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Socialism and the Socialist Movement.*

SOcialism is a word having two distinct but related meanings; primarily, it is used as the name of a certain philosophy of history and method of interpreting and analyzing social phenomena. In the second place, since this philosophy and method have as one of their principal conclusions that society is evolving towards a co-operative social stage the word is used to designate a co-operative social organization where the means for the production and distribution of wealth are the collective property of the working class, while the goods which are to be consumed become the private property of the individual workers. The philosophy of socialism, as generally accepted by the socialist parties of the world at the present time, takes as its fundamental hypothesis what has been variously called, the materialistic interpretation of history, historic materialism, or economic determinism. This doctrine is stated as follows in the Communist Manifesto:

“In every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch; and consequently the whole history of mankind since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes; the history of these class struggles forms a series of evolution; now-a-days, a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class—the bourgeoisie—without at the

*This article was prepared for the Encyclopedia Americana published by Americana Co. and is re-produced here with their permission. The proofs were sent to several European comrades for correction, and have been prepared with all possible care. Several alterations have been made since the article was sent to the Encyclopedia from information received too late for inclusion in the original article. This is specially true of the portions treating of France, concerning which we received later data from Comrade Jean Longuet. We should consider it a favor if our readers would notify us of any errors which may still remain, as it is probable that the article will be re-produced in an expanded form as a pamphlet.

same time, and once and for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class-distinction, and class-struggles."

It is maintained that the form in which production is carried on in any society constitutes the fundamental fact which determines all other social institutions. This does not hold that each economic era begins *tabula rasa* in the field of institutions. Each historical stage inherits its institutions from the previous stage and it can only influence, change and reconstruct these or establish new ones alongside of them. These inherited characteristics include customs, laws, ethical standards, public opinion, and in short the whole social psychology and system of social institutions which has been built up throughout the course of human evolution. The analogy between heredity and environment in biology and in the social organism is here very close. Since the appearance of the institution of private property in the instruments by which wealth is produced and distributed, society has necessarily been divided into two classes according as their members own or do not own these essentials for the production of wealth. The struggle of these classes for power constitutes a large portion of the history of modern times. In the Middle Ages land being the most essential instrument for the production of wealth the landlords were the ruling class and social institutions were determined by them in accordance with their interests. When the great transformation of hand tools into factory machinery took place at the close of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century, this machinery of the modern factory became the most essential element in the production of wealth, and its owners became the ruling class.

When the owners of industrial capital had gained their victory they set about establishing a society in accordance with their interests. Since the accumulation and organization of capital was the most essential thing at this historical period the owners of capital formed the class most necessary to the basic industrial process. Later on the capitalist class laid down its function as organizer and director of industry and became simply a share-holding class. Hired wageworkers, including manual workers, overseers, bosses, and superintendents perform all the essential social processes. The capitalist class having handed over its function to the working class, the latter becomes not only the most essential, but the only essential class. The material interests of this class involve it in continuous struggles with the capitalists. Sooner or later this struggle is transferred to the political field where the laboring class is represented by the Socialist Party, having as its object the capture of the powers of government and social control in order that it may use them in the interest of that class.

According to this philosophy the social dynamic which compels advance is the continuous improvement of the processes of

production. Every new invention and every improvement in the organization of industry starts in motion a series of influences which do not cease until they have reached and affected every institution within the society of which they form the industrial basis. During the last 100 years mechanical improvements have multiplied many fold the productive power of each individual worker. But the army of unemployed prevent the price of labor power as a whole from rising much above the point necessary to maintain the efficiency of the wageworker as a producer. Consequently the workers who use these improved instruments receive but a small fraction of the greatly multiplied product. They have no choice under the present system but to accept these conditions. While production is for sale in the competitive market only the cheapest can continue to produce. Hence, if the workers are to produce, and they cannot live without producing, since they have no power of ownership to take from other producers, they must gain access to these highly perfected tools. Hence they compete with one another for the privilege of using them, and of selling their labor to the owners of the tools. They finally accept a wage-contract by which, for the privilege of producing their own wages during the first hour or two of work, they continue at work for many hours more producing additional surplus value for the owner of the means of production which they use. Improvements in production often take other than mechanical forms. The modern trust is, to some extent, to be considered as such an improvement. Socialist writers pointed out over a half century ago the self-destructive character of competition. It was then foreseen that one of the inherent characteristics of large industry was its greater economy as compared with smaller competitors. Consequently the large industry tended to eliminate all smaller competitors within the circle of its market. Improvements in transportation, communication, and storage rapidly extended the circle of the market to national, and for some products, at least, to international dimensions. When, however, there are sufficient plants constructed to more than supply any circle of the market and competition is reduced to a few industrial units, the wastes of competition and the destructiveness of competitive war become so evident that combination is inevitable. The result is some one of the various forms of combination by which competition is stifled and monopoly established.

The wage workers seek political victory in order that they may impress their interests upon the social organism and thereby remove the evils under which they suffer at the present time. Since most of the evils of which they complain spring from the fact that they are debarred from access to natural resources and the instruments for the production and distribution of wealth, their first demand is that such access be freely granted. But free ac-

ness implies legal ownership and with modern concentrated complex industry this ownership cannot be individual unless all the evils of the present system are retained. Hence we have a demand for collective ownership.

Thus socialism as a philosophy is mainly an analysis of capitalism. As an ideal, as a social stage, it presupposes the capitalist system, since it alone can prepare the way for socialism. This future system, or ideal, is in no sense of the word a scheme whose adoption is asked for by the socialists. It is simply the next logical stage in social evolution. Socialists do not attempt therefore to give any details of that future society since all such details will be dependent upon the decision of a majority of the working class of that future time, and upon the stage of industrial development which has been attained when socialism is ushered in. Since it is manifestly impossible to foresee either of these factors at the present time, any attempt to forecast the details of their outcome would be plainly impossible.

Socialists maintain that the coming society will be preferable to the present one especially for the working class. With a collective democratically managed organization of industry in which natural resources and the mechanical means for the production and distribution of wealth have their ownership vested in society and where production is for the direct use of the producers and not for sale, the wastes of the present system will be largely abolished. Among these wastes which will be abolished are advertising, duplication of plants and power, poor utilization of mechanical progress, disadvantageous geographical location of industries, etc. Some of these are already being abolished by the trust method of production. But at the present time the saving accomplished redounds almost wholly to the benefit of the few owners of the trustified industry. In addition to this socialists maintain that much greater savings would be made under socialism by the utilization in productive labor of the energies of whole classes of the population from whose strength and ability society, at present, derives little or no advantage. This would be true, for example, not alone of the present army of the unemployed amounting in the United States to between one and three million, according to industrial conditions, but also the purely capitalist class whose function of ownership being performed collectively would enable the members of that class to directly assist in production. By far the larger share of that portion of the population concerned in the protection of individual property rights in what socialism would make collective property, such as lawyers, judges, police, private watchmen, detectives, and the army and navy, would also be capable of utilization in the production of material wealth.

Socialists also claim that in a co-operative society the sum

total of human happiness would be immensely increased by making the production of goods in itself pleasurable. When profit and the competitive struggle are abolished and productive energies fully utilized there will be a possibility of that leisurely artistic creative activity which modern psychology and pedagogy agree is capable of furnishing the most intense pleasure and valuable educational training to the individual worker while, at the same time, producing the best possible goods for the satisfaction of human needs. It is this phase of socialism which has always attracted artists and has given rise to the now extensive arts and crafts movement. It is easy to see in this connection that socialism would offer a much greater field for the development of individuality than is possible for the great mass of the people to-day.

The theory of socialism is itself a product of evolution, the ideal appearing long before the philosophy of society and the scientific analysis of social relations which make possible the realization of that ideal were worked out. Ever since the days of Plato, and especially since the writing of Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, men have dreamed of a society which should be a co-operative brotherhood. During the latter part of the 18th and first half of the 19th century Utopian socialism reached a high degree of development and found numerous illustrious followers. Among these were Fourier, Babaeuf, Saint Simon, and Cabet in Europe, and a few years later Greeley, Dana, and Nathaniel Hawthorne in America would be largely included in this class. Robert Owen marked somewhat of an advance on this position. While he founded colonies and pictured utopias, he also set forth many ideas that have since become a part of modern scientific socialism. Lassalle, Rodbertus, and Weitling in Germany, Colins and De Paepe in Belgium also helped to some degree to formulate present socialist philosophy while they still clung to much of Utopianism. It is with the work of Karl Marx and Frederic Engels, however, that modern socialism began to definitely take on the forms by which it is known to-day. In 1845 Marx was ordered out of Paris and went to Brussels where he was joined by Engels and where they founded the "German Working-Men's Association" with the *Deutsche Brusseler Zeitung* as its organ. It was while here that they became members of the Communist League and wrote the Communist Manifesto, to which reference was previously made.

A philosophical and a political goal presupposes an organization for propaganda and political activity. The body that is generally looked upon as the ancestor of the present world-wide Socialist organizations is "The League of the Just" organized in Paris in 1836. The aims of this organization were, however, very indefinite and its principal significance lies in its transformation in 1847 into the "Communist League." This change was

brought about through the influence of Marx and Engels. While the "Communist League" exercised considerable influence on continental labor movements during the first two or three years of its existence, yet it was overwhelmed in the reaction which followed the revolutions of 1848, and by 1853, it had practically disappeared. Its great contribution to socialism lies in the fact that under its auspices was issued a document that for far reaching consequences and lasting influence must be considered one of the most remarkable ever written. This was the Communist Manifesto drawn up by Marx and Engels as a committee of the Communist League in 1848. This work consists of a summary of the philosophy of socialism and has been translated into almost every known language, and still constitutes the most generally circulated work on socialism in existence. New editions and translations appear continually throughout the world. The next great step was the organization of the International Working-Men's Association at Saint Martin's Hall, London, 8 Sept. 1864. A committee appointed by this meeting and composed of 50 members representing six nationalities presented a declaration of principles which was written by Karl Marx and which was unanimously accepted by the organization. Since this declaration has formed the basis of almost countless socialist platforms in different countries since that time, it is worth reproducing:

"In consideration that the emancipation of the working class must be accomplished by the working class itself, that the struggle for the emancipation of the working class does not signify a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of class rule;

That the economic dependence of the working man upon the owner of the tools of production, the sources of life, forms the basis of every kind of servitude, of social misery, of spiritual degradation, and political dependence;

That, therefore, the economic emancipation of the working class is the great end to which every political movement must be subordinated as a simple auxiliary;

That all exertions which, up to this time, have been directed toward the attainment of this end have failed on account of the want of solidarity between the various branches of labor in every land, and by reason of the absence of a brotherly bond of unity between the working classes of different countries;

That the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, which embraces all countries in which modern society exists, and whose solution depends upon the practical and theoretical co-operation of the most advanced countries;

That the present awakening of the working class in the industrial countries of Europe gives occasion for a new hope, but at the same time contains a solemn warning not to fall back into old errors, and demands an immediate union of the movements not yet united;

"The First International Labor Congress declares that the International Working Men's Association, and all societies and individualities belonging to it, recognize truth, right and morality as the basis of their conduct toward one another and their fellow men, without respect to color, creed, or nationality. The Congress regards it as the duty of man to de-

mand the rights of a man and citizen, not only for himself, but for every one who does his duty. No rights without duties; no duties without rights."

In 1845 Frederick Engels had already published "The Condition of the Working Classes in England in 1844," which was the first work to set forth the materialistic interpretation of history. In 1867 the first volume of Marx's "Capital" appeared which has ever since been the great fundamental text book of socialism. About 1876 Engels published "Socialism Utopian and Scientific," another work almost equally important, although much smaller in size. These works gave the fundamental principles of socialism to the world, and although these principles have been enlarged and applied in countless directions by a great army of writers since then, they have with very trifling exceptions stood the test of time and have suffered little change.

At the last meeting of the "International" anarchistic forces under the leadership of Bakounin threatened to gain control, and in order to avoid this catastrophe the socialists, who were still in the majority, voted to remove the headquarters of the organization from London to New York. There was another purpose in this also. It was felt by Marx and others that since the doctrines of socialism had been included in various National workingmen's movements, and had been somewhat systematized by the discussions of congress, that the time for a great centralized organization was past, and that its disappearance would be the best thing possible. This ends the history of the socialist movement as one centralized organization, and it can henceforth be best studied in its various national manifestations.

Germany.—Owing to the fact that socialism in Germany was to some extent, in advance of the movement in other countries its history is largely typical. It has also furnished many of the foremost writers and organizers of socialism and has, numerically, always been in the front rank of the International Socialist organization. For these various reasons, the German Socialist movement must occupy considerable space in any discussion of socialism. On the theoretical side it is commonly said that German socialism goes back to Fichte and Hegel and Kant for many of its premises. But the first writers who are directly linked with the modern doctrines of socialism in Germany are Professor Winkelblech, better known as "Karl Marlo," Rodbertus and Weitling. Marlo developed the germs of the idea of collectivism and Rodbertus of surplus value and the doctrine of crises as due to over-production. But neither of them carried their ideas to a sufficient perfection to have in any way entitled them to recognition had it not been for the fact that owing to the work of later writers, and economic and political events, these ideas became of so great importance as to lead to the most diligent search into their origins. Wilhelm Weitling is much more closely linked, both in doctrines

and in activity, with the modern movement than either of the others. From 1830 to 1843 he was active as a writer and agitator in Germany and Switzerland. He was arrested in 1843 and imprisoned. This was but the beginning of a systematic persecution which finally, in 1849, drove him to the United States, where we shall hear from him again, and where he died on Jan. 25, 1871. Yet after all, he was largely a dreamer and Utopian, and it is Ferdinand Lassalle who really must be looked upon as the founder of the German Socialist movement, even though little that was distinctly Lassallean in doctrine remains in the German Social Democracy of today. Lassalle was born at Breslau 11 April, 1825, studied first at the Trade School at Leipsic, and then took up philology and philosophy at Breslau and Berlin, where he passed his examination with distinction. The stormy times of 1848 drew him into the struggles of the working men and brought him slightly in contact with Marx and Engels, although there is little evidence that he was influenced by them at this time. Lassalle did little in the way of active agitation until 1862. He published "The System of Acquired Rights," containing many socialistic ideas, 1861. On 12 April, 1862, he delivered before an Artisan's Association in Berlin his famous lecture on the labor program (*Arbeiterprogramm: über den besonderen Zusammenhang der gegenwärtigen Geschichtsperiode mit der Idee des Arbeiterstands*). In this lecture he set forth many of the ideas that have since become part of the Socialist philosophy. The published copies of this lecture were at once seized and destroyed by the police and Lassalle was arrested. At his trial he delivered, as his defense, his now famous speech on "Science and the Workingmen" (*Die Wissenschaft und die Arbeiter*). The next step was taken in response to an invitation to address the Leipsic Workingmen's Association, one of the numerous rather indefinite labor organizations which were later destined to become of great importance in the German Socialist movement. Lassalle sent his "Open Reply Letter." In this he set forth his adherence to the Ricardian theory of the iron law of wages. He declared that the only solution of the poverty of the working class was the organization of productive associations of the workers for which the State must provide the necessary capital. To secure this end he declared that "the working classes must constitute themselves into an independent political party, and must make universal, equal, and direct suffrage their watchword. The representation of the working classes in the legislative bodies of Germany—that alone can satisfy their legitimate interests in a political sense." On 19 May, 1863, the Congress of Workmen at Frankfurt-on-Main adopted Lassalle's program, and four days later the "Universal German Workingmen's Association," which was later to develop into the German Social Democracy, was

founded. Lassalle, however, was destined to see small fruits from his work. After a few months of tireless, energetic, eloquent agitation, with apparently small results, he was drawn into a duel on a purely personal matter, was fatally wounded, and died 31 Aug., 1864. For a time considerable confusion existed. The International Workingmen's Association, whose organization at London in 1864 has already been described, began to have an influence in Germany. Wilhelm Liebknecht was its principal worker. Many of the principles of the Marxian economics which had been accepted by the International, were opposed to the doctrines of Lassalle. This was particularly true of the State-assisted productive associations. In 1867 universal suffrage was granted for the North German Reichstag and the socialists polled between 30,000 and 40,000 votes, electing six members, among whom was August Bebel, who has never ceased since then to play a prominent part in German socialism, and who had been converted by Liebknecht to the Marxian position and the support of the International. In 1869 at Eisenach the Marxian wing organized the *Sozial Demokratischen Arbeiter Partei*. For the next few years the strife between the Eisenachers and the Lassalleans was fierce. This, however, did not prevent the rapid growth of Socialism, and in 1874 331,670 votes were cast for the Socialist candidates. Three Lassalleans and seven Eisenachers, including Bebel and Liebknecht, both of whom were in prison for alleged treasonable utterances during the Franco-Prussian war, were elected to the Reichstag. This great success brought down the wrath of the governing powers, and a period of persecution began, the first effect of which was to close up the breach between the two Socialist parties at the Congress of Gotha in May, 1875. This union was followed by a rapid increase in the Socialist vote, which by 1877 had reached nearly 500,000. Meanwhile Bismarck was bending every energy to force repressive measures through the Reichstag. It is probable that he would have failed in this, had it not been that two insane persons attempted to assassinate the Emperor. Bismarck at once declared that these attacks were inspired by the Socialists, although there was never the slightest evidence to justify this assertion. However, he at once dissolved the Reichstag, and by means of the most inflammatory appeals to public prejudice succeeded in getting a majority subservient to his purposes. A law was forced through which practically outlawed the entire socialist movement. It prohibited the formation or existence of organizations which sought by Social Democratic, socialistic, or anarchist movements to subvert the present State and social order. Provision was also made that where even these very stringent measures were ineffective, any city could be declared in a "minor stage of siege" in which all public activity was

directly controlled by the police. The Socialists at once determined upon a policy of "shamming dead." The organ of the Socialist Party was transferred to Switzerland, and from there circulated in great numbers throughout Germany. The only attempt at public propaganda within Germany was through the speeches of the Socialist members in the Reichstag. At the first election taking place under this Reign of Terror in 1881, it appeared as if the policy of suppression was succeeding, as the Socialist vote fell to a little over 300,000. From that time on, however, and in spite of oppression, the party grew by leaps and bounds, until in 1890 it polled 1,427,298 votes. It being manifestly impossible to consider a million and a half of voters as outlaws, the anti-socialist law was allowed to lapse in March, 1890, and Bismarck was dismissed as Minister. From that time to the present the Socialist movement has continued to grow.

THIRTY YEARS' GROWTH OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

YEAR.	POPULAR VOTE.	MEMBERS.
1871	124,655	2
1874	351,952	9
1877	493,288	12
1878	437,158	9
1881	311,961	12
1884	549,990	24
1887	763,128	11
1890	1,427,298	35
1893	1,876,738	44
1898	2,113,073	56
1903	3,008,000	81

France.—The French Socialist movement, largely because of the fact that France was the country in which Utopianism reached its highest point, and because also of the rather backward economic conditions, was for many years split into various factions. In December, 1899, these united, but only for a short time. Millerand entered Parliament soon after unity had been formed, and it was generally considered that such action on his part was contrary to Socialist principles, and a split followed. In September, 1900, the *Parti Ouvrier Francais*, of which Jules Guesde and Paul Lafargue were the most prominent members, withdrew from the union. In 1901 they were joined by the Blanquists, having Edouard Vaillant as their principal leader. These two bodies together with some later seceders, organized the *Parti Socialist de France*, and at the same time the other faction organized as the *Parti Socialist Francais*. This party has shown a tendency to further division, as very many of its members are opposed to the opportunist tactics of its leaders. The

Socialist parties of France have been of rather recent date. The following table gives their vote from their first appearance to the present time:

		Deputies.
1887	47,000	..
1889	120,000	..
1893	440,000	32
1898	790,000	38
1900	880,000	47

Belgium.—In Belgium there is but one Socialist Party, the *Parti Ouvrier Belge*, which was founded in 1885. For several years the franchise was very limited and the Socialists were barred from any effective political action. Accordingly the early years of the party were given up to agitation in favor of universal suffrage. This culminated in a series of great demonstrations and finally in the general strike in 1893, which resulted in the granting of universal suffrage to all males over the age of 25 years. This was much qualified, for in many elections there is a complex system of plural voting by which those possessing property or special educational qualifications have two or three votes, while the propertyless wage-workers have but one. Yet at the first election in 1894 the Socialist Party polled 320,000 votes and elected 28 deputies out of 152. In 1900 this was increased to 463,000 votes with 32 deputies and four Senators. The principal characteristic of the Belgian Socialist movement is the peculiarly close affiliation of the three phases of the working class movement, the co-operative, trade union, and political activity. Practically every trade unionist is also a Socialist and a member of some one of the co-operative organizations.

Holland.—The *Social Democratische Arbeiderspartij* was organized in 1894. For some little time the anarchist influences threatened to gain control, but in 1900 the anarchists, with their leader, Domela Nieuwenhuis, were expelled from the old "*Socialisten Bond*," in which they had hitherto been dominant, and that organization merged with the Socialist Party. At this time the daily paper, *Recht Voor Allen*, which had been founded by Nieuwenhuis, became a Socialist journal. The elections held in 1901, in which the Socialists contested 10 districts, resulted in the election of nine socialists to the Lower House with a total Socialist vote of 39,000.

Denmark.—In Denmark the Socialist movement, like that of Belgium, is closely affiliated with the trade unions, and Denmark claims to be the most thoroughly organized country in the world, over 75 per cent. of its working class, including rural laborers, being included in the unions. They also have a very strong co-operative movement in connection with the Socialist movement.

The following table gives the vote since the formation of the party:

1872	268
1876	1,076
1881	1,689
1884	6,806
1887	8,408
1890	17,232
1892	20,094
1895	24,508
1898	31,872
1901	42,972
1903	55,479

Italy.—During the time that the German Socialist movement was forming and the International was carrying the doctrines of Socialism into various other European countries, Italy was still ideologically under the influence of the bourgeois liberalism of Mazzini, and conspiratory anarchism as represented by Bakounin. When these two movements died out, all activity among the laboring classes seem to disappear, and all attempts at socialist agitation were brutally repressed. A Socialist Congress under the honorary presidency of Garibaldi was held at Rome in February, 1881. The socialism here set forth, however, was still very indefinite, the principal demand being for universal suffrage. In 1882, in response to an energetic agitation, the franchise was somewhat extended, but was still very restricted. Nevertheless the Socialists were enabled in 1883 to contest 13 districts and elect two deputies. The present Socialist party was organized at Milan in 1891 and the organization perfected at Genoa in 1892. The first election in which it participated was in 1893, when 27,000 votes were cast. This was followed by a period of oppression under Crispi, in many respects analogous to that which took place in Germany under Bismarck. One phase of this, however, was somewhat different. Under the pretence of revision the electoral lists were so tampered with as to disfranchise thousands of Socialist voters, some of whom were even officeholders, and whose qualifications had never been challenged. So far was this carried that, in some districts which were known to be dominantly Socialist, almost the entire population was disfranchised. The Crispi ministry was wrecked on the Abyssinian expedition, and his successor, Rudini, somewhat relaxed the persecution. Two tendencies are apparent in the Socialist movement of Italy, as in several other countries. The orthodox Marxian wing has as its principal representative Enrico Ferri; the well-known criminologist, who is editor of *Avanti*. The leader of the Opportunist group is Filippo Turati. One of the remarka-

ble features of the Italian movement has been the hold which it has gained among the agricultural workers. This is due undoubtedly to the extremely pitiable condition to which these workers have been reduced. The following table gives the vote of the party, with the members of Parliament elected since 1892:

1895	78,359	11
1897	120,000	16
1900	170,841	31

Spain.—Spain was one of the countries in which the influence of the International was strong. At a Congress held in Barcelona in June, 1870, 40,000 members of the "International" were represented. Unfortunately, the anarchist followers of Bakounin gained considerable influence here, as in Italy, and with the same result that the revolutionary movement well nigh disappeared. This, in spite of the activity of Paul Lafargue, the son-in-law of Karl Marx, to whom reference was made in the discussion of the French movement, and who was at that time living in Spain. In 1882 the present Social Democratic Labor Party was organized, and since then has taken part in numerous elections. At the latest report of the party there were 73 groups, with about 10,000 members, and a press of 13 publications. Pablo Iglesias is the most prominent member of the Spanish Socialist movement.

The following table shows the elections in which the party has participated:

1891	5,000
1893	7,000
1898	20,000
1899	23,000
1901	25,000

Austria.—One of the great difficulties which has confronted the Socialist organizations of Austria has been the diversity of nationalities. Socialists have always insisted on discrediting all National antagonisms and jealousies, and as such have run counter to the strong national and race sentiments that exist in all classes of the population. A branch of the "International" existed in Austria in 1867, and in 1869 these organized a demonstration in which 100,000 men marched to the palace to demand universal and direct suffrage, freedom of speech and association, and liberty of the press. This demonstration was met with profuse promises, but as soon as it was disbanded, its leaders were imprisoned, and a period of brutal repression followed, which momentarily annihilated the entire Socialist movement. The present party was organized at a Congress held at Vienna in 1888, and is closely united to a strong trade union movement. Its first effort was to obtain an extension of the suffrage, and it was finally success-

ful in gaining a sort of class representation by which the nobility and clergy form one class, the great capitalists the second, the small property owners the third, the peasant proprietors the fourth, and finally the proletarian wage-workers were made a fifth class. Each of these classes elect a certain number of representatives. This, of course, means that one man in the first and second class might easily outvote several thousand in the fifth class. Nevertheless at the first election, held in 1897, 750,000 Socialist votes were cast and 15 deputies elected. In 1900 the second election was held, in which wholesale intimidation and threats on the part of the governing classes resulted in the reduction of the Socialist vote to 600,000, and their representation to 11 deputies. A co-operative movement with 170 organizations, including 53,000 members, and with a capital of 17,000,000 kronen, is affiliated with the Socialist party.

England.—Although it was in England that Marx and Liebknecht wrote many of the classics of Socialism, and although England has been looked upon as the classic land of capitalism, still Socialism in England ranks far behind the movement of other countries which it might have been expected to surpass. This has received many explanations. Perhaps the most satisfactory of these is to be found in the fact that domination of the world market enabled English capitalists to grant small favors to her laboring class, and thus prevent any broader demands. The Social Democratic Federation, which is the oldest of the Socialist bodies, was organized in 1879, but did not become avowedly Socialist until 1883. The Fabian Society was organized 4 Jan., 1884. The Independent Labor Party was organized in Bradford in January, 1893. The S. D. F. represents the International Marxian standpoint; the Independent Labor Party more of the Opportunist movement, while the Fabian Society is almost purely an educational organization. A recent development of considerable importance has been the Labor Representation Committee. This is an organization for the purpose of securing representation of labor in Parliament. In the beginning all three Socialist bodies were affiliated, but later the S. D. F. dropped out because the Committee refused to accept the Marxian position. This body, which is now largely controlled by the I. L. P., claims the adherence of 1,500,000 of trade unionists. There has been a strong tendency, however, for this movement to grow away from the Marxian position, and many candidates have been supported by it who did not accept the entire socialist platform. It is difficult to give any exact figures of the Socialist vote in England, since there has been no opportunity to test their strength by any general Parliamentary election. It is commonly estimated to be between 300,000 and 400,000.

Norway.—Capitalist development was late in appearing in Norway. Political attention was also focused largely on the question of the union between Norway and Sweden, so that it was really not until 1900 that the Socialist party began to have an independent political existence. In that year it polled 7,440 votes, but it did not elect any representatives to the Storting. In 1903 this was increased to 24,779, and four representatives were elected.

Sweden.—Socialism was really first introduced into Sweden by a tailor named August Palm, who had studied Socialism in Germany. He established a paper to propagate his principles in 1881. The germs of an organization existed. The Socialist movement is in close co-operation with the trade unions, and it has had some trouble with the anarchists, but in 1891 it drove these out, and the Marxian movement became dominant. There are at the present time over 60,000 dues-paying members, but since there is a property qualification disfranchising all having an income of less than 800 kroners a year, the Socialist vote is very small. Nevertheless they have succeeded in electing one member to the Riksdag. In municipal elections they have succeeded in electing several members to municipal positions. They have a large and influential press, including three dailies, one with 15,000, one with 12,000, and one with 6,000 subscribers. They are endeavoring, through agitation and strikes, to secure universal suffrage.

Switzerland.—Switzerland has long been a refuge for exiled revolutionists. It was one of the strongholds of the "International," and Geneva was the seat of several congresses. Nevertheless the party did not take part in elections until in recent years. The following gives the votes at the various elections in which they have participated:

1890	13,500
1893	29,822
1896	36,468

Russia.—The Russian Socialist movement is of necessity secret. It has also been confused in the past with purely governmental reform movements upon the one hand, and conspiratory anarchist organizations upon the other. But in 1898 a Socialist Party was organized on Marxian principles, with an extremely active secret propaganda, and in spite of the fact that Russian conditions are peculiarly favorable to a conspiratory force movement and the anarchist philosophy, the result here, as everywhere else, of the appearance of a Socialist movement has been the decline of anarchist activity. The initiative for the party comes largely from the students of the Russian universities, although in late years there have been extensive movements of the laborers in

industrial districts. In all of the other minor European nations Socialist organizations are in existence, but in most of them they are rather unimportant, although there are two Socialist representatives in the Servian Legislative Chamber. The Armenian Socialist movement is quite active, and, like the Polish, has organizations throughout the United States and Europe, which help support the home movement.

Japan.—No sooner had capitalism reached an advanced stage of development in Japan than Socialist activity appeared. This was confined to agitation by lectures and pamphlets until 1901, when a Socialist Democratic Party was founded, which was at once suppressed by the government. Nevertheless there is now one weekly and one monthly journal devoted directly to Socialist propaganda, while several other papers are publishing considerable Socialist material and maintaining a favorable attitude.

South America.—In the South American countries there is more or less Socialist activity in Brazil and the Argentine Republic. In the latter country the movement has reached considerable proportions. It was first founded in 1882 by German immigrants, and in 1890 a National organization was effected and a weekly paper established. By April, 1894, there were five Socialist groups, each with its organ, and in December of this year these united in a Central Committee. At the present time, however, the vote is insignificant. The official statistics, which the Socialists claim are incorrect, only record 204 votes as given in 1902, the Socialists claiming that this should be 1,000. On March 13, 1904, the Socialists elected Alfredo Palacios to Parliament. The vote, however, is not yet accessible to us.

Even in China word has recently come of the translation of the works of Marx and Engels into Chinese, and the statement is made by one of the prominent Chinese reformers that the doctrines of Socialism are making rapid headway in that country.

United States.—The industrial condition of the United States prevented the appearance of any strong Socialist movement until within comparatively recent years. The presence of an ever-moving frontier led to a social stratification by geographic stages which was constantly changing, and which, therefore, prevented the appearance of any such continuous class struggle as a Socialist philosophy presupposes. The presence of free land and the expanding market meant a large opportunity for individual advancement, both from the ranks of laborers to capitalist and from small capitalist to large capitalist. The Socialist movement is peculiarly a product of the industrial proletariat, and while the population of the United States remained largely rural such a movement could gain no great strength. Again, the existence of chattel slavery throughout the South, prior to the Civil War, created an economic contest between these two forms of industrial

organization which overshadowed the still somewhat indistinct contrast between laborers and capitalists. But though these industrial conditions prevented the growth of Socialism in the Eastern sections, they gave the greatest encouragement to the growth of a Utopian Socialism, and so it came about that for many years the United States was the experimental ground on which were tested the various theories of European Utopians. These movements are often confounded with latter day Socialism. They really had practically no connection, save that both have the idea of collective production. But the collective production of the colony is to be a scheme worked out in our present society, while the collective production of modern Socialism is simply one phase of the coming social stage. William Weitling came to America in 1849 and succeeded in organizing something of a Socialist movement in New York in the years immediately following. His movement, however, was of short duration, as was also that of Joseph Weydemeyer, who came shortly after him, and who was a personal friend of Marx and Engels. The Civil War wiped out nearly all traces of both of these movements. After the War the influence of the "International" extended to America. This influence was first seen in the National Labor Union, in which William H. Sylvis was the most prominent worker, and which practically disappeared with his death in 1869. During the next three years numerous sections of the "International" were organized throughout the country, and on removal of the "International" to this country, some attempt was made to revive it, but its last convention was held in Philadelphia 15 July, 1876, and this convention formally dissolved the organization. On 4 July, 1874, the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party of North America was organized, with a rather indefinite Socialist platform. This grew in strength during the next few years, and in 1877 the name was changed to the Socialist Labor Party of North America. Following the extensive labor troubles of 1876 and 1877 this party grew into national prominence, and succeeded in electing minor officials in several States. But it was still too indefinite to protect itself from anarchistic influences which crept in, and which nearly wrecked the party, until finally those influences reached their climax and their end in the Haymarket incident in Chicago. The work of organization had now to be practically all done over again. In September, 1887, the Sixth National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, held at Buffalo, N. Y., took up the work of reorganization. The Socialist elements in the labor movement were still rent with internal feuds, but by 1899 a steady upward growth began to be seen. Meanwhile, certain other movements which have undoubtedly contributed to the strength of Socialism had developed. The Greenback Party and the Henry George movement both con-

tained many of the ideas of Socialism, and undoubtedly proved a means by which many were led to adopt the Socialist position. In 1892 the Socialists for the first time nominated a Presidential ticket, consisting of Simon Wing of Boston, Mass., and Charles H. Matchett of Brooklyn, N. Y. The following table shows the growth of the Socialist movement during the next few years :

1892	.....	21,512
1893	.....	25,666
1894	.....	30,120
1895	.....	34,869
1896	.....	36,275
1897	.....	55,550
1898	.....	82,204

About this time the Socialist Labor Party changed its attitude toward the trade unions and established the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance as a rival organization to the existing unions. But this at once led to an animosity both within and without the party, and, finally, 10 July, 1899, a split starting in Section New York S. L. P. rapidly spread throughout the country, until a large majority of the former members of the S. L. P. had left that organization. Meanwhile, another Socialist Party had grown up alongside the S. L. P. Following the A. R. U. strike Eugene V. Debs declared himself a Socialist, and organized the Social Democratic Party. This quickly drew to itself a large number of persons who had objected to the tactics of the S. L. P. Many of these were persons who had been brought to an interest in Socialism through the reading of Bellamy's "Looking Backward," which had a tremendous sale during the late '80s. The Social Democracy was first organized on 18 June, 1897, at a convention in Chicago. At this time it still retained a demand for colonization and some other features which differentiated it from the International Marxian movement. On 7 June, 1898, at the first National Convention of the Social Democracy, those who were opposed to these principles bolted the convention and organized the Social Democratic Party of America. This party had a very rapid growth in several States, and succeeded in electing in the fall of 1899 two representatives to the Massachusetts State Legislature. After considerable trouble and delay, a union was effected between the Social Democratic Party and the bolting majority of the Socialist Labor Party at a convention held in Indianapolis 29 July, 1901. During the campaign of 1900, while this union was not completely effected, the two parties supported the same candidates, and Eugene V. Debs and Job Harriman polled a vote of 97,730. Meanwhile, the Socialist Labor Party vote had fallen off to 34,191. At the unity convention of Indianapolis the name Socialist Party was chosen for the united party. Since

that time this party has been growing at a very rapid rate, and at the present writing has a paid-up membership of nearly 30,000. At the State election of 1902 the total vote of the Socialist Party reached over 300,000. Numerous candidates were elected to municipal positions. Although the old International disappeared in 1876, quite close relations have been continuously kept up between the various Socialist parties, and in 1889 the first of a new series of congresses was held at Paris. This was followed by others, as follows: Brussels, 1891; Zurich, 1893; London, 1896; Paris, 1900; and the next is to be held at Amsterdam in 1904. At the Paris Congress an International Socialist Committee was formed, located at Brussels. This organization differs from the old International in that it is simply a creature of the great national organizations and a means of carrying out their common ideas, instead of being a great directing and controlling force.

A. M. SIMONS.

The Japano-Russian War—Its Actual Causes and Probable Effects.

WHAT is it all about”?

Ask this question of any of the Russian soldiers fighting in the far East against Japan, and you will get the characteristic reply:

“Can’t tell; the superiors know all about it.”

Address the identical question to a Japanese soldier and you will probably receive a similar answer.

The rank and file of the Russian and Japanese army are unsophisticated children of the people—peasants or city laborers. The Russian soldiers most likely before the beginning of the war were hardly aware of the existence of Japan, just as the Japanese soldiers probably were ignorant of the existence of Russia. There could not be any enmity between the Russian and Japanese people.

And yet torrents of human blood flow in the Far East, and millions of dollars, representing untold years of human toil, are wasted in the costly Japano-Russian war.

What is it all about?

It appears obviously that Japan, in starting the war, acted in self-defense. Indeed Russia is a dangerous next-door neighbor. The actual annexation of Manchuria by Russia and the Czar’s aggressive policy in Corea were menacing the very existence of Japan as an independent state. The diplomatic negotiations concerning the *casus belli* were conducted by Russia with a procrastination that confirmed the suspicions of Japan. The latter is comparatively too small a country to be able to afford taking chances with a giant adversary like Russia, when the latter is fully equipped for war. To wait till Russia would, under the transparent cover of protracted diplomatic negotiations, prepare for striking the mortal blow would be suicidal for Japan.

Russia in her attitude towards Manchuria and Corea followed its traditional policy of expansion, its “Drang nach Osten.”

What are the actual motives of this persistent policy of expansion on the part of Russia?

Reasoning by analogy is frequently misleading, due to the human inclination to presuppose analogies where they do not exist.

England, Germany, France and lately the United States are pursuing a policy of expansion or imperialism.

These are manufacturing countries in which the ruling class is the captains of industry, the owners of the complete mechanism of production and transportation of commodities. The working classes of these countries do not receive the full product of their

toil and are therefore not able to buy all the goods produced by them. With the increasing perfection of the tools and methods of production this underconsumption of commodities must also increase proportionately. The owners of the tools of production, in order to create profit for themselves, are therefore compelled to look for new markets for their goods or commodities. Expansion, imperialism, is consequently a policy dictated by the class interests of the capitalists.

It is therefore natural for those who do not know Russia to conclude that the Czar's policy of expansion is dictated by industrial considerations. However, such a conclusion is erroneous.

Russia is not an industrial, but almost exclusively an agricultural country with a very sparsely settled population.

In spite of the high tariff policy recently adopted by the Russian government, its manufacture is yet in its infancy and cannot supply the inner market. There is no powerful middle class in Russia as yet.

The ruling class in Russia is composed of officials (*chinovniks*), of bureaucrats. The bureaucracy is interested in having as many "faithful subjects" as it can get. The hundred and eighty millions of Russian "subjects" are not sufficient for the *chinovniks'* appetite. An addition of twenty millions of "subjects" would furnish a new field for exploitation by an army of police officers, judges, revenue inspectors and such other officials.

The expansion of Russia means the expansion of the power of the bureaucratic class recruited from the ranks of the degenerated gentry.

Not one of the newly acquired territories in Asia proved to be of any economic value to the national treasury of Russia.

The Russian people has nothing to gain in the Japano-Russian war and a great deal to lose in money and blood.

Prince Peter Krapotkin said in *The Speaker* "Looking now upon all the events, I cannot but say that it was a misfortune for the Russian nation that no other civilized nation had taken possession of northern Manchuria. The whole history of that part of the world would have taken another turn, if, let us say, the United States had got hold of this territory. The colonization of the Ameer and that railway across Manchuria have cost immensely to the Russian people; but this territory will never be Russian." It will be invaded very soon by Chinese, Coreans, and Japanese settlers, while Russian settlers will never feel at home in that region of monsoons. More than that. Even as a protection against a possible march of the yellow race against Europe Manchuria would be of no avail. This is why, before the present war broke out, so many Russians advocated that the Manchurian railway, or at least its southern portion to Port Arthur, should be sold to China—a solution which might have been possible then, but now,

that floods of blood are going to be shed this would be impossible."

That Russia will never be allowed to take possession of Korea by England and the United States is a foregone conclusion.

There is a curious similarity between the present Japano-Russian war and the Crimean war. After three years of fruitless diplomatic negotiations the Russian ambassador left Constantinople on May 21, 1858, and the war started three days later. Russia was unprepared for war.

Silly diplomats, muddle-headed generals and a horde of incapable civil officials instigated and conducted the war. The defeat of the Russian arms proved to be a boon to the Russian people. Sebastopol was the Waterloo of anti-reform Russia. Nicholas I poisoned himself and Alexander II inaugurated an era of wide-reaching reforms. Should the Russian government meet with another Sebastopol, history may yet repeat itself and Russia will be blessed by a speedy termination of the Czar's absolutism with its barbarity, corruption and disgrace.

The loquacious Emperor of Germany called contemptuously the German social-democrats "fellows without a fatherland" (*Vaterlandslose Gessellen*). Obviously there are different conceptions of patriotism. There is an official patriotism embracing the interests of the ruling parasitic minority and there is a genuine patriotism manifesting itself in sincere devotion to the true interests of the toiling broad masses of the people.

Official patriotism is the last refuge of parasitism in social life and leads to brutal wholesale and retail murder. Enlightened patriotism is broader than geographical, political or ethnical lines of demarkations; it embraces in its folds all humanity and leads to peace on earth and good will to men.

A genuine, enlightened patriotism is expressed by the Russian revolutionary movement, which is for peace with Japan, as with all the rest of the world, and against the bloody hand of the White Czar greedily grasping everything within its reach.

ISADOR LADOFF.

Report of the International Bureau by the Secretary for the United States.

COMRADES OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION :

The International Socialist Bureau was formed as a result of the Paris convention of 1900, and of previous conferences between the national representatives of the Socialist movement in Europe.

The purpose of its formation was to constitute an international bureau, through which the Socialist movement of the various nations of the world might communicate with each other, and cooperate with each other in mutually understood programs and, so far as practicable, in united action.

Brussels was selected as the seat of the International Bureau, and semi-annual meetings have been held since the bureau's formation.

But it cannot be said that the bureau has as yet accomplished much beyond keeping itself on record, or beyond the rather unimportant discussions of details that have occupied its semi-annual sessions. Perhaps its most significant action has been the securing of concurrent action on the part of the Socialist members of the different European parliaments concerning the war between Great Britain and the Boers. Resolutions were introduced by Socialist members into the national legislative bodies at Berlin, Rome, Paris and Brussels, that created no little discussion and considerable British indignation and protest. As a result many public meetings of protest were held throughout the continent.

While, of course, the resolutions had no effect upon the war or its outcome, the pedagogic or propaganda result was very valuable. Some discussion has also been occasioned by the resolution passed by the bureau concerning the lynching of negroes in the United States. I feel obliged, however, to decline personal responsibilities for the resolution as it was worded. It is very different in statement and substance, and is much more extreme, than the report which I sent to the bureau upon the subject.

But, on the whole, it does not seem to me that the International Socialist Bureau has as yet been at all equal to its opportunities. It is not worth while for Socialist men—all of them over-worked in their own national movement—to gather together from the ends of the earth twice a year to hear statistical reports and minor discussions. But it is immeasurably worth while that the International Socialist movement be fused into one great dynamic world-body; that the Socialist movement of all nations shall act together as one voice, and one power, in every great question in every nation; that it shall hold and be the balance of power which every nation must reckon with. The poet's dream of the federation of the

world and the parliament of man, is germinal in the International Socialist Bureau, and it is only by the recognition of this, and by a larger sense of the bureau's opportunities and significance, that it can justify and develop its being.

I am afraid it ill becomes the member from the United States to speak with such emphasis concerning the possible need and importance of the bureau, as the Socialist movement of this country has taken practically no interest in the bureau's existence, and has paid nothing towards its maintenance. There seems to be some confusion even of the International Socialist Bureau, which is, in theory, in perpetual session, with the International Socialist Congress, which meets upon the call of the bureau, and is a convention, not a bureau, and which meets this coming August in Amsterdam, and to which this convention should elect delegates.

We should also at this convention adopt, or recommend, some method of making a regular annual contribution for the maintenance of the bureau. All that has been paid is the sum of 151½ francs in 1901, and that was by a private individual and for the Social Democratic Party, before the present unity of the Socialist forces had been accomplished.

The Socialist movement of the United States as a movement has paid nothing at all in the four years since the bureau's formation.

I would recommend that the sum of 1,000 francs, or \$200.00, be settled upon as our present annual contribution.

Fraternally submitted,

(Signed) GEORGE D. HERRON.

Concentration of Wealth in the United States.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION—THEORETICAL DISCUSSION.

EVERY investigation or treatment of a subject, if it is to be at all systematic, must be carried on from some certain point of view, and be conducted according to a definite method. In one sense it is the point of view alone which serves to differentiate the various branches of science, since all have the same subject matter, the material universe. It is only because certain portions of that subject matter are selected or eliminated and approached with definite ends in view that the sciences differ from one another.

The facts concerning industrial concentration have been presented from the statistical side, from the financial point of view, and to some extent with reference to their effect on other social phenomena. We propose to take a somewhat synthetic view of these various presentations, mainly with reference to the effect of progressing concentration on industrial, political and social institutions of contemporary society.

Even after the field to be investigated has been determined upon and its limits defined, another consideration arises if the phenomena to be considered are sociological. As Senior pointed out many years ago, no one is interested in proving that two and two make anything else but four, or that the law of gravitation or chemical affinity does or does not apply in certain cases. But in the field of social affairs large classes of the community have a very great interest in the truth or falsity of every economic law. This is especially true in modern society with its sharp division of economic classes having divergent interests. No one can avoid being influenced by the prejudices arising from his individual and class interests. He may be unconscious of them, or he may conceal them from those to whom he speaks, but they are none the less there, and hence it is far better that he frankly recognize them and state them, for his own and the reader's guidance.

Throughout this investigation we shall write from the point of view that in our present society working-class interests are alone worthy of consideration, because those interests include within themselves the forces which are making for social progress.

Once that the field of phenomena has been determined upon and the point of view adopted, there remains the question of the method of treatment. In this study we shall follow what is

coming to be known as the comparative, historical, evolutionary method. That is to say, the phenomena discussed will be treated in their chronological order. At the same time the various lines of development will be compared, and their interrelation pointed out. It will be taken for granted that each event evolves from some preceding one in accordance with the laws of biological and sociological evolution. The industrial development will be considered as the fundamental basis upon which is erected the whole social and political superstructure. Improvements in the methods of producing and distributing goods will be considered the dynamic of industrial evolution. Mechanical inventions and more effective methods of industrial and financial organization effect changes throughout the entire social organism of which they are a part.

The various discussions dealing with the trusts may be broadly divided into two classes, according as they approach the subject from the point of view of the capitalist or the working class. The defender of, or apologist for, capitalism takes for granted the permanence of present class rule in society, based upon the private ownership of the instruments for the production and distribution of wealth. These writers generally agree that competition constitutes the basis and essential condition of industry. Some attempt to modify this position, and to make certain concessions to Socialism. The fact is, however, that capitalism depends upon competition to select those men fitted to its environment. Competition to them is the great regulator, and its disappearance means a transformation of the industrial mechanism based on exploitation. From the time of Adam Smith to John Stuart Mill and his followers of the present day, the doctrine of *laissez faire* has been the only one that has been wholly consistent with the capitalistic system.

Concentration appears to the capitalist writer as abnormal. He attempts to show that it is confined to certain industries. By the theory of "increasing, diminishing and constant returns" he classifies the movement of concentration out of the competitive system. According to this theory there are only a few special industries which follow the law of "increasing returns," that is, in which the cost of production is constantly less, and the profit therefore constantly larger with each increase in the number of units produced in a single industry.

The great mass of industries, says the economist of capitalism, are to be found obeying the law of constant returns according to which there is no particular advantage favoring the large industry. The great basic industry of agriculture is held to obey the law of diminishing returns, according to which the smaller the industrial unit the cheaper the cost of production per unit of product. Having laid this broad, fallacious, theoretical founda-

tion, he next proceeds to find reasons why there are any industries which obey the law of increasing returns, and which, therefore, tend toward monopoly. It is claimed that only those industries which have "special privileges," such as franchises, patents, trade secrets, limited supply of raw material, etc., really tend toward monopoly. Still, in pursuit of the idea that concentration is an abnormal pathological social phenomena, the "remedies" for this condition are sought. These "remedies," as a general thing, take the form of some sort of restrictive legislation, limiting the power of these "special" industries. Of late, however, such writers have taken another turn and seek to utilize class-controlled governments as a means of owning and operating such industries, hoping thereby to secure the profits for the benefit of the whole mass of competing tax-paying small capitalists. It will be noticed that this method is in strict accord with straight capitalistic economics, as it still seeks to maintain a class of small exploiters, and therewith the whole competitive system. Whether this would be the result or not we will not attempt to discuss here.

The Socialist, on the other hand, looks upon concentration of industry from the beginning as the logical outcome of competition, and the whole process is considered as physiological and not pathological. Nevertheless, most of the socialist writers have treated the subject in a decidedly fragmentary way. The earlier writers, especially Marx, foresaw that "one capitalist devours many," but what they did not and could not foresee was the possibility of the persistence of monopoly throughout a considerable portion of the industrial field during the existence of capitalism. It would have required more than human foresight to have done so. We shall return to this point again. The socialist then looks upon concentration as an historic stage within capitalism. He recognizes the self-destructive character of competition and its inevitable tendency towards monopoly. He sees that combination comes, not in spite of but as a result of competition. He also sees in the concentration of industry and its control by a few non-producers evidence that the last stages of capitalism have been reached, since such a condition is manifestly one of unstable equilibrium. At the same time his interpretation of this phenomena leads him to conclude that the next stage of evolution will be marked by co-operative ownership of the essentials of production and distribution of wealth.

It is necessary to differentiate the methods of concentration. There are two very different ways in which the aggregation of capital takes place, only one of which was foreseen by the earlier socialist writers. This first method is what might be called the method of accumulation by which the capitalist adds to his capital through the surplus value of his workers. As his business grows

larger this surplus value also becomes larger, both absolutely and relatively. He can produce cheaper, therefore can sell cheaper and compete his industrial adversaries out of existence. This process produces what may be called the "great industry," which is something very different from the trust or monopoly. Indeed, it is during the period when the few great industries occupy the field that competition is most fierce. During the entire period of the growth by accumulation, there is no diminution in the fierceness of the competitive struggle.

• This condition brings about another form of concentration. Instead of one industry competing the others out of existence by a gradual growth in power due to added increments of surplus value, the owners of these industries decide to cease fighting each other and unite and divide the surplus value accruing to the entire industry. This growth by aggregation or combination is something peculiar practically to the last decade and in a large degree to America. There is little sign that Marx foresaw this phase of the movement, at least, we have been unable to find anything that could be considered a definite foretelling of it. This movement must stifle all competition in large portions of the industrial field, and cannot but have important effects on the entire economic structure of a society built upon competition.

Certain conditions are essential to each stage of concentrated industry. These conditions like concentration itself may be divided into two classes. The first are those which are essential to the growth of the great industry; the second, those which pave the way to the combinations of the great industries and the stifling of competition. As preliminary to the first stage, the most essential thing is a perfected factory system. The factory system has been so often described by Marx, Hobson and a host of other writers that a mere enumeration of its principal features must suffice here. The establishment of a factory system presupposes the use of improved machinery for production and the application of some form of power aside from the physical strength of men in the operation of that machinery. It demands a division of labor with high specialization of product for each individual worker, which leads inevitably to the next necessary stage, an aggregation of employes into industrial armies with overseers, superintendents, etc., and implies as a corollary the training of workers in technical schools for these special tasks.

The factory system implies a decrease of waste through the use of by-products, purchases on a large scale, uniformity of operation, etc. These savings, it will be noted, are of a different character from those brought about by the second stage of concentration—that of combination of previous competing industries.

A second condition of the growth of the large industry is a wide circle of the market, that is to say, the extent of territory acces-

sible in a profitable manner to the seller of the product must be very great. In a country as large as the United States, there may be several separate circles after this stage has been attained. Within each such circle a single "great industry" reigns, which interferes but little with those occupying other circles. Such a condition is manifestly one of unstable equilibrium. Soon the circles overlap; then they merge into a great national circle, within which competition may continue for some time, since its boundaries, being to a considerable degree physical, are much more permanent than those of the previous smaller markets.

This implies improved transportation facilities and the possibility of storage and preservation of the product. With a highly perishable product, the risks incurred in handling a great stock has hitherto tended to keep the unit of production smaller than in those lines where storage is possible. Whenever methods have been discovered by which a hitherto perishable product can be stored and shipped to great distances, the result has been an immediate and great increase in the size of the industrial unit. One of the most striking examples of this fact is to be found in the handling of meat products.

The boundaries of the market must remain approximately the same for a long enough time to permit the larger industry to out-compete the smaller firms. If the boundaries of the market are constantly shifting, and particularly if they are continually growing larger, new opportunities for the smaller competitors will be always appearing. It will be difficult to eliminate the new and smaller plants which will continually spring up on the margins of the expanding market. This fact is of especial importance in the United States. So long as there was a manufacturing frontier for any industry, new competitors were constantly springing up in this new territory. These competitors often grew with the territory where they were located until they became of sufficient strength to hold their own with the earlier established industries. It was only when an intricate and comprehensive railroad system made possible a uniform market throughout the United States and something approaching a uniformity of industrial development was reached throughout the country that the permanent growth of the large industry was assured.

Another condition essential to any great growth in the size of the industrial unit is the possibility of a large amount of surplus value. This is really a consequence of a perfected factory system and the large circle of the market to which reference has already been made. Until the margin of unpaid labor became great, the increment of growth per industrial unit was still so small that it was impossible for one industry to dominate the entire industrial field of any one country. When, however, the productive power per individual worker was increased by the appli-

cation of improved machinery and modern factory methods of production and distribution, the profits of capital became so great as to permit a rapid growth in the income available for capitalization and extension of the plant.

A fourth and not unimportant condition of the growth of the great industry was the introduction of the corporate form of organization. The corporation furnishes an impersonal legal organization, which is unaffected by the vicissitudes of time, is capable of indefinite expansion without disturbance of its internal relations, and most important of all, allows a combination of the capital of a large number of individuals without the necessity of reconciling their personal differences. It also permits the employment of an organized force of superintendents and managers of industry. Hitherto managing and organizing talent could only be utilized when it was coupled with the ownership of capital. Through the corporation such talent can be utilized for the capitalist even though the possessor of the desired talent is propertyless.

The great industry was a natural preparation for the next step, the combination of several industries into one great industrial giant. This second stage in concentration presents not simply quantitative but qualitative differences. The conditions which gave rise to it, as well as the methods of organization, and the social results are in many ways decidedly different from the preliminary conditions, forms of organization, and social effects of the concentration of industry due to accumulation. The stage just prior to the union of competitive firms is generally marked by the fierce competition of a few large firms. This competition is in many ways different from the competition which prevails previous to this stage. Earlier competition was looked upon as something permanent, as a steady regulator. The competition which leads to monopoly is a fierce struggle for final mastery and not for momentary advantage. Indeed, it is generally termed in the popular accounts a war, or a battle, rather than competition. Combination is almost always preceded by an overproduction relative to the restricted market of capitalism. This is an indication that sufficient plants have been constructed to more than supply the demand within the circle of market reached by these plants.

Another absolutely essential preliminary to widespread combination is the development in a very perfect manner of what has been designated by the French as "*haute finance*." By this is meant the manipulation and organization of the stock market as distinguished from the managing of industry. The class of men who are designated as "financiers," and who soon come to have the supreme power over industry, forms a wholly different class from the industrial capitalist. The expert knowledge required of them has nothing to do with the technical operation of industry,

or even with the organization of men, methods and materials, but only with the buying and selling of the securities which represent ownership. This implies a highly developed banking system and widespread extension of credit, the establishment and thorough organization of stock exchanges, and, in short, all the paraphernalia which is today concerned with the handling of industrial paper. The final flower of this system is the promoter. This man is as completely divorced from industrial operations as can be imagined and, indeed, in some degree stands in the same relation to the owners of stocks and bonds and the ordinary capitalist as these capitalists do to the captains of industry—the superintendents and managers.

The combination of industries and the consequent elimination of competition has its own definite effects in the industrial field distinct from those brought about by the great, but still competing, industry. The savings which it accomplishes and which are peculiar to its form of organization are those which accompany and are inherent in competition. These savings arise from the doing away with duplications, to some extent of advertising, from effective and economic localization of industries, dismantlement of less productive and utilization of the most effective plants, the combination of related patents, trade secrets, methods of work, etc.

This process of combination is in itself an evolution, consequently it does not attain its perfected form all at once. In the beginning, loose alliances, "gentlemen's agreements," friendly arrangements as to prices, etc., are formed. These being relatively unstable and unsatisfactory are necessarily temporary; indeed, they are generally little more than the first preliminary fencings by which the relative strength of the combining parties is determined, and are constantly broken, in order that questions of strength may be settled by an appeal to the competitive battle. Each time, however, that this battle is closed by an agreement the articles of combination are stronger than previously. The agreement as to price is succeeded by various forms of pools in which the profits are taken out of the hands of individuals to be re-distributed by joint action. This form of organization, which still permits the withdrawal of any member who either feels himself aggrieved or strong enough to engage in the industrial battle, is also temporary and soon gives way to what is properly known as the trust form in which the first step is taken toward depriving the individual owners of all right of ownership in their former plants. Under this system the stock in the various combining corporations is placed in the hands of trustees who then vote that stock as a whole and control the business as a unit. Even this form of organization was not found proof against the legislative attacks of the small capitalists who still remained within the competitive field and who saw their mar-

gin of profits being narrowed by the formation of monopoly. Repeated legal attacks taught the trust organizers the weak points in this earlier form of organization, and finally led to the more perfect form which now generally dominates. This consists of a purchasing company organized in some State having very flexible incorporation privileges which permit the purchase of the stock of other corporations. This purchasing corporation then buys at least a majority of the stock in each of the companies it is proposed to consolidate. The directors of this purchasing corporation then elect themselves the directors of the constituent corporations and amalgamation is complete. Whether further steps will be necessary or not it is impossible to say, but it seems probable that we may look forward to a final stage in which there will be a complete dissolution of the constituent companies and direct purchase of the plants by the single consolidated corporation. Indeed, this has already been done in many industries.

Another step of which we can already see the beginnings is to be found in the integration of great allied industries as distinguished from competing industries. We see signs of this in the miscellaneous industries owned by the United States Steel Company and by many railroads. This movement has already advanced much further than is commonly recognized.

In the process of final consolidation two stages are also to be distinguished. These stages have little importance industrially, but much financially and socially. The first of these is what might be called the speculative stage. In this the promoter and financier who are concerned with the management of the industry seek to get their main income, not from the surplus value of the workers engaged in the industry, but from the multitude of small capitalists who can be induced to purchase shares. This is the period during which the common stock is unloaded upon the market and great bonuses are received by underwriters and promoters.

The second stage is what may be called the investment stage. By this time the water has been squeezed out of the stock, the smaller stockholders have been completely exploited, "the shearing of the lambs" has been finished, and the really great source of income is tapped—the surplus value of labor. From this time on dividends come without break from the exploitation of the workers concerned in the industry. All the numerous economies due to the elimination of competition as well as those common to the great industry in general, together with those which have inhered in the factory system from the beginning, are all made to flow directly into the hands of the owners of the stocks and bonds of these gigantic instruments of industrial exploitation.

We shall find the whole industrial field passing through these various stages in a fairly regular order. Certain great basic in-

dustries like those concerned with the transportation and storage of goods are the first to enter upon this line of evolution. The railroads of this country, for example, passed through the first competitive stage, then through the amalgamation of connecting lines into great industrial units, each competing in fierce rate wars ending in pools, combines, and even closer forms of organization until the present practically monopolistic stage has been attained. On the financial side, we see all the speculative floating of watered stock, the shearing of the smaller investors, the reorganization and final readjustment on an investment basis with consequent enormous dividends. A few of the industrial trusts have already finished this course of evolution. Most of them, however, are still at some of the earlier stages.

The concentration of industry has had the most widespread social effect. It has entirely changed the relative strength and manner of fighting of the capitalist and the laborer, is reacting upon the organization of the working class and fundamentally affecting all the problems of organized labor. It has had an important and distinctive effect upon the class-state of capitalism. New duties are demanded of the governmental machinery, new methods of bending it to the will of the ruling class are being utilized, and in many ways the forms of government are themselves altered. New functions are created, new departments formed and old ones materially changed. Political struggles which so far as the dominating parties are concerned reflect the conditions of the capitalist class have been profoundly affected by these new industrial phenomena.

In the field of education, philanthropy and the minor social institutions the effects have been equally far reaching. The press, pulpit, and lecture platform have felt the influence of these changes in the industrial basis upon which they stand. It will be our aim to analyze and explain these various facts as they appear during the progress of concentration in industry.

MAY WOOD SIMONS,
A. M. SIMONS.

(To be Continued.)

Trade Union Debate.

DELEGATE GIBBS, of Massachusetts, spoke in opposition to the committee's report, but stated that he had resented the insinuation that those who are opposed to this report are also opposed to the trade union movement. "I would not do one single thing to lessen or weaken the bonds of fraternal union which exist between trades unionism and the Socialist movement. I speak in opposition to this motion because I believe the time is coming rapidly, if that time is not already here, when the Socialist movement must cease making any special appeals to any particular part of the working class, and must recognize the fact that our sole mission is to the whole of the working class. It is perhaps unfortunate that I am obliged to speak from the standpoint of the despised professional. It is true that I am obliged to wear a longitudinal crease in my pants, but I do it for exactly the same reason that some of you fellows are obliged to wear a horizontal crease in your overalls. It is true that I am obliged to wear a clean shirt for exactly the same reason that some of you fellows are obliged to wear a dirty shirt. It is true that I am obliged to carry around a professional title in front of my name for exactly the same reason that your fellows do not wear a title. But I want to say to you that when my grocer sends his bill he sometimes makes a mistake and puts the 'Dr.' after my name instead of in front. I am not proud of these things, however; these are simply the badges of my servitude. I recognize the fact, in other words, that my profession has been reduced to the dead level of the wage working class. I despise that term, for I am a working man myself. I learned the A-B-Cs of Socialism standing in the rag room of a paper mill at 11 years of age, when I was obliged to stand upon a salt box to reach the top of the table that I worked at, and I have been perfectly at home upon a salt box, a soap box, a shoe box, or any other old kind of a box ever since. In other words, my capitalist friends builded better than they knew, and that is the way they made a Socialist orator out of me. While I speak from the standpoint of the orator I deplore the taunts or sneers that have been flung at us by our trade union friends. I will not fling them back. They can't hurt me with that brickbat, because I wear an armor of intense loyalty to the working class movement which cannot be penetrated by any such mere taunts as those. When the work of this convention shall have been completed we will both stand together, clasping hands together, standing shoulder to shoulder for the working class movement of the world. Following the logic of arguments that have been made, we ought to indorse,

for instance, organizations of the farmers and of the doctors—because if this convention lasts much longer some of us will need a doctor. We ought also to indorse the organization of ministers, because they will be needed at the funeral of capitalism. I am opposed to this motion in its present form. I believe we should maintain our friendly and sympathetic attitude towards the trade unions, but we should simply from this time on ‘gang our own gait,’ hew straight to the line, and let the chips fall where they may.”

Delegate Hanford of New York then spoke as follows :

“With the single exception of possibly Comrade Gaylord of Wisconsin I do not think that the speakers have dealt at all adequately with this question. We seem to go on the basis that the so-called Socialist Party of the past went on that the trade union is only for us to take or leave, or do what we please with it. We know perfectly well that the Socialist movement is not that kind of a movement. We go out and tell men and women that you have got to come to Socialism for your salvation, but why can't we understand that in the time intervening until the day when Socialism shall come to pass a man has got to live in order to establish Socialism, and that the race has got to survive or there will be no race to enjoy Socialism. (Applause.) The trades union movement deals with this question here and now. True not for all, but for as many as it can and it is going to continue. You can read the history of the last hundred years, and I can tell you that had it not been for the force brought to bear by the trades union movement in resisting the encroachments of organized capitalism there would have been no working class to go into Socialism. (Applause.) Now, let us recognize that as a fundamental fact, and I doubt if anyone here can dispute it, and I know that it cannot be disproved.

“Now let us see what the Socialist Party in this country did. Only a few years ago they adopted and put in resolutions which were unanimously adopted, substantially the remarks which were made by the eloquent comrade of Illinois (Spears) and by several other comrades here. They unanimously adopted a proposition like this: ‘This bogus trade unionism lies impotent, petrified, motionless, holding the proletariat at the mercy of the capitalist class,’ and so on. There is a page of that resolution, and then at the bottom they said, ‘Let the Socialist watchwords everywhere be “Down with trade unionism pure and simple,” “Away with the labor fakirs,” “Onward with the S. T. & L. A. and the S. L. P.”’ And what became of the men that passed that resolution? (Cheers and applause.) All there is left of the organization that composed that resolution is this little old red book. (Applause.)

“This question of trades union is not at all a question of wheth-

er you like or dislike it. It is here, and don't you think for a minute that because of the Lattimers or the Hazletons that you will even put a brake on the wheel of progress of the trades union movement. Their very defeats will make them stronger. Their defeats in the last analysis will be found victorious. Are you going out on the stump and tell these trades unions that because some particular organization is offered by a labor fakir that its body is composed of labor fakirs? If you do that will you be allowed to talk to that organization on the line of educating them in Socialism? Not on your life. What you have got to do is to say this: 'You know the truth perfectly well, and that is, that in the trade union men may be corrupt, officers may go wrong, but you do know that the rank and file will not consciously go wrong except for one reason, and that is lack of light to see the right.' When you have said that then you can put the light before them. They have got to make mistakes, but the organization that survives to-day even though wrong, will be right to-morrow and still survive." (Applause.)

This discussion ran on until the afternoon session of the fifth day of the convention, the final speech being made by Delegate Titus of Washington who spoke as follows:

"I have been listening here to this discussion and the people who are opposed to this trades union resolution have struck me as being entirely impracticable in their arguments. (Applause.) I want to ask you what would happen to the labor class if there were no trade unions? (Applause.) It is a fact that under present conditions, under capitalism the motto must be, 'Get all you can.' (Applause.) Now I want to disassociate myself entirely from the 'Impossibilists.' (Applause.) Not that I disassociate myself thereby from those who stand for the strictest Marxian program but I believe in getting what you can under present conditions before seeking to abolish the whole thing.

"Now one other point and I have done. The main reason for our going in with the labor unions is not to make them political bodies, we don't want any politics in labor unions, not at all (applause) but the main reason for going into labor unions is to educate them for Socialism. Right now when Samuel Gompers is in league with the Civic Federation to capture some two million or three million wage workers who are organized for capitalistic alliance, to work for capitalism, in alliance with it, to defeat the rest of the working class by means of organized labor when capital is trying to capture organized labor, let us bring a counter stroke. The most strategic move for us to take is to go into the unions as individuals and educate them so they cannot be captured by capital. Nothing but the education of the working class will accomplish that." (Loud applause.)

Japanese Socialists and the War.

RECOGNIZING that war always brings with it general misery, the burdens of heavy taxation, moral degradation and the supremacy of militarism, the Japanese socialists have stood firmly against the popular clamor for war with Russia, and done their best to point out that all Russian people are our brothers and sisters, with whom we have no reason to fight. But the entire Japanese populace was intoxicated by the enthusiasm of so-called patriotism. Even workingmen did not realize what a deplorable thing war was for them, and dreamed that in some way their condition might be bettered.

While the nation, however, is congratulating itself over the naval victories, the economic effects of the war have begun to be felt on all sides in such a way as to justify the socialist's prophecies. The families whose breadwinners have been required for the army are suffering for want of the necessaries of life. The demand for goods used in daily life has already fallen off in many directions, so that numerous factories are closed and manufacturers have been bankrupted. Hundreds of thousands of workmen have been thrown out of work and are only living through the scanty gifts of charity. At Nishidin, a district of the city of Kioto, famous for its silk industries among foreigners, tens of thousands of unemployed weavers are living to-day on a rice gruel provided by rich philanthropists. Even this help will soon be withheld from them because of the great number of beggars, it is claimed, such a feast attracts. The poorest quarters of Tokio exhibit the most deplorable poverty and suicides and other crimes are increasing day by day.

To be sure the subscriptions for the war bonds were nearly four times as great as were needed, until the whole world was astonished at the ability of Japan to raise money at home. But the method of raising this, so far as I can learn, was largely compulsory to almost the same degree as the collection of taxes. The authorities throughout the country visited every house to persuade the communities to subscribe toward the war fund. Those who refused to accept this "official order" were denounced as unpatriotic. A peasant living in a village near Tokio is said to have been forced to subscribe 200 yen and having no money he attempted to secure the necessary funds by robbery, and was arrested.

All these facts, however, are not simply overlooked but are definitely concealed by the press corrupted by the bribery of capitalists and bankers. The House of Representatives was also frightened by the threat of government coercion and became a

very faithful servant to the Cabinet accepting, in its entirety the bill proposing to increase the already heavy taxes by 60 million yen.

Indeed, the Japanese government really represents only the capitalist and landlord. The securing of universal equal suffrage becomes, therefore, the most important work for the Japanese socialist and the very existence of the Japanese Socialist Party depends on the outcome of this question. Under such circumstances, it is natural that the Socialist movement should meet with violent persecution. When the *Heimin Shimbun*, a weekly socialist paper opposed the war and the increasing of taxes, all copies of that issue were confiscated by the police, and the Tokio District Court of Justice, decreed the suppression of the paper and sentenced Comrade Sakai, one of the editors, to three months imprisonment. The case was at once appealed to the higher court of justice, so that the publication of the paper was allowed to continue and the term of imprisonment reduced to two months. Comrade Sakai began to serve the sentence on April 21st and at the time of writing this is still in prison at Tokio.

There are a few socialists in this country who are preaching socialism to the workingmen and the students. They formed a Social Democratic party on May 20, 1901, which was instantly suppressed by the government and the newspapers that published the Manifesto of the party were confiscated. But the foolish governmental policy proved to be the best means of waking up the people, and the Socialist Association, which has since been formed, is becoming the centre of the labor movement.

At present, there are two socialist papers in Japan, the monthly "*Socialist*" and the weekly "*Heimin Shimbun*," the former is owned by Comrade Katayama, who is now in the United States seeking to organize the Japanese immigrants of that country. The latter is published by the several members of the Socialist Association to which the present editor belongs and has a circulation of about 5,000 copies.

The regular meeting of the Socialist Association is held at the office of *Heimin Shimbun*. These meetings are devoted to lectures and debates. Monthly public meetings are also held for the promulgation of socialist opinions on current politics. It must be remembered that all of these meetings, however, are under close supervision by numerous police officers and secret spies, who have authority to stop the speakers, or dissolve the meeting, in accordance with an obnoxious law entitled, "a law for preserving public peace."

The utterance of the words, "revolution," "democracy," "organization" or "strike" by any of the speakers is a penal offense. In this respect the Japanese government is certainly fifty years or a century behind the governments of Western Europe. The

ruling power of Japan is, on this point at least, no less barbarous than that of Russia. The Czar is merely the head of the religious organization of his country, but the Mikado pretends to be God himself. Every school in Japan is a church in which the picture of the Mikado is worshipped and the religion of so-called "patriotism" preached. Some socialists insist therefore that social democracy can only be realized through the downfall of Mikadoism. But where sovereign power has rested upon a single head for several thousand years and most people have never even dreamed of changing the present dynasty, it is alarming to the whole country to attempt to introduce democracy even in the smallest degree. Consequently, we must wait patiently for the right moment. The realization of our idea is only a question of time.

D. KOTOKU,

Editor of *Heimin Shimbun*.

Plans for a Study Class in Sociology.

ONE of the great disadvantages under which the working class labors is that the intellectual, as well as the mechanical and physical resources of society have been monopolized by the ruling class. This is shown not so much by direct muzzling of sources of instruction, or even deliberate distortion of fact in text books, although both of these play a very large part, but still more by virtue of the fact that education is made the possession of a small cult. Many things are being done in our Universities today, dominated though they be by capitalism, that are thoroughly revolutionary. Nearly all of the fruits of scientific investigation are of especial value to the working class in their struggles for better conditions. Yet these facts are as completely unknown to the great mass of laborers as though they never existed. They are generally couched in scholastic verbiage which requires special training to interpret, and even if the workers had leisure to master this vocabulary, it would still require a tremendous waste of time if each individual were compelled to seek out the facts he wanted amid the bewildering wealth of printed matter which in turn is concealed in an infinitely greater mass of literary chaff. Hence, the need of some sort of systematic guidance and popularization. Really, this guidance and popularization is about all that is performed by the instructor in the average university.

Socialists have long felt the necessity of some sort of an institution in which such investigation and interpretation could be carried on with the direct view of presenting those facts of special interest to the producing class. It is manifestly impossible for the socialist at the present stage to think of competing with the great Universities of capitalism in many lines. But, fortunately in sociological work, it is possible to approximate very closely to the facilities of the best Universities since no expensive plant is required for this sort of work.

The work of education for those who are to fight the battles of the working class has become too great to be any longer carried on without division of labor. The socialists of other countries have recognized this and in the "New University" of Brussels and the "Free Universities" of France we see institutions which have been formed for this work. In no country in the world, however, is there a more pressing need for thorough systematic educational work in this direction than in America. Economic development has created a widespread discontent, which, while still largely unintelligent, is vaguely reaching out toward the socialist movement. Unless this discontent can be met and assimilated, one of two things will happen, either of which means

disaster to the aims of Socialism—either the socialist movement will itself be overwhelmed by this confused discontent, and be turned aside from the path of intelligent revolutionary action, or else it will remain apart from the great current of revolutionary thought, and degenerate into a more closed sect, while the actual proletarian revolt goes on without it perhaps to confusion and defeat.

In view of these, and many other considerations of perhaps equal importance it is proposed to establish in Chicago during the coming winter an institution offering an opportunity for thorough, scholarly, systematic study of sociological material, and where especial emphasis will be placed upon those phases of the subject which are of interest to the working class in their struggle for freedom. The following are some of the courses of study which will be offered:

American Industrial History, by A. M. Simons, four days each week. Beginning with the economic causes which led to the discovery of America this course will proceed to trace the industrial development in colonial times, showing the diversity arising in the various colonies from physical and other differences. The mechanical advances will be traced which gave the people of America an ever-increasing control over their environment, and the changes in industrial organization arising from these mechanical advances. Proceeding from this the whole social organization resting thereon will be analyzed, showing the manner in which those changes sprang from the economic development. This will lead to an examination of the political class struggles, arising from the conflicts of economic classes and the various institutions which developed out of these conflicts. Special emphasis will be laid on the struggle between chattel and wage-slavery, concentration of industry, organized labor and the effect of a continuous frontier movement. The work will be carried on by lectures, with frequent examinations and each student will be assisted in the preparation of a paper requiring a thorough investigation of some one phase of the subjects covered.

Political Economy, by May Wood Simons. The comparative historical method will be used in this course throughout. The various economic ideas will be traced historically and their relation to the industrial development of the period in which they arose will be pointed out. Among the ideas so traced will be those of "Wealth, Rent, Interest, Wages, Profits and Value." The ideas of the various writers upon these subjects will be compared with each other and with the socialist doctrines on these subjects. The student will be brought in touch with the principal English, German and Austrian economists, as well as with the writings of Patton, Ely, Commons, Mead and other American political economists of the present day. Two hours each week.

Socialism, by May Wood Simons. Two hours each week. This course will presuppose a familiarity with the leading socialist classics. The work will consist in a study of the development of the philosophy of socialism first by the Utopians and other pre-Marxian writers, to be followed by a short survey of Marxian economics. Special emphasis will be laid upon the materialistic conception of history and the theory of the class struggle as developed by various writers from Marx and Engels to the present time, including non-Socialists as well as Socialists and particularly the relation of the philosophy of Socialism to Art, Literature, Science and Education. The course will close with an historical survey of the growth of the Socialist movement in Europe and America.

Biological Sociology, by Ernest Untermann. Four hours a week. Beginning with a preliminary survey of the facts of biology, the theory of evolution is traced historically and the contributions made by various writers pointed out. Having developed the laws of evolution which are most general in their application, the subject of comparative animal sociology and its relation to human society is investigated. This leads to a study of the workings of the principles of sexual and natural selection and of heredity under varying economic conditions and systems, and finally to an exhaustive discussion of the materialistic conception of history and its relation to general sociological problems. This course will include a presentation of the results of the work of Darwin, Huxley, Romanes, Weisman, Wallace, Loeb and other great biological writers, insofar as their work applies to sociology.

Anthropology, by Professor Jerome H. Raymond of the University of Chicago. An elementary course on man as the unit of society, and on the evolution of society and social institutions. The general purpose of the course is to point out how man has developed into his present social state, what the influences were which caused this development, and how these influences themselves have evolved. The general subjects discussed are: first, the antiquity of man, and the place man occupies in nature; second, the origin and early development of institutions which have made man what he is, and upon which contemporary society is based, such as language and writing, the arts of life and pleasure, religion and science, mythology and history, the family and social structure. Tylor's "Anthropology" will be studied, supplemented by lectures and assigned readings.

The hours and details of this course cannot be given at the present time as they depend somewhat on other arrangements which must be made. These five courses will require practically all of the student's time. If circumstances permit it it is hoped to add still other courses so as to permit a choice of work to be done.

In addition to the day work of the school, there will be a series of evening lectures probably occupying at least three evenings per week for the benefit of those who are employed during the day. Among the lectures which have already been provided for in this department will be a series of twelve by Professor Jerome H. Raymond on "European Capitals and their Social Significance." These lectures are part of the regular Extension work of the University of Chicago and have been given by Professor Raymond in various cities throughout the country, and have been endorsed by all who have heard them. They offer in an extremely entertaining manner a survey of the various social movements in Europe with special emphasis on the socialist activity. They are profusely illustrated with stereopticon views.

Professor George D. Herron will also give a course of lectures on social psychology the details of which will be announced later.

Mr. James Minnick will give several lectures on industrial history illustrated by stereopticon slides. The slides are used to present in most graphic form the statistical facts of industrial development, and also to illustrate the mechanical advance that has been made, together with the social contrasts of present society.

Professor Oscar L. Triggs has also agreed to deliver a series of lectures unless circumstances, now unforeseen, should so occupy his time as to render it impossible.

It is hoped that arrangements can be made to add still further to the teaching force and facilities of the school. However, it will be the policy of those in charge to use the greatest caution in announcements and to promise nothing which cannot be absolutely fulfilled. The further extension of the work will, of course depend upon the support which the school receives. Sufficient is now in hand to justify the announcement of work as outlined above. Since only the most modest salaries will be paid to those engaged in the work, and these are practically assured, every dollar received from now on can go to improving the character of the work. If a few contributions could be received, it would be possible to add some things in the way of equipment which are very much needed.

Each course requires a large amount of reading and independent investigation. Indeed it is now generally recognized that in sociological work the best university consists of an adequate collection of books with an instructor capable of guiding and directing the work of the student. No city in the country has better library facilities for this sort of work than Chicago. The John Crerar Library makes a special feature of works on sociology. Some time ago it purchased the "Ely collection" of books on this subject, comprising one of the most complete

collections of Socialist and Trade Union publications in the United States. It has received the complete collection of the late Henry D. Lloyd, which he had spent a life time in gathering and which covers every phase of the labor problem and the question of monopoly. More recently it has added to this by a purchase of a European collection of about 30,000 volumes bearing on these same subjects, giving the best collection of works on Socialism and the labor movement to be found in America. The Newberry Library, The Chicago Public Library and the Library of the Illinois Historical Society, are all especially strong in American History, and together furnish all the material that could possibly be used in such courses as are here planned. All of these libraries are absolutely free to readers and can be freely used by the students taking this work. In addition to this the private library of A. M. and May Wood Simons, containing a very complete collection of recent American and European works on Socialism, including nearly all the European socialist periodicals of value to the student, will be placed at the disposal of those taking work in the school.

Still another phase of the work will consist of correspondence courses for the benefit of those who cannot attend the school. These courses will aim to carry the benefits of the work to the homes of the students in so far as this is possible.

The school will open about November 14, 1904, and continue for twenty weeks.

The whole idea of the work will be that of co-operative study for truth by students and teachers in an endeavor to discover and utilize those facts which are of value to the working class of the United States and of the world in their effort to free themselves from the oppression of the present system and to realize the historical mission of their class.

For further information address:

A. M. SIMONS,
MAY WOOD SIMONS.

Melrose Park, Ill.

EDITORIAL

Has There Been a Swing to the Right?

Since the Chicago Convention the statement has been heard from various quarters that the results of the deliberations of that body constituted a movement towards the "Right." By this it is meant that there was a movement toward the more conservative, opportunist or compromising side. This statement is heard in two quarters. In the first place it is alleged by the defeated "impossibilists" as an explanation of their hostility to the actions of the Convention. In the second place it finds expression in a somewhat bombastic circular letter which has been sent out by one of the advocates of opportunism. When the letter is examined, however, it is found to rest upon the same foundation as the statement previously referred to i. e. the overthrow of impossibilism. But the fact is that this latter tendency has never held any prominent position in American or International socialism and its defeat is not of any great consequence. This tendency was stronger at Chicago than at any previous Convention, and this fact would at first seem to indicate the growing strength of impossibilism. But it is easy to show that its importance at Chicago was due to a series of largely accidental circumstances that almost certainly can never simultaneously occur again. But impossibilism has never constituted the "Left wing" of socialism, it is something wholly outside the socialist movement. There is not a line of literature supporting it in socialist classics. Its only counterparts outside the United States were the "*Jungen*" of a generation ago in Germany and the ludicrous imitation of De Leonism which calls itself the S. L. P. of Great Britain. In view of this fact the defeat of impossibilism was simply a proof of the vitality of socialism and of its ability to rid itself of external disturbing factors.

If we take the question of immediate demands as a test, we shall find that in no other country in the world does even the extreme left wing of socialism oppose all statements whatever of immediate activity, and in the second place, these demands are more guardedly and less prominently stated in the present than in any previous American socialist platform. Prior to the Indianapolis Convention, no Socialist Party Convention had ever seriously considered the elimination of these demands. At that Convention the minority fought, not for the dropping of statements concerning the activity of socialists who might be elected to office, but for the elaboration of a programme for the guidance of such officials apart from the platform.

It might be well to remind some of those who have accused the editor of this REVIEW of having moved toward opportunism since the Indianapolis Convention that he was the one who wrote the instructions to the Chicago delegation, which instructions were unanimously adopted, and which provided for the adoption of such a programme, and also that he was the mover of the resolution for the appointment of a committee on municipal programme; that this committee was appointed on his motion at the Indianapolis Convention and it is the report of that committee which, to a large degree, forms the municipal portion of the programme which has now been sent to the National executive committee for revision and submission to a referendum, and against which some of the very persons who then supported that motion are now levelling their attacks. Hence, if there is a movement in any direction, it has been a movement on the part of the impossibilists away from the accepted policy of the party and of the International Socialist movement. The adoption of such a programme is simply an indication that the socialist party is at work. It is a recognition of the existence of definite tasks and of a willingness and ability systematically to undertake those tasks. To have adopted any other policy would simply have been to acknowledge our incompetency and cowardice. How true this is is shown by the fact that the impossibilists of Chicago, who rejected the programme because it would not be revolutionary, and appointed a committee to formulate and direct a revolutionary policy for the socialist member of the Common Council finally evolved as the one "immediate demand" of most revolutionary importance that this Socialist Councilman should introduce a measure to appropriate \$50,000 for the benefit of the sufferers of the Iroquois fire.

The consideration of such a programme as is to be submitted to the referendum is simply an indication of the fact that the socialist party intends to control its officials in an intelligent democratic manner. The only attempt of what might be called the opportunist wing, to make itself directly felt in the Convention was when some of the members of that wing held a caucus to determine the make-up of Committees. If the opportunist wing is to be judged by the result of this effort, then, that influence was slight indeed, for the Convention not only broke the slate to fragments, but publicly rebuked its makers. The fact is that the Socialist Party of America stands in the most intelligently revolutionary and uncompromising position of any socialist party in the world. It has been forced to this position by economic development. It lays less stress on palliatives than any other party of importance in the socialist movement, while, at the same time, it has cast behind it all Utopianism and has no fear of declaring its position upon any question with which the workers are concerned.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

It will be recalled that in previous numbers of the REVIEW mention of the fact was made that the capitalists of the country, having established government by injunction so firmly that it cannot be uprooted except through revolutionary labor class politics, as outlined in the platform and declarations adopted by the Socialist party convention in Chicago last month, are now cultivating a fad to begin damage suits against trade unions and members thereof whenever a strike occurs and loss is inflicted by picketing and boycotting. Ever since the rendering of the decision in Great Britain in the celebrated Taff Vale railway case, wherein the House of Lords, the highest court in the land, held that the railway employes must pay the company \$125,000 as damages for picketing and boycotting, and which was recently followed by still another decision in which the miners of the Cadeby-Denaby district were called upon to pay their masters three-quarters of a million dollars for ceasing work—ever since the Taff Vale incident—there has developed a perfect mania among the employes to harass organized labor in the courts by attacking its treasuries.

It will also be remembered that about a year ago the first precedent was established in the United States when the machinists of Rutland, Vt., were mulcted out of \$2,500 for boycotting an unfair concern, and no sooner was that case decided when similar actions were filed in every industrial center of the land by capitalists and their lawyers who scent graft from afar. The cases have been coming to trial rather slowly, and consequently we hardly knew "where we are at," but during the past month or so history has been made that is anything but satisfactory and foreshadows many new obstacles and discouragements that must be met, not by theorizing and speculating, but in a practical manner—not by foolishly begging the capitalistic enemy, who is entrenched behind the government fortifications, to enact laws hostile to his own class interests, but by storming his position on election day and placing the majority, the working class, in power to enact, interpret and enforce laws. That is doing practical work. The lobbying game has been played for a quarter of a century, thousands of dollars have been spent and valuable time wasted, and all to gratify the conceit of a few pompous leaders who talk and talk and accomplish nothing, except to gain newspaper notoriety.

Here, then, are the latest facts relating to the onslaughts against unions through the courts, and which should be known and their significance understood by every man and woman who carries a card. Says a New Orleans dispatch:

"John B. Honor & Co., stevedores, secured judgment against the Longshoremen's Union for damages in the sum of \$12,000 for violation of contract. This is the first decision of the kind ever given in the far South and will have a decisive effect on other labor union troubles that are pending."

The "violation of contract," as I learn from another source, consisted of the expulsion of several members from the union, who were simply spies

for Honor & Co., and the union men refused to work with them and went on strike when the company declined to discharge them. Still another account says that while Honor & Co. were securing damages in one court a second court promulgated a decree ordering the union to readmit the expelled members. So it is useless to deny the fact that the courts are running the unions pretty much as they please in New Orleans.

A case has also been decided at New Brunswick, N. J., where a contracting firm secured a verdict against the Bricklayers' Union, also unincorporated, for \$500 damages. No contract is alleged to have been broken. The complainant simply demanded nominal damages because of a boycott declared against it. It seems that the business agent of the union was ordered off a job, the men thereupon ceased work and placed a fine of \$50 on the firm, which the latter refused to pay, the boycott followed and the case terminated after a three days' legal battle in the manner stated.

Still another important case has just been decided at Lawrence, Mass., where the business agent of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union of Haverhill was assessed \$1,500 damages because they secured the discharge of one Michael T. Berry, who refused to join the union of which Jerry E. Donovan, the defendant, was the representative. The singular thing about the case is that Donovan had made a contract with Goodrich & Co. to supply the union stamp provided the plant was unionized, but Berry refused to join the organization and was discharged, and instead of suing the company that controlled the job he sued the union's official. The court ruled that as between the company and the union the contract was binding, but could not hold when the rights of third parties were involved. In other words, the court advises a business concern to break its contract when made with a union and the so-called rights of a non-union or scab workman are concerned, so that one can hang the many. This case was appealed by the unionists, the lower court having refused to grant a new trial. If the upper court confirms the decision every capitalist can employ a spy or two and prevent the thorough unionizing of a plant indefinitely. Moreover, if these damage suits that are establishing precedents are uniformly successful, the capitalists are given power to frighten and split off such members of unions who have a few dollars in bank saved for a rainy day or perhaps own a little home.

But vital to organized labor as this new issue really is, our so-called leaders, who delight to boast of their conservatism, are as silent as the tomb on the question. Quite likely when they come out of their trance they will timidly suggest to the rank and file the advisability of inaugurating a new campaign of petitioning for some sort of relief from the legislative bodies in control of the enemy; and this will afford the politicians a new opportunity to pose as the "workingman's friend" and fiddle away for a dozen years or so while good union money is being burnt up. But all the jockeying and dodging of the question, and all the playing upon ponderous phrases from now on until kingdom come, will not relieve labor from the injustice and tyranny heaped upon it until labor defends its class interests politically as well as industrially—until labor dignifies itself and gives substantial evidence of having the self-respect and courage to seize control of the machinery of government and rule the nation, as it has a perfect right to do. And those who advise against such a policy, and thus declare in so many words that the capitalists should remain in power, could do the latter no greater favor and labor no greater wrong. If labor is not fit to govern then it is not fit to produce the nation's wealth and enjoy the "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness" that is guaranteed by the fundamental principles upon which this republic rests.

The "open shop" battle has been raging all along the line during the past month. Besides the great struggle in Colorado, which has been waged many months, every industrial center on the Pacific Coast—San Francisco, Sacramento, Los Angeles and other places—has been torn up with strikes

and lockouts. Along the entire Santa Fe line some twelve thousand machinists and kindred crafts have been forced to fight for the life of organization; boot and shoe workers to the number of four thousand were attacked in Chicago; six thousand carriage workers in New York and vicinity were forced out; three thousand boilermakers in eastern cities were compelled to strike; five thousand building craftsmen in Philadelphia struck for the right to organize, and in Detroit the issue is the same, while in Cincinnati, St. Louis, Kansas City, New Orleans, Omaha, Pittsburg, Rochester and scores of smaller places the fight is on and every trade is affected. On the other hand, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Citizens' Alliance, the National Contractors' Association, the Metal Trades Association and other national and local bodies of employers, having been greatly encouraged by the defeat of labor bills before Congress and State Legislatures, by the smashing of labor laws in the courts when test cases were brought to trial, and by being granted blanket injunctions whenever and wherever they desired them, are enthusiastically pushing the work of organization and never lose an opportunity to display their hostility toward the trade unions. The "sting of antagonism" that Gompers said is being "withdrawn" because he and his followers "smashed socialism" in the Boston A. F. of L. convention, seems to have been jabbed in deeper than ever. There never has been a time in the history of the country when there have been more strikes and lockouts and covering a greater area than at present, and the outlook for the near future is anything but reassuring. While the wishes of the leaders may father their thoughts, and while they may occupy the undignified position of humbling themselves and their constituents before unbridled capitalism in the hope of conciliating it by "squelching the radicals," the latter can afford to smile at their discomfort and give them a free hand to pursue their mistaken policies to the finish. But one thing is dead certain, and that is, the rank and file are awakening to the situation more rapidly than ever before. This fact is not only demonstrated by the steady gain of the Socialist party membership and the increase of votes in local elections, but by the healthy views that are reflected through the labor press, the discussions that take place in meeting rooms and official organs, and the general satisfaction that is expressed with the Socialist party platform and trade union declaration, as well as the nominees of the Chicago convention. That Debs and Hanford will poll a magnificent vote among the organized workers is now being admitted by many capitalistic workers and newspapers, who realize that labor in this country, like the toilers of Europe and Australia, may be imposed upon for a time, but is bound to turn when the limit is reached. The organized men are beginning to understand that the grave problems confronting them now cannot be solved by the strike and boycott, but are political in their nature and must be settled at the ballot-box. Instead of stamping out socialism every attack of the conservatives arouses more curiosity to know something about it, causes investigation, starts discussions and brings in recruits. Therefore, Socialists can afford to be good-tempered at this stage of the game. Things are coming their way quite as rapidly as a healthy growth warrants. They are not responsible for the capitalistic assaults upon the working class, nor for the peculiar performances of certain labor leaders (†), but they are in the fight just the same and bear their share of burdens, including ostracism from "good" society, blacklisting in the workshop and plenty of abuse from those whom they would assist. But, as stated, Socialists can afford to be patient and cheerful. You know what Lincoln said: You can fool some of the people all the time, all the people some of the time, but not all the people all of the time.

There has been little done, outside of talk, to straighten out the jurisdiction tangles between the various national unions. There is but one instance where some progress has been made during the past month to bury

the hatchet. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers and the International Association of Machinists arranged for a working agreement that is fair to both sides, and which, if honestly enforced, will do much toward arranging a federation or amalgamation that would be a power in industry. On the other hand the meat cutters and butcher workmen, in their Cincinnati convention, announced that they intend to claim jurisdiction over engineers, firemen and coopers employed in packing houses, exactly those workers that the A. F. of L. officials are attempting to tear away from the brewers' union, so the chances are good for another controversy. There are about a dozen national metal working unions that are all in a snarl, and a mandate has gone forth from Washington that there is to be a conference held between all those trades in July, the A. F. of L. included, and any one disregarding the call to send two representatives to the conference, or any organization not abiding by the decision reached at the conference, the charter of that union stands revoked without further delay. A warm time is expected.

Here is an item from a Detroit paper that gives a general idea of the heroism displayed by the western miners in their battle against Rockefeller and his various grades of hired scoundrels: "Three union miners, Messrs. Hays, Eake and Kane, driven out of Colorado by Peabody and his militia, passed through Detroit on their way to the mines of Iowa. They had been up in the copper mining district of northern Michigan, but had failed to get employment. Arriving in Detroit, they went to the postoffice and bought a money order for \$7. This they sent to headquarters to aid their outraged brothers in Colorado. The three of them together had just \$11. Cheerfully dividing the \$4 remaining, they began to inquire about the departure of freight trains, in order that they might take a box car to Iowa, perfectly willing to undergo all the discomforts of this style of travel, provided they could assist those whom they had left behind."

Just to show how the textile barons are exploiting the women and children whom they entice into their factories, I quote from the *American Wool Reporter*, a capitalistic paper regarding the strike in the Arlington mills at Lawrence, Mass.: "The gill-box minders are all girls and until a month ago they attended two gill boxes of wool, for which they received \$6.78 a week. One mohair box was considered sufficient for a girl to mind, and she received \$15 per week. The week before the notice of a wage reduction was posted the work of the wool gill-box minders was increased to three boxes, and the mohair minder's work was increased to two boxes. The physical strain entailed by extra work was very severe. When the gill-box minders learned that their munificent wages were to be reduced to \$5.84 per week, there was no consultation or hesitation, but all walked out."

SOCIALISM ABROAD

Holland.

The tenth congress of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Holland was held on Easter Sunday at the hall *Musis Sacrum*, in Dordrecht. The president, Henri Polak, said in his opening address:

"This congress will be recognized as one of the most important and remarkable ever held by the party. It proves clearly that the storms which passed over us have left no hurtful consequences. If the party has actually suffered a little, it has quickly regained its losses. It now possesses the energy, the vitality, and the perseverance, which are the characteristic signs of the working class movement. We have done everything that a party like ours can accomplish, and we have passed happily through the critical period. Our vote and our political influence are increasing; anarchism is disappearing more and more, even from the trade union movement; our party is strong and alive, it can weather the severest storms; although it is small, compared with some of its sister parties, it constitutes, nevertheless, a remarkable battalion in the great international army of labor."

Before starting upon the programme, the time allotted to the various committees was fixed at half an hour each, except for the report on the customs tariff by Troelstra, to which an hour was allotted. The speakers were allowed fifteen minutes the first time, and five minutes the second time.

The secretary of the party announced that 85 groups were represented by 114 delegates.

The reports on the activity of the party and on the financial situation, by Van Kuyhof, were adopted.

Next, the questions incident to parliamentary action were discussed. First, the project of the government for the regulation of labor contracts. Chairman Tak, of the committee, formulated a fundamental criticism of the project, the gravest fault of which consists in the fact that the contract for labor is incorporated in the civil legislative code in such a way as to give the impression that the sale or rental of the labor-commodity is in no way different from traffic in any other commodity whatever. All the speakers expressed themselves as in agreement with the report, and no special resolution was adopted on this question.

In the discussion of the report of the parliamentary delegation, Van Kol, at the desire of Section 1 of Amsterdam, explained the attitude taken by him in the debates on the colonial question, and notably on the proposition to sell a part of the East Indian possessions. In general, the delegates declared themselves in agreement with the position taken by the parliamentary delegation on the various parliamentary questions.

A long discussion, lasting till noon the second day, ensued regarding the party organ, *Het Volk*. Comrade Tak was unanimously elected as editor.

The congress then took up the question of protection. Comrade Troelstra furnished a detailed view of the development of free trade in England and of the protectionist system in Germany, and he then commented upon the basic position of the social democracy on this question. He ended his speech by declaring that if a resolution was to be adopted on this question, he would propose the Bebel-Kautsky resolution of the German congress of 1898. The speaker expressed his opinion on the proposed law of the Netherlands government regarding import duties. He ended thus: "We shall struggle as vigorously as possible against this project, but in our own way. We have never been dogmatic free-traders. So, in this struggle we shall snatch off the masks of the Christian or non-Christian shams, and we shall convince the small producers that their interests are not safe with the capitalists, but that they belong with us." Without formulating any resolution on this question, the congress declared itself in agreement with Troelstra's declarations.

The question of the general strike came next on the programme. Comrade Mrs. Roland-Holst made a report on the question, and the discussion was continued into the third day. The following resolution, offered by the committee of the party, was adopted by a vote of 135 to 39:

"Whereas, it is advisable to fix the position to be taken by the Social Democracy of Holland concerning the general strike;

"Whereas, the condition requisite to the success of a strike on a large scale is a strong organization and a voluntary discipline on the part of the working class,

"Whereas, The Congress of the Social-Democratic Labor Party declares the absolute general strike, in the sense of all laborers leaving their work at a given moment, to be impossible, since it would make existence impossible for all, the proletariat included; and

"Whereas, the emancipation of the working class cannot be the result of so sudden an outbreak of force; and

"Whereas, finally, it is possible that a strike which extends over several important branches of industry or over a large number of trades may be the extreme measure required to introduce important economic changes, or for self-defense against reactionary attacks on the rights of the laborers.

"The Congress warns the laborers not to let themselves be carried away by the propaganda for the general strike, conducted by the anarchists, to remove them from the actual daily struggle carried on by the unions, the party and the co-operatives;

"And it calls on them, by developing their organization, to fortify their unity and their strength in the class struggle, since if the strike for a political end may some day seem useful and necessary, its success will depend upon this strength and duty."

Apart from this resolution, which was adopted by a large majority, Section IX of Amsterdam proposed another, principally defended by Comrade Villegheh. It was substance was to declare the Congress to be of the opinion that the general strike could have no place among the methods of struggle of the proletariat. The resolution, later rejected by Amsterdam IX, was afterward presented to the Congress by Amsterdam VI, but withdrawn after the adoption of the resolution proposed by the committee of the party. The declaration of the Congress on this question is of especial importance, because the matter will come up for discussion at the approaching international congress.

Next the Congress took under consideration various propositions for reducing the subscription price of *Het Volk* and for establishing a party printing house. The committee of the party was instructed to bring in a report on the possibility of establishing a printing house.

A short discussion ensued regarding next year's election for the second chamber of parliament. It was decided to entrust the consideration of this question to the committee.

Several local sections had made propositions for the nomination of paid organizers. These wishes could not be realized for financial reasons, and the question was referred back to the committee.

The committee nominated Comrade Loopuit as temporary general organizer for the party, and he was unanimously confirmed by the Congress.

Next, a few more questions touching the press, organization and constitution were settled. Comrade Oudegeest finally recalled in a few words the struggle of the diamond cutters, and remarked that it is the duty of the entire working class to give moral and financial support to the strikers.

The Congress was closed by the singing of the Socialists' March. Many items in the programme could not be discussed for lack of time, among others the proposed law regulating the sale of alcohol and the agrarian question, which were postponed to the next Congress. (Translated for the REVIEW from *L'Avenir Social*.)

BOOK REVIEWS

God and My Neighbor. By Robert Blatchford. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company. Cloth, 213 pages, \$1.00; paper, 50 cents.

It is somewhat of a relief to find a secularist book that has dropped some of the old shibboleths and is to some degree in accord with modern scientific and sociological thought. Whether we agree with Blatchford or not, his beautifully simple literary style and fairness of attitude cannot but attract the reader. Some portions of the work arise to heights of absolute eloquence. This is particularly true of the chapter entitled "Ancient Religion and Modern Science." The real argument of the book is to be found in the chapter on "Determinism." Here we find the dogma of free will met and overturned without any of the metaphysical phraseology with which this subject is usually associated. Here he points out how little man can really be held responsible for his acts and how useless all expressions or actions founded upon the "blame" of the individuals are. He shows that the proper point to attack the evils that express themselves in individual acts is to be found in the causes that lie back of the acts, or, as he concludes the chapter, "You have power to choose then, but you can only choose as your heredity and environment *compel* you to choose, and you do not select your own heredity or your own environment." Just how much of a relation such a work bears to Socialist philosophy, each reader must settle for himself. The Socialist movement as such makes no religious or non-religious test, but Socialists draw back from no truth no matter what that truth may hit. Neither, on the other hand should they, although it must be feared they sometimes do, accept every attack upon existing things as the truth. The book cannot but fail to widen the horizon of any man reading it, whether he be orthodox or infidel.

Bisocialism; the Reign of the Man at the Margin. By Oliver R. Trowbridge. Moody Publishing Company. Cloth, 427 pages, \$1.50.

The writer of this claims to have been studying political economy for nearly thirty years, but he is still far from having much of a comprehension of either capitalist or laboring-class economics. He has jumbled together without much recognition of their incongruities the opinions and points of view of the classical, historical, psychological, Socialist and Single Tax schools of political economy. He swallows all the old classical axioms of the Manchester School such as the "Economic man" and the sacredness of competition, and to this is added all the jargon of the Austrians, without, however, seeming to have very thoroughly grasped the point of view of the latter. He runs every principle he attacks into the ground. This is especially true of his "marginal man" theory. He is evidently all unaware of the criticism of this theory by the modern school of political economy. His theory of competition involves all the many times exploded errors of the scholastic economists of twenty-five years ago. His competitor would be omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent. He is to have complete knowledge of all

conditions of the market all over the world and absolute freedom of choice to exercise his marvelous intellectual capacities. His definition of labor power (page 39) as applying only to "irksomely" exercised energy shows that he has never heard of the pedagogical and psychological teachings of modern science in regard to the possibility of pleasurable constructive work. When he comes to talk about socialism he can hardly be expected to understand it. Perhaps his most ludicrous error is when, on page 117, he makes Marxian economics rest upon exploitation in the market. As everyone who has even glanced at Marx knows, the reverse of this principle is the fundamental of Marxian teachings. It would be an easy but ungrateful task to go on through the book pointing out its ridiculous errors and jumble of terms; to show for example how he creates a meaningless terminology, when a far better one exists. How (page 295) he swallows the old fallacy that capital is always due to saving, and finally how his Socialism, which he calls "omnisocialism" is a pure fiction of his own brain. But we have only given this attention to the book because it has been accepted as the one great addition to Single Tax literature since the time of Henry George. Every one will agree that Single Tax literature was sadly in need of additions, but the present work is scarcely to be considered seriously by students of political economy, whatever may be their views.

Four new propaganda pamphlets seem especially worthy of notice this month. "The Confessions of Capitalism," by Allen L. Benson, published by the Social Democratic Herald, at 5 cents, contains a large amount of valuable facts, much of it in statistical form, and is written in an easy journalistic style which makes it especially useful for propaganda among working men.

"The Social Paradox" is an address delivered before the Socialist state convention at Sioux Falls, S. D., by Freeman Knowles, candidate for governor of South Dakota, and is for sale by the author for 10 cents at Deadwood, S. D.

There is an effort in this to utilize American industrial facts, but the author accepts the capitalist interpretation of the Civil War to the effect that that war was waged for the abolition of slavery and that it was simply a moral uprising of the North. Aside from this, however, the pamphlet is on the whole very strongly written and should be of great value in the South Dakota propaganda.

"Socialism; Its Moral Passion, Intellectual Power and Noble Deeds," by Frederick Irons Bamford, is sold by the author at three for 5 cents. Address 906 Broadway, Oakland, Cal. This consists of a mass of quotations illustrating the points named in the title. It will undoubtedly have considerable effect with those who approach Socialism from the sentimental side.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

In the May number of the REVIEW we explained the necessity of raising a fund to meet the deficit of a thousand dollars caused by the loss on the REVIEW last year. We go to press so much earlier this month than last that we cannot announce the completion of the fund. It now stands as follows:

Previously acknowledged.....	\$615.00
William English Walling, New York.....	50.00
N. O. Nelson, Illinois.....	35.00
Paul E. Green, Montana.....	10.00
Edwin A. Brenholz, Texas.....	3.40
F. W. Moore, Illinois.....	5.07
Total	\$718.47

We have also to announce a subscription of three hundred dollars by Mrs. Prestonia Mann Martin, of New York, to the propaganda fund of a thousand dollars started by A. A. Heller last month. This makes four hundred dollars thus far pledged.

The offer briefly stated on page 720 of last month's REVIEW still holds good. A stockholder to whom the company is indebted to the amount of several thousand dollars desires to state that for every sum donated to the co-operative company during the year 1904 by any other person or persons, he will contribute an equal amount from the balance due him. Thus every contribution made this year will count double toward putting the company on a cash basis. The name of the person making this offer will not be published at present, but it will be given to any stockholder desiring fuller information.

The co-operative company is owned by an increasing number of Socialist locals and individual Socialists, nearly nine hundred as this issue goes to press, and if the present debt can once be cleared off, the future of the company will be in no way dependent on the life of any individual, but it will continue to work in the interest of the Socialist Party of America as long as the struggle with capitalism continues.

The amount due to the stockholder referred to is somewhat in excess of eight thousand dollars, and he will contribute the entire amount to the company, provided that others contribute amounts sufficient to make up an equal sum.

Are you a stockholder? If so you are an equal owner of the co-operative publishing house, and if you join in the effort to put the company

out of debt, you will share in the benefit, and the control will be in your hands. Your stock, if you have completed your payments and received your certificate, can never be assessed, but in view of the present opportunity, you will do well to assess yourself to the extent of your ability to pay, since by so doing you will immensely increase the value and effectiveness of the publishing house you already own.

If you are not a stockholder, why not become one now? You will get no dividends, but you will get the privilege of buying at cost all the Socialist literature that is best worth reading. The first stockholders put in their money on faith, because they trusted the promise made that it would be used to publish the Socialist literature needed. This promise has been kept, and each new stockholder gets the benefit of the capital subscribed by all the others.

Ten dollars pays for a share, and those who cannot pay the whole sum at once are allowed to pay at the rate of a dollar a month, and to purchase literature at stockholders' rates as soon as the first dollar has been paid. Full particulars regarding the organization of the company are given in the booklet entitled "A Socialist Publishing House," which will be mailed to any one requesting it.

The Republic of Plato.

This work, written in the fourth century before the Christian era, is the earliest and also the best of all the utopias, of all the books written to suggest the reconstruction of society on an ideal plan, without any full recognition of the obstinate economic forces that must be reckoned with in practice. In Plato's work can be found most of the utopian theories that have at various times and by various people in later ages been put forward as original.

Plato's Republic has until lately been the property of the leisure class. Most editions of it have been in the original Greek, and the English versions have been in a difficult style, suitable only for scholars, and sold at high prices.

Prof. Alexander Kerr, of the University of Wisconsin, is now engaged in preparing a new translation, closely following the thought and even the forms of expression of the original, yet written in a strong and simple English style that is easy to understand. Plato's republic is divided into ten books. Three of these have previously appeared in Professor Kerr's translation, and the fourth has just been published. The price is fifteen cents for each part, or sixty cents for the four parts that have thus far been published, with the usual discount to stockholders.

The Day of Judgment.

The article by George D. Herron which appeared in the April number of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW has been revised by the author and has just been published in handsome book form under the title, "The Day of Judgment." It will retail at ten cents; three copies for twenty-five cents; seven copies for fifty cents; fifteen copies

for one dollar; a hundred copies for six dollars. Stockholders in our co-operative company will have the privilege of buying copies in any quantity, large or small, at five cents if we pay postage or expressage, or four cents if sent by express at expense of purchaser. A royalty of one cent on every copy sold will be paid to the national campaign fund of the Socialist Party. The author desires no profit from the sale of the book, and has directed that the royalty be paid in this way.

American Pauperism, or the Abolition of Poverty.

Of this new book by Isador Ladoff, Comrade Wanhope says editorially in the *Erie People*:

When the National Committee of the Socialist Party decided to dispense with the compilation of a campaign book for 1904, they perhaps may have had some intimation of the preparation of the present work by Comrade Ladoff. Be this as it may, however, no more valuable manual for the Socialist open-air speaker could possibly be desired than this volume on "American Pauperism." As an indictment of the capitalist system of production and distribution, it is perhaps the most complete and convincing that has yet appeared.

Several years have evidently been given by the author to the collecting, compiling, and comparison of statistical tables dealing with the poverty that manifests itself as pauperism in city, state and nation. Census returns, Charity Bureau reports, factory inspectors' reports, reports of child labor committees of investigation, of State Boards of Charities, and every official source possible have been laid under contribution, the result being a presentation in cold, hard figures of the old Sphinx riddle that society must answer or perish—Why does pauperism increase with increasing wealth?

The author states the fundamental thought of his book in the words, "there is no crime but parasitism."

Five chapters of the work are given up to statistics bearing on the subject of poverty from every point of view, and are presented in such a clear and simple manner that even the veriest novice in statistical work cannot fail to comprehend their significance.

The concluding chapter, entitled "The Abolition of Poverty," is a masterly presentation of the claims of Socialism as the only force in society capable of solving the problems of parasitism and its concomitant, pauperism. Comrade Ladoff's work should be in the hands of every Socialist who has decided on public speaking as his portion of the work of spreading the message of the emancipation of the working class, as the information placed at his disposal in this work could not be gained otherwise without great trouble and research.

"American Pauperism" is the latest number in the *Standard Socialist Series*. It contains 230 pages, and is published at fifty cents, with the usual discount to stockholders. Neither author nor publisher will realize anything on the book until two thousand copies have been sold, since it is a much larger book than can really be afforded for the money. No reader of the *REVIEW* should fail to send for a copy.

Peter E. Burrowes' "Revolutionary Essays."

"God is human, the whole human race is God. Socialism is the way of life." This is the motto which Comrade Burrowes has placed on the title page of his delightful volume. It contains sixty short essays, making 320 pages. We have no space this month for comment on it. The book was published some months ago in New York. Comrade Burrowes attended the National Convention as a delegate from New Jersey, and while in Chicago made an arrangement with our company by which we shall hereafter be enabled to supply his book to our stockholders on the same terms as if it were our own publication. The retail price is \$1.25.

Extra Copies of the Review.

The leading article of this month's REVIEW contains an array of facts and figures that involve an immense amount of labor, and that have repeatedly been asked for by speakers, writers and propagandists. No definite plans have yet been made for publishing the article in pamphlet form, but several hundred extra copies have been printed, and can be supplied to those ordering at once. Price ten cents, to locals seven cents, to stockholders five cents, postage included. A few more copies of the May number containing the report of the proceedings of the National Convention can be supplied at the same rates.

"Now is the Time to Subscribe."

The fourth volume of the REVIEW closes with this issue, and many subscriptions expire at this time. We have been advised by a number of our stockholders to increase the subscription price, and this may yet become necessary, but for the present it will remain at one dollar, with the special rate of fifty cents to stockholders. You can enable us to maintain the low subscription price by sending in enough new subscriptions to pay the cost of printing. The national campaign is on and the REVIEW will be simply indispensable to every Socialist who desires to talk and write in a way to make new converts. Our present monthly edition is six thousand copies. A united effort should double our edition before election, and this will enable us to continue permanently at the low rate. Do not delay writing us, but do what you can today. Address

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56 Fifth Avenue, Chicago.

GOD AND MY NEIGHBOR

By ROBERT BLATCHFORD

This book, by the author of "Merry England" (the book that has had the largest circulation of any book in the English language—considerably over 2,000,000 copies), is, from a literary standpoint, excellent.

A paragraph will describe the author's purpose:

"I have been asked why I have opposed Christianity. I have several reasons, which shall appear in due course. At present I offer one.

"I oppose Christianity because it is not true.

"No honest men will ask for any other reason.

"But it may be asked why I say that Christianity is not true; and that is a very proper question, which I shall do my best to answer."

The book abounds with evidence on the subject of religion in general and the Christian religion in particular, which, to say the least, is interesting reading.

Although most of the arguments offered are not new to Free Thinkers, yet Blatchford's method of presenting them is so good and the temper so calm, that the book is creating a great sensation in England.

The following extract from Mr. Kerr's announcement is a sufficient apology for the appearance of the book by a Socialist publishing house:

"The publishing house of which I am manager is composed of socialists, but it has no official connection with the Socialist Party of America. As a member of the socialist party, I recognize the right of every other member to complete liberty of opinion in matters of religion. As a matter of fact, many of our members are Catholics, and many are orthodox Protestants. Our publishing house has issued a number of books written from the Christian point of view, and may issue more of them in future. But I claim for myself the same liberty I concede to others, and speaking for myself I recommend this book by Robert Blatchford as one of the clearest, sanest, most sympathetic and most helpful discussions of the deep and vital problem of religion that it has ever been my fortune to read."

The book is published in large type on antique paper and handsomely bound in cloth at one dollar, and in paper at 50 cents, postage included, with the usual discount to stockholders.

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