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## JACK POTTS PENCILS POINTED PARAGRAPHS

### How Long Will the Wage-Worker of America Refuse to Vote for What He Wants by Voting for What He Doesn't Want?

## THIS YEAR'S OPPORTUNITY

### How the European Socialists by "Throwing Their Votes Away" Are Accomplishing Something for the Working Class

By Jack Potts

Mr. Workingman, the 7,000,000 Socialist votes of Europe are SOCIALIST votes, cast by men who believe in and VOTE for what they want, which is Socialism. These voters did not say: "Socialism is good and true, but it is too far in the future, and we can't have it now." I have read several times that twenty-five years ago the Socialist vote in Germany was sixty-seven. Now it is over 2,000,000. The Socialist vote of 142,000 in Paris this year—28,000 greater than four years ago, and the largest of any party there—was cast by men who want Socialism and who therefore voted for it. They did not follow the advice of those who say, "Half a loaf is better than none; better vote for the lesser of two evils." If you don't want either the "lesser" or the "greater" evil, don't vote for it. How long will it take you to get what you do want by voting for what you don't want?

The less reliance you put in the capitalist newspapers, the better you are off. You can't even get the notice of your child's death in them without paying for it. They will print a column about the death of a millionaire or his dog. Watch 'em; they stick a sly knife in the cause of labor whenever possible!

A Chicago real-estate man told me recently that the names of workingmen are no longer inserted in the New York city directory. Very likely our capitalist friends in Chicago will "follow the fashion." This is part of your "half loaf," dear boy! Keep right on voting for the "lesser of two evils" and maybe your capitalist friends—who simply buy what legislation they want—will pass a proper qualification for voters. They own 90 per cent of the wealth. Thus by voting for what you don't want, you see, you may approach the desired goal by a most infernally deliberate route, which will prevent your being shocked by a too sudden acquisition of what you do want!

One vote in the Socialist hand is worth two in the old-party bush.

That grand old street-car company daily "newspaper," the Chicago Inter Ocean, printed the following editorial paragraph Aug. 21: "Eugene V. Debs, candidate for the presidency on the Social Democratic ticket, is about to make a thorough canvass of Illinois. Mr. Debs should receive a fair hearing in this state. The principles that he stands for do not differ in kind but only in degree from those espoused by William Jennings Bryan." If the last sentence in the quotation were true it would certainly put the Republican party in a bad light, for Debs stands for "equal rights for all; special privileges for none." Bryan would then be less inclined to see justice done, while the Republican party is professedly opposed to everything Democratic—except the offices—and therefore worst of all! That Grand Old Bladder, the Inter Ocean, is a great mental feeding ground.

In Italy ten years ago the Socialists had only three delegates; now they have thirty-two, and the vote is over 170,000. They have a daily paper (Avanti), a bi-monthly review (Critica Sociale) and fifty-two weekly newspapers. Men and brethren, this has been accomplished by men voting for Socialism and not for something else! Don't forget that. In the European monarchial states, by thus "throwing their votes away," these headstrong Socialists are really accomplishing something.

I saw a pathetic little scene recently. Three dirty faced, but bright-looking, little newgirls, with evening papers piled up by them, were seated in the doorway of a vacant store building in a busy part of Fifth avenue, playing some childish game. Temporarily the children's natural instinct, play, had overcome the "incentive" to work that our horrible commercial scheme begets. The

smallest of the group was a mere toddler, one might say, yet they are forced out in the noisome streets by necessity. Mr. Workingman, your little ones may be the next to enter this brutal existence. A vote for Eugene Debs and Socialism is a vote to wash the children's faces and put them in their proper place.

Last week I visited the little country town of my boyhood days. It has been a Republican stronghold for many years—a place where all horse thieves were suspected of being Democrats. But the sentiment is changing. Some of the old "war horses" are tired of the way things are going—are dissatisfied and ready to change pretty soon. To be sure, their mutterings of discontent are somewhat vague and their ideas unformed, but they furnish good soil for Socialist propaganda. I distributed several copies of Socialist pamphlets, which will serve to actuate their discontent. This week I followed it up by sending them copies of this paper. That's the way to do it. Whenever you find a man who is "sore" on the present conditions, don't lose a minute; give him a simple but comprehensive Socialist pamphlet that will fetch him to the acute stage; then get him to subscribe to The Herald for six months or a year. The paper will talk to him every week much better than you can, and you can look for new students. Each one can certainly turn, at least one vote in this way. A man of foreign birth who has been reading Socialist literature that I gave him asked me to furnish him a list of our candidates, so he can have a lot of his friends vote for them—men who can hardly talk English! "Keeping everlastingly at it" is what brings success.

The "great dailies" are now engaged in "taking back" much of what they said about the "atrocities" in China. The greatest "atrocities" in China is our old friend the Commercial Instinct, which is German, French, English, Russian and American "imported goods"! Stick to the advice of the "great dailies" and you will wear—rags.

The British Goddess of Getting On is traveling a rocky road in South Africa!

## STAND BY THE GUARD

Stand by the guard on the ramparts of Freedom!  
Press to the front in the perilous line!  
Strengthen the hands that may fail when you need them,  
Crossed in white stillness and giving no sign.  
Oft have the watchmen grown weary with calling  
Stars that were rising and stars that were falling.  
Until the future's page  
Glow with the golden age,  
Work for God's heritage—  
Stand by the guard!

Cheering the front falls the sunshine elysian,  
Haunting the rear creep the shadows of night.  
Out of the dark grows the fear of derision—  
Open your windows and let in the light.  
Fear not the shadows of souls marching onward;  
These fall behind, but the march is still onward.  
Stand firm, with spirits brave,  
Whether by wind or wave,  
Thorn-wreath or martyr's grave—  
Stand by the guard!

Stand by the guard, for their triumph is waking  
Swift as the morning for God and the right,  
Lights that have haunted the ages are breaking  
Over the waters and out of the night.  
Bow in the twilight of story no longer;  
Press to the front where the dawn-lights grow stronger.  
Stern though the watch may be,  
Stand till the truth is free,  
Work for humanity—  
Stand by the guard!  
—Annie Herbert.

## HUMAN LIFE VALUELESS

The big engines being put into service by the Central Railroad of New Jersey are causing all kinds of trouble. When the engines were first put on each fireman was given a helper, but it was decided that this was an unnecessary expenditure and the helpers were taken off. The result is that since that time one fireman after another has been overcome by the heat. Recently the fireman on one of the engines fell unconscious when the train reached Bloomsbury, and the engineer was obliged to stop, as none of the crew of the train would fire. As usual, the capitalists find it cheaper to work their men to death than to divide the work and make it easier. Human life has little value under capitalism.—Midland Mechanic.

## STORY OF MAN'S RISE AND PROGRESS

### The Entire Race Now Confronted by the Question "What is the Next Step to Take in the Direction of His Historical Goal?"

## OLD SYSTEMS ARE OUTGROWN

### The Historic Mission of the Ages to be Realized in a Reign of Equity and Justice for All

By James Oneal

The Story of Man—his rise, progress and development—is a weird, fascinating narrative, fraught with awe and wonderment to the superstitious and instruction to the student. It is a story of brutality and exploitation between man and man from the time we first catch a glimpse of him emerging from behind the mists of mythology and fable; and each and every age has bequeathed its legacy of misery and degradation, in a more or less degree, to its successor. It is due to this fact that the despairing, pessimistic cry of the superficial observer is evoked, and the cry is re-echoed from age to age, "as it always has been so will it always be." These pessimists cannot grasp the fact that the very process by which humanity has reached its present stage of development gives a negative answer to their despairing cry. For what does the story of man's development teach us if not the great fact revealed to us by modern science—that "all things flow"? In other words, that nature, including society, government, industry and politics, are undergoing a process of change, growth and development, and for the pessimist to give vent to his wail of despair is only evidence of his ignorance not only of history, but of social forces at work right under his very eyes. Modern science, I say, has long ago exploded the fallacy contained in the assertion that "as it always has been, so will it always be," and it no longer carries any weight in intelligent discussion. The man who realizes this great fact, that change and growth is the law of life, is naturally confronted with the question, not what is man's ultimate destiny, but what is the next step to take in the direction of his historical goal? Will the next stage in human history destroy the exploitation of man by man, or will it reproduce it in another form? Does the present system, commonly designated as capitalism, bear within it evidence of its decay and dissolution, and as a consequence contain within it the germ of a higher stage of civilization? And finally, if evidence exists pointing to the birth of a new social order, is it to be realized in the near future or in ages yet to come? These are questions that can only be answered not from some abstract principle of justice, but by examining the present society in which we "live, move and have our being." We must find an answer to these questions by examining economic laws and social forces in order to determine the tendency and direction in which society is moving.

First, a few brief remarks on social systems that have passed away. Ages ago man was of a roving or nomadic disposition, and roamed through the forests clothed in the skins of wild beasts and living on wild animals, berries, fish, etc. He fought and killed those belonging to foreign tribes, and the same was meted out to him. He ate his enemies and was eaten by them. At a later stage he began to tame wild animals and live on milk and the produce of flocks and

## THE REAL CAUSES OF MODERN WARS

I cannot agree with those who attribute the cause of the war in South Africa to the behavior of this or that political leader. The real causes are perfectly evident in regard to this war, as well as to all the wars that have lately taken place. These causes are threefold: Firstly, the unequal distribution of property—that is, the robbing of one part of humanity by the other; secondly, the existence of the military class—that is, men educated and appointed to murder; and, thirdly, the fallacious and, for the most part, fraudulent religious teachings in which our young generations are forcibly educated.

—LEO TOLSTOY

herds. This is known as the pastoral stage. Later on he begins to till the soil, and agriculture for the first time becomes a prominent feature in the advancement of civilization. He no longer eats his prisoners taken in time of war, for he finds that it is more profitable to enslave them than to eat them. "This may be a poor reason for becoming humane, but it is well to become humane even for apoor reason."—Professor Ely.

As agriculture progressed the simple tools began to be improved upon and small workshops arose here and there. Slavery gave way to feudalism, in which the former slave became a serf attached to the soil, and when the land was sold the serf was sold with it. The towns began to grow and expand as manufacturing developed. Simple machines were invented, which replaced the crude hand tools formerly used, and later on as industry developed through the use of water power and steam, the feudal system fell and the modern system of capitalism was ushered in. In England the change occurred without much violence. In France, on the contrary, it produced a bloody revolution. This is a very hasty sketch, but it serves the purpose I have in view, and that is to prove that man in his blind groping up the steep hills of the past has reached the present era of civilization through no conscious efforts of his own, nor with a definite aim in view. He lives in one age under a given social system, and as industry advances it gives rise to new classes and new social factors hitherto unknown, and as the latter develop and expand they finally push their way to the front and gain the ascendancy over the old.

A higher stage of civilization has been reached, even though misery and exploitation still prevail. What, then, is the answer to the questions asked above? As a Socialist, I believe that abundant evidence exists pointing to a world transformation, in which exploitation will cease to be a factor in human advancement, and that the next stage in history is not far off wherein peace and plenty will abound for all. I believe that the germ of the new society is contained within the capitalistic husk, and all that is necessary is to remove the husk in order to realize the "glorious new time." What is the evidence? I point you to the marvelous development of machinery and the factory system, wherein thousands of workers cooperate in producing wealth in abundance undreamed of in any past age. I point you to the rise of those great social organizations, known as monopolies and trusts, that bring industry under a unified and scientific control and eliminate such waste of human energy as is the result of wild competition.

But you say these things are injurious to the great masses today. True, but why? Because they are owned by a class of capitalists, hence they get all the benefits accruing from such ownership. This is the husk (ownership by capitalists) which I spoke of as being necessary to remove in order to realize the blessings that these things ought to bestow. Ownership is the key to the situation. If owned by capitalists, capitalists will receive all the benefits; if owned by society at large, then each and every individual will be joint owners and will share in the benefits in proportion as they contribute their share of useful labor.

Furthermore, it is illogical to allow a few to own and control those great industrial institutions, for capitalists have demonstrated their incapacity to operate them any longer. Industrial panics, strikes and lockouts are becoming more frequent every day, often resulting in violence and bloodshed. Hence they have proven themselves unfit any longer to manage them, and social welfare demands that they be taken possession of and operated by organized society in the interests of all. It is folly to talk of destroying them by law. Hundreds of laws have been passed against them to no effect, for they cannot be destroyed. They are the inevitable outgrowth of private property, which implies the right of an individual to accumulate as much as he can. If a law should happen to be passed that might worry them to some extent, they would simply rely on "gentlemen's agreements," as some railroads do now.

Again, machinery, trusts, etc., are not the result of the invention or labor of any single individual, and should not be owned by a class of individuals. No one can point to these things and say, "I made this" or "I made that." They are the result of the combined labor and genius of thousands who have "crossed the great divide," and it is an absurdity to allow capitalists to own them. They are the co-operative product of society and should be owned, controlled and their benefits distributed by society co-operatively organized.

Machinery, co-operative labor and trusts are the germs of a new civiliza-

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## DELUSIONS OF THE EARLY SOCIALISTS

### The Rise of the Militant Proletariat Not Understood by Philanthropists who Felt Compassion for the Unhappy Poor

## HOSTILE TO POLITICAL ACTION

### The Practical Help Which the Utopians Looked for from Princes and the Upper Classes Never Came

By Karl Kautsky

Socialists did not from the start understand the role which the militant proletariat is called upon to fill in the Socialist movement. As a matter of course it was impossible for them to understand it so long as there was no militant proletariat in existence. Socialism is older than the class struggle of the proletariat. It is a contemporaneous appearance with the proletariat itself. The proletariat, however, had existed a long time before giving any indications of its independent existence.

The first and at that time the only spring from which Socialism flowed was the compassion which philanthropists of the upper classes felt for the poor and wretched. Among these philanthropists the Socialists were the boldest and those who saw furthest ahead; they perceived clearly that the sources of the proletariat lay in the private ownership of the means of production, and they did not stick at drawing the fullest conclusions from these premises. Socialism at that time was the most earnest, far-seeing and magnificent expression of capitalist philanthropy.

At that time there was no class interest which the Socialists could call upon in the battle for the realization of their aims; they could only appeal to the enthusiasm and pity of the idealists of their own and of the still higher classes; they sought to gain these over by captivating pictures of a socialist community and by forcible presentations of the existing misery among the masses.

Not through struggle, but by peaceful methods of suasion were the rich and the mighty to be moved to furnish the means for the radical cure of misery and the establishment of the ideal society. It is well known that the socialists of that time waited in vain upon the millionaires and princes from whose magnanimity the redemption of mankind was expected to come.

During the first decades of our century the proletariat began to give signs of life. Before the thirties the first inceptions of a labor movement were noticed in the United States; in the thirties strong movements started in France and especially in England.

These manifestations were meaningless to the Socialists of those days. They did not think it possible that the poor, ignorant, rude proletarians could ever attain the moral elevation and social power requisite to put through Socialist aspirations.

But it was not only lack of confidence that labor movement inspired them with; it furthermore disturbed their calculations; it threatened to rob them of what they considered a most effective weapon in their arguments in favor of Socialism.

These capitalist Socialists could hope to convince the sensitive members of their own class of the necessity of Socialism only if it was shown to them that it was the only means whereby to alleviate misery; that every attempt to do so to improve the condition of the propertyless classes under the existing social system was vain; and that it was impossible for the proletarians to raise themselves by their own efforts.

The labor movement, however, proceeded from premises that stood in contradiction to this mode of reasoning. Nor was this all. The class struggle between proletarians and capitalists embittered, as a matter of course, the latter against the former.

In the eyes of the capitalist class the proletariat had been transformed from unhappy people, worthy of pity, who should be helped, into a pack of miscreants that should be beaten and kept down. Forthwith the principal source of Socialism—compassion for the poor and wretched—began to dry up.

The tenets themselves of Socialism no longer looked to the frightened capitalist class as a harmless toy, but as a most dangerous weapon that might possibly fall into the hands of the people, and do no end of mischief.

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