

DOES NOT UNDERSTAND REFERENCES TO MARX

Discussion of Man with the Hoe and the Rural Proletariat Suggests Revision of the Structure of Scientific Socialism

By JAMES ONEAL

The "Man with the Hoe" seems to worry Comrade Ladoff a great deal, and he insinuates that Marx in his "Capital" and the Social Democratic party in its program fail to provide for his necessities. I am sure that but few of our comrades share his views regarding this, for the party by referendum after months of discussion decided that no special reference or "demands" for the rural proletariat was necessary, for they are included in the demand for collective property in both land and capital. The Texas delegates at the Indianapolis convention also took this stand when the question was up for discussion, and they probably represent more farmer Socialists than any other state. It has not been so long since Comrade Ladoff was pleading for a recognition of "race consciousness" as opposed to the class consciousness taught by the Socialists of the world, as a chart and compass to steer clear of the rocks and shoals that obstruct our path in the sea of capitalism. Just what was meant by this I could never learn by the comrade's writings. The only logical inference to be drawn from it was that the Germans should beware of the French, the latter of the English, and so on down the line, each nation or race had interests to preserve against all others, regardless of the class distinctions in each, and these could only be advanced by developing a spirit of "race consciousness." This would be highly approved by that promoter of the interests of the "American nation" (or race?) President McKinley, who, with the class he represents, is striving to secure the predominance of the "Anglo Saxon" in the markets of the world. Surely, according to this, there is common ground for us to "get together," and thus Comrade Ladoff may accomplish the Bliss-ful "Social Unity" that he has recently condemned! However, he has ceased his advocacy of "race consciousness," and the phrase "class consciousness" now occupies a prominent place in his vocabulary. May we not hope that he will also fail to restore to life the "farmers' program" that now engages his attention?

I am not one who is ready to condemn off-hand independent investigation or research, for I realize that, had Marx himself not adopted this course, we would not have had "capital" given to us as a literary and scientific production. But let those who would "improve" or "revise" be sure they know thoroughly that which is to be treated thus. Comrade Ladoff states that Marx practically ignores the rural proletariat and only takes account of the industrial. How any person can read "Das Capital" and make this statement is hard for me to explain. Almost all of the last book and two or three other sections is devoted to a study of the rural proletariat. That Marx devotes most of his work to the study of the industrial centers is easily explained by the fact that it predominates over agriculture and the materials dealt with are more complicated than the latter. But to state that he practically ignores agriculture is not only untrue, but indicates that the comrade is not very careful to see that his statements are in accordance with the facts.

Surely has an article from Comrade Ladoff's pen appeared in The Herald in which he does not take an opportunity to sneer at the "simon pure Marxist" by questioning his position regarding certain principles or tactics. We are given lectures on "rationalistic Socialism," "race consciousness," neglect of the "Man with the Hoe," etc., until the reader begins to question the advisability of revising the whole structure of scientific Socialism in order to conform to the ideas of the new "simon purist." Of the Marxian Socialist he says: "Das Capital is his bible, the more sacred and infallible, the less he understands it." No doubt there is danger in founding a movement on a single book or writer; an example of which is seen in the single tax movement, but a writer who can grasp the laws of capitalist development and state them forty years ago, relying on subsequent events to either confirm or overthrow them, and the "simon purist" living in the twentieth century sees capitalism following the course of historical development foretold by Marx, can more safely rest his case on these facts than to follow those who would "revise," change or improve on it because they assume that they "understand" and are "infallible." Marx' work has been happily termed the "bible of the working class," and I am sure it is an appropriate name. His prophesy did not take the form of the ancients, "thus saith the Lord," but is founded on the ceaseless changes and shifting conditions of capitalist society, and the man who so well knew the laws that impelled these changes and could predict, by reason of his knowledge, the inevitable social forms that these laws would produce forty years in advance of his time, is well worthy of being classed as the peer of all the philosophers since the dawn of civilization.

As for myself, I am proud to be classed with the "simon purists," and can always return to Marx and enjoy a rereading of his writings. Just why the "simon purist" who studies Marx' writings should know less about them in proportion as he continues his studies is an unsolved problem to me. But the corollary must be that the less one studies Marx the better qualified he is to revise or improve his teachings. This may be a "rationalistic" method, but it surely is not "infallible," and it is possible to "improve" on it. To conclude, let us take advantage of all the information that is daily piling up, whether from the pens of Socialists or non-Socialists, and carefully analyze it and absorb the results of independent research and investigation. If we desire to criticize any phase of Socialism in the light of new facts, let us present them and not rely on petty quibbles regarding "simon purists," "ultra Marxists," etc. These should not count in intelligent debate. Marx' work rests on a vast array of facts and they can only be questioned or criticized by presenting evidence of the same kind.

[The attention of Comrade Oneal is called to a transcript of Bernstein's criticism of Marx, which appears in this paper.—Ed.]

store-house furnished by the parent plant. After that the young plant must get food for itself or perish. We proved this by transplanting one pea and leaving the other on the cotton.

It struck the old man forcibly, however, that the change from the internal store-house to the outside world was, indeed, a radical change. And the old man ruminated.

Day before yesterday the old Brahman hen "came off" with twelve chicks. The boy, who isn't superstitious, had set her on thirteen eggs. If we were always lucky enough to get twelve out of thirteen!

Now for three weeks there had been going on inside those shells a process of growth. The time had come when growth had proceeded as far as it could under those conditions. One of two things must now happen—either the shell must be rent; or growth must cease, and with it, life. Twelve little chicks came forth and their growth went on. The other shell was too hard and growth and life stopped. Twelve little chicks, like little philosophers, went forth to "scratch for themselves." Here was the same radical change in life—from parent stored food to external sources.

And the old man thought aloud. "Evolution," said he, "is a growth, a development. Evolution is the unfolding of the plant, the growth of the chick. But the breaking of the shell is not a growth, it is not a development. The change of basis on the food question is not growth. It is a radical change, it is a revolution. The breaking of the shell is a revolution." "But," the boy objected, "did not the growth of the chick force the shell to break?" But he answered himself, for he remembered the one that didn't hatch!

"But anyway," said the boy, "evolution made the roots and leaves of the little plant and thus allowed it to get its food elsewhere." Right, evolution in the plant did furnish the means for revolution and made it necessary and desirable, but the change that evolution prepared for was a revolution. Evolution produces the tiny bill which may peck a hole in the shell; but the breaking of the shell is a revolution.

Evolution, then, may necessitate revolution. But suppose, for some reason, the revolution does not take place; suppose the shell remains intact; suppose the roots fail to bring food. Then the failure of revolution means the stoppage of evolution.

Turn, if you will, to the higher animals. The embryo develops—evolves—within the mother and is fed by her. The evolution of the embryo goes on until it necessitates a revolution, and this revolution is birth. Birth does not develop a babe a particle. But it does allow him to proceed in his development. Hinder or hasten the birth, and you do it at great risk to the proper development of the babe.

And the old man pondered. Revolution is found in nature as the boon companion of evolution. To hear some learned men talk one would suppose evolution and revolution enemies! But lo, the two must go hand in hand.

Evolution in industry has not produced the trust. Competition has evolved a state of affairs which rendered a change desirable and necessary. Certain men saw this and formed a trust. Evolution made it necessary, but the formation of the trust was a revolution. Evolution is still going on under the trust, new methods of business, new ideas are growing. But evolution cannot turn the privately owned trust into and capital will never grow or develop into public land and capital.

The old man has just had a letter from a friend who is an "evolutionist." The letter tells the old man that Socialists must stop talking of revolution, but must adhere to evolution! The learned friend is one of those men who use revolution as a synonym of cataclysm, bloodshed, etc.

The great American revolution was the change from monarchy to republic. This was not definitely settled till long after 1782. This learned man thinks Socialists mean what he means by revolution. When he learns what revolution is, we can have a profitable chat with him, but not before. We must agree on fundamentals. Then we can show him how we propose to effect this peaceable revolution by the ballot, instead of by the bullet—as he imagines. We can show him that by retarding this revolution we would threaten the well-being of society. We can show him that we cannot bring the revolution too soon, now. We can show him that the revolution is necessary, and if allowed to take place naturally, will result in no harm. We can lead him to see that he mixed evolution and revolution.

And the old man pondered. And the old man wrote. This is what he wrote.

What Are You Doing for the Herald?

TILTS AT THE WINDMILL OF STATE SOCIALISM

Antics of the Don Quixotes of Anarchism and the Phrase Mongers of Revolution—The Capitalist and Proletarian Anarchists.

By ISADORE LADOFF

What is state Socialism? Who advocates and who opposes state Socialism? These and similar questions suggest themselves to many earnest students and observers of modern social economic conditions and theories. Capitalistic anarchists agree with the proletarian anarchists in their attitude towards the complex political institution called state, at least in theory. The reactionary individualist of the Manchester school and the revolutionary anarchist of action of the red-hot type both look upon the state as an evil. There is, however, a diversity of opinion as to the degree of toleration accorded to the bugaboo state, between the right and left wing of contemporary anarchy. The right wing, the capitalists, want to limit the prerogatives and functions of the state to police duties, to the protection of personal liberty and private property, while the left wing, the proletarian anarchist, demands the entire abolition of the state. This diversity of opinion is due mainly to the difference between the social economic status of those wings. The capitalist has in his possession worldly goods and tries to keep them with the aid of a police state. He needs law and order, that would put him in a position to do as he "d—d pleases" in his private business affairs in general, and treat his employes as he "d—d pleases" in particular. Any other function of the state, except police functions, is decried by the capitalist as paternalism and state Socialism. The proletarian anarchist abhors the very law and order his twin brother in philosophy demands as a necessary evil. The proletarian has no worldly goods to lose. He sees in the modern state an ingeniously regulated and skillfully manipulated machine for the exploitation of the economically weak by the powerful. The capitalist is shrewd enough to make the state subservient to his personal and class interests. The proletarian anarchist cannot conceive of any kind of state except a police state. He is politically blind in the same sense as there are color-blind people. Indeed this political Daltonism makes the revolutionary anarchists the allies of capitalism and fanatical opponents of Socialism.

The respectable individualist of the Spencerian type and the slum proletarian of anarchy agree in their denunciation of any school and all schools of Socialism as state Socialism, bent on the destruction of personal freedom. The extremes meet. The bourgeois fights Socialism by all available means; this is natural enough. There is, however, a great deal of tragic-comical in the assistance he gets from the so-called revolutionary anarchism. The future historian of the spiritual life of our age of contradictions will have to unravel the enigma of the mental aberration called philosophical anarchism, a mental aberration causing men like Peter Kropotkin to waste their great mental and moral capacities in a cause doomed by its very nature to barrenness of results and phraseological Don Quixotism. Anarchism minutely describes what its devotees have to abstain from doing, but it is mere negation as far as any positive program of action is concerned. Indulgence in phraseological gymnastics of pseudo revolutionary denunciation of everybody and everything non-anarchistic, i. e., of all the world and all there is on it and in it—cannot be considered as action, but rather a harmless amusement. This absence of any positive program of action (the only logical deduction of which is non-resistance to evil) makes it the more fascinating for some indolent minds, is the secret of its success in certain society circles and of the tendency to become the official philosophy of the bourgeoisie.

Let us, however, leave the revolutionary phrasemongers of anarchism and their allies, the conservative individualists, to their fate and engage in proving how far their ideas about state Socialism are correct. Marx explains the process of Socialization of industry as follows: "The proletariat will turn the tools of production at the start into the property of the state. By this very act, however, the proletariat destroys itself as the proletariat (i. e., as a separate class) and does away with class distinctions and class differences, does way with the state as state." Does this sound like state Socialism? Engels in his "Development of Socialism," expresses the belief that after the inauguration of the co-operative commonwealth the struggle of individual existence with its conflicts and excesses will be eliminated and the (police) state will, having nothing to

repress, die away. In his "Anti-Duehring," Engels unequivocally recognizes the state of the past and present as an organ of political repression. Bernstein defines Democracy as the negation of class rule or class privileges of any kind. "Democracy means the equality of rights among all the members of the community. This equality of rights is the barrier against majority rule in each actual case of popular government. The more this conception of Democracy penetrates into the consciousness of society, the more will Democracy be identified with the highest possible degree of freedom for all. Of course Democracy does not mean the negation of all law. What distinguishes a Democracy from other political systems is the elimination of laws creating exclusive rights, laws creating inequalities among the members of society. In our age it is almost a certainty that a majority of a Democratic community will abstain from making laws restricting for a considerable length of time personal freedom. The majority of today may turn out to be the minority of tomorrow and any law calculated to suppress the minority may have retroactive influence on the lawmakers themselves. Socialism does not want to create a new bondage (Gebundenheit). The individual shall be free, of course, not in the metaphysical sense, as the anarchists dream, i. e., free from all duties towards society, but free from all economical pressure in the choice of calling and in his movements. Such freedom for all can be accomplished by the means of organization."

That modern Social Democracy is not tied up by any special scheme of state or organization will be obvious from the following words of the known Socialistic writer, Dr. David of Mainz: "The final goal of Socialism is the greatest possible welfare of all. This is the essential part of it. All the rest in our program has to be considered only as a means to attain that final goal. The socialization of the means of production even is only a means. What we struggle for is not the beauty of the Socialistic principles, but the greatest possible welfare of all. Everything has to be subordinated to this final goal even the Socialistic principles. The recognition that these principles are the best means to attain the final goal makes us Socialists. But even the Socialistic principles of social economics will have to be modified and restricted in respect to time, manner and extent of their practicability, if we some day arrive at the conclusion, that their radical introduction would not yet lead or not lead at all to the greatest possible welfare of all. Society (we would say the human race) is of higher importance to us, than any of its forms."

These quotations will suffice to show how far modern Socialism is from the bugaboo of respectable bourgeois philistines and of the philistine of the revolutionary of the anarchistic phrase. State Socialism was inaugurated by the iron and blood chancellor of Germany, the astute Prince Bismarck, in direct opposition and as a kind of an antidote against the "Virus of Social Democracy." It was intended as a means to gain the laboring class for the military and police state by bribing it by granting certain beneficiary institutions. State Socialism proved to be a flat failure, while Social Democracy is gaining more and more ground in all civilized countries.

Enrico Ferri says: "The unconquerable force of Social Democracy, the secret of its life energy, consists in the fact that Socialism, like the hero Antheus, constantly touches the earth, i. e., the real things and actual life. Socialism draws its unconquerable powers from the material and spiritual needs of actual life. The forceful teachings of Marx, that replaced the hazy, platonic and subjective idealism of other political parties and utopian Socialism (and anarchism), gives us a direction and aim, and makes it possible for us to remain on the soil of reality."

Social Democracy is constructive Socialism. Utopian or anarchistic Socialism may fight the windmills of state Socialism to the glee of the individualistic philistine of the middleclass and the heart's delight of all the Sancho-Panchos of the revolutionary phrase. So-called philosophical and unphilosophical anarchists may indulge as much as they please in NOT believing in God and devil, NOT voting, NOT organizing, NOT doing any social institutions, NOT doing anything particular, etc.

(Continued on Fourth Page)

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Labor determines the value of everything except labor.

The moneyless man is unfortunate—the merciless man is infamous.

Mix even a little of the false with the true, and the mixture will be all lie.

Some men obtain the reputation of being whales because of their blubber.

If a man is judged by the company he keeps, Socialism supplies a high order of companionship.

The only way to destroy industrial tyranny is to abolish private capital. This Socialism proposes to do.

When an orator opens his mouth and puts his foot in it subsequent proceedings do not interest the audience.

Socialism will elevate and ennoble industry by compensating every laborer according to the value of his product.

Nature has made no provision for the existence of people who are lazy and won't work; Socialism will make none, either.

The courage of conviction, and there is nothing superior to it in the way of heroism, is a distinguishing trait of Socialism.

In the co-operative commonwealth nobody would have any taxes to pay; with none to pay there would be none to evade.

Socialism may not be perfection, but it is not afflicted with softening of the brain, a weak spine, loose knee joints, nor heart failure.

By the mysterious processes of evolution labor unions will go on unfolding until they join the army of Socialists—there is no other outcome.

Reports show that the strike fever is epidemic throughout the country as a protest against plutocratic devilism. A strike is worth all it costs.

Ex-President Cleveland, credited with having won \$400,000 by gambling in stocks, shuts up like an oyster when questioned upon the subject.

The difference between sharks is that the sea monster knows when he's got enough, while the land or trust prodigy's rapacity is never satisfied.

Solomon advised the sluggard to "go to the aunt, consider her ways and be wise." But the sluggard usually goes to the saloon or the penitentiary.

The abolition of private capital will result in doing away with envy and strife, jealousy and hatred. To accomplish this is the mission of Socialism.

Under Socialism all men will be laborers—manual, mental or moral—and a society composed of all laborers would be the most honorable the world has ever known.

Socialism does not propose to carry forward great co-operative industries and sell the wares produced at net cost. Buildings dilapidate; machinery wears out—see?

The workmen of England will have to pay King Edward a yearly salary of £415,000, or practically \$2,075,000, about \$6,600 a day, for 315 working days of the year.

Socialism is not a universal remedy. You could not pump enough of it into a snake with a forty-horse-power engine to make him worth considering—not even for cat meat.

Socialism will make private profit in any "business" impossible; it would thus remove the incentive of gain from the liquor traffic and have nothing to do with poisoning the people.

In the co-operative commonwealth there would be no overworked hands and no overtaxed brains; there would be freedom from excessive labor by any, because a "would be laborer."

How did capital come to exist? Do you know? Are workmen trying to find a solution to that question? Do they think that capital just "grew"? Or that capital produced itself? How DID capital come to exist, anyhow?

The Yankee who first invents a stock and bond squeeze that will effectually relieve them of their wind and water, will be a benefactor of workmen, who pay the dividends on the legalized fraud.

Australia has millions of sheep and produces annually 600,000,000 pounds of wool. These dumb, patient animals submit to be shorn in silence, like so many wage slaves in the United States, and then grow more wool for their shearers.

A 2x4 politician whose reputation as second assistant postmaster general made his resignation necessary, nominates Mark Hanna for President. The objection is that it is equivalent to giving McKinley a third term.

Hon. Thomas Taggart, mayor of Indianapolis, while recently in Chicago stopped a runaway team. A man who can stop anything in Chicago that is under way should go to Kansas and try his hand at stopping a cyclone.

In the solar system the sun is the source of heat, light and vitality. Snuff it out and darkness and death supervene. Labor is the source of life in, so to speak, the soul-system; stricken down and the earth is a dead orb.

Word comes from Germany and France that the churches, hitherto united in opposing Socialism, are coming into line as the friends and advocates of the great reform movement. It will be well if they do get into line—without breaking it.

The Australians, in receiving the Duke and Duchess of York and Cornwall made a distinction between English hares and English heirs. The hares are good to eat, but the Lord only knows what the heirs are good for, unless it be good for nothing.

"What is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"—Jesus Christ. But the trouble is that New Jersey and other states create trusts and corporations, artificial men, who are trying to gain the whole world but have no souls to lose. They have simply gizzards.

In the grand march, when nations wheel into line to be reviewed by nabobs having seats in the grand stand, it is worthy of note that in the procession Right and Justice personified, as shown, march with halters around their necks and manacles on their limbs.

The Boers, during the South African war, have killed and wounded sixty thousand British soldiers. The shame and horror of the thing is found in the fact that these dead and wounded soldiers had no more interest in the war than so many mules. They were engaged in murdering liberty and represented British civilization, a mixture of Satan and savagery.

Lycurgus, the old Spartan, was something of a reformer in his day, particularly in currency matters. He held that gold and silver corrupted the people and banished the metals, substituting iron for currency, which he made so heavy that two oxen were required to haul an amount equal to \$100. As a result there were no John Wannamaker bargain counters in Sparta.

J. Pierpont, or more properly, Bullion Morgan, sometimes called Billion Morgan, or, for short, Bull Morgan, is 63 years old and it is predicted if he lives twenty years longer he will grab so much of the earth that the Creator will have to transform the Indian or some other ocean into a continent to enable him to give his rapacity full swing; or, perhaps, for the good of mankind, he may die of gout or be destroyed by tape worms.

It is inevitable that power should belong to those to whom wealth belongs. From time immemorial those who create wealth have been willing that it should belong to a favored few. The creators of wealth have been so easily taken in and hoodwinked, and all the time kept on creating more wealth, that the favored few have come to regard all wealth as belonging to them. The few think the masses ought to be contented and give them their wealth. And the masses are slow to learn that the individual and social employment of wealth ought to belong to those who create it.

Reflections on the Convention

The action of the national executive committee of the Social Democratic Party in changing the time for the national convention from September to July practically settles the question upon which there has been much discussion on a basis which it is to be presumed will be satisfactory to all parties concerned. Members of the party throughout the country may feel assured that this action was not taken precipitately nor without the fullest consideration of the matter in all its bearings by the executive committee. For many weeks prior to the meeting of May 19 this subject was foremost in the minds of the members entrusted with the executive affairs of the party, and in finally deciding the matter in accordance with the views of many within our own ranks they did what they believed to be best for the party and the general movement. It was with no desire to override the decision rendered by the members through a referendum vote that the executive committee acceded to urgent requests for the change, but rather to contribute as much as lay in their power to the advance of the Socialist cause in this country. Their action was taken in the full light of all the facts in the case, and we do not doubt that the membership, so understanding it, will regard as unnecessary any word of explanation or defense.

It now remains for the branches everywhere to make ready for the convention to insure the attendance of delegates so that the party may be well represented and perform its share of the work with credit to itself and the great movement for which it stands. The call and invitation has been accepted by Iowa, Texas, New Hampshire, Oklahoma and the Springfield committee. It should, and doubtless will, be the largest convention of Socialists ever held in the United States. The delegates will be charged with the practical working out of plans, not in the interest of party or factional supremacy, but for and in behalf of the wisest direction and sanest tactical advantage of Socialism in America. Whatever has been or can be said on the question of a union of Socialist forces (that is, of existing Socialist organizations), there has always been present to the mind of this writer the larger question of a form of organization and methods of propaganda that would be attractive to the point of enlisting the active and enthusiastic support and co-operation of the Socialist voters—a solidifying of Socialist sympathies in a broadly-based but uncompromising working force, ready, as Jaures has suggested, to penetrate the rootlets of the new Social order into the ground of the old. Such a party, which would be beyond all question be in accord with the spirit of the larger American Socialism, would accept, for example, the responsibility of municipal power and yet maintain a sustained and uncompromising opposition to the entire capitalist system of production. This larger view suggests the question of a larger unity. It is of the profoundest importance to the progressive and enduring strength of our cause in the United States. The mere coupling together of two or more separate organizations is in itself a trifling matter when compared with the demand that the union shall be so adjusted as to win the favor of those who are ready to stand in with us in our battle against the crimes of capitalism and give us aid in the prevention of greater crimes.

Believing thoroughly in the imperative need of organization, we believe also that the convention will find the best way. Whether that shall be in the entire elimination of national committees, boards and officers, as some propose, and the reference of all matters to an independent committee within each state, or whether there shall be a continuance of what has been called "centralization of power," all this rests with the convention. It is our sincere hope that in their final action the delegates will make it possible, not alone for Chicago and Springfield to unite, but also for the Socialists of America to multiply and, without abandoning one jot of our revolutionary principles, to "penetrate" and engage the adversaries of Socialism in the municipal, state and national legislatures.

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Bernstein's Criticism of Marx

(1) The materialistic conception of history, in emphasizing the economic foundation of spiritual life, contains a necessary truth. This truth, however, does not furnish any general formula for the understanding of the past and forecasting the future. To a greater extent than ever before in the history of humanity the modern national life is influenced by currents of thought and feeling not originating directly in economic relations. It is wrong to expect a sudden change of entire mental and moral human nature in consequence of certain economic changes. Socialism must discount this expectation. (2) The theory of the philosopher Hegel, according to which every tendency after it has outlived its utility, is necessarily transformed in its antithesis and that consequently the capitalistic system is bound to be replaced by its opposite—Socialism, is not by any

means right and correct everywhere and in each case. This statement reappplies not only to the time of their replacement of capitalism by Socialism, but to the replacement itself. From the unchecked development of capitalism no Socialism will develop.

(3) The overestimation of the creative force of revolution (political cataclysm) by Marx is a mistake originating in the teachings and activity of the Frenchman Blanqui. The proletariat was unduly idealized and considered to be able to change the economic structure of society as soon as it should conquer the political power. Marx's teachings always contained two incoordinate trends of thought—the constructive and revolutionary (destructive). The last was subservient to an unhistorical cultus of power, a cultus that even Engels could not entirely relinquish in his "Class Struggle in France." A revolution in Germany would at present press on the Social Democratic party a responsibility that would furnish the unpleasant proof that it is not deficiency of power only that compels us to remain "inside the present society."

(4) The theory of value of Marx, even if its correctness be admitted, has no practical significance. The fact that surplus labor of the masses creates the wealth of the privileged classes is established independent of this theory. And the theory of value does not prove anything but this fact. And especially this theory does not prove that an increase in surplus value necessarily causes lower wages.

(5) Statistics prove that there can be no talk about a constantly progressing collapse of the capitalistic system of production. Capitalism grows and the number of capitalists is increasing. The prospects of Socialism depend on the increase of the national wealth. With the development of capitalism the general standard of life is naturally raised, because the interested profits of capital abroad and in the country cannot be paid otherwise than in commodities (wares). The stock companies are a powerful means of decentralization of capital.

(6) The assertion, that the mammoth industry kills the small one, is not correct. They seem to thrive side by side without absorption of the small ones by the large ones. Only the very small concerns seem to be doomed. The share of mammoth production, medium production and small concerns in the general production is about the same in America, England and Germany.

(7) It is necessary to relinquish the hope of a collapse of capitalistic society in consequence of a general business stagnation. It appears that local fluctuations of the market may be always overcome by operators of the world market and the development of the credit system. At any rate it is the paramount duty of the party to be very cautious in making such an uncertain problem as the probability of future commercial crises a starting point for political action.

(8) The proletariat is not a uniform mass of people. The high grade mechanic and the coal carrier, the cultured house decorator and the hod carrier, the sculptor and fireman lead a different life, and have different interests, as soon as the burden of political bondage is removed. The industrial laborer beside this form only a minority of the population. Figures prove that in Germany the attitude of more than one-half of the entire industrial working men toward Social Democracy is either that of indifference or of antagonism (2.1 millions of Socialist voters from 4.5 millions of full-fledged laborers).

(9) The private enterprise (or monarchical management) proves to be a necessity in complicated modern mammoth industries. The larger the territory the harder is the problem of republican administration. This is the cause why co-operative associations are so hard for laborers to manage. There is no deficiency of money in England to be invested in such enterprises, but there is a deficiency in personal material. Mere buying and agricultural associations are easier to manage and have a better future, in spite of their being underestimated by Social Democrats.

(10) Not the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the permeation of the state and industrial body with Democratic convictions must be the purpose of proletarian politics, that take into consideration actual conditions. Democracy does not mean the abolition of classes, but of class rule. In a Democracy each class can develop and test its real powers. Democracy is the school of compromises. It is advisable to be moderate in attacks on liberalism, especially in Prussia, where there is a great deal of feudalism to be done way with. Before Socialism is made possible, we have to build up a nation of Democrats. (Bernstein naturally does not mean a Democracy like that of Cleveland or Bryan in the United States, but a real rule of the plain people.)

(11) The sentence of the communist manifesto "The proletariat has no fatherland" has lost its truth to a great extent and will lose it more and more in the future. "The entire dissolution of national lines is a beautiful dream never to be realized." Even if the laborer is

not as yet a full citizen, he is, however, not beyond the pale of the law to such an extent as to be entirely disinterested in the fate of the nation he belongs to.

Such are the main points of Bernstein's criticism. Bernstein may have gone to the extreme of saying things that cannot stand in their turn the criticism of Kautsky, the able and faithful representative of orthodox Marxism. There is, however, no doubt that the broader views of Bernstein will gain the attention of all the civilized world as the international congress at Paris has proven.

The views of Bernstein are by no means new. Bernstein himself disclaims originality. Views similar to those of Bernstein have been frequently expressed by non-Socialistic writers. The significance of Bernstein's criticism consists in his personality as a generally recognized Socialistic authority. Bernstein's views will not appear especially new to the readers of the Herald, in the pages of which broad views on Socialism, its philosophy and policy were advocated by contributors who never read his writings. The S. D. P. of America is not orthodox in its Socialism. It is abreast with the times and invites all well meant, honest and impartial discussion of the tenets and tactics of Socialism. It firmly believes in the truthfulness and vitality of Socialism, that can only gain by constant criticism and discussion.

What the Saloon is Doing

In trying to solve the problems of our Christian civilization, investigation discloses some curious as well as serious facts. Reports are published relating to the saloon calculated to perplex the advocates of temperance. As for instance, the Rev. Mr. Melendy was engaged assiduously in Chicago to find a substitute for the saloon, in which he failed. He points out in his report that the saloon in Chicago "feeds the penniless, finds work for the unemployed, furnishes him with the only public toilet conveniences that he has, gives to the workman at very low rates rooms for his meetings, and supplies him with his reading matter and practically with all the music that enters into his life." Nor is this all Mr. Melendy discovered in his investigation. He is evidently a man of conscience and courage and talks as a carpenter hews, regardless of where the chips fly. Mr. Melendy, after six months' investigation in Chicago, finds that "the saloon furnishes almost the only rooms for business or semi-business appointments, and that it offers a first-class lunch at remarkably low rates. In the suburban districts, well known musicians are heard in gardens kept by saloon keepers, who study human nature as well as the needs of the people."

If Mr. Melendy had been hired by the saloons to paint them in rosy colors and as delectable resorts for youth and old age, we fail to see how he could have better earned his salary.

Manifestly, there are two sides to the saloon question, and Mr. Melendy is probably familiar with the fact, but, evidently, his purpose was to call the attention of the Chicago churches to the question of a substitute for the saloon in which the same amount of good should be done without any attending evils, and he has done it in a way to arouse widely extended interest, and it will be worth while to notice what the churches will do about it. As the matter stands, according to Mr. Melendy's testimony, the saloons in Chicago are several laps ahead of the churches.

Rev. Mr. Melendy is a member of the priesthood, he has been ordained. He does not attack, nor arraign the church directly. He is diplomatic. Nevertheless, if his investigation of the saloon question does not make the churches wince, it will be because they are armor-plated and invulnerable to shot and shell at close range.

Revolution Before Submission

Henry D. Lloyd, who is in Europe, writes from Berlin a short article for the Independent upon European feeling toward the American industrial supremacy. Being on the ground he notices shivers and chills coursing through the body politic over there which have not been heard of before in this country. They must be in a very panicky state all around. "The thought of Europe is running strongly toward international action," writes Mr. Lloyd, and he continues:

"A distinguished publicist of Switzerland, known also all over Europe as a literary man, laid before me a plan for such a movement. One of the leading professors of political economy here advocates the international regulation of prices as the public remedy, and co-operation as the private remedy. One of the intellectual leaders of the Belgian Socialists, who are the most advanced and practical Socialists in Europe, predicted to me that the middle class of continental Europe, where there still is a middle class, will prefer revolution to submitting to the business methods which they see destroying the middle class of America."

Kicker, get out and work; do something for Socialism by getting subscribers for The Herald.

THE HERALD FORUM

Opinions expressed in this department are those of the contributors and do not necessarily represent the views of the editor.

CHURCHES VS. SOCIALISM

The church as an organized body is hostile towards Socialism because it is a strong competitor and the church will harbor no rival with a social repair outfit. No wonder they refuse official recognition.

privileges, and they will all be one. But the conception that an omnipotent Creator has placed a race of men upon the earth, gradually evolving a higher state of intelligence and development of every capacity, has never been improved upon.

WORLD NOTES

The printing press at Hamburg, which belongs to the Social Democratic party, has been celebrating its silver jubilee. The business is flourishing, and no less than 250 persons are employed in the production of a daily newspaper, pamphlets, etc.

The Swedish Socialist deputy, Hjalmar Branting, has called the attention of the Chamber to the anomalies of the electoral law in Sweden. Under the present system property gets more than its fair share of power.

A strike of the Terre Haute plumbers was settled by arbitration, with Eugene Debs as sole arbiter. He gave the men an advance from 30 to 33 1-3 cents an hour and compromised other matters in dispute in regard to apprentices.

The 108 workmen's dwellings owned by the Hornsey (England) District Council have produced £1,073 during the last six months, and, after paying off the half-yearly amount of principle and interest on £31,000, there remains a balance in hand of £483. The rents are 6s. 6d. and 9s. 6d. a week for a separate house and garden.

Roubaix, a manufacturing town in the northeast of France, has a Socialist mayor, who is anxious to abolish octroi duties—i. e., indirect taxes on food, wine, beer, etc. He proposes to do this by placing a tax on house property, on land, on carriages, on mules, horses, and also to largely increase the tax on spirits.

Three Socialists have been elected to the Landtag of Sax-Altenburg; this gives them eight members out of a parliament of 30. The following sketch of the electoral system shows what good organization can do. Nine of the members are chosen by the highest taxed inhabitants, and the remaining 21 are chosen by seven constituencies.

Common Sense From "Justice"

It is the duty of the Socialist to regard all affairs of life from a practical point of view, and he should be prepared to deal with any problem or question that may arise. The ultimate aim of the Socialist is the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of Social Democracy.

STATE SOCIALISM

occasionally dropping an explosive at the wrong time, the wrong place and injuring the wrong parties. They may pass their time in missionary propaganda consisting in a diarrhea of words and constipation of ideas.

State Year Delegates

For the information of the branches we again publish the basis of representation embodied in the call for a national convention and approved by vote of the organization.

1.—Each branch shall be entitled to as many representatives as the individual members thereof in good standing may select for that purpose; provided, that each representative shall be entitled to one (1) vote for each member whose signature is attached to his credential; and provided further, that no member shall have his signature attached to more than one credential.

2.—Branches not sending their own representatives may select those of other branches of the same state to represent them; provided, that in each such case the representative shall hold the proper credential with the signatures of members attached as herein provided.

3.—No member shall be qualified to serve as representative or be entitled to representation who has not been a member of the party at least thirty (30) days prior to the opening day of the convention.

4.—All signatures of members attached to credentials shall be certified to by the chairman or secretary of their respective branches.

5.—The national secretary shall furnish each branch with a sufficient number of blank credentials for the purpose herein specified.

6.—No branch shall be represented unless organized at least thirty (30) days prior to the opening of the convention.

About the Referendum

Americus Fantone, of Hartford, Conn., asks the question: "Can anyone denying the use of the referendum be considered a Socialist?"

We know plenty of Social Democrats who deny that the referendum under the capitalist system would be either desirable or beneficial, but we believe they are all Socialists. The referendum is a thoroughly democratic principle, but when Napoleon, to get support for his autocratic schemes, appealed to the people through the plebiscite, it was with no desire or intention to give to the people democratic institutions or larger freedom.

Field Notes

Branch 44, Chicago, has arranged for meetings on every alternate Saturday evening at 3902 Wentworth avenue.

Comrade Seymour Stedman delivered an address on Jean Paul Murat last Sunday night to a fine audience in the opera house at Elgin, Ill.

If you read German, the Wahrheit, published in Milwaukee, Wis., will give you the latest Socialist news and the clearest Socialist views.

Branch 6, Rockville, Conn., will hold a grand picnic at Niederwerfer's Grove, Sunday, June 16, 1901. All Socialists and sympathizers are invited to be present.

Do you want to see a strong Socialist movement among the Germans of your town? Send for a bundle of copies of the Wahrheit, and sally forth to get subscribers among your German neighbors.

The Social Democratic party of Connecticut will hold a conference at Link's Hall, Rockville, Sunday, June 2, at 10 a. m., to discuss ways and means of sending delegates to the national convention. All branches are requested to send delegates to this conference.

Organizer McSweeney addressed a meeting under the auspices of Branch 8, Chicago, Wednesday of last week. About fifty persons were present and two new members were added to the branch. Comrade McSweeney left Monday last for Wisconsin, where he will make an extended organizing trip.

Chas. H. Kerr & Co. have just published book 1 of "The Republic of Pluto," translated by Alexander Kerr, professor of Greek in the University of Wisconsin. There is excellent mental training in the study of the world-famous dialogues, and those who have not read them should procure this first book; having made its acquaintance, the studious mind will want more.

Wayside Notes

Capitalism has transformed this world into a hell; Socialism will transform it into a heaven.

Man is not naturally a devil, but he is frequently made one by the lack of physical necessities.

Socialists represent the gem of intelligence, the 144,000 mentioned by John of Patmos as singing the new song—those who had not bowed down to worship the beast, capitalism, or received his mark upon their foreheads.

The use of the ballot in the hands of the laborers is to secure their emancipation, not to perpetuate their servitude. Laborers, vote yourselves into freedom and manhood.

While Socialism, economically, is based upon the class struggle; morally, its foundation is love, justice, fraternity and brotherhood. The former, however, is necessary to the realization of

the latter. As without our class is not nearly identified with class, so without class it is identified with all humanity.

Poverty in the midst of abundance is an anomaly. It ought to suggest, even to the most stupid, that something is wrong in our industrial system. Socialism points out this wrong—the private ownership of the means of production and distribution. Make these instruments the inalienable property of all the people and this anomaly would disappear—poverty would become a thing of the past.

Socialism, friends, is worthy your consecrated efforts. It will realize the loftiest ideals and dreams of the ages. Charles H. Vail.

The Cost of Militarism

The United States pays a greater price for militarism than any other country in the world; almost as much as France and Germany combined. For the army, navy and pensions, we pay \$398,942,108 annually. Under the same headings, England pays \$239,461,840; Germany, \$210,302,350; France, \$186,565,309; Russia \$200,717,000; Italy, \$78,096,000; Austria, \$82,630,000. And while we pay almost as much as the two greatest military powers combined, we have a smaller army than any other first-class nation, and a smaller navy than any power, except Austria. In the United States, the total number of men in the army and navy is, 120,000; in England, 364,640; in France, 623,124; in Germany, 505,880; in Russia, 920,300; in Austria, 278,543; in Italy, 233,458. No nation in the world squanders money in the manner which distinguishes this nation. Every state is squandering money, as is every county and city. How long can we stand it? How long before there will be trouble?—Atchison Globe.

The South African war has resulted in giving to some British officers a long string of titles of honor, commanderies of the Bath, Victorian orders, baronetcies, etc. Some of these "heroes" are in danger of losing their individuality in a tangle of titles. Sir George White can now write after his name V. C., G. C. B., G. C. S. I., G. C. I. E., G. C. V. O. and G. C. M. G.—twenty-one letters. This beats Lord Roberts, who has seventeen—namely, V. C., K. G., K. P., G. C. B., G. C. S. I. and G. C. I. E. Lord Wolseley is entitled to wear four stars—namely, those of the K. P., G. C. B., G. C. M. G. and first class of the Osmanieh.

Eva MacDonald of Columbus, Ind., aged thirteen, has brought suit for divorce from her husband, William, aged forty-five. She says on February 25 he obtained a marriage license, saying she was seventeen. Though unable to resist the ceremony, she at once deserted him. She says her father gave his consent for \$10. MacDonald locked her up in his log cabin home while he went after the license, she says. Justice Ping performed the ceremony without protest. No protest has yet been heard from Hillis of Brooklyn.

The New York Tribune, controlled by Whitelaw Reid of odious repute in the ranks of labor and always the champion of the robber class, says that "No sounder basis for the development and enlargement of American industries can be thought of than the willingness of the presidents and directors of the biggest corporations in America to grant concessions to the armies of workingmen if the requests for those concessions are sound and fair in substance." All of which is flagrantly false. There was never a time when presidents and directors of big corporations showed a willingness to grant concessions to the armies of workmen. Their attitude toward workingmen has always been hostile, and all that labor has gained has been the result of strike and struggle for justice, better wages and a less number of hours for a day's work. It has been for labor a ceaseless battle and the fight is still on; nor will it cease until Socialism establishes equity and wage slavery disappears.

The consolidation of all the railroads into one vast combination is mooted. There would be one management which would vastly reduce expenses. Uniform rates for freight and passengers, which would increase profits. In view of J. Pierpont Morgan's success in organizing the billion dollar steel trust, the railroad trust appears feasible, and once decided that there is more money to be realized by the scheme obstacles will disappear. This done, as certain as fate, the million or more of employes of the roads will unify into one colossal union. By all means let the railroads combine—the sooner the better. It requires just that sort of a thing to silence the bickerings and jealousies of railroad employes and make the old Latin proverb—Labor omnia vincet—worthy of a place in labor literature.

Socialism is also spreading in the South of Italy, and the number of groups is increasing. There are now 783 organized groups, with a membership of 28,497.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY

Table listing various books and pamphlets with prices, including 'The Industrial Revolution', 'The Origin of Surplus Value', etc.

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