * *

In the ranks of the Republican party, this change kept pace with the rapidity which marked the development of our economic conditions. A few of the original founders of that party are still living, and can cast a backward glance upon the work they helped to create.

A retrospective review of the last half century must surely make them smile at their former idealism.

* * *

As early as 1876, this victorious party in the struggle for the human rights it so pompously proclaimed, was so dominated by lust for power that it considered it quite the proper thing to gain control of the government by means of election frauds. And the Republican party even stood ready to defend its attitude, if necessary, by force of arms.

The Republican party today is the patron saint of the trusts and all other capitalistic organizations.

* * *

It stands before the American people today as the bulwark of exploitation and monopolies. The buying of a seat in the United States senate by spending a quarter of a million dollars—as in the case of Uncle Ike Stephenson—is the visible embodiment of a “*popular government*,” as even many “reform” Republicans understand it.

The president's chair will be occupied by William H. Taft, "Injunction Bill"—the guardian-angel and defender of the capitalistic state, the man who longs for the power to summarily dispatch all labor agitators to prison.

* * *

With the ascendancy of William H. Taft, the Roosevelt episode is closed.

Within less than a year the administration will quietly slide back into the sluggish and quiet waters of the McKinley channel of capitalism.

Taft will pride himself on emphasizing this difference between his administration and that of President Roosevelt. Capitalism, including the "evil-doers of immense wealth," will have full sway.

Taft will make less enemies in his own party—but at the same time Socialist sentiment and Socialist organization will grow under his administration as they never grew before.

* * *

For Roosevelt has left an inheritance that cannot be undone, overlooked or abolished.

All his attacks upon the rich malefactors have left a mark upon the minds of all the people. His continuous blowing of trumpets against "predatory wealth" has aroused even the most sleepy among the working class, the professional class and the lower middle class.

They are still rubbing their eyes, but they are beginning to think, and nobody can stay that process.

* * *

These are the fruits which the Republican party has

naturally begotten. The bourgeoisie has reached the end of its development.

In the course of its development it has produced the germs of its own destruction—the proletariat.

This child of the bourgeoisie is rapidly gaining in strength and will grow until it is old and strong enough to take possession of the inheritance left by its aging mother.

The history of the Republican party is one of the infallible proofs of the correctness of the materialistic view of history as held by modern Social-Democrats.

This Nation is Ruled by a Few Corporation Lawyers.

WRITTEN MAY 8, 1908.

There was a tendency in Congress to induce certain railroads in Pennsylvania to dispose of their holdings in hard coal lands, or at least to compel them to treat fairly the few remaining owners of anthracite coal mines who depend on the good will of these railroads.

Accordingly the "trust-busting" Hepburn act contained a clause which makes it unlawful

"for any railroad company to transport from any state to any other state or to any foreign country any article or commodity, other than timber, manufactured, mined, or produced by it, or under its

authority, or which it may own in whole or in part, or in which it may have any interest, direct or indirect, except such articles or commodities as may be necessary and intended for its use in the conduct of its business as a common carrier."

* * *

Of course, the railroads appealed to their patron saints in Washington, D. C.

And what did the Supreme Court do? Declare the law "unconstitutional" in order to favor the railroads, as that Supreme court has often done before in other cases, and as it was confidently expected by the railroads it would do this time?

Not at all.

* * *

The Supreme Court simply went a step further.

The judges declared that this law is constitutional. But that it does not mean what it says on the face of it, and what its originators declared that it should mean. No, it is to mean something entirely different.

It is to mean that the railroads cannot own and operate coal mines, but that they can own stock in companies which own and operate coal mines.

Now, most of the railroads do not operate the mines now. They simply own the stock in the subsidiary companies which own and operate the coal mines. And the few remaining railroads as, for instance, the Delaware & Lackawanna, will obey the mandates of the Supreme Court at once and—form the subsidiary companies and own their stock.

Is it not laughable?

Of course, we care little for this special occasion.

Trust-busting, under the present system, is nonsense, and the lawmakers in Washington, D. C., should have brains enough to understand that and honesty enough to admit it.

What interests us most in this case is again the arrogance and absolute shamelessness of the Supreme Court of the United States.

We are, of course, quite accustomed to the idea that a large portion of the time of our courts, from the lowest to the highest, and both national and state, is now occupied in determining whether the representatives of the people have the right to make laws or not. This is a power no court, and no Supreme Court, of any nation ever had, or ever will have. But it is a power which budding capitalism in America reserved for itself about a hundred years ago and still retains—since the days of that great shyster lawyer, John Marshall.

However, it is a new thing, even in this country, for a Supreme Court to tell a legislative body that the law is constitutional, but that it is to mean something entirely different from its wording, and something entirely different from what Congress intended it to mean.

* * *

And the queer part of all this is that this power of the Supreme Court of the United States is not even constitutional.

In the convention of 1787, when the constitution of the United States was framed, a proposition was made that judges should pass upon the constitutionality of the acts of Congress.

This was defeated June 5, receiving the vote of only two states.

It was renewed June 6, and again July 21, and finally, for the fourth time, it was urged on the 15th of August. But, although it had the powerful support of Madison and Wilson, at no time did it receive the votes of more than three states.

* * *

Prior to that convention, the courts of four states—New Jersey, Rhode Island, Virginia and North Carolina—had expressed an opinion that they could hold the acts of their respective legislatures as unconstitutional.

It was a doctrine never held before—nor in any other country since. It met with strong disapproval right at the beginning. In Rhode Island a movement to oust the offending judges was only stopped on the suggestion that they should be dropped by the next legislature, which was done.

* * *

These matters were then recent and before that convention.

Madison and Wilson—living at a time when government by the people was a new experiment, of which property-holders were very much afraid—favored the new doctrine as a check upon legislation to be operated only by lawyers.

And they attempted to get it into the constitution in its least objectionable shape—as a judicial examination and veto *before* the final passage of the bill.

But even in this diluted form, and although presented four times by these two very influential members, the suggestion at no time received the votes of more than one-fourth of the states in that convention.

The subsequent action of the Supreme Court **in assum-**ing the power to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional, is without a line in the constitution to authorize it.

The Supreme Court of the United States usurped—yea, practically stole that power—first, with the consent of the slave barons, who had occasion to hide behind it, and afterwards with the help of the plutocrats, who fully realize its value.

* * *

Just think it over for a moment.

Nine corporation lawyers, appointed for life, have the power to veto or change, according to their own sweet pleasure, the laws enacted by Congress—and they are responsible to nobody, not even to themselves.

Of these nine, five form a majority, and can decide anything.

And there you have it; five crooked corporation lawyers—usually the most crooked of their craft—can negative the will of one hundred millions of intelligent people.

All our plutocrats need do, therefore, is to see to it that they own five of these judges. And is it necessary to prove that plutocracy owns them?

* * *

Such power as our judges have, does not exist, and never has existed, in any other country.

Judges have never exercised such power in England, where there is no written constitution. In England the will of the people, when expressed through their representatives in parliament, is final.

And the judges surely do not have such power in France, Germany, Austria, Denmark, or any other country where there is a written constitution.

* * *

And why should anyone imagine that our United States judges are more wise, more honest, and more virtuous than other politicians?

These judges are not even elected by the people. They are usually politicians who have been defeated by the people.

They are selected by the big contributors to the campaign—by the great corporations and the railroads.

They are not picked out on account of their progressiveness or learning, but for their loyalty to the "Interests."

They are selected by influences naturally antagonistic to the working classes and the plain people.

* * *

Why should they be more honest?

To these judges honesty means *loyalty* to the *big thieves who selected them and gave them a soft berth for life.*

And why should not the people have a word to say about their election?

If the people are to be trusted to select the executive and the legislature, they are also fit to select the judges.

Elect the federal judges every time and at the same time when you elect the president; recall any rotten judges who forfeit popular confidence, and you will have a different class of judges.

And take away the right from all of them to pass upon the power of the legislative bodies to make this or the other law—a right which was invented in hell by Mammon.

* * *

As a check upon the legislative bodies use the Initiative and the Referendum. This is the only way to establish

a Democracy and to avoid the most fearful revolution the world has ever seen.

An Armed People is Always a Free People.

WRITTEN AUGUST 14, 1909.

CAPITALIST PAPERS all over the country have attacked me with great bitterness, because of my article two weeks ago asking Socialists and workingmen in general to prepare to fight for freedom and to be ready to back up their ballots with bullets, *if necessary*.

The usual howl of "anarchist" was raised by men who know no more about economic and political terms than a donkey knows of Latin grammar.

* * *

What I wrote in that article I had written in this paper before. I have also said it in numerous conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

And I have always said it in the interest of peace, justice and order, and because I want to make peaceable progress possible.

* * *

I repeat: A revolution can never be "made"; neither by one man, even if he were the most powerful genius, nor by a few thousand men, even if they were ever so fanatical.

We have examples of this in history.

* * *

Although the Catholic church in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth centuries was in pressing need of a "reform

of head and members," as the holy church councils so often complained, yet the talented Cola Rienzi, after a brief season of triumph, was burned in Rome at the stake in the public market-place, amid the rejoicings of the people.

Although the French especially were quite convinced of the necessity of a reformation, it was just in France that the Albigenses were persecuted and rooted out with bloody severity.

So it was in other countries.

But when the time was ripe, there arose a rough and burly monk, a man who was neither a statesman nor a scholar. And this reckless genius, Martin Luther, carried through successfully what many other and some greater men before him had attempted in vain.

The minds of men had been prepared for the revolution.

* * *

So it is with every revolution. It is always dependent upon the development of conditions. *The revolution is only the seal on a preceding evolution in men's minds.*

And it may require many so-called "revolutions" to carry out successfully one single but thorough reform.

* * *

In my opinion, those who would advise street riots and insurrections would be *guilty of a crime* against the laboring class, especially in view of the perfection of modern instruments of murder and the helpless condition of the workers.

An appeal to arms without having any arms is more than foolish—it is criminal.

As anybody who is at all acquainted with me knows,

I am most decidedly in favor of the ballot and a propaganda of education.

We must have a great many ballots and a great deal of education.

However, we must not forget that all nations which have bettered existing conditions have been *combatants*; that is, they have been armed.

Such was decidedly the case in the time of the Reformation and during the English revolution.

In France, indeed, the people were poorly armed at first, till they plundered the state arsenal on the morning of July 14, 1789, and took 28,000 guns and cartridges. But, in the first place, the French aristocracy was perfectly rotten and no longer capable of resistance, and secondly, the regular French troops fraternized with the people from the very beginning of the revolution.

* * *

Moreover, history teaches us that an armed people has always been a *free people*. There has never been a plainer example of this than the case of the Boers in South Africa.

Tyrants and usurpers, therefore, have always taken care to disarm the people. And the English did the same thing in South Africa in subduing what was left of the 30,000 peaceable Dutch farmers—a little armed nation that had learned how to shoot straight.

Whenever one nation or one class comes under the yoke of another, the conquered nation or conquered class is always disarmed, and rendered non-combatant.

* * *

The founders of our nation well understood and considered all this, and therefore inserted the following clause in the constitution of the United States:

"A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."—Amendment II, Article II.

This clause was placed in the constitution expressly for the purpose of giving the people an opportunity to defend their freedom.

* * *

In the debate upon this clause it was insisted that such a right must be reserved for the people to guard them eventually against usurpers in our country.

It goes without saying that the founders of this republic never even dreamed of such a militia as ours is today—the arming of fools and fops to hold in check the great mass of people for the benefit of a few money-bags.

In those days (1783-89) there was no more a plutocracy than a proletariat in this country. Conditions were then entirely different.

* * *

But, although the fathers of our republic took such pains to create a "nation in arms," yet today there is scarcely any other folk in the world (except probably the Chinese or Russians) so completely disarmed, so totally without weapons, as the mass of the American workmen.

In Germany and France almost every man is a soldier, almost every man is thus at one time of his life an *armed* man.

This imprints a certain stamp on the people.

However severely *militarism* should be condemned, it has at least this *one good side*—that besides discipline

it gives the man a certain self-confidence and teaches him the use of a gun.

* * *

To those who are afraid to trust the people with firearms, the example of Switzerland proves most clearly that a general arming of the people would by no means result in a "revolution."

In Switzerland every citizen is a soldier and owns his own weapon and keeps it at home. The government teaches the people the use of arms for reasons of state.

And although the Swiss workingmen are by no means better situated materially than their American brothers, and although the Swiss bourgeoisie sometimes carries on regular baiting against labor agitators, we hear nothing of revolutions or dangerous insurrections in Switzerland.

There is a great deal less rioting in Switzerland than either in America or in Russia, where the people are totally disarmed.

* * *

On the contrary, if the social question is settled in any country without spilling a drop of blood, that country will be Switzerland.

* * *

There can be no question that the general disarming of our people has contributed very considerably to their enslavement.

We are obliged to *fear our "government"* far more than the Montenegrins, Arabs and other half-barbarous races fear theirs.

And yet, in accordance with progress, our higher civilization, our higher culture, ought to make us only so much the freer.

Our *ruling class*, indeed, knows better how to value the advantage of arms.

Not only are barracks erected in the neighborhood of all the large cities, not only is the militia limited to a comparatively few regiments, recruited from the "better" class, instead of arming all the people, as in Switzerland—but even in church and school the middle class and their children are taught to hate and abhor the so-called "dangerous classes."

This is called teaching "patriotism."

* * *

No, we surely want no Russian kind of revolution. Nor do we want a repetition of the French revolution if it can possibly be avoided.

* * *

However, human nature is so constituted that in the struggle for existence—in the class struggle—people only respect what they fear. This law holds just as good today as it did a thousand years ago.

The Swiss workingmen are respected by the Swiss capitalist class because they are combatants besides having the ballot.

The American workingmen are despised and scorned, although having the ballot, because they are non-combatants.

* * *

Therefore, in the interest of peace and harmony—in the interest of peaceable progress—in the interest of the future greatness of this nation—I want to see adopted the Swiss system or any other orderly method of a general arming of the people.

* * *

If that is not done we shall have the French and Rus-

sian kind of revolution. Then I have great fears for our civilization.

It may soon come to an untimely end, either by the action of the plutocracy or through an ochlocracy (mob rule).

Let us learn from history.

If This Be Treason, Make the Most of It.

WRITTEN AUGUST 14, 1909.

There are now about half a million workingmen idle all the year round—even during so-called “good times”—although willing to work and depending on work for support of their families.

There are now over three million men idle part of the year, during periods extending from six weeks to eight months. The number of the unemployed reaches four millions during “hard times.”

Talk about patriotism. About the “Stars and Stripes.”

What is left the poor tramp but the “Stars and Stripes?” The stars above him when he camps in the open air in summer and the “stripes” upon him when he is sent to jail in winter.

* * *

Nor is this all.

During the past thirteen years the prices of all the necessaries of life have gone up, until the cost of living is twice what it was thirteen years ago.

Our standard of living has now gone down to that of

the Western European workingman—and in some respects it is lower, because our American proletarian lacks the legal protection of the French, English or German workingman.

* * *

But they tell us that this is the necessary effect of machinery. That machinery "saves labor."

But we ask: Did genius brood over books and drawings, work about models and laboratories, to lift the burden from the laborer's back and give the toiler time for mental and domestic pleasures?

Or did the genius of humanity intend that by his achievements millions of human beings shall be retired to their miserable abodes and die there of hunger and want?

* * *

We understand that under the present economic system this can not be changed. That the workingman cannot get the full value of his product because the employer (the capitalist) must nowadays make a profit on the work of his laborers.

That if the capitalist, the owner of the machinery and the raw material, does not see any profit in engaging workingmen for the purpose of producing, he will not produce.

That the capitalist's *selfishness is excusable and necessary*.

* * *

However, if the spirit of selfishness is to predominate and control the entire human race—*so are we selfish*.

And since we cannot help ourselves individually, since the means of production are so concentrated now that

only in a collective form can they be returned to us, *our selfishness has taken a collective form.*

And the progress of the age and the existence of civilization depends upon the success of *our selfishness.*

* * *

We must help all in order to help one. That is our aim. That is the aim of Socialism.

And if we cannot get all of it at once, we want to get as much of it *now* as we possibly can.

* * *

We Socialists protest against deifying cash and demonizing man.

We fight against exalting the products of labor and degrading the laborer. We insist that a brave, industrious man, factory worker or farmer, who lives and loves, is worth infinitely more than a pile of gold or a package of greenbacks.

We demand that even today in every industry requiring dead capital and living work—cash and labor—the *man should be considered the more important of the two.*

* * *

We resent refined brutality that excuses enforced idleness and its concomitant evils—misery, starvation and shame—by arguing that the “price of labor is to be regulated by the law of supply and demand.”

If labor is to be regulated by the law of supply and demand, then we, the producers, *want to have control of the supply and demand.*

And there is only one way to do it—*i. e.*, by public ownership.

* * *

There are two ways of effecting great social changes

in a republic—the ballot and the bullet. If our people are *not wise*—if they are otherwise—then we may have use for both of them.

But no one but a fool will consider the latter way until the former has been used with its full effect.

And I believe the ballot has great efficiency. I believe that while the ballot itself may not make us free, it will put into our hands the power of achieving our freedom.

* * *

For that purpose the *ballot must be used in the right way*. If you want democratic Socialism you must have a Social-Democratic party. None of the capitalist parties can help us.

Capitalism has no special politics. It simply wants to perpetuate its power. Look at our national congress in Washington.

Thousands of daily and weekly papers identify capitalism with patriotism and Socialism with disorder.

“Money is no object” if it will secure the interest of capitalism. A Democratic senator is as good as a Republican.

* * *

It is the business of *all these politicians* and of all the editors to warn the people against Socialism, and to promise them “protection” or “free trade” or “prosperity” and a “full dinner pail,” or to guarantee the deposits (which they do not have) in the savings banks of the country.

* * *

In short, capitalism controls all natural resources, the money, the commerce, the transportation lines, the congress, courts, legislatures, and executives; it controls

the press, the churches, the police, the militia and the political leaders.

There is no hope unless the working people—the producers of the country—organize in one great body which will fight capitalism everywhere, in politics, in the press, in the pulpit, in the economic field, and in every other way, as the time and the necessity may require.

* * *

I concede that this preaching may sound “lawless” to some people.

But what of it?

Lawlessness of the right kind is a lever that has moved the world forward.

It was by an unlawful conspiracy that the Magna Charta was obtained. The Reformation was a rebellion against God and the Holy Church. Regicide, then the “blackest of crimes,” barred out of the English constitution the question of the “divine right of kings.” Grand larceny in Boston led up to the Declaration of Independence. The blood of kings, bishops and nobles washed away feudalism in France. And John Brown’s lawless raid freed the negro slave.

And last but not least: Are the *capitalists* of our country not *also lawless* whenever it suits their purpose?

* * *

We should be grateful if the social revolution, if the freeing of seventy-five million whites, would not cost more blood than the freeing of four million negroes in 1861.

And the better we are organized, the more political power and economic and social strength we obtain—the better the people are armed in every respect—the *less bloody the revolution will be.*

Therefore, workingmen of America, organize in your unions. Join the Social-Democratic party. Think of the tremendous duty before you toward your family, your class and your nation.

Workingmen of Milwaukee, You Form the American Vanguard.

Written September 4, 1909.

For many years the ruling classes of Europe taught their dependents, the working people, that the noblest human sentiment was "patriotism," that is, the "love of their native country."

By this the rulers meant the love of institutions, which preserved *their power* over the working class, and defended them against encroachments from the governments of other lands.

* * *

This *fetich* worked well for a long time. It was deeply seated in the minds and hearts of the common people. The peasants in the country, and the workers in the towns, were always ready to take up arms against those who were born on the other side of some arbitrary geographical line.

They were always willing to rush to glory and the grave in defense of institutions in which they could have no possible interest except to *overthrow* and destroy them.

* * *

The poor clods who thus, from servile deference to

their masters, the possessing classes, exposed themselves to suffering and death, never for a moment stopped to ask themselves the question: Of what concern are all these matters to us?

Why should we French or English or German commoners fight among ourselves, and kill each other about the claims of Stuart or of the Orange; of Bourbon or Bonaparte; of the Roman pope or the Lutheran king?

Or, why should we, the common people, fight and bleed and die for the purpose of acquiring markets for the millionaire manufacturers, while we could use these products to much better advantages for ourselves, and for our wives and children?

* * *

Singularly enough, such thoughts for ages never occurred to the working people.

They had always toiled and fought and suffered for matters in which they had no real interest. For them it was considered dangerous and sinful and rebellious to think of anything else.

They had been told that "law and order" demanded that they should be exploited, and they should die for their exploiters if they so commanded.

And the "holy church" incessantly repeated the old chant that *such was the will of God*.

* * *

Not until sixty or seventy years ago there arose in Europe men of great science and deep understanding, who raised a clarion note of protest against this hellish fraud.

These men pointed out to the working people that the interests of all working classes, French, German, English, American, were one and the same. These men ex-

horted and entreated the working people of all nations no longer to let themselves be divided by arbitrary geographical lines, by rivers or mountains and by the conflicting interests of their masters, but to regard themselves as of *one class, one brotherhood*.

* * *

These men called out: "Proletarians of all the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains!

"No longer fight the battles of men whose every interest is to keep you slaves; but fight for yourselves, for the right to the full product of your toil. Join in the struggle for the abolition of class!"

* * *

The working people of France were the first to heed the call.

They declared boldly: If the old "law and order" demanded their exploitation and their misery, they were going to establish a *new law* and a *new order*.

* * *

They threw off the long-cherished superstition that they were slaves of the rich and powerful, by the "will of God."

These workmen determined that if this had been the will of God in time past, then God should make a *new will*.

And that they would help Him make it. And that they, the working people, *would be the executors of the new will of God*.

* * *

Progressive workingmen of other enlightened countries of Europe—especially Germany, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Italy, Austria, England, etc. were soon of the

same opinion, and they formed great political parties—Social-Democratic parties.

And they also formed *great unions* in every civilized nation to protect themselves against the aggressions of their former unrestrained masters. Trade unions were first organized in England. However, today Germany leads in trades unionism.

* * *

Nor did they stop at forming mere trades unions, and building political parties to seize upon the political power, but they also formed co-operative societies for the purpose of production and distribution.

So successful have these workingmen's political parties become, that in Germany, for instance, the party of the workmen, the great Social-Democracy, has polled by far the largest vote of any party in Germany. And were the law of Germany the same as in the United States, namely that officers could be elected by a plurality of the votes polled, the Socialists of Germany could probably today elect the chief executive of the nation, become the masters of the military power, and enforce their just demands above all opposition.

And the workingmen are almost as successful in Austria and in France, and have made tremendous headway in England and in the Scandinavian countries.

* * *

The first of May each year has been fixed upon by the workingmen of Europe as a day when they should universally and publicly protest against the industrial system which oppresses and crushes them.

On that day, by parades, public meetings, and eloquent speeches, they voice their protest and demand shorter hours and "reform."

And they do not stop at these. Their cry is "complete reform."

They want to abolish the present capitalist system and put in its place universal co-operation, the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution, the Socialist commonwealth.

* * *

The workingmen in Europe extend sympathies across the sea to the American workmen and say to them, "Unite with us!"

"You, of America, who work with hand and brain for wages, belong to the proletariat the same as we.

"The rate of your wages is fixed by the same economic laws which govern ours. You cannot by the old method long carry on the unequal struggle with labor-saving machinery and all-powerful combinations of capital without being reduced to a condition of direct want.

"You also must make a supreme effort to seize upon the political and economic power. You are not hampered as we are by old customs which restrict the powers of the people. In your country the ballot is supreme and you have no excuse for not seizing upon power immediately, since you are in the great majority."

* * *

But alas! the American workingmen have heretofore closed their ears to this heroic call from across the sea.

The American workmen have been taught by the protected manufacturers in Pittsburgh and elsewhere to believe that they were "better men" and "more intelligent" than the laborers of Germany or France. Therefore—by some queer logic—they *should be more willing to be exploited by the capitalist class.*

But, queer as it seems, many foolish American workmen believed this, and believe it still.

And Mr. Sam Gompers and others of the same type are trying to keep them in that belief.

* * *

We Americans have another Labor Day, the first Monday of September. On this day trade unions meet and parade. And in some cities they still meet and parade before reviewing stands filled with scheming and corrupt politicians, whose every instinct and interest is with the enemies of the working class.

These miserable prostitutes in their speeches to the workmen congratulate them that they are not like their brethren in Europe, rebellious against their employing exploiters; that they refuse to entertain "foreign ideas."

And, above all things, that they are not Socialists.

Yet in some cities the American workmen listen and wag their heads approvingly—not knowing what *gruesome idiots* they are thereby making of themselves.

* * *

But mark! that sort of thing has passed for Milwaukee! and it is rapidly passing in all other American cities. On Labor Day no scurvy politician reviews or addresses the marching workmen of this city; no battiste handkerchiefs are waved at the men from the palaces of the rich; no Civic Federation leader approves; no traitors to labor's cause sanction the labor demonstration.

A new day has dawned for Milwaukee and it is soon coming for all other cities.

Why?

* * *

Because the men who join in the procession are mak-

ing their demonstration not as servile cringers at the feet of capital, but as men who are heroically demanding the recognition of the rights of their class.

Not the right to a few cents more pay per day of the product of their labor, but to ALL the product of their toil.

Our Milwaukee organized workingmen know that men gain the full product of their labor only by becoming the *owners* of the *means of production*. Hence they inscribe this demand upon their banners.

Hence they have built up the Social-Democratic party. They vote for it and will fight for it—if necessary.

All hail! you workingmen and working women of Milwaukee—you form the American vanguard of the greatest and most beneficial revolution this world has ever seen.

The Form of Government Is of Little Consequence.

WRITTEN SEPTEMBER 11, 1909.

What is the difference between a republic and a monarchy as far as the condition of the masses is concerned?

* * *

Aside from such natural advantages as our country may afford, do the masses of today, under the rule of our republic, differ strikingly from the masses under the rule of a king?

Do the favored few enjoy less wealth, less luxuries,

less influence? The glories of monarchy have departed, but the miseries of the people remain. The contrasts which offended their sense of right and aroused their just resentment two hundred years ago, are still visible on all sides. The workmen are as overshadowed today by an opulent class in America and France, as they were formerly by a noble class in France and England.

* * *

Rapaciousness in the upper circles, far from diminishing, has increased; greed is allowed to run unbridled by any law. The favorites of Industry in every country have outstripped the favorites of Royalty.

In our republic even more than in some monarchies, they are permitted to feed on the public, and grow rich at our expense. They, too, dwell in palaces, are surrounded by magnificence, and display their affluence as though to mock those from whom they draw their revenue. They realize profits and amass fortunes which bring out, with more vividness than ever before, the difference between the two elements of society, the rich and the poor.

* * *

Now, more than ever, accumulation and waste are seen on one side, want and suffering on the other.

Instead of feudalism, capitalism is dominant, instead of Henry VIII, Mammon is king. On him has fallen the mantle of sovereignty; before him the respectful bearing; to him the obsequious bow. Everything is brushed aside to make room for the Majesty of the Moneybag.

* * *

Wherein, then, so far as actual effects go, consists the

much talked-of superiority of the republican over the monarchical system?

* * *

A large portion of the population, even those with education and industry, are not only unable to better their situation, but have to struggle constantly to maintain existence. On the other hand, a small portion, who are strangers to toil and to whom education is a mere adornment, partake of conditions which, from a material standpoint, it would be difficult to better.

It is therefore manifest that the latter have at their disposal something which the former have not; something, the possession of which implies an enormous advantage in promoting the improvement of one's condition, since it alone can bring about results which industry and education combined often strive vainly to obtain. This something, so marvelously effective in its operation, so all-sufficient to its possessors, is wealth.

* * *

This, in the complex adjustments of our social organism, is the most potent factor in bringing about an amelioration of the circumstances of the individual.

For it matters not under what form of government—constitutional or despotic, monarchical or republican—man lives, his environment is likely to be little affected thereby. Whether he is a Jew or Gentile, Protestant or Catholic, does not determine what advantages he shall enjoy. Whether he has political rights or not, does not, per se, improve his condition in life. But whether he be poor or rich does most materially affect his condition.

* * *

He may change his divinities or his rulers, or his opinions, and there will be no change in his station;

but let the size of his purse be changed one way or the other and lo! he and his surroundings are immediately altered, and the world is to him as a new world.

His powers, his actions, his desires are amplified or restricted.

He appears as a god amongst men, or as a menial amongst gods.

* * *

So manifest, indeed, is the superiority which wealth gives its possessor; so great is the contrast between the opulent class and the poor class, that there is some excuse for the impression which prevails among certain members of the former, that they are of a *race* superior to the latter.

* * *

To the child of fortune is given the golden key which opens to him the wide world. He is a free man—free to do what fancy suggests; free to wander where pleasure calls him. He is enabled to secure all physical and all mental enjoyments and attainments. Respect, consideration, distinction, yes—and love, are within his easy reach. Abundance, superfluity attend him on every side.

He is given all things till overtaken by satiety.

Leisure and luxury, so craved by many, to him become monotonous.

He grows weary of indulgence in those pleasures which the multitudes never taste.

* * *

The poor man, on the contrary, though he hears much of sweet liberty, is a slave to adverse circumstances. His hands are chained, his movements circumscribed, his wishes ungratified. He searches often in vain for

an outlet for whatever reserve of effort, energy, and ambition he may possess.

Intelligent, educated he may be, refined and cultured he may be, yet he may be unable, through lack of capital, to work for himself, and he may not even be allowed the privilege of working for others. He gazes at this immense earth, and yet cannot lay claim to a single inch thereof. He lingers at the threshold of the highways of the world and, not having wherewith to pay toll, finds the gates closed to him.

He is forced into an inferior position without his fault, he must carry the odium of being a "failure" without his being to blame.

He cannot rise, for there are innumerable and often insurmountable obstacles in the way of his rising. No matter what his capacity or ability, the occasion to use these being denied him, he must walk his lowly path.

* * *

Yet the rich and poor are human. Both draw life from the same source, both dwell under the same azure roof. Both may be equally favored by the hand of nature. But, surely, both have not been equally favored by the laws of man.

* * *

The advantages which the few who control great wealth have over those who own little or none, are too evident to require being elaborately dwelt upon.

The opportunities which riches offer in the acquiring of knowledge, of culture and refinement, as well as the comforts and luxuries of life, are sufficient proof that they are powerful instruments in improving, not only our mental, but our material condition.

Under existing conditions, wealth is the embodiment

of power. Without it, all the crowns and sceptres are nothing.

* * *

Possession or non-possession alone decides whether one's position shall be high or low, considered or despised.

It determines whether our bodies shall enjoy plenty or suffer want; whether our minds shall know peace, our sojourn on this planet shall be one of pleasure or of misery, one of toil or of leisure.

It regulates the quantity and the quality of the desirable, or necessary things one may acquire.

It prescribes how much liberty one may claim; how much of that precious measure of life—called time—he may call his own.

In fact, it affects the condition and the happiness of every individual of a nation.

* * *

In short, since wealth is the admitted means of satisfying man's most natural, most reasonable, most legitimate desires, it is manifest that democratic rule, that a republic aiming to benefit the people at large, far from allowing one to monopolize wealth, should devise means to secure its *distribution among the greatest possible number.*

And this can only be done by the introduction of Socialism, otherwise all the political changes effected during the last two centuries amount to little or nothing, and "sovereignty" of the citizen is a mere bubble.

Diogenes called a Croesus would still remain what he was, and Croesus named Diogenes would be none the less rich.

We want facts, not phrases.

Do We Want Progress by Catastrophe and Bloodshed or by Common Sense?

WRITTEN SEPTEMBER 25, 1909.

THE GREATEST DANGER that can befall the Socialist movement—except sectarianism—is the rule of catch-words and phrases.

One of the words used most frequently by clear-cut and truly class-conscious, real, proletarian Socialists, is the word "revolutionary" in antagonism to "evolutionary." These men—they are usually ex-preachers, ex-lawyers or ex-physicians, who want to tell the workingmen what to do—seem not to know that there has always been a quiet and gradual evolution—an evolution in which not only each national struggle, but every national catastrophe was a part.

* * *

Considering the many examples which might be cited, we distinguish two uses of the word "evolution." First its larger use, which includes every sort of development, regular or irregular, swift or slow, spasmodic or steady. Secondly, its more restricted use, which confines it to the more regular processes, to growth in the main, even and peaceful.

So much for the meaning of the word "evolution."

* * *

By the word "revolution" we usually denote a more or less violent convulsion—or a catastrophe. To play

with this phrase is exceedingly silly—especially when people at large are not armed, nor in any other way prepared for an uprising,

The revolutionary phrase almost brought on a catastrophe of late in Sweden—but it undoubtedly would have been a catastrophe to the working people.

* * *

I do not want to say that armed resistance is useless or that it will not occur. We shall surely have uprisings and bloodshed—and the *more bloodshed* the less the people as a whole are armed. An armed people would make a peaceable solution of the question very probable—because then *both sides* would be sure to yield.

However, I want to bring out as strongly as possible that a bloody uprising or a “catastrophe” is nothing to be wished for, nothing to be played with, even in thought.

* * *

There are many examples of this violent progress in history.

But there is not one that any friend of humanity or any sane friend of progress would wish to see repeated, or that would now be repeated if the people who went through them could again have the choice of ways after the experience.

And oddly enough, almost always among the men entrusted with leadership in such times, there was one man or another who could see the right path, and who pointed it out, but to whom the people would not listen.

Evolution by right reason was not to be, because the ultra-conservatives on one side and the ultra-radicals on the other would have none of it.

So they had evolution by catastrophe, invariably much

to the disadvantage and misfortune of the cause they pretended to serve.

* * *

Let us take the *French revolution*, for instance.

In the time of Louis XVI, the greatest statesman of France was undoubtedly the physiocrat Turgot.

When Turgot became minister of France he immediately strove to develop free political institutions by a natural process, and thus avert a catastrophe. Turgot saw that the old feudal system was doomed, that a new era must come. By vast comprehensive political measures he sought to develop an environment which would fit the people gradually and safely for the possession of their rights, which would lead into the new system.

France stood at the parting of the ways. Could the nation have gone on in the path of peaceful evolution marked out by Turgot, it is, according to human foresight, reasonably certain that constitutional liberty would have been reached within a few years and substantial republicanism not long after; that was all the eighteenth century could possibly achieve.

There was then no proletariat in the present sense of the word.

Had Turgot succeeded, what weary years would have been avoided—the terror of the guillotine, the despotism of the recruiting officer; twenty years of ferocious war; millions of violent deaths; billions of treasure flung into the gulfs of hatred or greed!

* * *

But on the other side, against Turgot, stood the forces which unconsciously and involuntarily made for progress by catastrophe—the conservative court in Versailles, the leading nobles, the leading churchmen.

And *hating them, but really their truest allies* for a revolution, stood the radical element—Robespierre, St. Just, Marat and their friends.

Both sets of fanatics, conservative and radical, worked together for a bloody *revolution*.

So there was progress by catastrophe.

History records the Paris massacres, the La Vendee massacres, the Avignon massacres; the Red terror and the White terror; revolutionary wars and imperial wars; Jacobin despotism and Napoleonic despotism. There was a sea of fanaticism and of hypocrisy; the fanatics perished, almost all of them; the hypocrites almost all survived. There were numberless bloody battles. The downfall of Napoleon, the Bourbon reaction, the revolution of 1848, the June massacres, Napoleon III, the December massacres, the Napoleonic reaction, the downfall of Napoleon III, the Commune and the Pere La Chaise massacres—a whole long line of sterile revolutions and futile tyrannies, each bringing forth a new spawn of intriguers, doctrinaires and phrase-makers, schemers and tyrants. And as a result of it all, such a weak republic that nine or ten years ago it was only saved by the Socialists from again becoming an old style monarchy.

Such is the experience with catastrophes in France during the last hundred years or so.

* * *

Take next our *American civil war*.

All men now see that this bloody contest against slavery was drawing on many years before 1861; but some Americans saw it then and they tried to avert it.

Only one man presented a great and simple measure. That man was Henry Clay. Himself a Virginian by birth, he proposed to extinguish slavery gradually by

a small national sacrifice. His plan was to begin at a certain year to purchase and emancipate all newly born slaves, until gradually through the extinction of the older negroes by death, and the enfranchisement of the younger by purchase, slavery would disappear.

It was a great plan. A similar one was adopted later in Brazil and worked excellently. Clay's plan might have cost the United States twenty-five millions of dollars. *But fanatics on both sides opposed it.*

The slave barons of the South would have none of it, for it was contrary to their theory that slavery was a blessing, sanctioned by the bible and embedded in the constitution.

The Abolitionists of the North would have none of it, because it was contrary to their theory that one man ought not to buy another.

The result we all know. Slavery was indeed abolished, but, instead of being abolished by a peaceful evolution, without bloodshed and with an outlay of only twenty-five million dollars, it was abolished by one of the most fearful of modern revolutions—at a cost (when all the loss is reckoned in) of ten thousand millions of dollars, and of nearly, if not quite, a million of lives, among them some of the noblest the nation had to give.

Thus we had political and social progress by catastrophe rather than by growth—progress not by evolution, but by “revolution.”

History is full of such examples.

* * *

The question now arises, is this the necessary law of human progress?

Must the future of mankind be no better than the past?

A capitalist orator has recently answered this question with a phrase. He tells us that "all great reforms must be baptized in blood." Karl Marx made a similar statement. He told us "that force is the midwife at the birth of every new epoch." Ferdinand Lasalle expressed the same opinion.

Most Socialists accept this belief as warranted by human nature.

And almost involuntarily the writer of this article is inclined to take the view, as there seems to be much in history to support it.

Take even the simplest principles of political liberty.

Before they could be secured in England, one king lost his head, another his crown. Take the simplest thing in religion, the principle of toleration; before it could be established, the world had to wade through the religious wars and horrors of the sixteenth century, the thirty years' war—and battles, massacres and executions innumerable.

The possibilities of human *unreason* are indeed vast, and the social question, the problem of abolishing wage slavery and giving to every worker the full product of his labor, is greater and farther reaching than any that humanity has hitherto encountered.

* * *

But, after all, this is no cause for rejoicing, and there is every reason to look for another way out. And if we look closer into the history of the past there is also much to give us hope. The very law of evolution itself seems to encourage us. It would seem that not only better results, but better methods are gradually evolved.

Before all, in almost every civilized country the working people now have the ballot, the *right to vote*.

This is the first instance in the history of the world that the oppressed class has virtually the same political basis as the ruling class, the oppressors.

The proletariat outnumbers the capitalist class most effectively, and actually has the fate of every country in its hands, if the proletariat can make terms with the farmers.

The existence of great Social-Democratic political organizations in every civilized country shows this more hopeful side of human progress.

* * *

The excellent party discipline, without "bossism," as shown by the Socialist parties in Germany, France and lately also in Belgium and Sweden, is another encouraging sign, because a large and well disciplined body of men can, under favorable conditions, enforce great concessions without recourse to physical force and bloodshed.

That bloody battles are not always necessary for progress was proved in 1688 in English history, when the bloody revolution against the Stuart was sealed by a peaceful one. And again in the year 1832, when England was put on a democratic basis. And it has also been shown by various peaceful reforms in almost every civilized country during the last twenty years.

And especially in *our country*, where the ballot is supposed to be well-nigh almighty in things politic, it is well worth while to try all kinds of social reforms—municipal, state and national.

Such reforms will not only mitigate the burdens of the present and the next generation and strengthen the power of resistance of the proletariat, but also fit it for the part it intends to play. Nay more, it will make that

part possible by furnishing political *power* to the workmen.

* * *

This great question of tactics, therefore, is more than a mere question of methods.

If the development of the race is to go on, the *social problem* brought about by the economic development *must be solved*.

But the question is also: Are we to secure the change, as so often in the past, by a century or two of revolutions, contra-revolutionary reactions, bloodshed and new revolutions—or can we reach our next goal in civilization by reason and the spirit of humanity?

It is for *both sides*—the capitalists and the proletariat—to answer this question.

The Profit System Knows no Creed.

WRITTEN OCTOBER 9, 1909.

A RELIGIOUS newspaper makes the assertion: That modern materialism has degraded the workingmen to machines, and that "godless Socialism" is now proceeding to lower them to "brute beasts."

It goes without saying that this pious paper is a "pious fraud."

* * *

To begin with, materialistic liberalism is far from having degraded human beings and workingmen to machines. It has indeed made men the servants of machines. It furthermore strives on one hand to justify

this degradation of the workingmen effected by social conditions; while on the other hand it seeks to blind the workingman to his degradation by means of all sorts of vested rights and privileges.

Socialism, however, will free the workingmen from the weakness and wretchedness of his degradation and make him a *man* once more. It will make the machine the man's servant—the machine which today is his master.

* * *

Of course, we admit that the capitalistic mode of production has degraded the workingman to a living appendage of the machine, and compelled him to sacrifice his human dignity to capitalistic profit.

* * *

But religion or irreligion has *nothing to do with it*.

The capitalistic method of production agrees just as well with Judaism as with the Chinese religion. It fits to Christianity as to materialistic liberalism.

We have never heard of any church or religious body that has condemned capitalism, or the production of surplus value and profit at the expense of the well-being of the laboring class, as irreligious and incompatible with the creed.

However bitterly Jews, Christians, heathens and free-thinkers may contend together on matters of faith, their *social faith* (if they belong to the *upper class*) is the same.

It consists in this *one* article, that the capitalistic form of society *is the best we can have*—that it is the only one which has any right to existence.

* * *

The majority of the men and women who live by the

labor of the masses and who therefore have participated in the degradation of the workingmen, belong to some religious body or church, and yet they do not feel disturbed by this one bit—on the contrary they consider themselves good churchmen.

In Europe some of the Roman Catholic monasteries and nunneries are great “business institutions.” And it remained for the Socialists to show up what beastly and inhuman employers they are in most cases, because they had even the advantage of being furnished orphans, fallen women, unfortunate men, etc, as workers.

However, the average capitalist, whether Christian, Jew or heathen, is subject to the economic laws of today. And those who are free-thinkers or adherents of materialistic liberalism obey the same social laws which control all capitalistic society.

They make *all they can* out of their workmen, just like the Christians and Jews.

Surplus value and profit have nothing to do with religious dogma, for they fit in well with any of these creeds.

And this cannot be otherwise.

* * *

Let us take a most Christian capitalist, for instance. If he expects a return from his capital on which he can live, he must invest it *profitably*.

Let us suppose that he invests it in railway stock, which pays him good dividends, or in a factory which yields him a considerable profit, or in a business which brings him in a considerable gain. Workmen are continually necessary to work with the capital and produce the surplus value which the capitalist receives as dividends, profit, gain, ground rent and so on to heart's con-

tent. Workmen must be made use of so that the capital may not only remain intact, but *increase* and furnish the *owner* with an *income*.

But the conditions under which the workmen are made use of are *not* created by the individual capitalist employer, but by the state of the labor market, and the general conditions of production.

The most Christian employer can pay no more than the heathen, the free-thinker or the Jew.

* * *

Suppose that a philanthropic manufacturer should pay his workmen much higher wages and insure them other favorable conditions of labor which they do not have in other places.

What would be the inevitable consequence?

The good man would no longer be a match for competition, and he would soon—very soon, too—see before him the alternative—either to pay his workmen as poorly as his competitors pay theirs, or wind up his business.

It is capitalism which prescribes conditions in our present society. To these conditions even the individual capitalist or employer is subjected, whatever may be his own private inclination.

Capitalism compels the capitalist to be cruel and brutal.

Capitalism makes workmen the living appendages of machines.

Only *Socialism*, the aim of which is the *abolition* of *capitalism*, will make the laborer a man once more.

How?

By withdrawing capital from individual control and making it the common property of the whole people.

By making society master of its social means of existence and thus giving it a chance to fit the production of

goods to its necessities, instead of fitting its necessities to the despotism of capital.

By freeing the capitalist from the necessity of being a tyrant to his workmen, and the workmen from the necessity of selling themselves to the capitalist for starvation wages and sacrificing their human dignity to capitalist profit.

* * *

And the "good" Christian paper calls this aim of Socialists the lowering of men to the level of brute beasts!

Ah ye pious humbugs, consider the horrible conditions under which thousands and tens of thousands of our fellow men rot away in the midst of our "Christian civilization," and then tell us, who has ground down these wretches to the level of beasts?

Only Socialism can help these unfortunates.

Present society has nothing for them but disgust and suspicion—the prison and the gallows.

* * *

Workingmen of all nations and all denominations, throw off your medieval prejudices! Throw off the yoke of clericalism and hellish superstition which has cost the lives of untold millions. Be strong! Be fearless! Be free! And even you may yet be happy. Then your descendants will surely be happy.

How to Make the Change.

WRITTEN NOVEMBER 27, 1909.

[The following from the pen of Victor L. Berger, is reproduced this week by request of a western reader. It was written in answer to "A Late Comer," who asked this question: "It seems to me that in the 'Social-Democratic Herald' you often stand for a somewhat different school of Socialism from the other Socialist papers I read. Will you not please inform me how you are to make it possible for a *Transition* to Socialism to take place?"]

We do not need at all "to make it possible." The transition is coming quite of itself. In a certain sense, we find ourselves in it at the present day.

Socialism is the name of an epoch of civilization—the *next* epoch, if our civilization is to continue in existence.

We must not expect that the Socialist era will come all at one stroke. Neither capitalism nor feudalism arose "at a certain date," nor can the Socialist form of society have its beginning on any fixed day.

* * *

Besides, although capitalistic society has already passed its zenith, yet even at the present day *feudalism* holds a very important place in modern society.

This is the case not only in Germany, in spite of its high economic development, but also in England, the "classic land" of capitalism.

Just so with any revolution.

Capitalism will not vanish in one day, in one year or in one decade. Even after the triumph of the proletariat, the commonwealth cannot take upon itself all kinds of production.

* * *

Many industries today are not at all concentrated, and therefore are not yet ripe for this. Some will become so in time, others perhaps will not. The editor of this paper is no prophet, and will not attempt to predict details.

However, the trusts are now showing the Social-Democrats how they must do it, only they will have to do it from a Socialist standpoint and for the benefit of all the people.

* * *

It is not necessary that all industries should be immediately taken over by the Socialist republic, or as many Socialists prefer to say, by the "Socialist society."

Every branch of production controlled by a trust, as well as all industries which could be conducted on a similar scale, besides railways, telegraphs, mines, etc., will, of course become collective public property.

But there is a whole class of industries which are not yet ready to be worked on this large scale or which are liable to be decentralized by the technical perfection of the methods of transmitting power. These without any objection may remain in private hands.

We refer to certain petty industries, as well as mainly to agriculture.

* * *

In all such cases the Socialist state can give the opportunity for the formation of associations which, together

with the model industries directed by the state, will raise the level of the workers in these branches to a degree incredible at the present time.

The chief reason why workingmen's associations have been impossible hitherto, has *even now been removed by the trusts*, and, of course, will be of still less account at the rise of the political power of the proletariat.

As long as the former anarchial condition of production prevailed, workingmen's productive associations, started usually with *very little capital* or with outside *capital*.

They were, therefore, especially subject to bankruptcy. They were compelled to produce continually in order to support their members, and not having any control of the market, they did not know how much to produce. And consequently, with their insufficient or borrowed capital, they quickly went to the wall when there was any difficulty in the market.

* * *

But this is now quite different.

The trusts show how a regulated business can be done.

The management of the workingmen's associations will find out what the demand is, and determine the what, how and how much of production.

During the transition period the sale of products may take place exactly as at present, only subject to regulation by the government which will be in the hands of the working class.

* * *

◀ In the trusts, the capitalist class even *now* plays the most superfluous role in the world.

Indeed, in the trusts the capitalist class is already ex-

propriated to a certain extent; for they no longer have anything to control, and only draw their profits.

Their industries are apparently the property of the shareholders; but what sort of property is that of which one has not the free disposal?

They can no longer produce what they will, nor at what price they will, nor with what workmen they will; all, all is prescribed to them by the management of the trust. Properly speaking, the shareholders are not the owners, they are only the profit-receivers.

* * *

Why, then, if the proletariat gets political power, should workingmen's associations not be possible, which, instead of the capitalists, will own the factories where the workmen themselves will choose the managers and themselves receive the profits?

Of course, at the same time, many industries, all of those of national magnitude, could be carried on by the government. Where necessary, the government could make some agreement with the productive associations of workers.

We speak of the transition period.

* * *

In this transition period, the Socialist government, of course, can lend the necessary capital to the productive societies and furnish suitable guarantees.

The government in this transition period will have at its disposal quite different powers than it has at present.

For instance, it will have a monopoly of all *water power, coal mines, railroads, rivers, electrical plants, etc.*

So, perhaps for a time a state of affairs may arise which will combine at the same time the *three* forms of production; the capitalistic in petty industries, where

goods will be produced for the market; the co-operative, in which the products will also be for sale; and the purely socialistic, where the government will carry on production for use only, and the product will not take the form of wares at all.

* * *

That all this will take place peacefully, I do not maintain. However, it surely will not come peacefully if the people are not armed.

But riots and bloodshed do not seem to us at all desirable. Nor do I believe that one great revolution can turn topsy-turvy the whole civilized world, and undo or make superfluous any economic development.

* * *

Capitalism was necessary to give mankind dominion over the forces of nature, which is now assured by our scientific attainments.

Considered in itself, capitalism has by no means reached that point of time where it becomes impossible. On the contrary, in the trust system, it has just stepped into a new phase, the duration of which is unlimited according to our present light.

Of course, from a civilizing force, capitalism has already become a menace to civilization. But that does not affect its vitality!

However, the tendencies which oppose it have now gathered such strength that a thorough change—*must* not indeed—but *can* take place, if the working class understands its mission.

In conclusion let me also say that the *world's history is always* made by men, and is not a mere natural process, as some Marxists want us to believe.

The Women Must Find the Profits For the Trusts.

WRITTEN FEBRUARY 5, 1910.

One more question to you, madam. Have you noticed that the prices of all the necessaries of life, have gone up as they never went up before?

Of course, you have noticed that they were very high. But do you know that the American prices on January 1, 1910, were the highest ever recorded?

* * *

According to statistics, breadstuffs, which were, to use an average figure, 52 cents on July 1, 1896—were 99 cents on September 1, 1907, and \$1.02 on July 1, 1910.

It is true that because of the general outcry, some prices have fallen slightly, about one-half per cent wholesale.

What if they did? *Even so, most prices are higher than they ever were known to be before.* And the chances are that they will hold their own this year.

* * *

We should like to know, madam, how you manage to feed your family on the money you get.

How do you manage to make ends meet, especially at the close of the week?

Did you ever think about it yourself?

* * *

No doubt this last year has been very hard on you.

Food prices especially have gone up to figures they have never before reached.

But it has been found by statistics that more than half of the total income of a workingman's family is spent for food.

* * *

And that is natural enough. Before all things, one must eat.

The rent may be stood off. The clothing may be patched. The family may be cold. But the children *must eat*. And so must the grown people.

Now, what will you do with your family, madam?

* * *

The wealthy people say that you do not know how to save, madam.

But how can you save?

Because the average workingman is *poor*, his family is unable to practice such ordinary economies as the middle class think most necessary.

The wife buys one cake of soap for 5 cents, when 25 cents would buy six cakes. She buys one can of tomatoes at a time for 10 cents, when six cans may be bought for 50 cents, etc.

* * *

For the workingman who earns \$750 a year, which is more than the average workingman earns in Milwaukee, we can say the following:

His family is underfed; is almost ragged; is cold in winter; is huddled, six or seven persons, in four rooms; is without sanitation; is weighted down by debts; is a prey to Shylocks; is in wretched surroundings; and is in a daily race with starvation.

For meat, the average family eats sausage, cheap stew meat, pork, and sometimes the cheapest round steak.

And they are mighty glad to get that. Half the year the family uses no eggs.

The only luxury is tobacco for the head of the family. And in some families, an occasional pint of beer.

* * *

Certain papers are beginning to print all sorts of fine recipes; how you can live on cornstarch alone, for 3 cents a day. But I would advise you not to try it.

Others tell you how you could live on nuts alone. But nuts have gone up fearfully of late. You would better cut them out.

Still others—among them an *archbishop*—claim that your family eats too much, and that you do not know how to cook.

So what are you going to do about it?

* * *

This is a great country, and produces all we need. We produce so many things of all kinds, particularly foodstuffs, that we send them all over the world. And if there should not be enough, we could easily produce ten times as much.

Wise men tell us that the Mississippi Valley alone could raise food enough to feed the inhabitants of the whole world.

And yet steady, industrious working people make hardly the barest kind of a bare living.

And that is your case also, if you are the wife of a workingman, of a clerk, of a teacher, a clergyman, or a small business man.

And do you know the reason for this ungodly rise of the means of livelihood? Do you know it is not a bad harvest, that it is not because things did not grow, nor because cattle cannot be raised?

It is simply because everything is in the hands of a few *trusts*.

They not only control the packing houses, but through their *cold storage houses* and *magazines* control also the poultry, the butter and the fruit.

And through their *elevators* they control the wheat, which naturally influences the price of bread.

The railroads do the rest.

* * *

The trust owners, of course, need the money.

The average New York plutocrat spends \$400,000 a year for his household and living expenses—that means 500 times more than a workingman's family gets whose head has steady employment.

There are 100 women in New York who each spend \$30,000 a year for dresses, and 1,000 who spend \$15,000 a year each.

Quite a number of our millionaires own plates of solid gold and there are rich families who boast of china costing \$5,000 a dozen.

* * *

A hundred thousand dollars would not even pay the *interest* on the money spent for trinkets which are worn every evening at the Metropolitan opera by the rich women in the boxes. There are a number of New York women that boast that their jewelry costs them half a million dollars. A single pearl necklace was recently sold at Tiffany's for \$200,000. There are fifty New York men who wear link cuff buttons worth \$5,000 a pair.

So the capitalists need the money.

* * *

The stables of the horses and the dog kennels of the millionaires are infinitely nicer than your house.

There are some poodle dogs that wear diamond studded necklaces costing \$10,000 or more.

And no matter how pretty and good your child may be, it will never have as good a living in this world as a millionaire's dog or horse—if capitalism is to last.

* * *

There is only one way in which we can stop this starvation brought about artificially by a handful of sharks in human form.

The *nation* must get *possession* of the *trusts*, and thus get possession of the most necessary means of livelihood for the people.

We have spoken to your husband about this. Maybe he understands. But it is also possible that he has not given any thought to this matter.

* * *

Now we want to speak to *you*. We know you have at heart the welfare of your children, the welfare of your family.

We want *you* to think of your *present* condition. We want you to think of your *future*, of your old age.

We want you to think what will become of you and your children if your husband should get out of work?

What will become of you and your children if your husband should become sick, if he should die?

* * *

Think of all this, if your husband does not.

And then answer this question: Is the *Social-Democratic* party right or not, when it tries to unite the workingmen and the poor people generally in order to change this system, so that you and your children and your neighbor and her children shall be taken care of now and be assured for the future?

For the Social-Democratic party expects to find its strongest ally in the home. The Social-Democratic party expects to find an ally in every woman who loves her husband and her children.

And the Social-Democratic party is entitled to the help of every woman. It fights especially for woman and the home.

It fights for *better economic conditions*—that means a fight for greater prosperity and greater happiness for every woman.

Women can only be happy when they can keep their children comfortable, well-fed, well-dressed—when they can have a good home for them.

* * *

Women are spending the money of the wage-earners for the benefit of the home. Therefore women are the principal victims of the trust exploitation.

* * *

It is the woman who must find the profits for the trusts out of her household money. It is the woman who must find the dividends on the watered trust stocks and who must find the dividends for the beef trust, the coal trust, the ice trust, the gas trust, the cotton trust, the woolen trust and all the other trusts.

The woman is doing all the managing. And she must do all the worrying to make possible the enormous trust profits.

She bears the brunt of the criminal taxation of the people by the trust and the trust government.

* * *

Therefore, we want you to see that your husband or young grown-up son gets some reading matter about the *Social-Democratic party*.

It is the greatest workingman's party in the world, and has done much good for the workingmen and the poor people all over the world. And it has also made a good record in Milwaukee.

This literature will explain how the Social-Democratic party intends to proceed so that the nation may get possession of the trusts and return to the common people what is their natural heritage, because it is the working people who have made it *all*.

* * *

And remember, madam, every vote for the Social-Democratic party is a *knock* for the trust and a *boost* for you and your children. Every vote for the *Social-Democratic party* helps to make your bread cheaper, and your old age more secure.

Tell your husband to get our reading matter. It will cost you nothing. And it cannot hurt him or you.

* * *

If you do not agree with us, you need not accept our ideas.

But if you do, then help us to make this life better, nicer and more worth living.

In What Respect Are We Better Off?

· WRITTEN JULY 2, 1910.

Next Monday we will celebrate the Fourth of July—celebrate the anniversary of the day when we cut loose from England.

The eagle will "scream." And we shall hear much about our "blessed liberties" and that wonderful constitution of the United States.

* * *

But in *what respect* are our people *more free* than the people of England?

In what respect is our *written* constitution superior to the *unwritten* constitution of England—unless it be that America is ruled by a plutocratic oligarchy, while England is in the hands of a capitalistic aristocracy.

* * *

However, there is this to be said in favor of the English constitution: it can be changed at any time by a simple act of parliament, while it required a bloody war of four years to make a comparatively slight change in ours.

Otherwise, it may be said as a general principle that a man must have money in America as in England in order to buy food, clothes and shelter. And that if a man has no capital he must work for wages in America as in England. And the effect of the introduction of

machinery into our methods of production is no different in this country than in England or any other country.

Sifting things to the bottom—the great masses of the American people are no better off because the “Fourth of July, 1776,” has happened.

* * *

The Declaration of Independence is the document that is supposed to contain the cardinal principles of the American republic and the American mode of government. It is a great document, far superior to the constitution of the United States—which was never more than a miserable compromise between a few men who stood for wealth and a few men who stood for ideas.

* * *

Right in the beginning of the Declaration of Independence we find a beautiful phrase. “All men are created equal” and are endowed “with certain inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.”

Is this phrase true?

* * *

“All men are created equal.” This may be true.

But do they live equal? Do they die equal?

The child of the poor is born in a hovel surrounded by misery and poverty from its first moments. There are three chances to one that it will not survive the first year. And even if it does, there is a life of misery before it, dangers of sickness tenfold as great, temptations to crime and prostitution a thousand times as great as for the child of the rich. If it safely passes all these perils, a life of drudgery is before it, ended by an early death, which is often to be considered a boon since it saves the victim from the poor house.

Usually this poor person has not even a claim on heaven, never having belonged to any church, and knowing little or nothing about religion, which is a more or less costly article.

“All men are created equal!”

* * *

How about the child of the rich, surrounded by all comforts and protections which paternal love and money can furnish? He grows up in comfort and security and receives an excellent education. His life is a round of pleasure mingled perhaps with as much work as is necessary to health.

Unless killed early by excessive luxury or riotous living, he can live to a ripe old age, honored and loved by every one as a pillar of society and the church.

And if he gives money to charities and churches, when he dies he has even a very good claim to a reserved seat in heaven.

* * *

It is a phrase which did well enough in its time, but which now, like most phrases, has become a lie.

The reason? The struggle for existence has changed entirely since the days of Jefferson and Paine. All that was needed in those days was to give every individual a chance to fight it out for himself.

This great country was undeveloped, and there were thousands of chances for everybody to make a decent and honorable living and to prove that all men are created equal.

* * *

In those days there was some sense in the motto, “Every man for himself.”

However, since the development of the capitalist sys-

tem, with machinery and railways, this rule has led to the struggle of all against all. Most men are compelled to be what they are by an inhuman competition.

Competition now means, "Do everybody because everybody will do you."

It is competition which causes the labor of women and children.

It is competition which finally winds up by *killing competition* and creating the *trust*.

* * *

True, it is said that we are "all equal before the law," and that in this sense the phrase that all men are created equal has become the truth.

But are we equal before the law? We are, if we have money enough to get a good lawyer.

* * *

There is a flood of laws passed every year.

How many of these laws are for the purpose of protecting the poor, the weak and the helpless?

Very few. Most of them are simply enacted for the protection of "life and property," that is, protection of the property of those who have it, and protection of the life of those whose lives are worth something in a capitalistic sense.

There is no protection for those who have no property whatever. The life of the miner who goes down in the bowels of the earth, several hundred feet deep—the life of the man who works in a big factory—receives scanty, or no protection

Yet under the protection of the law the sugar trust made one hundred and ten millions profit last year. The steel trust made even more. The Pacific Railway com-

pany and every other thievish combine have the protection of the law.

* * *

Truly, the people learn slowly in this country.

The Only Way For the People to Combat the Meat Trust.

WRITTEN OCTOBER 22, 1910.

THE MEAT TRUST has made its existence plainly felt in the kitchens of rich and poor. Even the government of the United States has seen fit to take action against the pork kings. Every one is talking about the trusts and the common people are against them.

* * *

In regard to the outcome of the investigation of the meat trust by the government, it is safe to say that the result will be *nothing* in the future as it was *nothing* in the past.

In other words—the meat trust and the other trusts own the government.

* * *

Every investigation of the trusts by the Republican government is a bluff.

The court could find the “guilty conspirators” in the case of the boycotting Danbury hatters quickly enough—and the court found every member of the union guilty.

But the investigators in Chicago will never find evidence against the millionaires making up the meat trust.

And the price of all kinds of meat continues to rise. It is now the highest since the war—when the country was on a greenback basis.

This meat trust has made it possible for a few men representing the private interest of a few firms to fix the price of meat, the article of consumption which next to bread, forms the most important food for 90,000,000 citizens.

* * *

The business of the new firms composing the meat trust has reached a magnitude which excludes any kind of competition. They can at their pleasure exploit the nation.

It is reported that the net earnings of the meat trust during the last twelve years amounted to over \$200,000,000 annually.

* * *

And it is not the lack of cattle which has caused the rise in meat values—no matter what the hog kings may say. This country supplies a great part of the civilized world with flesh foods.

A rational management of the existing supply would readily yield still greater increase of stock cattle than is obtained at present. But the ranchmen say that the packers oppress them.

* * *

Nor is the expense of the packing house excessive. In these plants all parts of the animals are so handled that nothing—simply nothing—is wasted.

It is the boast of the packers that they utilize everything of the pig except the squeal.

At the same time, it is well known that workmen in the packing houses belong to the poorest paid and most exploited laborers in the country.

It is really a disgrace to this country that the government has not taken some steps to change the barbaric conditions in the big packing houses in spite of the expose made a few years ago by that celebrated book, "The Jungle."

* * *

So it is an undisputed fact that neither the grower of the cattle, nor the worker in the packing house gets any advantage from the abnormal gains of the packer.

The trust simply dictates prices both for the raw material bought and for the product sold by it, and at the same time pays as little wages to its workmen as is possible to pay.

Nor is this all.

* * *

By its "route" cars, which are perambulating butcher shops, it has destroyed the retail business of the small towns, and it has been known for a long time that the retail dealers in the large cities are simply its agents.

By its cold storage houses the trust controls also the market for eggs, butter, vegetables and fruits.

* * *

Its business transactions amount to \$700,000,000 annually and this business is growing with the natural increase of the population.

* * *

And this shows plainly the nature of these exactions, that while prices within the United States have been advanced continually, those charged European consumers have been adapted to the local state of each market.

Thus, American meats are cheaper in London or Liverpool or Dublin, than they are in New York, Chicago or Milwaukee—the frozen meats of Australia compelling the reduction in Europe.

* * *

The fact is that under the Sherman law the combination of the meat packers is "illegal"—just as illegal as the blacklists against employes and the underhanded dealings against cattle dealers, which form a part of the conspiracy of the wholesale butchers against the public.

However, the Sherman anti-trust law seems to work only against the trade unions.

* * *

But what is to be done? The two "great" political parties are owned by the trusts. The leaders of the Democratic party in the East and in the South—where it still exists—are all trust men.

And the Republican party has long been known to be the favored organization of capitalists and capitalism. Taft, Root and Roosevelt are fruits of the same tree.

* * *

And La Follette might just as well expect a wolf to eat hay as expect the Republican party to become "anti-trust."

The various Republican cliques—the Insurgents, Progressives, etc.—that now steal a few Socialistic planks, will never accomplish anything and have never accomplished anything worth while anywhere. They are simply serving as a cloak to hide the iniquity of the Republican party as a whole.

* * *

These various state and local reform associations simply serve as feeders for the great capitalist political

system, by advising well-meaning men to vote that ticket in the vain hope that by some miracle the Republican party might change.

But no more can it change than a tiger can ever be made to become a domestic animal.

* * *

Even now the "Progressives" of Milwaukee are asked to vote for "Mad Mullah" Bancroft, "Sport" McGee, the \$12,000 "Uncle Ike barrel" Knell, and other notorious characters.

And the "Progressive" state central committee, and the "Progressive" county committee want the people to vote for these men.

* * *

As for the Democratic party—that is knocked out in Milwaukee pretty effectively by the Republican 20 per cent law in this state.

However, in the North it is going to pieces everywhere.

The South of our country is just waking up in a capitalistic sense. And the southern capitalists (who are invariably Democrats) want their share of the general plunder. The Democratic party of the South is down there exactly what the Republican party is here. Only the name is different.

* * *

It is silly to blame the trusts.

The trusts are in business to make more money. And they naturally try to get as much as possible for their goods.

Every small merchant does the same. The principle is the same.

The motive—the desire to make as much profit as possible—is also the same.

The difference is only that the trust does on a large scale what the small business men do on a petty scale.

* * *

And the central idea of the trusts—concentration instead of division—co-operation instead of competition—is also a perfectly correct idea.

It gives great advantages to those who avail themselves of it, in other words, to those “who are in it.”

* * *

And yet the alarm about the trusts is easily understood. The trusts just by their greatness have brought the evils of the capitalist system clearly before the eyes of every one.

The trusts have proved that under the present industrial system a small number of capitalists have it in their power to decide how much meat and how much bread we shall eat.

How much we shall spend for coal and how much for oil.

How much sugar and how much tobacco we are permitted to use.

How nicely or how poorly we shall be clothed and housed, or whether we are to own a house at all.

In short, the trusts decide how well or how ill, how long or how short a time we shall live.

* * *

The trusts, as we have said before, are a benefit to those who own them. Yet the trusts are large enough for the whole people to feel this benefit if the whole people should own the trusts.

Therefore, we Social-Democrats contend that the

whole people collectively—as a nation—should take the place of the few trust magnates and become the owner of the trusts.

* * *

Against the trusts there is no other remedy.

Progress, production on a large scale, the mighty accumulation of capital, make monopoly a necessary condition. Monopoly is here, whether we wish it or not.

The question, therefore, is only whether it shall be a private or a public monopoly.

* * *

The question is, do we wish to leave the products of this country in the control of a small number of irresponsible men, whose only interest is to exploit us up to the last limit of our endurance?

Do we wish to leave to a small clique the monopoly of all things which make life good and desirable? Do we wish to make them absolute masters of all the necessities of our lives?

Do we wish to starve in our hovels like rats? Or do we wish to fight with bomb, dagger, dynamite and shotgun?

* * *

No! No! No!

We still have one way left to try to conquer these powerful economic tyrants. We still have the ballot. This country is politically a democracy and we can avail ourselves of political power.

Down with the power of capitalism. Down with the Republican and the Democratic parties, which are upholding the present system and its exploitation and its trust robbery.

Up with the banner of Social-Democracy! Let the

people take hold of the trusts. Let the trusts be put into the possession of the whole nation. Let all of us become shareholders.

There is no other solution.

* * *

Therefore, if you really want to combat the trusts—if you really want to make a change—then vote for Social-Democratic candidates for legislature and Congress.

* * *

The election of two Social-Democratic congressmen from Wisconsin will send a cold shiver down the spine of every trust.

And it is bound to affect the high prices.

What Makes Us Willing to Work and to Sacrifice?

WRITTEN DECEMBER 3, 1910.

IT is not overstating the fact when I say that the eyes of all the thinking men in this country—without distinction of party or class—are upon us just now and will be upon us for some time to come.

* * *

In fact, one might think from what some of the newspapers say about us, that Victor Berger is a Jengis Khan, who is going to destroy civilization within the next two or three years; and from others that this same Victor Berger is the greatest genius and benefactor of humanity that has lived in many a century.

Well, so much is safe to say—Victor Berger's head is not going to be turned in the least by the unprecedented newspaper fame and notoriety he is getting nowadays.

* * *

And not only in this country, but also in Europe, the recent election of Victor Berger to Congress created quite a sensation.

French and German Socialists have been making a great deal of the victory in their papers and party conventions. The victory has been celebrated in many meetings and in many banquets by workmen in France, Germany and Austria.

* * *

And one can easily understand the reason for this.

It was always a reproach to the Socialists in Germany, France, England and Austria—that the Socialist Party has not made any headway in the United States. The European comrades were told that while they were fighting capitalism at home, in the most capitalistic republic of the world, in the United States, Socialism had made no headway—in spite of the political freedom the workmen are supposed to enjoy here. That not a single representative of the working class—not a single Social-Democrat—sat in the national law-giving body in America.

Thus the battle won November the 8th in Milwaukee has an international significance. And that is the reason why the class-conscious workmen from "London to Buda Peth, and from St. Petersburg to Palermo," now rejoice—to use a figure of speech of the Milwaukee Sentinel.

* * *

However, the international significance of this Mil-

waukee victory only adds to the responsibility of the comrades.

Milwaukee comrades must never forget for one moment what they owe to the movement of the country and to the movement of the world.

They should never forget that while they must make good in Milwaukee county, this is only a little part of their problem.

In fact, it is only an incident.

* * *

They must, of course, make good in the administration. They must, therefore, get the best possible material for every office—Socialists wherever political affiliation is a requirement—men with knowledge, without any regard for party, wherever technical ability is paramount.

* * *

Comrades and non-comrades alike—friends and foes alike—must never forget that this party was not started and built up for the purpose of getting political jobs for fifty or for five hundred. This party was started for the emancipation of the working class.

Comrades and non-comrades alike—friends and foes alike—must never forget that this party was not started and built up solely for the purpose of giving Milwaukee County a good administration. Milwaukee County will get this, and, in fact, will get the best administration any county in America has ever had. But we have bigger things in view and will never forget our greater aims for one moment.

* * *

We shall never forget for one moment that while the Social-Democratic Party fights the battles of the workers

—now and here—while it fights the battle for honesty and for all the people alike as far as good government is concerned—the ultimate aim of our party is not reform, it is a revolution—a legal and peaceable revolution, but none the less a revolution.

Our party will never stop in its work until it has attained the complete government of the nation and has substituted for the present profit system and capitalist exploitation a system under which the people will collectively own and control the natural resources and the machinery of production and distribution—until we get a system which will eliminate corruption, child labor, poverty, want, misery and prostitution—a system in which all will have an equal opportunity and equal chance to work out their share of life, liberty and happiness as far as human imperfection will permit.

* * *

Now, this is our ultimate aim. This makes us willing to fight and to sacrifice.

Anybody who is in our party for any other purpose has got into the wrong camp and he would better get out as quickly as possible.

* * *

And I therefore appeal to all our comrades within the organized Socialist movement to absolutely discourage office-hunters and office-hunting, and to look upon it as a danger to our great cause and to our great movement.

And with this aim before us I appeal to the 24,000 Socialist voters in Milwaukee County to stand by us, not only on election day, but every day of the year, as long as we are trying to live up to our principles and to get nearer to our ideals.

The Socialist Administration and the Tax Question.

WRITTEN DECEMBER 24, 1910.

THERE is a great deal of dissatisfaction among the citizens of Milwaukee because the taxes this year are considerably higher than last year.

Many people blame the Social-Democratic administration.

Yet this is not only very unjust, but it shows a deplorable lack of information about the administration of affairs in this city.

* * *

The present administration has nothing to do with the taxes for this year, except that it has to enforce them. The tax levy was fixed by the former regime, by the Rose government.

So if any indignant citizen wants to "make a kick," he will have to send it in the direction of David S. Rose and the democratic aggregation which still held sway last year.

* * *

However, the question of taxes is very much misunderstood on general principles.

As I have said before, the question is not how much taxes a person pays, but how much benefit the tax-payer derives from them.

* * *

A tax of \$20 a year on a cottage may be very high and costly, if the money is squandered—if there are bad

streets, unhealthy sanitary conditions and no benefit otherwise to the people.

On the other hand, a tax of \$40 on the same property may be very low if the tax-payer gets fine streets, excellent schools, beautiful parks, model sanitary conditions and other advantages—in short, if the city is made a fit place for decent people, and especially for working people, to live and bring up a family.

* * *

In fact, every dollar paid in taxes ought to bring its full value in benefits for all the people. And every tax-payer knows by this time that the Social-Democratic administration will try to stretch every dollar as far in that direction as it will possibly go.

* * *

However, the trouble is that we Social-Democrats have to suffer for the sins of our predecessors in this direction as in every other.

There can be no doubt that our tax system is miserable and inefficient beyond description.

There can be no doubt that a tremendous amount of property, which ought to be taxed under the law—and it is property of wealthy people—is now escaping taxation.

* * *

For instance, just take the general condition. According to the figures of the United States census for the year 1900—the latest figures available—1532 establishments owned \$162,129,641 of property in Milwaukee.

According to the assessor's figures the total valuation of the property of the city of Milwaukee in 1906 was \$201,585,127.

According to the United States Census for Manufactures in 1900, the items of cash and sundries in 1532 establishments alone were given as \$89,669,315.

But in 1906, the entire personal property of all the citizens of Milwaukee was assessed at a total of \$43,973,567, although since 1900 the city had grown tremendously.

In other words, the assessment for personal property for all the tax-payers of the entire city was less than half what the Census of Manufactures showed for 1532 establishments six years before.

Talk about tax dodging!

* * *

Another item. Last year the Milwaukee baseball club made \$50,000. But the personal taxes of the baseball magnate amounted to a few paltry dollars. Of course, I do not want to insinuate that this was because Mr. Havenor contributed to the Democratic campaign fund.

* * *

Still another illustration. Last year, the state demanded—besides the taxes on real estate and improvements and on tangible personal property—a tax upon \$21,000,000 of intangible property.

However, our city assessor in the year 1909 was able to find and assess only \$6,800,000 of intangible property.

What became of the difference of nearly \$15,500,000, on which the city was compelled to pay taxes to the state?

What is worse, the city had to raise the other assessments and the taxes on other property in order to make up to the state and the county the taxes for the \$15,000,000, which our assessor could not find.

This has been going on for years in Milwaukee.

Now what is to be done?

No doubt that even the system for real estate assessments should be changed. It is not modern and ought to be brought up to date.

For example, the city of Cleveland changed its tax system in the fall of 1909 and elected some competent men as real estate appraisers. They raised the valuations in the city of Cleveland from \$200,000,000 to \$600,000,000.

* * *

And what is of more importance, this new commission found that large properties had been greatly under-assessed. This was corrected and saved the small homeowners in Cleveland \$2,000,000 in taxes last year.

* * *

All property was placed on the tax list at its full market value, complying with the law, which had never been done before. But instead of this causing an outcry, it met with almost universal approval from the masses of the people in Cleveland.

Only the wealthy chronic tax-dodgers, whose property had increased enormously in value during the past ten years and who want to hog all the unearned increment, are dissatisfied with the change.

But the law in regard to placing all property on the tax list at its full value, is the same in this state. And the Social-Democratic administration intends to comply with this law. And the Social-Democratic administration intends also to adopt a system as nearly similar to the Cleveland system as possible.

* * *

Moreover, the Common Council has decided to employ

ferrets to find personal property which is now escaping taxation altogether.

And no honest man, not even an honest capitalist, ought to object if the city wants to compel the tax dodgers to pay their fair share.

* * *

As the thing now stands, real estate and tangible personal property is readily discovered if the tax assessor is honest and does his duty.

Furthermore, loans secured by mortgages in the State of Wisconsin and stocks in any corporation in this state which pays taxes otherwise are exempt from taxation by the city.

But mortgages on lands in other states and countries, and stocks and bonds in corporations outside of the State of Wisconsin are not tax-free. Such securities must pay taxes—says the law. They only escape taxation if not found by the assessor.

* * *

But the average capitalist in this country has a pretty convenient memory and a very wide conscience in that respect. And men who are known to own thousands of stocks and bonds either do not own up at all or report a ridiculously low sum.

* * *

In Germany, tax-dodgers of that kind are punished, not only by a sentence in jail—because perjury, if committed against the state, is punished twice as severely as other perjury and is liable to get a man into the penitentiary for five years—but in case of detection or when the inheritance is recorded, the government has a right to collect ten times, and sometimes fourteen times, as much back taxes as are due. In many cases.

this would amount to confiscation. This rigor makes tax-dodging in Germany a very dangerous business.

But this country is the paradise of the rich tax-dodger. And Milwaukee is not the only city where this is the case.

* * *

But the honest tax-payer, especially the small homeowner, has to pay the price as things are now. And so must the honest business man, manufacturer or owner of business blocks who does not stand in with the tax assessors and who does not want to resort to bribery.

All these people, including the man who pays the rent, have to make up for the dishonesty of the others. They not only have to pay so much more, but since it is impossible for them to make up for the big tax-dodgers, the city is continually hard up. It has poor streets, insufficient school facilities, and it cannot meet its obligations.

* * *

Therefore the following is going to be the program of the Social-Democratic Party on the tax question.

We will assess the full value of the property as the law prescribes.

We will apply a new method which will put the main burden on those who can afford to bear it.

And we will employ tax ferrets in order to reach the tax-dodgers.

* * *

Though it is disagreeable for a city administration, and especially for a Socialist administration, to employ spies to find tax-dodgers, yet it is no worse than employing detectives against other criminals.

Modern American cities are in the same condition as

the Italian and German cities of the middle ages which had to hire condottieri and landsknechte and other mercenaries to defend themselves against the robber barons.

The robber baron is upon us again—only he wears a frock coat and is a pillar of society.

The Non-Partisan Workingman is a Traitor to His Class.

WRITTEN JULY 22, 1911.

THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL and such so-called reformers as it can command or who hope to get into office with its help, are instituting another campaign for “non-partisan” municipal elections.

This is not the first effort in that direction. An attempt to abolish parties in Milwaukee by law has failed. And rightly so.

* * *

Every democracy presupposes parties.

Whenever a dozen electors stand together for the same measure or issue they will form some sort of an organization to carry out that measure or issue,—or they will fail. Every such little clique will be a party in embryo.

Only as long as it remains a little clique, it will stand for small things and for the personal advantage of a few men. A clique will also be much more easily manipu-

lated than a real party—and manipulated by smaller and crooked men.

Thus in the final analysis “non-partisanship” is simply a question whether it is more advantageous to rally around small issues and petty men or around great principles and big men.

* * *

Moreover, if parties are an evil in the municipal field, why are these parties not an evil also in state and national elections? Certain “reformers” are now trying to organize a party to abolish parties—and have the initiative and referendum instead.

If the Journal reformers were consistent they would do the same thing. If parties are an evil in the city, then they are surely an evil in the state and in the nation.

* * *

Students of history know that a democracy must have parties or it will dribble into small cliques and groups. Without parties democracy will become inefficient. It will wind up either in anarchy or monarchy,—usually it will result in first one, then the other.

* * *

Political parties are also necessary in a republic because they fix the responsibility.

A party may be good, or bad, or indifferent, but it is always held responsible by the voters.

The Rose democracy was surely bad enough, yet it was better than no organization at all, because the people could fix the guilt. The same is the case in New York, Chicago or Philadelphia. Tammany, the Republicans in Philadelphia, and the County Democracy in Chicago are undoubtedly rotten—yet they are a great deal better than

anything the "reformers" have ever been able to put in their place.

* * *

But the Journal reformers do not mean to abolish parties entirely. They only want to abolish them in Milwaukee, where the Journal is printed.

They say, the national parties corrupt local politics.

Well, the Journal ought to know. The Journal helped Mark Hanna in 1896, in the days of the utmost corruption of politics, and stood for the so-called "gold democracy." Yet the Journal no doubt was actuated by honest capitalistic motives in opposing the free coinage of silver.

However, national parties are not responsible for local graft or grafting city administrations.

* * *

The national Republican party is not responsible for the Republican grafters in Philadelphia. The national Democratic party cannot be blamed for the Tammany graft, or for the Rose grafters.

Both national parties are only responsible for the graft and the grafters inasmuch as they stand for capitalism, and capitalism is the basis of all graft.

* * *

The trouble is that even our honest reformers have always expected too much from mere changes in the election machinery. Even our honest reformers expect conditions to change by changing the way of expression.

Instead of attacking capitalism and the principle of getting something for nothing, which is pervading our entire system and is also the mother of all graft and crime,—these reformers have always hoped miracles from blanket ballots, Australian ballots, short ballots.

non-partisan ballots, Mary-Ann puzzle ballots and any old ballots.

Even the brainier ones among them expect wonders from the Initiative, the Referendum and the "Recall" which can never be accomplished by these methods.

Now, the Initiative, the Referendum and the Recall were Social-Democratic measures originally. We acknowledge them and use them for what they are worth.

But we do not think that they are a panacea for all evils. They are simply a method of expressing the will of the people in democracy. They are simply details of the democratic machinery.

* * *

Yet it all depends upon how this machinery is used. And under the capitalist system, capitalists, grafters, schemers and crooks who have money and talent at their disposal, can handle the Initiative, the Referendum and the Recall with just as much facility as they handled the old party caucus, the Australian ballot, the blanket ballot and as they handle the short ballot in Chicago and other cities.

We say so much for the honest reformers.

But the Journal reformers are not honest.

To the Journal "non-partisanship" means all parties united against the Socialist party.

The Journal is looking for a way to unite Republicans and Democrats, common grafters and honest reformers, saloonkeepers and church people, red-light district heelers and Protestant preachers under one banner against the Social-Democrats.

The Journal is trying to find a catch-phrase by which it can unite capitalists who know what they are about and ignorant workingmen who don't know what they are

about in one and the same "non-partisan" anti-Socialist citizens' party.

And the entire aggregation and congregation is to have the blessings and the support of that dark power of reaction, oppression and superstition which has opposed all enlightenment and progress for sixteen hundred years. Only the Journal, of course, will not admit this.

* * *

However, the Journal reformers will fail miserably, for the simple reason that they cannot possibly succeed.

* * *

Unless this earth of ours is struck by a comet or unless at least the white race and its civilization is wiped out entirely by some barbaric invasion which we cannot now foresee, this world is going to have Socialism as the next phase of civilization.

* * *

And every step against Socialism is futile.

And every step in the direction of Socialism is successful and can never be retracted.

* * *

Moreover, Social-Democracy is the political economy of the working class the world over. And the Socialist party is the political expression of the working class the world over.

Therefore, the workingman must be partisan and bitterly partisan—unless he is a contemptible traitor to his class, his family and to himself.

* * *

Labor can never be non-partisan.

Labor will always be partisan to labor until the present system is abolished—grafters, capitalists, reformers and all. Only the working class is immortal.

The Party of the New Idea.

WRITTEN DECEMBER, 1906.

Like every new phase of civilization, Socialism thus far has received the attention only of the oppressed and the lowly. The opulent and the rich have no reason to wish for a change of the system. They do not, as a rule, want to hear anything about it.

Until of late, *outside* of the *working* class, only students of history, of political economy, and a few advanced thinkers have given any attention to the principles of Socialism. Most other persons have only a very vague idea even of its basis. Yet Socialism is in the foreground of discussion.

Is This the End?

Socialism stands for a *new* civilization.

Of course, with people who believe that whatever is will exist forever, and that we have reached the acme of civilization, it is entirely useless to argue.

But surely no educated man believes that the present conditions are the *end* of all things.

That we have not reached the end of our national development is clear. Every new invention and every new political question proves that to us. And it would be sad indeed if we had reached "the end." We then should soon be on a level with China.

And I need not explain, that the Social-Democratic movement is not to be traced to the irresponsible work of individual agitators or eccentric persons.

The very name of our party, "Social-Democracy," proclaims our aims.

In regard to the political form we demand the rule of the people, i. e. *democracy*. In regard to the economic sphere, and the spirit which shall manifest itself in this form and give life to it, we demand Socialism, that is, the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution.

Thus we shall have Social-Democracy. A democracy which is founded on economic independence, upon the political and industrial *equality of opportunity for all*.

Industry on a Large Scale.

Determined opponents of the present capitalistic system of industry as the Social-Democrats are, still they never think of calling the concentration of capital the *cause* of all evil.

Social-Democrats do not try to smash the trusts as such. On the contrary, the Social-Democracy appreciates so fully the advantages of industrial production on a large scale that we wish its most *perfect development*, which is impossible under the capitalist system.

The control of production by the people as a whole means the *highest possible perfection of industry on a large scale*.

Our Lives Are in Their Hands.

And we all deeply feel the *disadvantages of the private ownership* of the means of production and distribution on a large scale.

We observe how the railroads, street car companies, and other public service corporations corrupt our legislatures. We notice how our life insurance savings are simply furnishing funds for high-financiers. We witness how the largest factory owners combine into trusts which are "financiered" by banks and how the meat trust, the

oil trust, the steel trust, and all the other trusts are "regulating prices," and how moreover some of these trusts are ruining the health of the people.

We all see it. We all feel it. And we all know it.

Then we all must also comprehend that the owners of these sheets and strips of paper (which under our present system stand for "capital") virtually decide how much we shall pay for our coffee and our bread, how much for our kerosene and our coal, and how much we are to spend for our houses, clothing, etc.

In other words, they decide how well or how poorly we are to live. They have "the say" as to how long or how short a time we are permitted to live.

The Wolves Succeed Best.

And the wage workers are by no means the only ones who suffer from these conditions.

With every increase of power and concentration of wealth the educated and professional class is forced more and more into dependence upon the capitalist. Our teachers, professors, speakers, newspaper editors, and writers, and even ministers, doctors, and all professional men, are more and more *at the mercy of the capitalistic system*, and brought into abject dependence. Thus the educated proletariat ever increases.

On the other hand—money-making is *not a matter of education*.

On the contrary, the more vulgar and wolfish the man, the more readily he succeeds.

A Grafters' World.

And wealth, usually expressed by money, is now the *god*. It is by the distribution of part of this wealth that the rich man gets his dangerous powers. It is the mono-

poly of that which all want—some of which all *must* have—that makes his power so fearful.

The big grafter (or his heir) writes his check and gets all the good or bad things his heart desires. He gets adulation, professional skill, wine and women, paragraphs in the newspapers and the disposal of political places.

A man like Sherburn M. Becker, who only with difficulty is able to *read off* the trashy speeches written by his private secretary, is made mayor of Milwaukee, and heralded far and wide as a “boy wonder.”

Why? Because he uses very freely the great wealth left to him by his great grandfather to advertise himself.

A vulgar and coarse English exploiter like Sir Thomas Lipton, who for the last 40 years has not earned an honest dollar—but is reported to be “worth” 50 millions—is invited to Milwaukee and treated as a “demi-god.”

Under such conditions it is only natural that money has become the root of all evil. Wealth being the greatest social power, it naturally is the worst of all temptations. Our present economic system creates grafters, criminals, thieves, and prostitutes.

Parties Act From Self-Interest.

These conditions are before our eyes in spite of all that is said by the capitalist press and the capitalist politician.

And what remedy can the old political parties bring to the people?

Parties, like individuals, act from motives of *self-interest*.

Now *both* of the old parties are owned by the capi-

talists. This is a fact, not even denied by the more honest leaders of both Republican and Democratic parties.

And what can you do about it?

There is only one party in the field standing for the "new idea." There is only one party representing in the *political* field the necessary outcome of the evolution in the *economic* field. That is the Social-Democratic party.

The Social-Democratic party stands squarely upon the principles of international Socialism. It relies wholly upon education and upon the development of the industrial forces. Both of these factors make for Socialism.

A Peaceful Revolution.

The Social-Democratic party, while it is revolutionary in its *final aim*, is none the less distinctly *evolutionary* and *constructive* in its method.

Social reforms of all kinds are welcomed by the Social-Democrats for many reasons.

In the first place, by reforms we can stop the increasing pauperization, and consequently also the enervation of the masses of the people. If real reforms are seriously taken up and carried out with determination, they may even lift the masses to a considerable extent.

But the main reason for our favoring them is because such reforms, if logically carried out, offer the *possibility of a peaceful, lawful and orderly transformation of society.*

Social-Democracy Is Constructive.

The Social-Democratic party is the only true reform party in existence. We agitate for the organization of

the masses. And organization everywhere means order. We educate, we enlighten, we reason, we discipline. And, therefore, besides order, we bring also law, reason, discipline, and progress.

It is therefore absolutely false to represent our Social-Democracy as merely destructive, as intending to overthrow and annihilate society, as an appeal to the brute passions of the masses.

Just the opposite is true.

Our Social-Democracy wants to maintain our culture and civilization, and bring it to a higher level.

Our party wants to guard this nation from destruction.

We *appeal to the best in every man*, to the public spirit of the citizen, to his love of wife and children.

“Disagreeable Work.”

WRITTEN APRIL, 1907.

A LAWYER who has read our answer to Mr. Hoyt, is very much disturbed, lest in the Socialist Republic nobody could be found who would do the “disagreeable” work. He fears that everybody would want the “easy” jobs.

In answer to this we would first say that the decision as to what work or employment is “agreeable” and “disagreeable” will no doubt differ according to personal taste and inclination. Agricultural pursuits, which, for example, are the most agreeable occupation to some, might be perfectly intolerable to others. Office work

and bookkeeping, which to some people seem very desirable, would be the last occupation I would choose.

One could therefore wager ten to one that almost every "disagreeable" employment might find its lover.

To this must be added the fact that the machine will do more and more the work of men. Today competition is the incentive of the capitalist to let the machine do as much work as possible, in order to save money. In the Socialist Society the prospect of the alleviation and embellishment of life for everybody will have the same effect even in a greater degree.

But for those who point to street-cleaning, scavenging, etc., I should like to draw their attention to the fact, that not only in foreign countries, but also in America, there are many cities which use machines for that kind of work. It is perfectly clear that a society which makes its special aim to fashion human life as humanely as possible, will endeavor, far more than the present society to have as much labor as possible done by machines.

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That all "disagreeable work" will ever be entirely abolished in this world, I do not believe.

Of course, nobody knows the future. But I am sure that such labor will be limited to the smallest possible amount. Maybe even then there will be a good deal more disagreeable labor than will please most people.

Suppose this should be the case, what would that prove against the Socialist Republic?

Is it not a fact, that even *today* the most disagreeable work is done without remuneration, without wages or material gain, simply from a feeling of solidarity? Or from friendship and love?

Just think of the care of the sick, the nursing of little children and the efforts for the salvation of fallen women. You will then agree that if even a society like our present capitalist society, built on egotism and greed, and which, therefore, necessarily must promote and strengthen egotism and anti-social impulses—if even such a society is capable of bringing forth deeds of unselfish sacrifice, how much more a society founded upon the feeling of solidarity, which naturally will endeavor to strengthen that side of humanity.

* * *

And even if we should not succeed, at least not immediately and from the very first, in resurrecting the altruistic spirit to such a degree that it will be strong enough to secure the performance of the “most disagreeable labor” because it is necessary, we should still have the expedient of securing the performance of such labor through the greatest shortening of the working day for those performing such labor, and by granting special premiums, or even by assigning such labor as a punishment to those who have broken the laws of society.

I believe, therefore, that, after calm consideration, even this objection will lose the illusive power which it did seem to have at first glance to our lawyer friend.

* * *

And if our friend should bring up the other notion, that in the Co-operative Commonwealth men would lack the incentive to activity, this only proves what wrong ideas our perverted order of society has produced. Because today *greed* and *graft* are the basis of society, some people believe that society will fall to pieces the minute that greed and graft make room for a noble and stronger basis.

Does not the sight of every child teach that a healthy human being cannot exist without activity?

And is it not clear that a society which for the first time makes us all bodily and mentally healthy will bring this inherent impulse towards activity to its fullest development?

This inherent impulse to work will be mightily strengthened in a society which offers opportunity to every one to choose that kind of work which is best suited to him or her, and which will burden nobody too much, and which will secure to every one the fullest equivalent of his or her labor.

To this must be added the stimulating thought—that *only* work is being done which is *necessary* and *useful* to the community.

Where *everybody* must work, the idea of compulsion vanishes of itself.

On the contrary, work will then become the only badge of honor that society knows. Today money and inherited wealth are the golden keys.

And where *all* work which is done, is necessary from a social standpoint, by and by the different valuation of different kinds of work will also cease.

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For, if we look at it more closely, we find that today it is the wages of labor, i. e. money, which decides the higher or lesser respect which is accorded to a skilled trade or profession. In a society which no longer knows such standard of value, the valuation of the different kinds of work which depend solely upon the money earned, will also come to an end.

Far from destroying in men the joy of work or even diminishing it, the Socialist Republic, on the contrary, will rather bring it to its fullest development. Only in the Socialist Republic the time in human history will be reached when labor will cease to be a burden and become a joy.

There for the first time labor will be no longer a sign of degradation, but a title of honor.

In reality it is the society of today which is the great penitentiary, that some—and not only Herbert Spencer—suppose the Socialistic society will be. On the contrary, it will be the Walhalla of labor, flooded with light and air, in which the song of freedom, of happy human beings will never cease.

The Socialist Republic does not mean the destruction and downfall of our culture and civilization—this is threatened by the present society—but its *salvation* and *maintenance*. Our victory will be the victory of civilization.

* * *

Whoever still doubts this should be taught by the fact that the Social-Democratic party alone is called upon to defend more and more the immortal achievements of the Declaration of Independence, of true democracy. All other parties will grow more and more into one reactionary mass.

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There is no doubt that a great historical day is again approaching when men will separate to the right and the left. This will be done whether we want it or not.

Those who remain true to the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity can follow no other flag than the red international banner of Social-Democracy.

Let It Work Both Ways!

WRITTEN OCTOBER, 1907.

From time immemorial in all civilized countries there have been laws of a restraining nature. They were always based upon the principle that individuals must curb their powers, their passions, their desires whenever, by gratifying these, the interests of *society as a whole* might be injured.

Robbery, forgery, rape and arson are forbidden, because the committal of these crimes, if permitted, would prove injurious to the welfare of the people in general, though they might advance the interests of those committing them.

* * *

Let us suppose the case of a needy man who sees within easy reach the wherewithal to satisfy his wants. All he has to do is to stretch out his hands to get it.

Yet he is not permitted to do so. The law stands before him with a solemn threat. It tells him that it is wiser and better for the welfare of the community that he should suffer—or even that he should perish—rather than that he should take things which do not belong to him.

At least this is the contention of the state in enforcing this regulation. It is for the welfare of the many, as opposed to that of the individual, that this particular citizen must restrain his desires, sometimes even his hunger.

In other words, *the first law of nature*—that of personal self-preservation—is made subordinate to the code

of laws which has been adopted for the preservation of society as it is. A man who is starving cannot even steal a loaf of bread to preserve his life, because stealing is supposed to be destructive to society.

The principle is clearly established and recognized that individual interests—no matter how pressing—should not in any case supersede general interests.

* * *

And yet how limited is the application of this excellent principle of restriction.

The law which prohibits the gratification of the poor man's hunger at the expense of his neighbor, to be logical, should prohibit the gratification of the *rich man's greed* at the expense of his neighbors.

If it is just and politic that individuals should be restrained whenever their actions tend to affect adversely the morals and welfare of the community or of the nation—then certainly a check should also be imposed on those who, by accumulation of wealth far beyond their needs, are instrumental in producing poverty and the crimes and vices which are the results of poverty.

If *personal* self-gratification and even personal *self-preservation* must make way for *social* preservation, then it should be required that the opulent surrender their riches in order to save the social organization.

If the principle of subjection to restriction for the general good is one whose application is essential to the welfare of the commonwealth, then even the *power* of indulging the passion of greed for immoderate wealth, which might inflict injury on others, should be absolutely curbed.

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There is a strange power whereby gold is drawn

toward gold. The greater the accumulation, the greater the attraction.

There are a number of men in our country who annually add millions to their possessions. If the same process of accumulation were applied to land—and there is no law to forbid it—it is evident that a man acquiring a title to several million acres every year need only live long enough to become possessed of the earth. Considering the vast holdings of certain Americans now—and their strenuous efforts to add to these and the power thus obtained—there is no reason why a few men in our generation should not combine and form a powerful trust of trusts—compared with which the power of the Kaiser of Germany would sink to insignificance.

As it is now, our trust magnates—in spite of all the efforts of Roosevelt and Bryan and Bonaparte and Taft—constitute a power in our public and private and social life which renders ridiculous all the pretensions of a republic of citizens “free and equal.”

While we have a democracy in name, we live in a plutocracy *in fact*.

But how long will it last?

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For let it not be thought that the lessons of the past are completely forgotten.

The overthrow of mighty kings in the past, the breakdown of hierarchies and the reduction of popes, are not mere romances without historical meaning.

On the contrary. The history of the future can to no small extent be read in the pages of the past.

The princes and popes of the past claimed their power and their authority from God. If these princes, nobles

and priests had their prerogatives curtailed in spite of their claim that these prerogatives were of divine origin, can our plutocrats expect that their power, that their prerogatives will last forever?

Or do they mean to say that the forward march of Democracy, which did not halt before the crown and the tiara—that the Democracy, which rebelled against the “holiness” of the crosier and the cassock—will forever bow down before the *unholiness* of the money bag?

* * *

And what did it profit to restrict the prerogatives of rulers and the privileges of nobles and of the clergy, as long as the privileges of wealth remain intact?

Distributing votes and concentrating wealth did not fulfill the promises of Democracy.

A score of men in our great country enjoy privileges, and have a power for weal and for woe—political, financial and social—greater than the privileges and powers of the millions of the masses combined.

Call this state of things whatever you will, but you cannot call it Democracy. Claim for it what advantage you please, but you cannot claim that it is advantageous to the masses of the nation.

The principle which should guide our government—the principle which should guide every honest government—of subordinating the *individual* to the *general welfare*—requires a *broader* application than it receives at present.

If a man is not allowed to steal a loaf of bread from others to satisfy his hunger, then a man ought not to be allowed to steal a million loaves from others and steal them every day to satisfy his greed.

We have solved the problem of production, we must

solve the problem of distribution—or our civilization will break down.

In short, our present Democracy cannot defend its very name against the encroachment of plutocracy. And what is worse, it cannot defend its very existence on the ground of equity, of morality, or even of expediency—unless it becomes *Social-Democracy*.



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Berger, Victor L
Broadsides 3d ed.

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