

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

VOL. III.

DECEMBER, 1902.

NO. 6.

Property Rights and the Coal Miners' Strike.

IF, as has been claimed, it is by the will of God that the anthracite coal mines have become the private property of Mr. Baer and his associates, it would seem that Socialists least of all have cause to quarrel with the decrees of providence or question their wisdom. Whether the course of these men was dictated by greed, or stubbornness, or ignorance of the social forces which they defied and thereby so greatly accelerated, all has been grist for the Socialist mill. Assuredly no fitter instruments could have been chosen to render ridiculous by their extravagance the pretensions of capitalist absolutism. In the storm which they provoked the very pillars of the temple rocked, the veil was rent asunder and the divinity of inalienable and irresponsible property rights shattered beyond repair.

It is, to-day, a new people with which we as Socialists have to deal—a people that has been brought within measurable distance of conditions fraught with incalculable misery. They were forced on us simply by the assertion of the owners' rights to administer their property without reference to the claims of the producers, or to the necessities of the public. In the light of this exhibition of selfish and unbridled power, the assumptions on which capitalism rests are being questioned as never before.

Even before the strike of the coal miners the attention of the public had been challenged by the new conditions resulting from the rapid industrial development. The vast combinations of capital which were taking place all over the world, the concentration of wealth at an ever-increasing pace, the control of the prime factors of production and distribution by small groups of financiers, the rapid growth and aggressiveness of organized labor—these were facts of such a disquieting nature that they could not be ignored. The minds of the people were aroused and apprehen-

sive. Great forces were seen to be at work, which not being understood were feared.

Through all this turmoil of thought there has been a growing consciousness that property rights which had arisen under primitive conditions of production were incongruous with the new order, and that a readjustment was becoming inevitable. It was all very well to grant that a man might do as he would with his own when his possessions were perhaps little more than a patch of arable land, a few primitive tools and a beast of burden. His use of them was of little concern to anyone but himself. Production was mainly directed to supplying his personal needs. But it is a very different matter when a small group of men monopolizes the nation's supply of some prime necessity of life or controls the vast machinery of modern industrial activity. What they may do with their own ceases to be a personal affair. Production is no longer on the scale of individual use. It has become a complex social process involving the co-operation of thousands. It is virtually a public service of vital concern to the welfare of the entire community. Through this development there has been an absolute reversal of the primitive conditions under which the interest of the individual owner was supreme. With socialized production as it exists to-day the interests of the great body of laborers engaged in any industry, as well as those of society at large, vastly outweigh any consideration to which the actual possessors may feel entitled through the traditions of ownership.

It is, indeed, through this survival of primitive property rights, long after they have been outgrown by the processes of production, that society is divided into classes with economic functions and interests diametrically opposed. Through this the dominant class is established in possession of the sources of wealth, with the right to do with them according to its will. It is compacted by the common interest to maintain this antiquated right, instinctively realizing that it is the source of its supremacy and wealth. For by its absolute control of the avenues of production it dictates wage terms to the opposing class of the propertyless, and grants a beggarly subsistence in exchange for the vast product of modern industry.

With such a fundamental antagonism of interests class conflict is inevitable. The vision of industrial peace is a delusion while capitalism survives. The truce which may be patched up by arbitration or forced by exhaustion is but a breathing spell. All the time the forces are gathering for a more powerful or intelligent attack. There can be no real peace between exploiters and exploited. The struggle must go on until the producing class,

educated to a knowledge of the rights which arise from the social function which it performs and grown conscious of its overwhelming power when united, shall grasp the seats of judgment and proclaim the common heritage in the sources of existence and well-being.

Until recently, however, these facts had gained but little recognition in this country outside of the small circle of earnest and indefatigable Socialists. The divine rights of property were fervently maintained by pulpit, press and politicians, the servants of power. The changed conditions under which they are now exercised were ignored. We were told that these rights were the basis of freedom and civilization; that their denial meant a reversion to barbarism. Wealth was a God-given trust, its possession the manifestation of a divine providence to which we should humbly bow. (It is not to be wondered that such convenient and flattering doctrines are gratefully contemplated by the capitalist class, and their promulgation fostered with all its power.) What signify then the squirmings and recantations of these our erstwhile teachers which we have just witnessed? What mean the ravings and denunciations with which they have so recently turned on those whom they were wont to uphold? The cause of their wrath is ludicrous to contemplate. Picture their disconcertment when they discovered that the doctrines which they had spread abroad for the stupefaction and beguilement of the workers had been swallowed by the capitalists instead! For it would appear that Mr. Baer and his associates were actually persuaded of their divine mission, and with blind faith determined to defend to the uttermost civilization and freedom—as the capitalist conceives them. Their hearts were hardened as was Pharaoh's of old. But alas for the reputation of their teachers! What these capitalists sought to establish they have only made ridiculous. The very assertion of these rights reduced them to an absurdity, just as surely as a false principle in mathematics is exposed by applying it. Instead of preserving civilization they almost precipitated chaos. Individual ownership of that which is essential to the welfare of the community was never so glaringly exposed in all its naked brutality and madness as by the obstinacy of these men. Perhaps, after all, their mission was a divine one. "*Quos Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.*" (Whom God would destroy, he first makes mad.)

We have reason, then, to be thankful for the storm that has so cleared the atmosphere. It would seem that just such an object lesson has been needed to demonstrate the fact that individual ownership of the sources of wealth and of the instruments of production and distribution involves subjection to the possess-

ing class of the interests of the mass of the people, and the enslavement to it of the wage-working class. Heretofore the idea that such conditions could exist in this "land of the free" was scouted and resented. The industrial processes were so complex it seemed impossible to make clear the principles underlying them. The concentration of wealth was not yet sufficient, the ownership of it too fluctuating, for the fact of class rule and our subjection to it to be clearly apprehended. Its oppressions were not felt to be inherent; they appeared sporadic, rather, and were accounted the outcome of local conditions, or of the greed and stubbornness of individuals.

In despair of being understood Socialists have often resorted to metaphor, endeavoring to illustrate the industrial situation in its simplest outlines by stripping off all that was incidental and confusing. They pointed out that the unrestricted principle of private property logically involved the right of one man to the earth and all there is in it; pictured him in absolute possession, dictating to its inhabitants the terms of a servile and miserable existence. In this striking manner it was sought to make clear the actual power which the comparatively small possessing class really does exercise over the mass of the people. Doubtless the presentation was sound enough, but somehow it failed to convince. It was like an X-ray photograph. Few could identify the skeleton outlines with the living body before their eyes. But what the Socialist attempted in vain the forces of economic evolution have accomplished. The fancy has become the fact. In the light of recent events it requires little imagination to see one man with a nation by the throat, the representative of the people at his feet, begging for mercy. "I DISCLAIM ANY RIGHT," said our President, "I APPEAL." As a puppet might its makers, so did he entreat the representatives of the class that rules and possesses this country by the divinity of property rights.

The effectiveness of the miners' strike in making plain the fact that the old property relations had been outgrown was shown when the Democratic party of New York adopted a demand that the government seize the mines. Mr. Hill, who was responsible for that plank, is above all things a practical politician. The presence of it in the Democratic platform is good evidence that there was a widespread demand for it, for Mr. Hill is not the man to burden himself with an unpopular cause. It was a shrewdly calculated move that would doubtless have been of great service to the Democratic party had the strike continued until the election; and, in any event, it was probably counted on to check for a time the oncoming of Socialism, much as back firing is resorted to when prairie fires threaten.

Such sops to Socialistic sentiment may be expected from now on with increasing frequency, but happily their power to confuse is becoming a thing of the past with the growing class consciousness of the labor movement. Public ownership under either a Democratic or a Republican administration is seen to be merely a transfer of management from the individual owner to his political servants and the transformation of his bonds and stocks into government securities. To the wage-worker it brings no escape from exploitation and industrial slavery. Witness the effectual manner in which the lash was cracked over the heads of the postal clerks by the Republican administration, when they presumed to agitate for better conditions. Witness also the similar treatment of the Chicago police by a Democratic administration when they endeavored to organize. Labor has nothing to expect from the party which has disfranchised the working class of the South, or from the party whose boast has been that it freed the slaves, yet failed to protect them in their political rights, and now consents to their new enslavement without a move to enforce the penalty which the constitution provides. (How they revere the constitution!)

In making a political issue of the miners' strike the Democrats forced the hands of the administration. The party in power was compelled to bestir itself to end the strike, so as to remove it from the field of political discussion. Agitation of public ownership might be far-reaching and the administration sought an escape from the issue. Its real attitude, however, was exposed by the protest of Mr. Moody, Secretary of the Navy, against the idea of governmental operation of the mines—on the ground that it would cost more than if done by a private concern. In other words, he was no more willing than the mine owners that better conditions should be granted to the miners.

That it was not solicitude for the welfare of the miners, but a frantic desire to end the strike on any terms that moved President Roosevelt is quite evident from his course. What other interpretation can be placed on his action when rebuffed by the operators? Instead of bringing these lawbreakers to terms with the legal power at his command, he turned to the impoverished miners with a flim-flam proposition. No honest man with any regard for their interests could have done it. He asked them to forego the vantage gained by months of privation, resume work on the old terms, and look for redress to an investigating committee of a capitalist Congress.

What relief might be expected from such a source can be estimated from the results of the investigation which had already been made by Carroll D. Wright, of the Labor Bureau, under di-

rection of the President. The main recommendation of his report was a division of the miners' union, the very thing most ardently desired by the operators. No wonder they consented to his being added to the board of arbitration. By such traitors was Samson shorn.

There is other evidence of the President's attitude. The government had been blind to the lawlessness of the operators, but when lawless operators charged the miners with lawlessness the pretext for interference was gratefully seized. The operators claimed that the presence of troops would result in the collapse of the strike and resumption of work on the old terms against which the miners were struggling. With this assurance of breaking the strike the troops were supplied, Secretary of War Root furnishing the equipment to put them in the field at once. But the firmness of the miners defeated this scheme also for ending the strike.

Again did the President show his hand when the operators finally weakened. Their proposition for arbitration was so manifestly unfair to the miners that it met with universal condemnation. Did our strenuous President have the manliness to refuse to become a party to such a piece of trickery, or the dignity to resent the insult to himself in the terms imposed? Not a bit of it. He did his best to secure acceptance of the crafty proposition, finally succeeding after the operators had made some insignificant concessions to the miners' demands. As a finishing touch to this record he secured the addition of that juggling statistician, Carroll D. Wright, to the board of arbitrators. The strike was over and thankfully dropped as a political issue. The arbitrators met, junketed through the coal regions—and *adjourned till after the election.*

The Democratic plank was not the only manifestation of the fact that through this strike property rights were fast losing their sacredness in the eyes of the people. When the Detroit conference formulated its demand for the seizure of the mines and coal carrying railways, it spoke with the authority of a body sufficiently representative to challenge attention. The publicity given to its proceedings and the discussion it evoked, made it plain that not only the coal barons but capitalism itself was being brought to judgment. Conservative capitalists saw the danger and called a halt. As Postmaster General Payne expressed it, "Mr. Morgan and his associates were wise enough to see that the settlement of the coal strike must come or in its place there would be a public agitation, the result of which no man could estimate except that it would be disastrous to the values of great properties. This idea was urged by the President and by others until it had its effect."

Mark the solicitude of the President for the conservation of great properties, if further proof is needed that it was not in the interests of the miners that he labored to end the strike.

One cannot refrain, at this point, from commenting on the character of the Detroit conference in the light of what followed. For no sooner did the operators make their one-sided proposal for arbitration than Mayor Maybury nullified the action of the conference by disbanding the committee which was to present its demands to the President. The miners were left in the lurch even before they had consented to the proposal, probably as the surest way of compelling them to do so. Remember these demands included the prosecution of the operators for their habitual violation of the laws. It was also provided that the mayors represented should collect funds for the support of the miners and their families. Evidently these proposals were to be taken "cum grano salis," for they have not been heard from since. It was, indeed, a "get coal" conference and nothing more. Enforcement of the laws or justice for the miners had no more consideration from this middle class assemblage than at the hands of the President.

Up to this point it is but the surface indications of the breaking away from the old conceptions of property rights that have been considered. The real measure of progress is the phenomenal growth of the Socialist vote in the recent election. It is this that foretells the coming of a new industrial order. Capitalism cannot withstand many shocks such as the miners' strike has given it.

W. S. McC.

Suggested Lines of Socialist Municipal Activity.



At the Indianapolis Convention it was decided that the National Executive Committee be authorized to appoint a sub-committee on municipal activity, this committee to have only advisory powers and to have as one of its functions the formulation of a municipal program for Socialist bodies. Almost exactly a year ago the National Committee elected the following comrades to serve upon this committee: Victor L. Berger, Job Harriman, Emil Lies, and John C. Chase, with the undersigned as Temporary Secretary. Communication was at once opened between these various comrades and steps taken to carry out the will of the convention. As all the members of the committee were actively engaged in other work in connection with the Socialist movement progress has been rather slow.

From time to time the assistance of outside comrades was requested and among those who have co-operated in the preparation of the program up to the present time, and who are now acting as members of the committee, are Comrades Corinne Brown, Seymour Steadman and Philip S. Brown. Effort has been made to keep in communication with the people who have been elected to municipal offices by the Socialists in different parts of the country, and it is hoped that if any such who have not been written, see this that they will address the Secretary at once, as their co-operation is much desired.

The "Suggested Lines of Socialist Municipal Activity" which are given at the close of this article are to be considered simply as a sum total of the various suggestions that have been thought worthy of consideration by one or more members of the committee. They were compiled after careful comparison with a large number of municipal programs in this country as well as those of the European Socialist parties. Whatever may be said of its defects or merits, it is probably the most complete outline of municipal activity yet gathered together and should furnish material for intelligent discussion. It is probably not approved of as a whole, by any single member of the committee, and still less is it to be considered a special recommendation of the committee, and, least of all, does it partake of the character of a proposed platform for Socialist municipal bodies. Such platforms may evolve from it in the future, and it is hoped that it will be of assistance in the formation of such platforms in various cities.

So far as I am personally concerned, I am of the opinion that

a municipal platform could be best made up of a plain revolutionary demand for the overthrow of class rule and a statement of the need of the application of collectivist principles in municipal activity. This would constitute the platform proper and would be about the length of those now ordinarily adopted. In addition to this an elaborate program of probable action could be prepared based upon the suggestions given herewith. This should be accompanied by an explanation that would need to be a rather extensive document, discussing and explaining the various provisions adapted to local needs and show how these form a part of a complete revolutionary program. This was the position which I took at the Indianapolis convention with regard to our National platform, and I have, as yet, seen no reason to change my mind. I say this, because there is persistent misrepresentation of the attitude taken by those who oppose "immediate demands" in the form in which they now appear in the majority of our platforms.

But whatever else may be said there is urgent need of further intelligent discussion of Socialist municipal affairs in this country. It is certain that a large number of Socialists will be elected to municipal positions within the next few months. At the present time there is no general idea of what the Socialist position is on municipal affairs. There is great diversity of attitude on what are really fundamental principles. I am not one of those who believe that municipal action can be reduced to anything like complete uniformity throughout a country presenting as diverse characteristics as does the United States. But there are certain principles and lines of action which apply everywhere, and these should be worked out. It seems to me that in this connection the Belgians offer us the most valuable example. The Belgian Socialists have organized a League of Municipal Councilers with Comrade Emil Vinck, the well-known contributor to the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW*, as its secretary. They hold regular conventions and have evolved considerable literature on the various questions arising. It would seem possible that something of this character might grow out of our present committee. Such a body has absolutely no authority to enforce its decisions save what comes from the better knowledge which it is able to bring to bear on the questions. It affords an opportunity for the exchange of ideas and the accumulation of information on subjects which are of the greatest importance.

Perhaps these suggestions may be taken in connection with those which follow as the basis of a discussion in the Socialist press. The columns of this publication, as far as space permits, will be gladly opened to any one having any contribution to bring

on this subject. Without further discussion the matter which has been evolved by the committee is given herewith.

A. M. Simons, Sec.

Suggested Lines of Socialist Municipal Activity.

PUBLIC EDUCATION.

I.—Changes in Instruction.

1. Sufficient kindergartens for all children of proper age.
2. Manual training in all grades (not trade schools).
3. General introduction of idea of development and freedom in education with close connection with things, according to principles of modern pedagogy.
4. Teaching of economics and history with evolution of industry as base.
5. Establishment of vacation schools.
6. Adequate night schools for adults.
7. Instruction of children as to child labor legislation and rights of children before the law.

II.—Changes Affecting Teaching Force.

1. Adequate teachers (small classes).
2. Pedagogical training required as a qualification for teaching.
3. Right of trial for teachers when dismissed.
4. Pensions for teachers when superannuated or disabled.

III.—Care of Children.

1. Free text books.
2. Free meals and clothing.
3. Free medical service, inspection for eyes, ears, mental faculties (for educational purposes), and contagion.

IV.—Equipment.

1. Adequate buildings, numerous, not too large.
2. Ample play-grounds with physical instructor in charge.
3. Museums, art galleries, libraries, etc., enlarged and accessible to all children through frequent visits accompanied by teachers.
4. Baths and gymnasiums in each school.
5. All school buildings open evenings, Sundays and holidays for public assemblages.

V.—Miscellaneous Provisions.

1. Inmates of orphan asylums and other public institutions for children required to attend public school.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

I.—Principles of Management.

1. Reduction of hours and increase of wages to correspond with improvements in production.
2. No profits to be used for reduction of taxation.
3. Pensions for all city employes when sick and disabled.
4. Election of supervising officers by employes subject to control of municipality.

II.—Industries Suggested for Ownership.

1. All industries dependent on franchises, street cars, electric and gas lighting, telephones, etc.
2. Public parks, slaughter houses where they are needed.
3. Bakeries, ice-houses, coal and wood yards.

WORKING CLASS GOVERNMENT.

1. Police not to be used in interest of employer against strikers.
2. Free legal advice.
3. Abolition of justice courts (trial by jury without extra expense).
4. Abolition of fines as alternative to imprisonment.
5. Establishment of Municipal Labor Bureau.

GENERAL MEASURES FOR PUBLIC RELIEF.

1. Establishment of works to give employment to unemployed.
2. Free medical service.
3. Adequate hospital service with no taint of charity.
4. Homes for aged and invalid.
5. Night lodgings for men out of employment and without homes.
6. Adequate regular aid to widows with no implication of charity.
7. Pensions for all public employes.
8. Free public crematory.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH.

1. Inspection of food, punishment of all harmful adulteration.
2. Public disinfection after contagious diseases.
3. Publicly owned and administered baths, wash-houses, closets, laboratories, drug stores and such other things as care of public health demands.

FACTORY LEGISLATION.

1. Special laws for protection of women and children in both mercantile and industrial pursuits.
2. No child under eighteen to be permitted to work at any gainful occupation, including selling papers, blacking shoes, etc.

HOUSING QUESTION.

1. Strict legislation against over-crowding, provision for light and ventilation in all rooms.
2. Building of municipal apartments to rent at cost of care of buildings and depreciation—no return for ground rent to be demanded.
3. Condemnation and destruction by the city of all tenements not conforming to proper standards of light, ventilation and over-crowding.

PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT.

1. Direct employment by the city—abolition of contract system.
2. Fixing of minimum wage not lower than standard trade union rate.
3. Only union labor to be employed where unions exist.

TAXATION.

1. Progressive income tax where possible.
2. Taxation of ground rents.
3. Exemption of household furniture and laborers' homes.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. Erection of "Labor Temple" by municipality as headquarters, meeting place and educational center for laborers of the city.
2. Publication of a municipal-bulletin, containing complete news of all municipal activity.

Forms and Weapons of Social Revolution*

What will be the precise form under which the decisive battles between the ruling class and the proletariat will be fought out? When may we expect them to occur? What weapons will be at the service of the proletariat?

To these questions it is hard to give definite answers. We can to a certain degree suggest the *direction* of the development but not its *form* nor its *velocity*. The investigation of the direction of evolution concerns itself only with relatively simple laws. Here one can only isolate from the whole confused manifold, the phenomena which we recognize as not regular or necessary, or which appear to us as accidental. These latter on the contrary play an important part in the determination of the form and the velocity of the movement. For example, in all modern civilization the direction of capitalist development during the last century has been the same, but in every one of them the form and the velocity was very different. Geographical peculiarities, racial individualities, favor and disfavor of the neighbor, the restraint or assistance of great individualities, all these and many other things have had their influence. Many of these could not be foreseen, but even the most easily recognizable of these factors operate upon each other in such diverse ways that the result is so extremely complicated as to be impossible of determination from a previous stage. So it came about that even the people who through fundamental and comprehensive knowledge of the social relations of other civilized countries and by methodical and fruitful methods of research far exceeded all their contemporaries, as for example, Marx and Engels, were able to determine the direction of economic development for many decades in a degree that the course of events has magnificently justified. But even these investigators could strikingly err when it came to the question of predicting the velocity and form of the development of the next month.

There is only one thing I think that can be said with certainty to-day about the approaching revolution. It will be wholly different from any of its predecessors. It is one of the greatest mistakes that revolutionists as well as their opponents frequently commit to present the coming revolution according to the model of past ones for there is nothing easier than to prove that such revolutions are no longer possible. The conclusion is then at hand that

* This extract is taken from the advance proofs of Karl Kautsky's "The Social Revolution," translated by A. M. and May Wood Simons. This work is now in press and will be issued by Charles H. Kerr and Company in their Standard Socialist Series. Translation authorized by K. Kautsky.

the idea of a social revolution is an entirely outgrown one. It is the first time in the history of the world that we are confronted with a revolutionary struggle to be fought out under the application of democratic forms by organizations created upon the foundation of democratic freedom against resources such as the world has not yet seen, prominent among which are organizations of employers before which even monarchs bow, and whose power will be strengthened by the governmental powers of bureaucracy and militarism, which the modern great nations have inherited from absolutism.

One of the peculiarities of the present situation consists in the fact that, as we have already pointed out, it is no longer the governments which offer us the harshest resistance. Under absolutism, against which former revolutions were turned, the government was supreme and class antagonisms could not clearly develop. The government hindered not alone the exploited but also the exploiting classes from freely defending their interests. On the side of government there stood only a portion of the exploiting class; another and a very considerable part of the exploiters, namely, the industrial capitalists, were in the camp of the opposition, together with the whole mass of the laboring class—not simply proletarians, but also the small bourgeois and the peasants—except in some backward localities. Government was also isolated from the people. It had no hold on the broad masses of the populace; it represented the most highly favored strength of the oppression and the exploitation of the people. A *coup d'etat* could under certain circumstances suffice to overthrow it.

In a democracy not alone the exploited but the exploiting class can more freely develop their organization, and it is necessary that they do this if they are to be able to resist their opponents. The strength not only of the former but of the latter as well is greater than under absolutism. They use their forces recklessly and more harshly than the government itself, which no longer stands above them, but rather beneath them.

The revolutionary circles have also to deal not only with the government but also with the powerful organizations of the exploiters. And the revolutionary circles no longer represent as in the early revolutions an overwhelming majority of the people opposed to a handful of exploiters. To-day they represent in reality only one class, the proletariat, to which not only the whole body of the exploiting class, but also the whole body of the farmers, and a great majority of the intellectuals could stand opposed.

Only a fraction of the intellectuals and the very small farmers and the little bourgeois who are actually wage-workers and dependent on their custom unite with the proletariat. But these

are decidedly uncertain allies; they are all greatly lacking in just that weapon from which the proletariat draws all its strength—organization.

While the former revolutions were uprisings of the populace against the government, the coming revolution with the exception perhaps of Russia will have more of the character of the struggle of one portion of the people against another, and therein, and *only* therein resemble more the struggles of the Reformation than the type of the French Revolution. I might almost say that it will be much less of a sudden uprising against the authorities than a long drawn out *civil war*, if one does not necessarily join to these last words the idea of actual slaughter and battles. We have no ground to think that barricade battles and similar warlike accompaniments will play a decisive role to-day. The reasons for this have been given so often that I have no need of dallying longer concerning them. Militarism can only be overthrown by rendering the military itself faithless to the rulers, not through its being conquered by popular uprisings.

We have just as little to expect from a financial crisis as from an armed uprising in producing a collapse of existing conditions. In this respect the situation is also wholly different from that of 1789 and 1848. At that time capitalism was still weak, the accumulation of capital still slight and capital difficult to obtain. In this relation capital was partially hostile to absolutism or at least distrustful of it. The government was dependent upon capital and especially upon industrial capital and its development was impossible without it, or at least against its will. The dying feudalism, however, led to the drying up of all material sources of help so that the government received even less money from its lands and was ever more dependent upon the money lenders. This finally led to financial collapse or to concessions to the struggling class either of which events were able to bring about a political collapse.

It is wholly different to-day. Capitalism does not, like feudalism, lead to under-production, but to over-production, and chokes in its own fat. It is not a lack of capital, but superfluity of capital which to-day demands profitable investment and in pursuit of dividends draws back from no risk. The governments are completely dependent upon the capitalist class and the latter has every reason to protect and support them. The increase of public debts can only become a revolutionary factor in so far as it increases the pressure of taxes and therewith leads to an uprising of the lower classes, but scarcely (Russia perhaps must be excepted) to a direct financial collapse, or even to a serious financial embarrassment of the government. We have just as little cause to expect a revolution from a financial crisis as from an armed insurrection.

One means of battle and the exercise of influence, which is peculiar to the proletariat, is the organized withholding of labor—the *strike*. The more the capitalist manner of production develops and capital concentrates, the more gigantic the dimensions of the strike, and the more the capitalist manner of production presses the small industries, the more will the whole of society become dependent upon the undisturbed continuance of capitalist production and the more will every important disturbance of this latter, as for instance, a strike of great dimensions, bring with it national calamities and political results. At a certain height of economic development the strike will at once suggest itself as a means for political struggle. It has already appeared as such in France and Belgium and has been used with good results. In my opinion it will play a great role in the revolutionary battles of the future.

That has been my view for a long time. In my articles on the new party programme of 1891 (*Neue Zeit*, 1890-1891, No. 50, page 757) I pointed out the possibility that "under certain conditions, when a great decision is to be made, when great events have moved the labor masses to their depths an extensive cessation of labor may easily have great political results."

Naturally, I am not using the idea of a general strike in the sense that the anarchists and the French trade unionists use the word. To these latter the political and especially the Parliamentary activity of the proletariat is to be supplemented by the strike and it is to become a means to throw the social order overboard.

That is foolish. A general strike in the sense that all the laborers of the country at a given sign shall lay down their labor presupposes a unanimity and an organization of the laborers which is scarcely possible in present society, and which if it were once attained would be so irresistible that no general strike would be necessary. Such a strike would, however, at one stroke render impossible the existence not simply of existing society but all existence, and that of the proletarians long before that of the capitalist, and must consequently collapse uselessly at just the moment when its revolutionary virtue began to develop.

The strike as a political weapon will scarcely ever, certainly not in any time now visible, take on the form of a strike of *all* the laborers of a country. It can also not have the purpose of *displacing* the other means of political struggle but only of *supplementing* and *strengthening* them. We are now entering upon a time where opposed to the overwhelming power of organized capital an isolated non-political strike will be just as hopeless as is the isolated parliamentary action of the labor parties opposed to the pressure of capitalistically dominated governmental powers.

It will be ever more necessary that both should grow and draw new strength from co-operation.

As is the case with all new weapons the best manner to use a political strike must first be learned. It is not a cure-all as the anarchists announce it, and it is not an infallible means, under all conditions, as they consider it. It would exceed my purposes to investigate here the conditions under which it is applicable. Considering the latest events in Belgium I might observe that these have shown how very much it demands its own peculiar methods which do not favorably combine with other methods, as for example, with alliances with Liberals. I do not necessarily reject such an alliance under all conditions. It would be foolish for us not to utilize the disagreements and divisions of our opponents. But one should not expect more from the Liberals than they are able to grant. In the field of proletarian activity it may be easily possible under certain conditions that the opposition between them and us in regard to this and that measure may be less than between them and our bourgeois opponents. At such a time an alliance may have a place. But outside of the parliamentary field any effort for a revolutionary demand cannot be fought with Liberal aid. To seek to strengthen proletarian powers in such a struggle by a Liberal alliance is to attempt to use the weapons *for* a purpose that are ordinarily used to *defeat* that purpose. The political strike is a powerful proletarian weapon that is applicable only in a battle which the proletariat fights alone and in which it enters against the total bourgeois society. In this sense it is perhaps the most revolutionary weapon of the proletariat.

Moreover it is probable that still other means and methods of battle will develop of which we do not even dream to-day. There is this difference between the understanding of the *methods* and *organs* and of the *direction* of the social battle that the latter can be theoretically investigated in advance while the former are created in practice and can only be observed by the logicians afterwards, who can then investigate their significance for further evolution. Unions, strikes, corporations, trusts, etc., have sprung from practice and not from theory. In this field many surprises for us may yet appear.

As a means of hastening the political development and of bringing the proletariat into a position of political power war may play a part. War has already often shown itself to be a very revolutionary factor. There are historical situations in which revolution is necessary to the further progress of society but where the revolutionary classes are still too weak to overthrow the ruling powers. The necessity of revolution does not always imply that the aspiring classes should have just the right

strength at just the right moment. Unfortunately the world is not yet so purposefully planned as this. There are situations where revolution is undoubtedly demanded, where one ruling class should be displaced by another, but where the latter is still held in firm subjection by the former. If this situation continues too long the whole society collapses. Very often in such a situation war fulfills the function to which the aspiring class has not yet grown. It fulfills this in two ways. War can be carried on only by the exercise of all the powers of a people. If there is a deep division in the nation war will compel the governing class to grant concessions to the aspiring class which they would not have attained without the war.

If the governing class is not capable of such a sacrifice or yields too late for it to be effective then war can easily lead to defeat from without which carries with it a collapse within. A government resting mainly upon an army is overthrown as soon as the army is defeated.

So it has not unfrequently happened that war has been an extremely efficient means, even if brutal and destructive, to bring about a progress of which other means were incapable.

The German bourgeois, for example, was rendered too weak by the transference of the economic center of Europe to the sea coast of the Atlantic Ocean, and by the thirty years' war and its results to overthrow by its own strength the feudal absolutism. It was freed from this only through the Napoleonic wars and then later through the wars of the Bismarckian era. The legacy of 1848 was realized upon mainly through the wars of the counter-revolutionary forces as these forces had themselves been formerly established.

To-day we are in a period of external and internal political antagonisms analogous to that which existed in the 50's and 60's. Once more a mass of social tinder has accumulated. The problems of external and internal politics demanding solution become ever more tremendous. But none of the ruling classes or parties dare earnestly to attempt their solution because this is not possible without great upheavals and they shrink back from these because they have learned to know the gigantic power of the proletariat which every such great upheaval threatens to set free.

I have referred above to the decay of the internal political life which finds its most striking expression in the increasing decadence of Parliaments. But hand in hand with this is the decay of external politics. Every energetic policy that may lead to an international conflict is shunned, not from an ethical dislike of war, but for fear of the revolution, whose forerunner it may be. Accordingly the statesmanship of our rulers consists simply, not alone internally, but also externally, in placing every question

upon the shelf and thereby increasing the number of unsolved problems. Thanks to this policy there now exists a row of shadow States such as Turkey and Austria, which an energetic revolutionary race of a half century ago placed on the list of extinct States. On the other side, and for the same reason, the interest of the bourgeoisie has ceased completely to stand for an independent Polish national state.

But these social craters are not put out, they may burst out again any day in devastating war, like Mt. Pelee at Martinique. Economic evolution itself continually creates new craters, new causes of crises, new points of friction and new occasions for war-like developments, in that it awakens in the ruling classes a greed for the monopolization of the markets and the conquest of foreign colonies and in that it substitutes for the peaceful attitude of the industrial capitalist, the violent one of the financier.

The single security for freedom is found to-day in the fear of the revolutionary proletariat. We have yet to see how long this will restrain the ever increasing causes of conflict. And there are also a number of powers who have no independent revolutionary proletariat to fear and many of these are completely dominated by an unscrupulous, brutal clique of men of the "high finance." These powers, hitherto insignificant or peace-loving in international politics, are continuously becoming more prominent as international disturbers of peace. This is true most of all of the United States, but also of England and Japan. Russia has figured previously in the first place in the list of international disturbers; her heroic proletariat has momentarily restrained her. But just as over-confidence of a government in unrestricted interior power with no revolutionary class at its back, so also can the despair of a tottering government kindle a war. This was the case with Napoleon III. in 1870 and perhaps may yet be the case with Nicholas II. The great danger to the people of the world to-day is from these powers and their antagonisms and not from such as exist between Germany and France, or between Austria and Italy. We must reckon on the possibility of a war within a perceptible time and therewith also the possibility of political convulsions that will end directly in proletarian uprisings or at least in opening the way to them.

Let no one misunderstand me. I am investigating here, not prophesying and still less am I expressing wishes. I investigate what may happen; I do not declare what will happen, least of all do I demand what should happen. When I speak here of war as a means of revolution, that does not say that I desire war. Its horrors are so terrible that to-day it is only military fanatics whose ghastly courage could lead them to demand a war in cold blood. But even when a revolution is not a means to an end

but an end in itself, which even at the most bloody price could not be too dearly purchased, still one cannot desire war as a means to release revolution for it is the most irrational means to this end. It brings such terrible destruction and creates such gigantic demands upon the State that any revolution springing from it is heavily loaded with tasks that are not essential to it but which momentarily absorb all its means and energy. Consequently a revolution which rises from war is a sign of the weakness of the revolutionary class, and often the cause of further weakness, just because of the sacrifice that it brings with it, as well as by the moral and intellectual degradation to which war gives rise. It also increases enormously the tasks of the revolutionary regime and simultaneously weakens its powers. Accordingly a revolution springing from a war is easier wrecked or sooner loses its motive force. How wholly different were the results of the bourgeois revolution in France where it arose from an uprising of the people, from those in Germany, where it was imported through a number of wars. And the proletarian cause would have received much greater justice from the uprising of the Parisian proletariat if it had not been prematurely brought about by the war of '70 and '71, but had waited until a later period in which the Parisians would have had sufficient strength to have driven out Louis Napoleon and his band without a war.

We also have not the slightest ground to wish for an artificial acceleration of our advance by a war.

But things do not move according to our wishes. To be sure men make their own history, but they do not choose according to their desires the problems which they have to solve, nor the conditions under which they live, nor the means through which these problems are to be solved. If it came according to our wishes who of us would not prefer the peaceable to the violent road for which our present strength has perhaps not sufficiently grown and which perhaps would swallow us up. But it is not our task to express pious wishes and to demand of the world that it move in accordance with them, but to recognize the tasks, conditions and means which arise and to use the latter purposefully to a solution of the former.

Investigation of existing facts is the foundation of any rational policy. If I have arrived at the conviction that we are entering upon a revolutionary epoch, concerning whose conclusions everything is not yet clear, I am driven thereto by the investigation of actual conditions and not by my desires. I desire nothing more than that I may be wrong and that those may be right who maintain that the greatest difficulties of the transition period from capitalism to socialism lie behind us, and that we have all the essential foundations for a peaceful advance to socialism.

Unfortunately I see no possibility of accepting this view. The greatest and the most difficult of the battles for political power still lies before us. It will be decided only after a long and hard struggle that will test all our powers to the utmost.

One can do nothing worse to the proletariat than to advise it to rest upon its arms in order to encourage a favorable attitude of the bourgeoisie. Under present conditions this means nothing less than to deliver the proletariat over to the bourgeoisie and bring it into intellectual and political dependence upon the latter, to enervate and degrade it and make it incapable of fulfilling its great historical purposes.

The proof that this is not exaggerated is furnished by the English laborers. Nowhere is the proletariat more numerous, nowhere is its economic organization better developed, nowhere is its political freedom greater than in England, and nowhere is the proletariat politically more helpless. It has not simply lost all independence in the higher politics. It no longer knows how to even preserve its immediate interests.

Here also we may again refer to the previously cited article of Webb, which certainly cannot be suspected of being consciously revolutionary. "During the upward movement of the last ten years," he says, in the previously mentioned article, "the participation of the English laborers in labor politics has gradually decreased. The eight-hour law and the constructive Socialism of the Fabians to which the unions turned so eagerly in the period of '90 and '93 ceases more and more to occupy their thoughts. The number of labor representatives in the Lower House does not increase."

Even the latest scourgings of their opponents have not served to rouse the proletariat of England. They remain dumb, even when their hands are rendered powerless, dumb when their bread is made more costly. The English laborers to-day stand lower as a political factor than the laborers of the most economically backward country in Europe—Russia. It is the real revolutionary consciousness in these latter that gives them their great political power. It is the renunciation of revolution, the narrowing of interest to the interests of the moment, to the so-called practical politics, that have made the latter a cipher in actual politics.

But in this practical politics the loss of political power goes hand in hand with moral and political degradation.

I have referred above to the moral re-birth of the proletariat which has transformed them from the barbarians of modern society into the most significant factor in the maintenance and furtherance of our culture. But they have only so risen when they have remained in sharpest antagonism to the bourgeoisie; where the strife for political power has kept alive in them the conscious-

ness that they are called to raise themselves together with the whole of society. Here, again, England offers us an illustration of a laboring class who renounce revolution and care only for practical politics, laughing scornfully at their ideals hung on a peg at one side and casting from them every goal of battle that they cannot express in pounds and shillings. From the mouths of the bourgeois themselves come complaints of that moral and intellectual decay of the elite of the English laborers which they share with the bourgeoisie itself and to-day indeed they are scarcely more than little bourgeois and are distinguished from them only by a somewhat greater lack of culture. Their highest ideal consists in aping their masters and in maintaining their hypocritical respectability, their admiration for wealth, however it may be obtained, and their spiritless manner of killing their leisure time. The emancipation of their class appears to them as a foolish dream. Consequently, it is foot-ball, boxing, horse racing and opportunities for gambling which move them the deepest and to which their entire leisure time, their individual powers, and their material means are devoted.

One seeks hopelessly to rouse by political preaching the English laborers to a higher way of life, to a mind capable of nobler considerations. The ethic of the proletariat flows from its revolutionary efforts and it is these which have strengthened and ennobled it. It is the idea of the revolution which has brought about that wonderful elevation of the proletariat from its deepest degradation, which elevation stands as the greatest result of the second half of the nineteenth century.

To this revolutionary idealism we must above all cling fast, then come what will, we can bear the heaviest, attain the highest, and remain worthy of the great historical purpose that awaits us.

Capitalism an Ethical Movement.

THERE is a fad called pessimism, a gentleman's fad; which while despairing of the general believes always in the particular man in spite of its cynical contras. When I say it is a fad, I do not thereby deny that it is a conviction rightly, that is, necessarily begotten in fairly sincere minds, whose lives have been lived on false premises. The impossibility of decent society by any other means than the conquest and privation of the masses under the immoral fixtures of private property, forces the thinking man either to deny morality to society itself, or to deny it altogether, or to deny it of the individual. That morality is vital logic he does not know; that the mind does no other sort of reasoning but moral reasoning, which for the convenience and safety of high classed sinners, has been turned off into verbal, or literal, or geometrical, or numerical forms, and thus called pure reason; disguises, which it will be a part of the evolution of the intellect under Socialism to take off, and thus restore pure reason to mankind, in its own robes; the robes of morality.

Now the sincere gentleman who has come to the forked roads, just mentioned, being above all things convinced of himself, reduces his three roads to one, that is;—whether there is any morality. If there is none, and everything around tends to convince him of this, he is alone in the world; and that is where suicide comes in, or this tremendous scorn of insane ego—pessimism. The gift of scorn becomes highly developed in the man who loves himself too well, he does not wish to quarrel with himself at home nor to tell that self before others how much he despises him; but he tells himself abroad, he does not spare himself in the other fellow.

“You cannot afford to know any hero upon this earth,” he cries, if you want to remain in the enjoyment of your delusion as a hero worshiper “Keep away from the man you admire,” and he pauses there. He is a pessimist because he pauses there.

The way to truth is without pauses, it is an unbroken way. He has uttered a part of the great truth of life. He has expressed a section of the endless vital cable of truthing, one section of it only, and then he went asleep.

Herein lies the marrow of evolutionary collective truth, as compared with truth manifested to ego. The first never breaks off; its truth is in its vitality; its vitality is in its power continuously and its omnipresence.

When the collectionist has done his life of truthing he will leave the end of the last nerve, the last vein, the last fibre of truth which he has handled, still quick and quivering, ready to be taken up and attached to, by the next live thinking of any school that follows. Truth is a flowing on life.

Contrary to this, the unevolutional thinker, for no individual thinker whatsoever may be his protests to the contrary, or however he may patronize evolutionary philosophy, can be a thought evolutionist; asserts a truth once, writes it down law and retires from truthing to look after his property, for which in fact, his entire philosophy is but an afterthought or a policeman. This individualist has become tired with thinking, especially with other persons' thinking in which, indeed, he sees the only constant peril in sight for his property. He has become pessimistic concerning other people's right of going on to think, miserable crew that they are, after he has left off; therefore he wants to close up the fountain with the seal of definition and final law.

The individualist though always on the way to pessimism, concerning things outside of himself and his property, is really never consciously pessimistic of himself; and never at all pessimistic as to his ability to wrap up truth in a final statement of his own—a law, which he bequeaths to posterity, or to nature, just telling them how to go for ever after he has ceased to tick. He winds up the world, makes his will and commits suicide. He has lived and died an exhibit of the agonizing impossibility of the private life, as the motor of society. He, like all other merely private thinkers, does his little part of world thought, not in a continuous line, for the limit of one life forbids that, but in a pendulous swing over a small arc of the circle; the perpendicular line of which separates *mine* from *thine*. This is the perpetual agony of indecision which at last the egoist pessimist settles by resting, he is defeated as a thinker; being handicapped by the private consideration which stands like a ghost over all his meditations; and he acknowledges his moral defeat and unfaith by becoming a moral suicide—a pessimist.

He asks if life is worth living and decides that it is not, "but that the things that are in it are worth having." He says life is not worth living because he never lived in the whole life of a man, he never lived outside his own private property relation. He transfers the sanctions of deed and thought from human life to the things produced by it; not to the life produced by it, as the collectivist does, who regards each deed and thought as on the line of a great organic process from the private to the public way. He turns all his interest from men to their property; and proceeds to steal that—to organize a government for the pur-

pose of confiscating by law all the property of labor as it is in process of production. He proceeds ultimately to give moral significance to the quantitative side of his gettings, his new life; he measures manhood by this sort of success and scales up the moral standard of humanity in figures of from one to nine ciphers. He settles here, just as might be expected from a life that is not a mind in evolution, but a mind seeking surcease of thought and the reign of law; law in fixity, the law of "thus far," which he can state and of which he is the interpreter, and not that reign of law which a collectivist will teach; the law which expresses itself evermore in a motion out of itself; not to better things (which are incidents of the progress); but to better law, to the progression onwards of a universal life out of ego.

I am condemning no man for this teaching, nor for any other erroneous believing or thinking. I hold that the wail of the pessimist is one of the wholesomest things we have heard in our century. I know that the private property man only reasons in parts; across that little segment of his estate which time and place have assigned him on the circle of life; and I claim that there is a mind a-coming, which will, like a charge of electricity, break from one system of philosophy to another and reveal to the astonished doctrinaires how sacred all thought has been; and how it is possible when standing on the social mount to find a pattern which includes them all.

When the pessimist told us all to get away far from the men that we would continue to admire, he had reached one side of his own swinging pendulum only, and stopped there. Suppose he had continued, even within his own area, and own possibilities. Suppose he had permitted the pendulum to swing to the other side; he would then have the counterman, "Come near to the man you despise and look at him earnestly, and begin your life's work there with him." Do you despise the workers? Is the class struggle utterly a loathsome thing to you? Come near to it. Your only way to escape moral death is to learn to live and work for that which you love not, that is to work for the life outside of you. Since you love no other life, at present, but your own.

There may come a time, thousands of years hence, when altruism will too much weaken the private and personal stem. When that weakness comes the current of universal life will turn the other way.

Evil and good, which philosophy and religionists have been so long eager to get into parchment, or to print, will not go in; because they are together parts of one process. Evil is the discovering of the superfluous. Good is the putting of it out of the way. The first part of the function is performed by the single

life, the second by the sub-conscious or collective life. In other words, the private life is negative and critical, its whole ethical range is to take things out of the way; while the public life is a construction, an integration of organically elected things, thoughts, institutions, etc., discovered by the private scavenger. The private life is a casting off of old tissue, the public or manhood life is that force which is taking up always new and untried matter in an effort to absorb it, literally particles of matter, out of a yet unreclaimed universe, as well as of the thoughts, with which they have now kindred.

Now nothing in all this universe shall be lost to life ultimately—the whole will yet live. And certainly no human thoughts, or experiences, or philosophies, or religions, shall be long deemed unclean things.

Capitalism is strictly a moral movement. Its master idea of the economic handling of labor is on a clear parallel with the conception of truth above stated, which conception, I believe, can not easily be refuted and may not be opposed by those who believe in a progressive world.

In the pulse of its machinery, in the iron bound hands of the multitude of workers to one purpose, in its gradual disarming of the private man industrially, pointing thereby to the general disarming of the private masterhoods of the race; in its world market vision, soon to be extended to other hopes than that of the profit monger; in its imposed and despotic internationalism of helplessness to the laboring world, soon to burst into the power of international helpfulness; in its steady development of the idea that the unrequired shall be cast off—the spare man, the surplus worker. In this economic tragedy of commerce, it is working out all the great hope of the world and establishing the ethic of the future.

Capitalism needs only one thing left out of it to be Socialism, and that is the private property demand for finality. Take that away and you take away its evil; and lo it moves on, a part of the grand universal march of humanity.

Peter E. Burrowes.

A German Municipal Program.



T the recent national convention of the German Socialist Party, held in Munich during the latter part of September, Dr. Lindemann introduced the following resolution on municipal politics which was adopted:

1. The municipality serves a two-fold purpose in the modern state. It is a local administration, serving the economic and social interests of a population confined to a certain place, and it is an auxiliary organ of administrative and political control by the state. In either case, the municipality is subject to the tendency, resulting from the class organization of the state and society, of shaping the administrative policy in the interest of the ruling class.

2. True to its fundamental principle that the way for a rational administration in the interest of all members of society can only be cleared by the abolition of class rule, the Socialist Party demands the complete reorganization of the municipal administration on the principle that all local administration is at the same time state administration, subject only to the law and the courts. As means for this purpose are advocated:

a. Election of municipal representatives by universal, equal direct and secret ballot; adherence to the principle of equal rights to all members of the municipality; abolition of all privileges of property.

b. Restriction of the right of supervision by the state to the right of inspecting the activity of the municipality; abolition of the right of the state to control the local administration.

c. Adjustment of municipal taxation in an equitable manner; abolition of all municipal duties on food stuffs; contribution of the state to the funds required by the municipality for sanitation, public schools, assistance to the poor; a progressive tax on incomes, wealth, and legacies; special municipal taxes on land and buildings, according to their value.

3. The municipal activity finds its special expression in the field of public hygiene, supervision of buildings and homes, social economy, care of the destitute, public education and public franchises.

The following principles are the basis of municipal administration:

a. The installation and administration of municipal plants shall take place under the management of the municipality.

b. All public services, if charged for, shall be given at cost.

4. The following detailed demands are made in regard to the different fields of municipal activity.

A.—Public Hygiene.

1. Conservation of public health. Municipal management of drainage, scavenger work, street cleaning, sewage, public closets.

Regulation of the supply of necessities of life by the institution of public market halls, department stores, stock yards and abattoirs, bureaus of examination and testing, by the production and distribution of milk, bread, meat, and the control of the drink traffic.

Physical training by the help of public baths, public gymnasiums, and public play grounds, and parks.

2. Cure and prevention of disease by the erection of public hospitals, homes for consumptives, insane asylums, homes for convalescents, pregnant women and babies, quarantine stations, accident stations, public drug stores, etc.

3. Transfer of the undertaking business to the municipality, obligatory institution and employment of morgues, burial of all members of the municipality without distinction and free of charge.

B.—Supervision of Buildings and Homes.

1. Acquisition of land by the municipality, revision and completion of building plans and building ordinances, abolition of the tenement system, encouragement of small builders, completion and management of the street railway system.

2. Institution of public real estate offices for the purpose of inspecting buildings, gathering statistics, and furnishing information to home seekers.

3. Building of homes and renting of the same at a price that will cover the cost of erection, keeping in repair, and gradually repay the capital.

C.—Public Education.

1. Uniform public schools. Free instruction, text-books and other necessary materials. The principles of school hygiene and pedagogy to be the sole consideration in building, supplying and conserving school houses, in fixing the number of pupils in a class, the school hours of pupils and teachers; institution of auxiliary classes for slow-witted pupils; care of the pupils' health by school physicians; free distribution of food for pupils. Opening of the universities to the talented children of the proletariat.

2. Institution and management of public libraries and reading rooms, and of institutes for public amusement, such as public theaters, public music halls, etc.

D.—Public Franchises.

Municipal administration of water works, lighting plants, power houses, public warming houses, street railways, steamboats, docks, warehouses, etc., and of advertising publications, bill posting, etc.

E.—Political Economy.

1. General Economy.

More effective protection for laborers; institution of labor exchanges with the duties of statistical bureaus, employment agencies, care of the unemployed, information to applicants, and supervision of municipal labor questions; regulation of the contract system in such a manner that union wages are paid in contracts carried out by the municipality, and by private contractors doing work for the municipality; elimination of the strike clause; prohibition of making contracts for municipal work with members of the public service of the municipality.

2. Special Economy.

Institution of labor committees for the purpose of taking care of the interests of the laborers; employed in the municipality; fixing of rules and conditions of work with the assistance of the labor committees and of the trade union committee of the municipal laborers; fixing of the scale of wages on a trade union basis; increase of wages with the number of years of employment; eight hour day; vacation with full pay; foundation of funds for old age pensions, for widows and orphans; extension of insurance against old age, sickness, accidents, and inability to work to all employes of the municipality.

F.—Care of the Destitute.

Secularization of charity; far-reaching employment of honorary members, especially of women; open and sufficient assistance to poor; care of physically suffering poor in special homes; erection of houses of refuge and warming halls without police control; care of orphans and foster children on hygienic and pedagogic principles.

Much of what Dr. Lindermann said in support of his resolution also holds good in the United States. Some of the points of his resolution, however, are of no moment in this country, on account of the vastly different conditions. We are, of course, fully in harmony with his general remarks on the relation of the municipality and the state, which are in substance as follows:

Municipal politics are limited by the fact that the municipality is a comparatively small territory within the frame work of the state. A thousand threads are connecting the municipality with the state and with other municipalities. Every progress of the municipality is thus economically and politically dependent on

the conditions of the state. It is clear that we cannot municipalize such branches of industry as are not yet organized to the point of maturity by the capitalists. Progress is not alone dependent on the distribution of power in the municipality, but also on the relative power of the different classes in the state. We cannot have a communist municipality within the capitalist state any more than we can have a successful communist colony. The capitalist state and law would soon make an end of it. The municipality as well as the state are controlled by the ruling classes. The progress of the municipality cannot, therefore, be any more rapid than that of the state. The administration and organization of the municipality cannot be very much ahead of that of the state.

Still the state cannot escape from the effect of marked desire for progress in the municipality. No decree of any centralized power can make progress possible, until the municipality is ready for it. The unsuccessful laws of the last decade prove that. On the other hand, if the municipality is ready for progress, the state cannot long oppose it.

For these reasons the active participation of the Socialist Party in municipal administration is of the greatest importance. The direct effect of this participation is often more appreciable than our participation in state and national government. The members of the municipality stand nearer to its administration than to that of the state and nation, and the elections to municipal offices are more frequent.

In order to make the direct influence of the voters on the municipal representatives more effective, it is necessary that the municipality should be autonomous, and independent of state control. The right of the state to interfere by its political and judiciary power must be restricted. The relation of the American municipality to the state is different from that in the old countries. For this reason the remarks of Dr. Lindemann on this point are irrelevant to our local problems. The American Socialist Party must define its own position on this question. Under the present circumstances, the national convention cannot lay down any rule that can be followed equally well in all states. For nearly every state has different laws regulating the relation of the municipality to the state, ranging from the Massachusetts town meeting to the "Ripper"-legislation of Pennsylvania. The national convention can, therefore, at best only declare what it would regard as the ideal relation of the municipality to the state, and leave it to the judgment of the different state parties to solve the question as best they may. So much is certain, that in those states, where "Ripper"-legislation places the municipality at the

mercy of the state, the Socialists will do well to concentrate their attack on the state rather than on the municipality in order to strike at the root of the capitalist fort of politics.

In order to make the members of the municipality the arbiters of their own fate, all adult members of both sexes must have the right to vote. And this right must not be curtailed by any poll tax or by any change of residence from one part of the town to another. The only restriction on the franchise should be a certain time of residence in the city previous to the elections. Any attempt to "colonize" voters shortly before election should be prevented.

The question of the regulation of taxation also presents a different aspect in this country than in Germany. While Dr. Lindemann, and with him the national convention of the German Socialists, demand the regulation of taxation by the state, we in the United States cannot indorse this position without at the same time renouncing the principle of local autonomy. Not only is the majority of the American working class exempt from certain taxes which the German workingman is forced to pay to the municipality and the state for various purposes, but there is no conflict between the municipality and the state on the apportionment of taxes, unless political wirepullers use "Ripper"-legislation to exploit the taxpayers for the benefit of their own political party.

Very little good can be accomplished for the American working class by any form of taxation, unless we succeed in establishing a graduated income tax on land, buildings, and capitalist incomes for the purpose of using the funds thus obtained for the benefit of the working class. The great incomes being derived from surplus values wrung from the working class either by direct exploitation in the process of production or by direct and indirect "taxation" in the process of consumption, the restoration of these surplus values to the working class by the graduated income tax is the main concern of the American Socialist Party. But this will hardly be instituted in an American municipality, until the Socialists control the supreme courts of the state and nation.

Dr. Lindemann's remarks on the building and housing question contain much which we can accept without any restriction. We fully agree with him that the purchase of land, buildings, and railways by the municipality is nothing but a palliative and does not change the fact, and very little of the intensity, of exploitation. This whole municipal and Fabian Socialism is only one of the many social illusions with which reformers deflect the attention of the working class from the main trouble, capitalist exploitation

by the help of private ownership of the essential means of production. They help the working class very little. The great means of emancipation, the expropriation of the capitalists from the land and means of production and distribution, can only be the work of a majority of class conscious workers. All these measures belong much more to the domain of the crushed middle class, which, though proletarian in fact, still is bourgeois in mind, than to the work of the Socialist party, especially under the present advanced economic conditions in the United States. Still the Socialist representatives in the municipalities will use their best efforts to have suitable legislation of this kind enacted, which would certainly bring some relief to the working class.

There is nothing in the other demands of Dr. Lindemann's resolution that we could not fully make our own. Public hygiene, public education, amelioration of the condition of the working class by the help of the trade union demands, assistance to the needy by the municipality rather than by private institutions of "charity," all these are problems which we would gladly solve under the present system if the capitalists would only let us. And if Socialists will be elected to municipal offices, they will certainly voice the sentiments of the Socialist Party in this way and assist any other political party that will sincerely advocate them to the best of their powers. Senator Patterson of Colorado, in arguing that we do not permit any of our party members to vote for any other political party, did not see that there is nothing to prevent any of our elected candidates from voting in favor of any measure which Mr. Patterson should be willing to introduce "for the benefit of the working class."

In conclusion, let us remember that other and more vital problems are being pushed to the front in this country. In giving due consideration to municipal questions, let us not forget that the most "immediate demand" and immediate problem is the conquest of the political powers by the class conscious proletariat. Let us remember that the rural proletariat is waking up to a consciousness of its true condition and to the only solution of its servitude, and that we cannot afford to be simply a party of and for the city proletariat, at this stage, when nine-tenths of the population are practically proletarians.

We must define our position on these questions. But in defining them, we can choose the form of a resolution, the same as we did on the trade union, the negro and the injunction question. Such a resolution is as good a campaign document as a platform, and does not lead to the confusion which the immediate demand tail has caused in our platform. The issue to be fought out in this or the next presidential election will be Capital versus

Labor. Let us go into that fight with a platform that makes this issue and relegates all other demands to their proper position in a resolution to be used for municipal campaigns alone. And let our national platform be a simple declaration of war between Capitalism and Socialism.

Ernest Untermann.

A Short Cut.



ALTER THOMAS MILLS needs but fifty words to tell what one must believe in to be a Socialist, and ten will do—free access to collectively owned and managed means of production.

Two words name the object sought—equal opportunity.

One word may answer later—equality.

Socialists in every country are, by means of association and education, striving to break down the political and industrial barriers between them and their goal.

In each country the Socialists of that country seek to free themselves by attacking, with a thin skirmish line, the strong and fully manned section of the capitalistic stockade with which they are in immediate contact.

This is, after all, but a section of a continuous fence within which the workers of all countries are penned.

Is it necessary to overthrow this fence throughout its entire length in order to escape?

Is there not a short cut?

Will not a single breach suffice?

Can not the prisoners of all countries unite, if not their votes at least their purses, in one concerted, irresistible rush upon a single section of this stockade?

Will this not open a way of escape for *all* much sooner than the present plan of undermining the supports throughout the whole world? Can private capitalism long stand, anywhere, after the establishment of *one* great Co-operative Commonwealth?

If the point of attack is wisely selected, a country having the natural resources necessary for the support of a much larger population than it now has, will not the inducements it can hold out to the workers of other lands quickly disrupt the profit system elsewhere? If not, why not?

All who were able would go to the Co-operative Commonwealth at once, and those who could not would become Socialists in short order, owing to the combined effects of the object lesson and the direct help given other Socialists by the first grateful beneficiary of the "trust" method of International Socialism.

Is the idea not eminently practical—and feasible?

If so, let us apply it.

Let the Socialists of the world determine the best country to begin with, carefully weighing all conditions, and then let us all join in creating a World Fund, contributing liberally, regardless of what country may be selected.

Only in some such way can we demonstrate our sincerity in our assertions that Socialism is a world movement, and our sagacity in perceiving (in case some other country is selected) that the longest way round may be the shortest way out.

Surely we could contribute an average of at least two dollars each yearly to such a fund—this would mean ten million dollars a year. Would this sum not do wonders in Germany, France, Italy—or here? Let us rise to the plane of private capitalism at least—that plane already overlooks national frontiers—let us view the whole battle field, not confine our view to merely local aspects of the fight. If the victory can be won more quickly by a radical change in the disposition of our forces and point of attack, let us *be* radical.

George W. Rives.

Is it a Short Cut ?



HERE is no doubt but every Socialist would welcome a short cut if he was sure it would lead to the co-operative commonwealth. I am not certain, and I think many Socialists will share my misgivings that the Comrade has not discovered a by-path ending in a capitalist morass rather than a short cut to Socialism.

Capitalism is not a stockade as he would picture it from which we are trying to escape, it is a system which is destined to be transformed by the intelligent action of the proletariat to a higher social stage which we call the co-operative commonwealth. It cannot be transformed piecemeal but must be transformed as a whole. This does not mean transformed at once; the transformation may take a long time, but the entire organism will be affected.

He asks: "Can private capitalism long stand anywhere after the establishment of one great commonwealth?" Let us turn this round and ask, Can one little co-operative commonwealth stand anywhere while private capitalism dominates the major portion of the earth?

The victory of the proletariat to be effective must be by a class-conscious proletariat, that is, an intelligent proletariat conscious of its mission and the means to its accomplishment. This demands the widest possible education, and to my mind it is one of the greatest reasons for rejoicing that up to the present time Socialism has shown no signs of concentration. There is no country of which it can be distinctly said that it is in every respect far in advance of several other countries. It is only because of this fact that when the proletariat gains the victory in some one country capitalism as a whole is doomed. If the efforts of the Socialists were concentrated in advance upon some one country, to the exclusion of others, the capture of the favored country would simply invite the violence of the capitalist countries and would mean that the whole struggle would need to be gone over again. At least this is the way the facts appear to me, and it is a question of the interpretation of facts and not of abstract theories.

A. M. Simons.

Don't Go to a Convention—Go to Work.

I HERE are two general tendencies in the Socialist party, the one to organize a political party with the supreme authority of the party not only vested in the membership but continuously administered by the membership of the party; the other, to organize a sort of military organization under the pretence of organizing a political party, with all authority vested in a committee, the rank and file to have no voice except in a case of appeal, and then a referendum is to be regarded as in some way an attack, or at least a reflection, upon the committee and those asking for the referendum to be counted as kickers or rebels.

The Socialist party has grown with such rapidity in the last year that it is admitted now that this increase of Socialist votes is the most striking political event in the last forty years. This increase has been secured by the circulation of literature, by the holding of public meetings, by a campaign which has been carried on by local committees, by men who have secured subscribers to Socialist papers, circulated Socialist books, worked in a hand-to-hand way with their friends and neighbors arguing the merits of Socialism and multiplying the strength of the Socialist movement.

The Socialist movement and the Socialist party were never so strong as to-day. But the complaint is continually made by a small group of the Socialists acting under the leadership of certain members of the National Quorum, that there is something fatally defective in the organization of our party. The constitution of the party requires a semi-annual report of the standing and strength of the organization. The National Quorum recently published what claimed to be such a report. It is not my purpose to criticize this report, but only to call attention to the fact that the information contemplated by the constitution was not given but that instead a general argument was made, for holding a national convention to revise the constitution and not to hold the January meeting of the National Committee in accordance with the constitution. The complaint against the constitution is based upon the assumption that it gives the National Committee too little power.

The secretary of the quorum has been asked to state the substance of the amendment required, with the assurance from the friends of State autonomy that any amendment necessary to secure the enforcement of the constitution and the defense of the platform and the national party within the several States would be supported unanimously by the friends of State autonomy. But

he has refused to submit for the consideration of the committee, or anyone else, the form of the amendment asked for.

In the meantime an agitation has been going on from St. Louis, and at least one letter has been written from the National Headquarters defending the DeLeon program and the DeLeon tactics and insisting that our party must adopt and follow the model of the Socialist Labor party.

The National Committee voted against recommending a National convention, because there are no questions relating to the growth or the government of the Socialist party which cannot be handled either by a committee or by means of the referendum.

But what about State autonomy? If the change desired by the National Quorum is that no literature shall be circulated, no public meetings held, no propaganda be carried on in any State except under the direction of the National Quorum; and if it means that all local disputes within the party shall be subject to an appeal to and an adjustment by the National Quorum; then it ought to be stated that there is not a respectable fraction of the Socialists of this country that would submit to such a program.

The best people to adjust local differences are the people who are on the ground and know all about them. The best place to raise funds for campaign purposes is in the neighborhood where the campaign is to be carried on; the best people to expend this money are the people who are able to raise it; the best test of the value of any propaganda work, or of any literature or the various Socialist papers, is not whether they have the trade-mark of the St. Louis quorum, but whether the comrades are able to use them in their local work in such a way as to produce results; and the comrades themselves should be the judges as to the value of the service rendered by speakers, papers or other documents.

What is wanted is not one hundred delegates in a national convention. What is wanted is one hundred thousand Socialists talking with their neighbors, circulating literature, holding public meetings, and getting subscribers for the party press.

The National Committee in its session nearly a year ago directed the National Secretary to prepare blanks and to arrange for reports from individuals to their locals, from locals to the secretaries of the States, and from the States to the National Committee. And the secretary was instructed to publish monthly a summary of these reports in order that the party work might be so stimulated, and the whole body of the party membership set to work to make the Socialist party the ruling party in American politics. It was also voted that a list of national speakers be prepared; nominations were to be made by the members of the National Committee, a referendum to all the members of the committee be taken and the men set to work. The nominations were

made, the referendum was taken, *but the men so elected have not yet been notified of their election.* But a general circular was issued to the effect that the National Quorum could not make appointments for the speakers elected and declared further that the speakers so elected must not make use of the fact that they had been so elected as a means to secure appointments on their own account.

I think the blanks ought to be prepared and their use encouraged. I think these speakers ought to be set to work. If there are not funds to employ them, they should at least be permitted to employ themselves. They are doing so anyway. I do not think an amendment to the constitution is necessary to accomplish these results. I am persuaded that all that is necessary is an amendment to the understanding which the National Quorum has of its own duties.

There have been no troubles in Utah, nor in Nebraska, nor in North Dakota, nor in Kansas—all of which States have been giving the Local Quorum trouble—there has been no trouble in any of these States which in any way indicates the necessity of changing the constitution. There have been some slight difficulties which would suggest the wisdom of certain changes at St. Louis. But a National Convention will not be necessary to attend to this. All that will be needed will be a meeting of the National Committee. The National Quorum advises the National Committee not to meet. As a member of the committee I am unwilling to accept the advice. It advises instead a National Convention to revise the constitution. It will be time to accommodate the National Quorum with a new constitution when it shall have once gone to work performing its duties under the constitution as it is.

No two members of the quorum ought to be members of the same local in any State. Not more than two members of the quorum should be residents of the same State. The constitution was drawn especially in such a way as to make possible the organization of the Local Quorum in this way.

It was the purpose of the Chicago comrades, had they won the National Headquarters, to have Michigan, Wisconsin, Indiana and Illinois represented on the Local Quorum. When the National Committee gets together and frankly discusses the situation, I am sure there are no difficulties which cannot be adjusted.

The duty of the hour is to make one hundred thousand more Socialists between this and the January meeting, and then make a half-million more before the next election, and to make these members of the party after a plan which will make a LOCAL REBEL and a NATIONAL BOSS alike impossible.

Walter Thomas Mills.

A Correction.

Berlin W. 30, Oct. 25, 1902.

To the Editor of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW :

Dear Sir : In your latest issue the writer of the article, "How Much Have the Trusts Accomplished?" after having quoted a letter of Mr. S. N. D. North saying that in almost all the great lines of industry the tendency is to a decrease in the number of separate establishments, etc., continues : "Yet those are all assertions, the truth of which a Bernstein will contest."

I am rather loth to reply to misrepresentations, be they ever so wild, but for once an exception may be permitted, and so I venture to ask the writer of the above to kindly let me know where "a Bernstein" has uttered words which would justify such a conclusion. Surely not in the much-attacked book, "Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus." For if my opponent proceeds to read there the chapter on the evolution of industrial establishments he will meet the following sentence :

"If the incessant progress of technical methods and centralization in a growing number of branches of industry is a *truth, the significance of which even blockheaded reactionists scarcely hide from themselves to-day*, it is a truth not less established that in quite a number of trades small and medium establishments prove to be perfectly able to live at the side of great establishments. Also in industry there is no pattern of evolution of equal validity for all trades" (I. c. pp. 52-58).

This is the statement the truth and bearing of which I have tried to convey to the readers of the book. Whether the statistics I have adduced for its support are scientific or not may remain undiscussed here. But it may be said that the criticisms directed against them have so little shaken my convictions in the truth of what I have written on the subject that when I prepared the new edition of the before-named book I have seen no reason to alter even a single sentence in this respect, nor can the facts upon which your contributor bases his conclusions modify this conviction. I can heartily endorse what Mr. North says without in the slightest degree contradicting my own statement.

I hope, sir, you will find space enough to insert these lines in your esteemed review. In case you should take some greater interest in the subject you will find a reference to it and the opinion of some statisticians of renown in the preface to the new edition of the book in question.

Believe me, my dear sir and comrade, faithfully yours,

Ed. Bernstein.

EDITORIAL

Socialism in the Election.

The Socialists are about the only ones who have any particular reason for rejoicing over the results of the recent election. The Republican party, though nominally victorious, finds its majority cut down, while the growing Socialist vote in such States as Massachusetts and Pennsylvania warns them that Mark Hanna's prophecy will soon be realized, and that the defenders of plutocracy will in the Socialist party find a new and much more powerful enemy than the old. Meanwhile the Democratic party has well-nigh ceased to be an active factor in American political life. With almost as many different platforms as there were States in the Union it made little headway on any of them. Perhaps it did the best where it came the nearest to fooling the people into believing it was entering on the road to Socialism.

At the present moment Massachusetts leads the Socialist column. Her greatly increased vote and her added representation in the Legislature, where Comrade Wallace C. Ramsden, of Brockton, goes to add his efforts to those of Comrades Carey and Macartney in shaking up the plutocratic bones in the Massachusetts Legislature entitle her to this place. In this connection we believe it is much more than a coincidence that Massachusetts has the lowest percentage of illiteracy of any State in the Union. When we combine highly developed capitalism with an intelligent proletariat the result is Socialism just as surely as a combination of fire and water will produce steam.

The great coal strike in Pennsylvania, combined with active propaganda and general economic advance, has placed that State alongside of New York in the struggle for the second place in the Socialist column. Illinois has forged ahead almost as rapidly as either of the other two States, and Chicago is only a little behind Greater New York in the number of Socialist votes and is far ahead of any other city in the United States.

Ohio must also be reckoned among the States which gives particular cause for gratification. For several years this State has been the center of all kinds of political freakism, but while Johnson and Jones were doing much to make Socialism ridiculous, they were nevertheless attracting the attention of the world, and the real thing was bound to come along not far behind. The remarkable growth of the Socialist party in Ohio indicates that from now on counterfeit Socialism will be at a discount in that State. Because of the clearness with which the line has been drawn in this State some rather significant tests of

loyalty to Socialism were offered. Among those who broke down beneath the test was the Clarion Club of Cincinnati, which has claimed the name of Socialism and has been looked upon as part of the Socialist army, but at the last moment betrayed the cause for which it claimed to stand by indorsing the Democratic ticket. In spite of this fact, however, Cincinnati raised her vote from 1,141 in 1900 to 4,500.

Wisconsin is another State which has forged to the front, being now among the foremost of any State in the Union as to percentage of Socialist votes to total votes cast. Throughout the West there was a remarkably high percentage of increase. In Colorado and Montana particularly the vote was multiplied many fold.

In this we see, of course, the work of the American Labor Union, although there is no doubt but what the country was ripe for Socialism and had been for some little time.

It has been noted by some of the Socialist papers that one very gratifying feature of the election was that the vote showed no sign of concentration. With the exception of the Black Belt of the South, there is scarcely a State in the Union which does not show a large increase. The National Executive Committee now announce that they are arranging to send an organizer into the Southern States, and we may expect to see these in line for the election of 1904. In connection with this fact there is another sign of equal importance, and that is that the growth everywhere shows signs of being a steady, healthy development. There have been very few sudden leaps and no absolute loss.

The capitalist press of the country have been startled by the strength shown by the party in this election. In Massachusetts especially the consternation has been great. But throughout the country there is evidence that "the conspiracy of silence" is about over.

Several attempts have been made to draw conclusions from the vote as to tactics. It seems to us that no valuable conclusion can be drawn in this regard. The Wisconsin comrades declare their large vote to be a triumph for the opportunist position, while some of the other papers note with great satisfaction that the vote was heavier in those localities where the party maintained the most uncompromising attitude. In California a distinctly new line of tactics was adopted. The Socialist party practically fused with the Independent Labor party, and high hopes were held out as to the great increase of votes that this would bring. We believe that it is very fortunate for the Socialist party as a whole that these expectations were rudely shattered. The vote in California is perhaps as disappointing as that of any in the Union, and it is disappointing in just those localities where we were led to expect so much. Without further knowledge as to local conditions we do not care to enter further into the subject. But from this distance it looks as though the Union Labor party had delivered their indorsement to the Socialists and their votes to the Democrats, and that once more fusion has ended in confusion.

In addition to the election of another member of the Massachusetts Legislature, an Alderman, Mr. Ben R. Cushman, was elected in Saginaw, Mich., while township officers were elected in Canton, Kansas, and San Diego County, California. In Oakland, California, several

officers, including some members of the Assembly, were elected on the fusion ticket.

In Deer Lodge, Montana, the entire ticket of an independent labor party was elected upon a Socialist platform. This included five members of the legislature and local officials. Since election the entire organization has been turned over to the Socialist party. A grand rally was held, and it was decided that from now on the entire energies of the previous organization should be devoted to the building up of the Socialist party.

The general complaint from all over the country is that Socialist votes were thrown out. This was particularly true of Colorado, Texas and California. In the latter State the judges of election made a decision that all votes containing marks in the "no nomination" blank should be declared defective and thrown out, and it so happened that the Socialists were the only ones that were hurt by this. We would suggest that this might have been obviated had the comrades in California filled out their tickets instead of making deals with another party. Texas does not yet have a complete Australian ballot system, and this makes fraudulent counting much easier.

We give herewith a table of the Socialist vote, as accurate as we can get it up to the present time. It is compiled from the reports of the Socialist papers and of individual reports from these States; wherever the official count is available it has been used. But in the majority of States the count has not been completed, or has not been published in such a way that we could obtain it, hence there are probably some errors in the table. However, enough information is now out to make it certain that the vote of the Socialist party will be somewhere between two hundred and forty and two hundred and fifty thousand, and will probably reach the latter figure.

The Socialist Labor party probably polled about fifty thousand more. An interesting fact about this party is that where it made the least propaganda it received the most votes. This, of course, simply shows that it needs only to be known to be killed. In Chicago it did not hold half a dozen meetings, and has practically no organization whatever, yet they received over 5,000 votes. The closest questioning by the Socialist party in this city have, as yet, failed to find anyone who voted their ticket intentionally. In all cases the votes were intended for the Socialist party. The probability is that had it not been for mistaken ballots they would not have received more than five or six hundred votes. The same thing was proved to a large degree in other States.

As is always the case with Socialist movements, an increased vote is the signal for increased activity in organization. From almost every State in the Union comes reports of new Locals and plans for extensive organization during the coming winter. This is really the most important work at this stage. If organization is perfected to correspond with the vote that we now have, the Socialist party should go into the campaign of 1904 with good prospects for capturing some of the States and putting several members into Congress:

	Vote in 1900.	Vote in 1902.
Alabama		200

Arizona		800
California	7,554	9,250
Colorado	654	10,000
Connecticut	1,029	3,000
Delaware	57	600
Florida	601	1,200
Idaho		1,000
Illinois	9,687	20,167
Indiana	2,374	7,134
Iowa	2,778	6,360
Kansas	1,605	3,236
Kentucky	646	2,500
Maine	878	1,974
Maryland	908	1,100
Massachusetts	9,607	33,609
Michigan	2,826	5,000
Minnesota	3,065	10,000
Missouri	6,139	8,500
Nebraska	832	3,171
Montana	708	5,000
New Hampshire	790	1,032
New Jersey	4,609	6,000
New York	12,869	25,000
North Dakota	518	1,200
Ohio	4,847	14,270
Oklahoma		1,963
Oregon	1,466	5,000
Pennsylvania	4,831	21,910
Rhode Island		1,061
South Dakota	176	1,500
Tennessee	710	900
Texas	1,841	5,000
Utah	720	3,000
Washington	2,006	5,000
West Virginia		600
Wisconsin	7,065	18,000

We note with great satisfaction the election of Comrade Max S. Hayes as one of the fraternal delegates of the A. F. of L. to Great Britain. Hitherto American labor has had cause to blush for the men it has sent abroad as its representatives, especially when they were compared with the exceedingly able men who were sent to this country. But in Comrade Hayes we have one who will adequately represent American labor. His election is also a decided victory for Socialism, because he has always stood so firmly for the Socialist movement that his election is to a large degree an indorsement of the Socialist position. The press reports state that his election was received with thunderous applause. It is one more reason for gratification by Socialists over the results of the convention at New Orleans.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

E. Untermann.

Russia.

The following "secret" circular of the minister of war, A. Kuropatkin, speaks for itself:

To the Commanding Officer of the District Troops—

Dear Sir: The attempts of the political agitators to carry their propaganda into the army, which were formerly of rare occurrence, have greatly augmented of late and reached such a degree of insolence that I consider it of the highest importance to direct your attention to them.

The reports of the commanding officers and of the ministers of the interior and of justice show that proclamations were distributed during May, 1901, in the barracks of the 116th Malojaroslav infantry. During the same month the captain of the staff of the 141st Moshajski infantry received two pamphlets entitled, "Politics and the Officers" and "Abolition of the Standing Army," the contents of which were highly seditious. During August of the same year all officers of the 27th infantry division received proclamations of a Wilna group of Socialists entitled, "To the Officers," in which the officers were blamed for becoming the executioners of "honest workmen" at the command of their superiors, and in which they were entreated to renounce this "nefarious role." A copy of this proclamation was later (February, 1902) sent by mail to the officers of the Moscow garrison, and the officers' sharpshooting school received them by the same agency. In January, 1902, the sub-lieutenant, Teljminov, of the 9th Siberian grenadiers received a letter which attacked the government and incited the soldiers to refuse military service. It was furthermore ascertained that during the same month a dangerous letter entitled, "The Soldier's Lord's Prayer" had been written by hand and multiplied by lithography in the bureaus of the government, in which the soldiers were incited against their superiors. This letter was distributed among the soldiers of the 65th Moscow regiment of His Majesty, the 66th Butyrski regiment, and the 21st Bjelorusian dragoons. In February and March the officers of the Petersburg garrison received proclamations calling upon them to join the students and make political demonstrations together with them. In April the officers of the Wilna garrison again received proclamations of the "Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia," in which they were asked to join the "pan-Russian revolutionary movement." During the same month there were found in the courts of the barracks of the Krassnojarsk garrison proclamations of the "Siberian Social Democratic Organization," entitled, "To the Troops of the Krassnojarsk Garrison," and calling on the troops not to use their rifles against their brothers, the peasants and laborers who were fighting

for a just cause. In the same April and May a large number of leaflets entitled, "To the Soldiers," inciting to disobedience against the Tsar and to an overthrow of the government, were distributed among the privates of the 13th infantry division. Furthermore, personal attempts of the agitators to influence the privates of the same division were observed, and it was found that many of the agitators were privates in the marine corps stationed in Sebastopol. In March, 1902, an organized propaganda was discovered among the privates of the Jekaterinoslav grenadiers, which did not originate from people outside of the army, but from the privates themselves. At the head of this organization stood Private Alschanski, of the above-named regiment, a man of noble birth, who on being drafted into the service had purposely waived his right to short service for the sake of making propaganda among the privates. During his term Alschanski has carried on an energetic propaganda for the revolutionary ideas, by personal conversation with the privates, and by distributing a great number of pamphlets, proclamations and other publications. Some privates have directly assisted him in this criminal work, others have been guilty of not preventing and not reporting these doings. It is also worthy of special mention that among those guilty of causing the agrarian disturbances in the southern governments there was a sub-lieutenant of the 133d Sympheropol regiment, named Passjko, who was proven to have distributed pamphlets and proclamations of a vicious nature among the peasants of the Poltava government, and confessed his guilt.

These examples will certainly not exhaust the instances of revolutionary propaganda recently found in the army. There is reason to believe that many cases have not only remained unknown to the higher instances, but also to the local authorities, thanks to the well-known caution and conspiracy of the "underground" agitators. But the examples mentioned show clearly enough that the revolutionary and Socialist groups are strenuously active in spreading their ideas among the soldiers. This is not only evident from the mailing of seditious literature to officers and privates, but also from the fact that many agitators were in active service for the purpose of personal propaganda.

Considering it a matter of highest importance for the state to preserve the army against those false political doctrines, I have ordered the supreme military court to earnestly weigh the question of suppressing the sad phenomena mentioned above, and I also consider it my duty to request your honor to give me your opinion as to the means which you regard as the most necessary and practical.

Germany.

The struggle of the minority parties against the "hunger tariff" of the agrarian and clerical majority is raging fiercely in the Reichstag. The Socialists are using their best efforts to defeat the robbing schemes of the exploiters by all legal means, but as yet the majority is too strong and too sure of its power to abandon their insolent attitude. There are unmistakable signs that the agrarians will finally make a compromise with the government and accept a somewhat lower tariff than originally demanded by them. At the same time, the majority is

trying to walk roughshod over all parliamentary rules and to carry its demands by brutal force. The Socialists are obstructing this propaganda of the deed in every legal way possible, discussing every article of the tariff with minute care, and holding the speaker's stand for hours. Comrade Antrick proved a thorn in the agrarian side by speaking for three and a half hours, and Comrade Stadthagen aggravated them still more by holding the platform for four and a half hours. Still, the ultimate acceptance of the tariff can hardly be averted. The final verdict will rest with the people.

How this verdict would be if the German workingmen had the advantage of a just suffrage, is not doubtful. The recent Landtag's elections have again shown unmistakably in what direction the political wind is blowing. In Oldenburg, the Socialists gained five new seats, making a total representation of six. In Schwarzburg Rudolstadt, the Socialists now hold eight of the sixteen seats, and no law can be carried into effect without their consent. In Mayence, the two old mandates were maintained by the Socialists with 2,987, against 1,379 clerical and 690 liberal votes. In Offenbach, the Socialists received a majority of 400. In Heilbronn, Wurtemberg, the Socialists won with 2,577 against 2,397 capitalist votes. Two Socialist councilors were elected in each of the little towns of Eisenberg and Schmolln. Dusseldorf, a clerical stronghold, for the first time saw the Socialists take part in a Landtag election and was "thrilled to the bone" by seeing them rout all other parties with the exception of the clericals, whose candidates must now try a second ballot against the Socialists under conditions that make a clerical victory by no means certain. In Glessen, the Socialists made their first appearance in Landtag politics and polled 334 votes, against 686 of the capitalist parties.

While the hunger tariff is thus opening the eyes of the German workingmen to their class interests, the effects of the commercial crisis are still felt in all parts of the empire. The "Herbergen," those proletarian hostleries of the wandering and employment-seeking workers, gave shelter to 2,690,632 of them for 3,590,254 nights of the past year, or 25 per cent more than the previous year. The number of journeymen without means of support increased 37.5 per cent, while 12.92 per cent more paid for their board and lodging in the "Herbergen" than during the previous year. Not less than 759,057 destitute men begged for a night's lodging at those places. The employment agencies connected with those hostleries found work for only 108,505 men.

The following Associated Press dispatch adds some more unwilling testimony to the hypocrisy of capitalism:

Berlin, Nov. 25.—The Socialist organ, Vorwaerts, in a page and a half to-day deals with what it calls the "hypocrisy of idealizing Herr Krupp as a benevolent genius." The paper does not touch on the immediate charges which it brought against the decedent, but analyzes the pension system of the Krupp firm, which, it says, is a "species of refined swindling," adding:

"The enormous so-called benevolent funds have been built up by compulsory contributions from the employes, who could be arbitrarily deprived of participation in the advantages. They are required to contribute 2½ per cent of their wages for twenty years before they are

eligible to a pension upon disability. In the meantime, if an employe is discharged or resigns, he loses all he has contributed, often exceeding \$250.

"The employes are morally and economically terrorized and must in humility accept every petty regulation of the firm's officials or lose 2½ per cent of what they have earned in the firm's service. This terrorism is applied to political opinions where they become known.

"The number of men leaving or discharged during the past three years averaged 7,000 to 8,000 yearly. The employes found the system so unsatisfactory that five great meetings were held this year for the purpose of seeking legal redress."

The paper also quotes the German budget committee proceedings as showing that the Krupp works have been charging the navy \$100 per ton above what the United States pays for nickel-steel plates, amounting yearly to \$750,000 for Herr Krupp and the Sturm works. The attack on Herr Krupp and the intense sensation which they have created have caused a furious political discussion, the Socialists calling attention to the "degenerating influence of great wealth" and the Conservatives pointing out "the desperate character of the Socialist attack upon the existing order of society."

France.

The general strike of the French miners closely followed the course of the American miners' strike, even to the point of an arbitration committee appointed by Premier Combes. It was also the object of a two days' debate in parliament. Comrades Jaures and Basly illustrated the injustice of the coal barons by abundant statistical material and showed conclusively that there was not the least necessity for the reduction of wages that was the immediate cause of the strike. From the beginning of 1898 to the middle of 1900 the average price of coal had almost doubled. The dividends of the coal barons increased from 40 millions in 1898-99 to 60 millions in 1899-1900, and to 105 millions the next year. Besides, they saved 180 millions per year for the reserve fund. The wages of the strikers, partly raised by the help of strikes, increased 11 millions in 1899, 21 millions in 1900, or in all from 183 to 215 millions. But at the same time the number of workers increased by 5,000 in 1899 and 9,000 in 1900, and during these two years the increase of day's works was 3,213,000 over that of previous years, or a total of \$15,000,000 more for additional workers, so that the actual increase of wages was only \$17,000,000. But the profits of the coal barons were 245 millions. These figures could not be disputed by the corporations, and they contented themselves with upbraiding the government for not protecting the "right to work" of the scabs. This was, however, mere subterfuge, for the government had not only sent them ample military protection, but the soldiers and gendarmes also acted as "pullers-in" and tried to persuade the strikers to go back to work. Some of the gendarmes overstepped their authority, shooting strikers without provocation. The Socialists made this a subject for an interpellation of the government, but the chamber passed a vote of confidence, in which Jaures and the ministerialists, with seven exceptions, joined.

The revolutionary Socialists introduced the following resolution, which was defeated, Millerand abstaining from voting: "The Chamber condemns the armed intervention of the government in strikes, as it is directed entirely against the strike and the strikers on the pretense of protecting the right to work. The government is requested to withdraw the troops at once. The Chamber resolves to consider the questions involved in the strike (eight-hour day, minimum wage, and old age pensions) during the present session in the interest of the miners."

The committee of arbitration rendered such flagrantly unjust decisions that the majority of the miners voted to continue the strike and demand new negotiations.

Italy.

A series of bloody conflicts between striking peasants and gendarmes have thrown the press of the country into a state of excitement which threatens to lead to serious disturbances. The investigations made by a committee of Socialist representatives show that the gendarmes fired from ambush without being threatened by a crowd, and that they simply murdered the strikers. It has also been found out that the news about the recent occurrences in Giarratana, Sicily, passed through the hands of the prefect Modica, who acted as censor and destroyed all evidence that might have been damaging to the gendarmes. There will be a lively discussion of these incidents at the opening of the legislative session, and signs are not wanting that there will be a pronounced difference of opinion between Turati and Ferri in regard to the position which should be taken by the Socialist representatives toward the government. Turati is trying to make capital for his pet tendency out of the occurrences, blaming, among others, Ferri for the spilling of the blood, on the plea that "revolutionary" propaganda leads to violence. According to his philosophy, quietism and opportunism are the only civilized means of Socialist propaganda. A recent Associated Press dispatch states that Ferri will be in favor of withdrawing the support of the Socialists from the present ministry.

Child labor is on the increase in Italy, as in all capitalist countries. In this case it is shown especially in the rural districts. Of 8,173,389 persons employed in agriculture, 617,326, or 7.5 per cent, are children. Of 73,399 persons employed in gardening, 3,743, or 5.1 per cent, are children. And of 244,452 employed in stock raising, 56,973, or 23.3 per cent, are children. Their wages range from 5 to 10 cents per day.

Switzerland.

The recent elections for the Nationalrath have resulted in the election of 7 Socialists. In 1899 this body consisted of 147 members. There were 84 Radicals, 32 Clericals, 18 Protestant Conservatives, 7 members of the Social Political Group, 4 Socialists and 2 Democrats. The increase of the population increased the membership to 167. Proportional representation has been a failure, from the Socialist standpoint, because the apportionment is made by the ruling majority, who do not give the minority their just dues.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

THE A. F. OF L. CONVENTION.

The twenty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor is now history. From every standpoint the assemblage was the greatest since the foundation of the organization. There were more delegates present, despite the fact that the convention was held at an extreme end of the country, than at any previous session; there were more trade union members represented than ever before, and the debates were more interesting, intelligent and tolerant than in former years.

Over one million workers were represented by three hundred and odd delegates, comprising the active spirits of the American labor movement. Their mission at New Orleans was to initiate plans to still further strengthen the organizations in the different trades, to untangle some of the knotty problems that had arisen as a result of the rapid growth of trade unions and the evolution in industry, and to legislate in a manner that would make it possible to present a united front to the common enemy—modern capitalism.

While the discussions at times waxed bitter and feeling ran high, still underneath it all was the fact that the different unions simply disagreed upon details and were sparring for advantages in order to acquire the necessary power to combat the combined capitalists for improved conditions.

The officers' reports showed a gratifying gain in membership during the past year, an increase in financial resources, and almost without exception every one of the hundred affiliated national unions reported steady advances in the matter of reducing the hours of labor and raising wages. In the last eleven months 1,024 charters were issued, of which number fourteen were to national unions, six to State branches, 127 to city central bodies, and the balance to trade and federal unions not eligible to join national organizations. Per capita tax was paid on an average of 1,025,300, against 265,800 members in 1897. The affiliated national unions issued 4,513 charters, and the total gain in membership was 283,827 in the year. The Federation's income for 1902 was \$144,498, against \$115,220 last year, and expenditures were \$119,086, against \$118,708 in 1901.

These figures prove that the Federation is in a prosperous condition, and from all appearances will continue to expand and wield a powerful influence in the industrial affairs of the nation. This happy situation is, of course, due to the genius or ability of no single individual or even organization, but must be credited to the efforts of hundreds, aye,

thousands, of energetic workers and unions, not to speak of the economic forces that have compelled and fostered organization.

The paramount questions before the convention, that of jurisdiction of national unions and Socialism, were discussed with less friction than at previous sessions. Only once or twice were personalities indulged in, but the great majority of delegates plainly showed that they were not in sympathy with that sort of propaganda.

One of the surprises of the meeting was the injection of the Shaffer-Gompers imbroglio, which was expected to create a sensation at Scranton last year. President Shaffer, of the iron and steel workers, had charged President Gompers, of the A. F. of L., with bad faith and conduct unbecoming a union man. In specific terms, the latter was accused of meddling in the iron and steel workers' strike last year, and with deliberately lying in order to secure a settlement that would have been unfavorable to the men. Delegate Sheridan, of the iron and steel workers, introduced a resolution calling for an investigation, and a special committee of five was chosen to probe for the facts. After several days were spent in taking testimony, it developed that Shaffer had refused to substantiate his charges or furnish proof that Gompers had been guilty of wrongdoing, and the latter was vindicated. The matter will now go back to the iron and steel workers, who will be compelled to decide whether their president was right or wrong.

The trade autonomy or jurisdiction troubles, as outlined in the Review during the past few months, were all given their annual airing. The carpenters vs. woodworkers, brewers vs. engineers and firemen, seamen vs. longshoremen, molders vs. metal polishers, plumbers vs. electricians, woodworkers vs. piano makers, garment workers vs. tailors, et al., were before the court, discussed and cussed, and parties of the first and second part were told in so many words to settle their own grievances. Heretofore it has been the custom to refer the jurisdiction quarrels to the executive counsel for adjudication, but little has been accomplished by this policy. This year a few delegates held a quiet confab and evolved the scheme of getting the unions to practice what they preached—conciliation, arbitration and compromise. I do not mind mentioning the fact, now that the convention is over, that the writer pleads guilty to the charge of having a hand in hatching the plot and laying it before several other cantankerous Socialists (Slayton, Barnes and other wicked fellows who are watched as closely as a cat watches a mouse), and from the moment that the amalgamated and brotherhood carpenters were brought to the point of agreeing to settle their trade differences, the idea became popular, and no matter how the committees reported the grievances were referred, with but one or two exceptions, to commissions composed of equal numbers of members from the unions involved, and they to choose an unbiased umpire. The plan is experimental and may not result in bringing about harmony in all cases, but it is worth giving a fair trial. Under present laws the Federation has little power to force affiliated unions to obey its mandates. It may expel an organization, but that establishes a bad precedent and settles nothing. Indeed, to pursue such a course would simply invite disaster sooner or later.

The debate on Socialism was without doubt the one that created the

most general interest, and, despite the fact that President Gompers peevishly complained at the night session of the closing day that nearly a whole day's time had been wasted in "idle speculation," the delegates without exception agreed that the discussion of Socialism was the feature of the convention that stood out pre-eminent as the greatest from an educational viewpoint. Both the advocates and opponents of Socialism displayed uniform courtesy toward each other, and after the struggle was over there were no sore spots. Each side was satisfied—the anti-Socialists because they had won, and the Socialists because they had made a splendid showing and came close to being the victors.

The committee on resolutions reported that seven separate propositions advocating Socialism had been introduced, and, after some consideration, it had been decided to non-concur in all and reaffirm the declaration made at Scranton last year, viz., that the A. F. of L. is in full accord with the larger body of Socialists in this country in its aim to secure better conditions for labor, and that the unions and members thereof are urged to discuss political and economic questions, but to prohibit the introduction of partisan politics, which would tend to disrupt the organizations. Delegate Hayes, of the Typographical Union, anticipated the action of the committee and had prepared a substitute, which he attempted to introduce as such, but it was ruled out, despite the fact that the same delegate secured the consideration of a substitute for a committee report on the carpenters' jurisdiction question. The proposition was then offered as an amendment and entertained. It reads as follows:

"Whereas, Capital being the product of the past labor of all the toilers of the human race, and as wages can never be regarded as the full equivalent for labor performed, and that it is the mission of the trades unions to protect the wage-earners against oppression and to fully secure the toilers' disenthralment from every species of injustice; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That this twenty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor advise the working people to organize their economic and political power to secure for labor the full equivalent of its toil and the overthrow of the wage system and establishing an industrial, co-operative democracy."

Delegate William B. Wilson, of the miners, amended to strike out all after the word "toil," which amendment was accepted by the author of the resolution. It mattered little what the wording of the amendment was. Socialism was the topic that was discussed by every delegate who took the floor, and none of the speakers took the time to split hairs on the question as to whether he would receive the full equivalent of his toil in an industrial, co-operative democracy or not. The adoption of the foregoing resolution as amended, the opposition declared, would commit the American Federation of Labor to Socialism and the Socialist party, and the battle raged along that interpretation. The anti-Socialists did not attempt to destroy the logic of those who favored the resolution. They contented themselves with the sweeping assertion that Socialism is speculative, an untried plan, while the trade unions are accomplishing something now, and for that reason the energies of the workers should not be divided by economic and political effort, but

all their time should be spent to make the unions more invulnerable. One speaker traced history from Moses down to date to show that the workers had never secured anything of lasting benefit with the ballot, and incidentally he demolished his own arguments by showing that the principal revolts of the Roman slaves, the Wat Tyler rebellion and other uprisings had also accomplished very little. Other equally illogical speeches were made. On the other hand, the Socialists made cleancut arguments in favor of co-operative production and the necessity of political solidarity. They explained that as a people we are in a new age, that with the development of the tool of production the worker has lost control of it, and therefore has lost his independence, and that the capitalists, by reason of having obtained possession of those tools and the land, are able to dictate wages and prices through their trusts and combinations and virtually enslave labor.

As before stated, the opposition did not attempt to controvert the logic of the Socialists, but played upon the fear that to indorse Socialism meant the injection of partisan politics in the unions, which would be resented by Republicans and Democrats and result in disruption. The Socialists, through the introduction of the amendment, were enabled to take an aggressive position. The speakers on their side were Max S. Hayes, of Cleveland; George Warde, of Erie, Pa.; J. H. Brower, Elgin, Ill.; James Wilson, of New York; John L. Compton, of Denver; William B. Wilson, of Indianapolis; Victor Berger, of Milwaukee; John P. Reese, of Iowa; Fred C. Wheeler, of Los Angeles; J. Mahlon Barnes, of Philadelphia, and J. W. Slayton, of New Castle, Pa., in the order named. Those who spoke against the amendment were T. J. Duffy, of East Liverpool, O.; John B. Lemon, treasurer of A. F. of L.; Lee Hart, of Chicago; Andrew Furnseth, of San Francisco; James Duncan, first vice president; Henry White, of New York; D. A. Hayes, sixth vice president, and Samuel Gompers. The roll call on the amendment resulted as follows: In favor, 4,203; against, 4,865. The report of the committee was thereupon adopted. And thus ended the greatest debate that has yet taken place in the Federation and which consumed almost six hours' time.

There were a number of other propositions that developed discussion along the lines of Socialism, as, for instance, Victor Berger's resolution favoring old age pensions, which was defeated on division by 90 to 85. The various resolutions on trade autonomy versus industrialism also opened the way for the exploitation of Socialist doctrines, enabling its advocates to point out the necessity of compact organization and united action, politically and economically, to throw off the yoke of capitalism and emancipate the working class.

The old officers were re-elected, although the carpenters made an unsuccessful attempt to dislodge Vice President Kidd by nominating their general secretary, Frank Duffy. Max S. Hayes, of the printers, and Martin Lawler, of the hatters, were elected fraternal delegates to Great Britain, and John Coleman, of the carpenters, won the delegateship to the Canadian Trades Congress after a spirited contest.

BOOK REVIEWS

Walt Whitman, the Poet of the Wider Selfhood. Mila Tupper Maynard. Charles H. Kerr & Company. \$1.00.

Mrs. Maynard, who is a well-known worker in the Socialist movement in Colorado, gives us in this book an important addition to Socialist literature. Beginning with "A Glimpse of the Man," we have a concise summary of the important facts in his life, and realize how much that life embraced of the universality that appears so often in his writings. This leads on to the second chapter, on "The Copious Personal Self," where we find that Whitman was one of the first to recognize what has since come to be known as the divinity of man. Under the heading of "The Cosmic Self" this thought is widened out into the broadest and clearest expression of the idea of unity and equality that has ever been expressed. Speaking of Whitman's wonderful prophetic power, the author says concerning the theory of evolution: "Nevertheless, had he been fully cognizant of every scientific fact and theory discovered or projected up to the moment of publication, his work would be quite as marvelous, so completely has the evolutionary universe become absorbed into his unconscious thought." But Whitman leaps even beyond organic evolution and refuses to be awed even by the triumphs of science.

Another side of this same subject follows in the chapters on "The Eternal Self," showing that with Whitman "Life is always seen by him with death at its side; but not as a ghastly skeleton—always as a promise and a benediction. Death to him means infinite potency—the guarantee of eternal meaning for all the events and realities of earth. Whatever death may mean, he includes it in his scheme of the universe, and fears it no more nor less than birth.

In the chapters on "Even These Least," "The Larger Woman," "The Larger Man," "Youth, Maturity, Age," we get still further views of Whitman, manifested by inclusive treatment of humanity. Like all the poets who protested Whitman was a nature lover, but he loved the city as well as the country, and both were natural to him. "Whitman's cosmopolitan enthusiasm is well illustrated in his equal appreciation of the peculiar attractions of each of the many parts of the nation.

"His thrilling delight in Mannahatta—his own New York—is no more intense than his homesick yearning for the South . . . California ideals and possibilities as well as its matchless skies have never been better voiced than by him. . . . The mountain States are not omitted. He speaks of 'their delicious rare atmosphere,' and of their 'mountain tops innumerable draped in violet haze,' and concludes: 'Yes, I fell in love with Denver, and even felt a wish to spend my declining and dying days there.'"

Of "Democracy" the writer says: "In this topic we reach the pivotal point of the enthusiasms of Walt Whitman. Every other element in his thought is in some way related to this principle—the equality and sacred value of every human being and a free life in society, based upon this equality and worth." His ideal of the greatest city is filled with the principles of social democracy and he cries out to "A Foiled European Revolutionaire:"

"Courage yet, my brother or my sister!

Keep on—Liberty is to be subserved whatever occurs."

With all his cosmopolitanism, he still loved America, which meant to Whitman "the incarnation of sovereign individuals associated in perfect democracy." In the final chapter on "Comradeship" the author sums up by saying: "The circle of Whitman's thought finds its perfect round in the idea of comradeship." Anyone who reads this work can agree with the closing paragraph, that "Whatever else Walt Whitman has tried to do, no one can doubt that he has written from the inmost sources of his life. He has tried to be all that nature would have him and give back to his larger self—all humanity—the life blood it loaned him."

The book is bound in beautiful art board, and is a delight to handle and to read. All told, it is a fitting cover to a fitting treatment of a great subject.

The New Empire. Brooks Adams. The Macmillan Co. Cloth, 243 pp. \$1.50.

One of the surest signs of the growth of Socialism is an acceptance of its basic principles by a great number of general writers on economic subjects.

The above work does not contain the slightest reference to Socialism, yet it is based almost entirely upon the materialistic conception of history. His introduction is a plea for courage to generalize in the social field as is now done in the field of natural science, because only through such generalization is a social science ever possible.

Economic domination has moved with the shifting of trade routes and the control of the essentials of economic life, particularly metals. While commerce moved almost exclusively along the shores of the Persian gulf upon the Euphrates, and the main seat of mining was the Arabian copper mines, Babylon grew and flourished. As the course of commercial exchange moved northward and other mineral sections to the west and north were discovered, Nineveh, Tyre, Sidon, Greece, and finally Rome, rose to power. With the decline of the Spanish mines and the growing importance of those of the Hartz mountains, coupled with the opening of the overland caravan route, and the great rivers of Russia, the seat of industrial and commercial activity and political control moved to the cities of the Hanseatic League, where these trade routes converged. While commerce still moved via the Mediterranean cities and through the Alpine passes, a number of great cities arose in the Adriatic and at the points of change along the land routes. Trade had thus begun to find other lines, either wholly by sea via Gibraltar, or through the Russian rivers, when Constantinople was captured and the Mediterranean route to Asia was cut off. As a result the cities of

the Mediterranean, Southern France and Germany fell in economic and political importance. The center of mineral production, so far as gold and silver were concerned, moved across the Atlantic, and a battle began between Spain and England, and later between France and England, to determine where the nerve center of this vastly greater commercial world should be located. England's more favorable geographical position, combined with the other advantages enumerated, gave her the victory, and improved methods of production in the industrial revolution enabled her to hold this dominating position almost until the present time. The coming of the railroad and modern conditions of production have shifted the whole mass of forces once more, and the struggle is now on between two great contending trade routes, one of which is represented by the United States and Japan, who are striving to have the world's exchanges take place across the Pacific and American Transatlantic railroads, while on the other side the nations of Continental Europe, headed by Russia, see their only hope of future importance in locating the trade routes of this same commerce across the Siberian railroad to Western Europe. In this struggle the author is inclined to think the victory will rest with Japan and the United States.

The work is full of important observations on things which are of somewhat minor interest, compared with the great central thought of the work.

The appendix contains a valuable summary of historical events and economic movements throughout the history of the world. Complete fairness would perhaps demand that the author give credit to Socialist sources for the theory upon which the book is based. But Socialists can well afford to pass over the question of individual credit in view of the extremely valuable contribution which is made to their propaganda.

Our Benevolent Feudalism. W. J. Ghent. The Macmillan Co. Cloth, 202 pp. \$1.25.

Few articles have attracted wider attention than that entitled "A Benevolent Feudalism," which appeared in the *New York Independent* for April 3, 1902. This book is an expansion and strengthening of the position there taken. The author sees evolving from our present society a stage of fixed status, with the industrial barons at the top and a regular gradation of the remainder of the population dependent upon them. Including railroad legislation, he finds that over fifteen billion few financiers. At the same time the power of a few men in these great industries is constantly increasing, so that small stockholders are dollars of the capital of the United States is already in the hands of a having less and less influence. The farmer and wage-worker is coming to have a fixed position in society out of which it cannot move, and which leaves him completely dependent upon the great industrial barons. But these industrial barons are continually becoming more and more "benevolent." Industrial villages like Pullman and Pelzer are increasing. Profit sharing, old age pensions, and general movements for "social betterment" are extending. The government becomes but a mere machine in the hands of the industrial masters. Labor legislation becomes less and less effective. For the last ten years there has been

practically no progress in this direction. "Bondage to the land was the basis of villeinage in the old regime; bondage to the job will be the basis of villeinage in the new."

All this is set forth in an extremely vivid and attractive manner, and it is this which gives the book its great power. The Socialist reading it indeed will in the first place be somewhat amazed at the lack of originality in the book, and this notwithstanding the fact that most reviewers have laid great stress upon its having this very quality. But, as a matter of fact, there is scarcely a position in it that is not set forth in "The Communist Manifesto," to say nothing of the other writings of Marx and Engels and the host of Socialist writers that have followed. Mr. Ghent sees but one side of the picture, the fact of class rule.

It is hard to tell whether his knowledge of Socialist literature is as scant as it would appear from the references which he gives. If he did have a wider knowledge, honesty should have led him to have given credit for most of his ideas.

But the Socialists have also seen the other side of the picture which is here omitted. They have seen that the Pullman and model establishments in general are as apt to be the centers of revolt as those less benevolently managed.

No account whatever is taken in the book of foreign competition, which has not by any means been eliminated, as yet, in this country. A great many of the authorities which he quotes and whose opinions he gives as to the attitude of the capitalist class belong to the past generation, as, for example, Godkin and Sumner, and far more quotations might be found to show the opposite of what he is attempting to prove. The whole book is written from a little capitalist class attitude, and when small bourgeois radicalism disappears, Mr. Ghent sees no hope of further resistance to exploitation. Indeed, it is hard to tell whether the author is not laughing at us all the time and does not see the impossibility of the fate he points out.

There is much about the book that reminds one of Professor Veblin's theory of the leisure class. At all events, it is well worth the reading, and is bound to have a great influence in breaking up the crust of a conservatism and making impossible any sort of "benevolent feudalism."

Career and Conversation of John Swinton. Robert Waters. Charles H. Kerr & Company. Paper, 84 pp. 25 cents.

Among the names of those who have made smooth the way for the Socialist movement in America there are few more prominent than that of John Swinton. A man of brilliant intellect, a personal friend of Karl Marx, an able linguist, a fighter in the actual battle of labor, and one of the most prominent journalists of the United States, his was pre-eminently a life of action and of doing. This life is told by a familiar acquaintance, a friend, who makes the man live before us.

The fact that the author has occasionally injected some comments on Socialism, which serve only to show he is not familiar with Socialist literature, does not detract from the value of the book as a historical document and as an extremely entertaining piece of writing.

Each month the mass of pamphlet literature grows larger, and the possibility of giving it even a mention becomes more and more impossible. Some of those that have come this month are particularly good.

First in the list as something unique and valuable is Ryan Walker's "The Social Hell." This is a series of cartoons, with running comment that should serve to rouse anyone to action into whose hands they might fall. In some respects it is one of the most valuable weapons yet added to the Socialist armory. It is published by "The Coming Nation" at Rich Hill, Mo., and sells for 25 cents. The Standard Publishing Co., of Terre Haute, Ind., have issued two pamphlets by Rev. T. J. Hagerty. The one on "Economic Discontent" is a splendidly written, clear-cut, neatly printed pamphlet that sells for ten cents, and should be circulated by the thousands everywhere. The other is "Why Physicians Should be Socialists," and is an example of a sort of special pamphlets of which we should have a great many more. Every Socialist Local should see to it that the physicians in their town are well supplied with copies. Only five cents. The *Volkzeitung*, of New York, has issued its well-known "Pioneer Kalender" for 1903, filled with information which Socialists need to know and containing some excellent articles by some of the best writers on Socialism. Twenty-five cents. "Our Juggled Census Statistics," by H. L. Bliss, is "an exposure of the fallacious methods adopted at the present census for the purpose of misleading the public," and will be found worth reading by those who are interested in studies of the statistical method of reasoning. The author shows how the figures were juggled to make it appear that the condition of the wage-earner was improving. On the whole, his criticisms seem sound, but in his discussion of farm statistics he has discovered a "mare's nest" when he attempts to show that the great increase in farm acreage shown by the last census is due to the inclusion of garden patches as farms, for the whole number of farms under three acres was only 32,829, a number too trifling to have had any important effects. Ten cents. "La Legislation Ouvriere et l'Hygiene," by the well-known Socialist member of the French Chamber of Deputies, writer and Communist, Edouard Vaillant, is a thorough study of the conditions affecting the health of the worker under capitalism and the efforts which have been made to improve those conditions. Twenty centimes. "The Labor Problem," by Eugene P. Hourihan, is a fairly good presentation of the doctrines of Socialism and an argument for the adoption of the co-operative commonwealth, which ends with an appeal for "The New Democracy." Fifteen cents. C. L. James' "Origin of Anarchism" informs us that Burke, Godwin, Shelley, Byron, Jefferson, Paine, Emerson, Thoreau, Josiah Warren, Charles O'Connor, Condorcet, Marx, Bakunin, and several more equally well-known persons with equally diverse sentiments were among the founders of anarchy. Unfortunately he does not attempt to define this protean creature which he has named anarchy, and leaves the reader in hopeless confusion as to what it is all about. (If that last sentence sounds confused, remember it was written just after reading the book.) Published by "Free Society." Ten cents. "The Trust Problem," by Charles Fox, is an attempt to study the relation between the trusts and the tariff. While the author agrees that the Socialists are right and that the trust is destined to socialization, he proposes as present measure a sort of export duty to be manipulated in connection with the present tariff on imports for the control of the trusts.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

What Comrade Debs Thinks of "Britain for the British"

Robert Blatchford has chosen, as usual, a happy title for his new book. "Britain for the British," by Blatchford, is immensely suggestive and tells its own story. The name of this popular writer and powerful propagandist is known in all the zones that belt the globe. It is indissolubly linked with the Socialist movement. Robert Blatchford and Modern Socialism are so intimately associated in the popular mind that they have come to be regarded as synonymous terms. They are boon companions and loyal comrades; where the one is known, both are welcome.

Robert Blatchford seems divinely appointed to address the common people. He writes so clearly and so calmly, his language is so simple, his argument so conclusive and his manner so gentle, patient and impressive that it is not strange that the multitude hear him gladly and that the thousands, to paraphrase the old farmer in the dialect lines of James Whitcomb Riley, join eagerly in the tribute inspired in the heart's abiding love:

"Robert Blatchford, Robert Blatchford,
I venerate your name;
For the name of Robert Blatchford
And Socialism's just the same."

The new book is in all regards a worthy successor of "Merrie England," and all who have read this most widely circulated and best of all works in popular Socialist propaganda should also read "Britain for the British," a continuation of the former, in the same simple, convincing style which appeals to the John Smiths, and all the many millions of the working class in their own language and with such irresistible logic and force that in spite of themselves they are drawn from darkness into sunlight, giving eager approval to Socialist principles and hearty support to the Socialist movement.

The English edition of the book is from the Clarion press in London, the home of the versatile and virile weekly that is published by Mr. Blatchford and his colleagues in the propagation of International Socialism.

The American edition is from the press of C. H. Kerr & Co., Socialist publishers, is printed on good paper, in clear type, bound in red cloth, contains 173 pages, and sells at the reasonable price of 50 cents per copy.

The book is divided into nineteen chapters and contains a list of "What to Read." There is also an interesting "appendix," by A. M. Simons, editor of the International Socialist Review, opening with the

paragraph: "The American workingman will not find it very hard to see that the lesson of 'Britain for the British' applies with even greater force to the conditions of his own country."

As the title of the book may convey the inference that it is intended for the people of Great Britain only, or that it has special interest to them alone, it is well to say that while the book is addressed by the author to his own countrymen, it has equal interest for all the people and its logic has equal application to all the civilized countries of the earth.

The nineteen chapters of the book bear the following suggestive titles: "The Unequal Division of Wealth;" "What is Wealth, Where Does It Come From, Who Created It?" "How the Few Get Rich and Keep the Many Poor;" "The Brain Worker or Inventor;" "The Landlord's Rights and the People's Rights;" "Luxury and the Great Useful Employment Fraud;" "What Socialism Is Not;" "What Socialism Is;" "Competition vs. Co-operation;" "Foreign Trade and Foreign Food;" "How to Keep Foreign Trade;" "Can Britain Feed Herself?" "The Successful Man;" "Temperance and Thrift;" "The Surplus Labor Mistake;" "Is Socialism Possible and Will It Pay?" "The Need for a Labor Party;" "Why the Old Parties Will Not Do;" "To-Day's Work."

The keen analytical power of Mr. Blatchford is apparent in each chapter. He probes like a skilled surgeon to the very depths of capitalist production, exposes its inner workings and lays bare its incongruities and absurdities as well as its crimes and its cruelties.

Each chapter is an essay, and each essay the finished product of the clear thinker, the close and constructive reasoner, the terse and clever writer, the genuine humanitarian.

In referring to the title of the book the author says: "At present Britain does not belong to the British; it belongs to a few of the British, who employ the bulk of the population as servants or as workers."

That fits the United States precisely, and all of the rest of the great "powers" of the earth. They belong to the few; they are ruled by the few; they are exploited by the few, in each case the same "few" who constitute the aristocracy and look down upon the great mass as inferior beings, spawned to work, and produce, and propagate their species, and suffer—and die. This is the social state evolved from the capitalist system, and when the author says: "The remedy for this evil state of things—the only remedy yet suggested—is Socialism," he strikes a responsive chord in the breasts of ten millions of class-conscious Socialists who constitute the International Socialist Movement, and whose number is hourly increasing at such a rate that in the next few years they will become irresistible and by the power of their majority and the logic of events they will come into control of government everywhere, put an end to the iniquities of production for profit and wage slavery, and inaugurate the Socialist commonwealth.

The sixteenth chapter, "Is Socialism Possible, and Will It Pay?" and "The Need for a Labor Party" are in the author's happiest vein, full of clear and telling points, and ought to be read by every workingman and woman. The chapter last named is particularly commended to those who assure us that they believe in the "theory" of Socialism, yet imagine that it can be realized by adhering to some pro-

fessed "reform" or "liberal" or "democratic" party of reaction whose salvation depends upon favoring Socialism "theoretically" while defeating it at the ballot box.

This latest work of Robert Blatchford is a distinctive acquisition to the literature of International Socialism. It is an excellent exposition of Socialism up to date. The author has the keen insight of the social philosopher and his enunciation of Socialist principles rings true from the foreword to the close of the last chapter.

I have read "Britain for the British" with profit and delight; I thank Robert Blatchford for writing it, and commend it heartily to all people.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

Terre Haute, Indiana, October 15th, 1902.

"Capital"—By Karl Marx.

Last June we imported two hundred and fifty copies of this great work, the standard English edition, complete so far as it has yet been translated into English. This is the same edition which was and still is sold elsewhere at \$2.50. We fixed the retail price at \$2.00, with our usual discounts to stockholders, and the result was that the whole edition was exhausted in a very few weeks, while additional orders began to pile up. We placed an order for a second edition early in September, but owing to delays in binding and transmitting, our second edition was not received until late in November.

This edition was practically exhausted in filling orders received before it arrived. A third edition was, however, ordered in time and has now been received, so that we are ready to fill orders promptly. Copies will be sent to any address by mail or express prepaid for \$2.00; to our stockholders for \$1.20; to our stockholders by express at purchaser's expense for \$1.00. Remember, this is a handsome library edition in cloth binding, containing 847 pages, and is complete so far as yet translated. We are endeavoring to secure the \$2,000 needed to translate and publish the remainder of Marx's great work, and we hope to announce it definitely in two or three months.

Christmas a Socialist Festival.

Christmas is older than Christendom. How old we will not try to say, but the midwinter festival of peace and good will was an ancient custom at Rome when the first Christian church was founded there. The festival, celebrated by a nation of masters and slaves, was a glad-some reminiscence of the happy childhood of the race when there were no slaves and no masters. While it lasted, men were free to follow their natural impulses of love and good will, forgetting for a moment the distinctions of class.

Two thousand years have passed; still men are masters and slaves; still we have the Christmas festival of peace and good will; dimmer and dimmer has grown the twilight of the days of equality to which the people of Rome looked longingly back. But the Christmas spirit has lived in the hearts of the people and it mingles with the gladness of the dawn-thought. For the old order of class rule is crumbling, and the

workers are rising to a consciousness of the present struggle, the coming victory, the coming joy, the coming season of love and peace, when Christmas shall last the whole year through, because social relations will be such that those who follow the golden rule will no longer be crowded off the earth.

Christmas is then a prophecy of the new social order whose coming the Socialists of the world are working to hasten. And Socialists can celebrate it in no better way than by spreading the message of Socialism. In last month's Review, pages 316 and 317, we explained what our co-operative company has done to help the comrades to celebrate Christmas in this effective way. The new books named there were, Communist Manifesto, 10 cents; Walt Whitman, \$1.00; Gracia, a Social Tragedy, \$1.25; Resist Not Evil, 75 cents; Sombart's Socialism, \$1.00; Kautsky's The Social Revolution, 50 cents; Altgeld's Oratory, 50 cents. Others not there mentioned will now be described.

The Social Science Series.

This well-known series of books by famous writers is published by Swan Sonnenschein & Company of London. It contains over a hundred volumes by the most prominent writers of Europe. From these we have selected twenty that are really indispensable to any student wishing to gain a comprehensive knowledge of Socialism. The titles are as follows:

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- The Student's Marx. Edward Aveling, M. D.
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- Parasitism: Organic and Social. Massart and Vandervelde.
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We have imported fifty copies each of these twenty volumes, and while they last we can fill your orders promptly. Our stockholders can buy these books at the same discount as if they were published by ourselves.

Sombart's Socialism.

"Socialism," by Prof. Werner Sombart, Professor in the University of Breslau, is just the work to give a solid and thorough understanding of the fundamentals of Socialism. It lays stress on a vital point which is commonly omitted in publishing expositions of Socialism—the class struggle. It traces the evolution of classes to the present time and explains the economic forces now at work which are bound to bring in Socialism. The language is clear, simple, not scientific. It is just the work to give one who has recently begun to read on Socialism, and it is one of the best books for those who already believe in Socialism, but who want to get a good grip on its general principles.

The paper, the type and the binding are much handsomer than we are usually able to offer in Socialist books. The price has until lately been \$1.25, but we have recently secured control of the book and have reduced the price to \$1.00, postpaid, with the usual discount to our stockholders.

Love's Coming-of-Age.

The problem of the relation of the sexes is too subtle for a writer who is merely a scientist; he must be a poet as well, or he will be incapable of observing the facts with which his science must deal. On the other hand, if he is merely a poet he will be unable to make intelligent use of the facts he has grasped, and he will fail to point the way to any new truth. Edward Carpenter has the rare merit of being poet and man of science in one. He faces bravely the questions that prudes of both sexes shrink from, and he offers a solution that deserves the attention of the ablest leaders of popular thought, while his charmingly simple style makes the book easy reading for anyone who is looking for new light on the present and future of men and women in their relations to each other.

The book is daintily printed and bound in silk cloth with gold stamping. The price, including postage, is \$1.00.

More Capital in Sight—Still More Needed.

Since the first of September one hundred more shares of stock at \$10 each have been subscribed by readers of the *International Socialist Review*. This new capital has enabled us to bring out the new books described in the November and December numbers. Other equally important books are awaiting publication, and will be issued as soon as the necessary capital is secured. We have now 500 stockholders who have subscribed \$10 each. There are 500 more Socialists equally well able to help, who are only waiting for the right time. And a brief study of the situation will make it clear to them that the right time is now.

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The condensed list on this page includes nearly every socialist book of first-class importance in the English language which is for sale anywhere, and yet it includes nothing but books published or imported by the co-operative publishing house of CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY.

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