Is Socialism Inevitable?

By AUGUST CLAESSENS

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Is Socialism Inevitable?

AN EXPLANATION OF THE FORCES OF SOCIAL PROGRESS

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Published by the Socialist Party of the United States
CHICAGO
DEDICATED

To my esteemed and beloved comrade,
Morris Hillquit, from whose lips I first heard an intelligent and inspiring explanation of the message of Socialism, at the Rand School of Social Science during the winter of 1909 and 1910.
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Introductory Note

One of the most difficult tasks of Socialist education is to make plain to workingmen and women the rich material of Social science. It is not an easy matter to translate scientific Socialism into simple terms and there is always the danger of losing something of accuracy in the attempt. For Socialism is a social science, in fact, the social science of our time. The capitalist world, however, cannot admit it to the sisterhood of sciences for the very good reason that it forecasts the end of capitalism itself.

In this little book one of our most popular and effective Socialist teachers and propagandists, August Claessens, has attempted to present the Socialist movement and its program in simple terms. I am glad to give this endorsement to the book. He has not only succeeded in giving a popular presentation, but his occasional shafts of wit have also relieved the booklet of any dullness which is not always easy to avoid in writing on serious subjects. It is a booklet that workers can understand and however critical many Socialists may be about their own literature, I am sure that even the most critical will accept it as an excellent popular statement of the Socialist cause.

There is a need for pamphlets of this kind and it is with the hope that this one will find its way into the hands of thousands of workers that I am writing this note of endorsement.

New York City.  

James Oneal.
Chapter I.

THE APPLICATION OF SCIENCE.

“Science,” said Professor Huxley, “is organized common sense.” The method of science consists in a painstaking gathering of information and careful reasoning, the classification and systemization of knowledge. The theories and conclusions of science furnish a source of enlightenment of the wonders surrounding us. The application of these theories and conclusions become the levers by which one burden after another is lifted from the backs of the struggling mass of mankind.

The Nineteenth Century was a hundred years of marvelous achievement in many fields of human endeavor. In the progress of science a vast region of darkness and mystery was exposed to common knowledge. Much of the phenomena and many of the problems that baffled the greatest minds for more than two thousand years were explained and solved by that constellation of brilliant intellects that illuminated the period of the last half of the Nineteenth Century.

The sciences of physics and chemistry leaped forward to wonderful discoveries and almost miraculous accomplishments in the service of human progress. The science of biology, the understanding of the nature and habits of living creatures, was practically born in the last century. Psychology, the science of mental processes, and sociology, the interpretation of the forces of social advancement, these sciences were also the outcome of the intellectual renaissance that accelerated the progress of human knowledge and thought during the prolific last one hundred years.

One of the most fruitful products of the marvelous Nineteenth Century was the science of Socialism. The great task before the people of the Twentieth Century is the application of the theories and truths of the science of socialism to the solution of our pressing economic and social problems.
Out of that achievement must arise a state of individual and social welfare that will exceed the dreams and predictions of the most imaginative Utopian writers.

To fully appreciate and understand the meaning of Socialism as a science we must first appreciate and understand the scientific marvels of capitalism and their promise to the coming civilization.

That Socialists never have anything good or kind to say about the capitalist system is the notion of many. This booklet will demonstrate the contrary. Socialists have a keen sense of appreciation for what is good, inspiring and prophetic in modern capitalism.

Capitalism is the mother of Socialism. Without the wonderful development of modern industry, its achievements and possibilities, the plans and predictions of Socialism for a more wonderful industrial and social future would be mere dream stuff.

Socialism predicts the elimination of poverty, destitution, unemployment, slums, preventable disease and human degradation; the reduction of the hours of toil to a much smaller number than now imaginable and the gratification of every reasonable human need to every member of the community; the emancipation of the race from the worries of economic insecurity and an equal opportunity for all to develop their latent talents and to enjoy the many delights and advantages which are now privileged only to the favored few. Socialism predicts the practical possibility of accomplishing all this.

"Upon what grounds do you Socialists build such inviting predictions? What facts have you for such alluring forecasts? Where is the wealth to come from to enable society to promise or guarantee such an earthy heaven?" asks our justly inquisitive and doubtful reader. In this booklet we shall present a collection of facts that must furnish food for thought and material for astonishing conclusions.
Firstly, consider the immensity of the process of production and distribution under modern capitalism. Consider the gigantic and complicated machinery, the fine gradations in the specialization of labor that results in the multiplication of one worker’s ability to produce wealth. A fabulous quantity of goods is turned out in a ridiculously short space of time and with little human effort. To attempt to describe adequately the revolutionary accomplishments of modern industry would bankrupt a dictionary.

Visit any modern factory, the Ford Auto Plant, for example. Witness this human bee-hive in action. Tens of thousands of men work side by side, each performing his specialized task. Traveling belts conveying the material from one end of the plant to another rattle and hum the melody of hustle, hustle. Automatic hammers banging, traveling cranes swinging their tons of burden, trucks running from shop to shop with speed and dispatch. Here a huge tool is stationary, the work hugs and dances around it and thousands of fiery stars of steel fly in all directions. There again the work is stationary and the tool, a gnawing monster, rips and tears out huge slices of iron as though it were cheese. Out of this bedlam of moving, clattering, tearing, banging, ripping, pounding, crawling and flying organization of mechanisms and their swarming mass of human attendants one sees an endless chain of autos, chugging and smoking with their first gallons of gas in their bowels, emerge out of the womb of the plant.

To describe the “how” of industry is indeed a difficult task. But to explain the “why” of modern industry, its wonderous efficiency, its prodigious wealth of products and yet the soul destroying poverty of the toilers, to explain adequately that amazing condition transcends the understanding of most folks.

Specialized shoe-workers operating every conceivable device for the cutting, sewing, nailing and finishing of an abundance of shoes. This abundance clogs the warehouses and stores. Yet multitudes may tread the streets with decrepit footwear! Why?
Spindles spinning with a rapidity no human eye can follow. Looms clattering, patterns sliding and shuttles flying with but few workers attending, turn out miles and miles of cloth every hour. And yet millions of workers wear their shoddy to tatters and discomfort! Why?

In the garment industry the cutter of cloth cuts a hundred garments at one cutting with his power-driven knife or saw; the power-driven needles sew seams, buttonholes and all, and hundreds of garments flow out of the factory in the course of a day’s work. Yet, the great mass of people suffer for the want of sufficient good clothing. Why? One could multiply these instances, and multiply the "whys."

Why, Oh, Why? That is the baffling question of our times. Want and poverty in the days when one man laboriously produced a single commodity can be explained. Man’s limited productivity may have been insufficient to supply his growing needs. But that is surely not true today.

The miraculous output of our machine age has solved to a great degree the problem of producing enough goods to satisfy man’s needs. Capitalism has applied science to the production and rapid transportation of the necessaries of life to every corner of the earth. It has banished for all time the prime cause of famine and the primeval fear of want. And yet this famine and this fear persists amid the facts that belie their existence. Why?

Socialism gives the answer. The ignorantly selfish motives of the capitalists have limited the application of science to industry and society. The ingenious mechanisms and tremendous productivity operate and accrue to the benefit of the few. Mountains of wealth smother the producing masses and the decay of this asinine capitalist system (more correctly, lack of system) spreads the pestilence that must soon destroy it.

The pace of the production of goods has outstripped the
distribution and consumption of goods. The next step in the progress of civilization is not necessarily towards greater production but towards an immediate, a saner and a more equitable system of distribution.

Socialism is the science of distribution. Its mission is to apply science, system and order in the return to the producers of the prodigious wealth of modern industry. Under Socialism the object of production will be the satisfaction of the needs of life and the furtherance of the happiness of all the people.

Chapter II.

WHAT THE WORLD WAR TAUGHT US.

A number of remarkable illustrations can be drawn from the late war of the immensity of modern wealth production, and its promise to society, when reason, science and equity will be applied to its distribution.

Many facts relating to our economic status that seemed incredible and impossible before the outbreak of the war, were forcibly demonstrated by the war to the astonished world. The "Great Illusion" completely disillusioned many. Particularly disillusioned were those who pretended that a war embroiling all the great nations of the world would be such an expensive and disruptive experience that in a short time bankruptcy would be the only victor.

True, staggering debts are mortgaging the welfare of the people of many nations and their generations to come. But no one can truthfully say that this devastating conflict came to an end, after its four and a quarter years, because of the lack of finances, materials or the capacity to produce the munitions of war, and at the same time supply the needs of society. This was certainly not the case with the Allies. From the view-point of modern industry's power to produce wealth and permit its whole destruction, this war might have lasted for a considerably longer period.
Let us take an illustration from the World War to illuminate the contention of Socialism, that the modern world has reached such a high stage of productivity that a saner method of distribution could establish a state of economic security and a more general social contentment to all its inhabitants.

We have been informed that the cost of the war to the United States was over $32,000,000 a day.* Its total cost to this country was about 50 billion dollars in wealth alone, to say little of the loss of life, the disablement of hundreds of thousands of men, and the pension burdens that will continue into the distant future.

The British government has published statistics which show that their daily expense in the World War was over $35,000,000 a day. Figuring that item over the period of four and a quarter years gives one a brain-wrecking total.

We have not as yet had any accurate estimate of the cost of the war to France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Italy, Turkey, the Dominions of the British Empire, Japan, Belgium, Portugal, Serbia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Montenegro. Nor is it known what was the indirect cost of the war to the neighboring neutrals that suffered so bitterly in the world catastrophe.

As a very conservative estimate, the staggering total of 200 million dollars a day lends assistance to our imagination of the wealth consuming nature of the late international butchery. Two hundred million dollars a day!**

Part of this huge sum was spent in the destruction of steamships, railroads, bridges and highways. If in time of peace the nations of the world were to spend this money and energy for constructive purposes, what marvelous results and benefits could be attained!

*This was evidently too modest a figure. Will Irwin, in his book, "The Next War," states the total cost of the war to the United States as 22,625 millions. The World Almanac, 1922, says 50 billions.
**"The Next War" quotation is 240 millions a day! 10 million dollars an hour!
IS SOCIALISM INEVITABLE?

Consider some of the incidents of the war in which we learned that in shelling a bridge often a million or more dollars worth of explosives were hurled towards its destruction. The cost of destroying some of these bridges was surely many times their cost of building.

If all these nations would apply with the same zeal and efficiency this stupendous sum towards the CONSTRUCTION instead of the DESTRUCTION of steamships, railroads, bridges and highways we could in a period of four years progress a long way towards girdling the earth with the means of navigation and locomotion, span every stream, and run highways into the desert and jungle parts of the globe.

If some of these 200 millions a day would have been used in the construction of homes, public buildings, and plants of industry and trade, what wonders might have been accomplished! Having but part of the 200 millions a day at our disposal we could abolish every slum, eliminate every tenement and shack, tear down every architectural monstrosity, every relic of inartistic capitalism. We could reconstruct our cities, towns and villages according to plans of order, durability, comfort and beauty. The benefits of electricity, steam-heat, spaciousness and light, pleasing and healthful surroundings could be afforded to every soul.

Instead of such a joyful expenditure of wealth and energy, for more than four years a horribly different undertaking cursed the earth. To the accompaniment of 200 million dollars every twenty-four hours, a symphony of hate and blood-lust filled the day and night air with booming discharges, shrieking shells, rattling shrapnel and ear-splitting detonations. Tons and tons of T.N.T. and dynamite leveled cities, towns and villages; rent asunder huge structures; made ghastly ruins of comfortable homes and blew to atoms cherished treasures of the art of medieval times. Palaces as well as humble homes were pulverized into dust—dust that served to dry up the pools of blood that lay in the shell-
ploughed fields of Europe. Two hundred million dollars a day was the cost of this hideous pastime.

With 200 millions every twenty-four hours at the disposal of civilized mankind to enhance the comfort, happiness and cultural advancement of the race, what wonders might be accomplished. Every preventable disease could be eliminated, the pangs of hunger appeased, the fear of poverty and insecurity abolished, and the human mind could be freed of the worries that develop the baseness of human nature and cripple man's intentions toward the common good. The dreams of Moore, Bellamy and Morris are but feeble picturizations of what mankind would enjoy if it applied science and equity to its social life. And let us add, if it applied the enthusiasm, energy, sacrifice and prodigious expenditures of wealth in wartime, to the pursuit of peace and happiness.

Instead, for more than four years, 200 million dollars a day was spent for every devilish device, every bastard product of science, every art that human cunning could contrive for the maiming and killing of millions of fellow creatures. Hundreds of thousands of young men whose eyes had hardly learned to behold the beauties of nature and the arts of man were blighted by blindness. Millions had torn from their bodies the limbs that were yet to be trained in the work of producing the comforts of life. Millions of young men yet to love and be loved, who lived and were yet to have lived glorious lives were severed from their loved ones and from the roll of the living and were hurled into the abyss of the great Unknown. And think of it, all this anguish, pain and death was the finished product which cost the nations of the world over 200 million dollars a day to produce!

"Dr. Mercher, a member of the French Academy of Medicine, after an extended investigation has determined that during a period of five months in 1917 a total of 3,090,000 shells fell on the front of the three French armies.

"The shells, Dr. Mercher estimates, killed 13,265 men and wounded 55,412. According to his figures it took a
total of 395 shells to kill one man and half as many to wound one.” — (New York "Times", April 23, 1920).

The total cost of war was about 186 billions. ("The Next War"). About 10 million men were killed. Figuring conservatively, the cost of killing a man amounted to over $10,000.00, about enough to keep an average family in comfort for five years.

The world war taught us that more than 60 million men with 200 million dollars a day at their aid can consume four and a quarter years destroying each other and devastating city and country. It taught us the remaining portion of the human race staying at home can with the assistance of the marvels of modern industry produce not only sufficient wealth to supply their own needs, but can supply the huge munitions of war. And to cap the climax—create tens of thousands of new millionaires!

Shame to your ignorance, you doubting Thomas. You who hesitate to accept the prediction of Socialism that if science, system and equity were applied to the distribution of wealth, the spectre of want and poverty could be totally eliminated from the human race.

Why, even such a dullard as the editor of the New York Times wrote on August 8, 1918:

"Never has it been imagined, still less realized, how prodigious is the capacity for the creation of goods under modern methods of quantity production. If capitalists and workers had co-operated with equal zeal in times of peace, want might have been banished from the earth. The amazing production of the instruments of destruction, if devoted to meeting the demands of consumption would have produced a divisible surplus of goods comparable to the incredible cost of the war. It has been a misfortune with both present and future compensations. In the present it supplies the means through united effort to defeat the German con-
spionage against the world's freedom. How otherwise could Germany have been beaten? For the future it creates the hope that the lesson now taught will not be lost, and that through intensive work by capital, labor and machinery the burden may be reduced sooner than has seemed probable, and the blessing of plenty be attained as otherwise would not be possible.

"There is no leading country in the world where this is not true in general, and it is true of ourselves in particular."

(The bold face type is mine)

Leaving aside such delightfully humorous items as: "if capitalists and workers had co-operated"; "German conspiracy"; "world's freedom"; and "intensive work by capital," one is forced to admit that the above quotation from the pen of the "Times" editor is truly a profound prediction made in an unusually careless moment.

Yes, "the lesson now taught will not be lost." Leave it to the Socialists. When we succeed, and we shall, in arousing the great masses to the marvelous opportunities that modern industry promises to all mankind, we will soon get the power to inaugurate a more resplendent chapter in the annals of the human race.

Chapter III.

ANOTHER LESSON FROM THE WORLD WAR.

Socialism advances the ideal that man should work to live. Under capitalism man lives to work. And that is the only reason why we breed and keep horses. They also live to work.

Machinery, we are informed, is labor-saving. But, machinery seldom saves labor for working men or women. Very often it saves them from labor. It throws them out of a job. Machinery displaces labor and that is why our business men welcome its invention.
The contention of Socialism is that machinery, modern industry and efficiency should have an emancipating mission. The logical reason for the introduction of machinery, the specialization of labor and the application of efficiency methods to the production of goods should be rapidly to reduce the hours of toil.

As to the possibility of that attainment numerous economists have predicted that the hours of toil even under our present industrial system could be reduced to four hours a day. And some writers have gone further than that.

To prove how sanely conservative these seemingly wild predictions are, let us take another lesson from the World War.

The United States had over four million men in its army and navy during the war. These men were removed from productive labor and were forcibly and wilfully unemployed. They were taken from the fields, mines, railroads, factories, workshops, mercantile and commercial establishments. They were worse than unemployed because they not only ceased producing goods but were engaged in the deliberate and efficient work of destroying property and life.

It has been estimated by some economists that for every soldier, sailor and marine in the field of warfare, the labor of at least six workers was required to supply the needs of these warriors and to furnish them with munitions, the various and numerous weapons of destruction.

A good argument or illustration is often injured by overstatement and exaggeration. It is infinitely better, if you present a weighty fact, to reduce its proportions and humbly beg its consideration. Especially, if you take an illustration from the gigantic conflict that recently tortured Europe. Its proportions are so generous and its nature so immense that one can be sparing with its abundant material for illustration.

Let us, then conservatively say that three persons were engaged in the work of supplying one fighting man with
munitions. That gives us a total of twelve million workers employed in the manufacture of munitions. Added to these twelve million, the four million men under arms give us a conservative total of sixteen million human beings taken out of the normal peace-time process of production, and, to all practical purposes, deliberately unemployed for over a year and a half.

But then, the United States played, in this particular sense, a minor role in the World War. The lateness of our entry, the comparatively short time for our participation, and the small number of men in the field, makes the United States a rather weak example for the illustration we wish to present.

Consider the tremendous forces the great European nations had engaged in the late war, and their huge aggregations of munition workers. Consider also the fact that most of these nations were engaged throughout the four and a quarter years of the war. England, Germany, France, Austria-Hungary and Italy had each from five to eight million men under arms. Multiply this number with the vast army of munition workers of each of these nations and we get the conservative totals of from fifteen to twenty-four millions of workers that were divorced from wealth production.

To say that sixty million people in the belligerent nations alone were actively engaged in the great World War would be a very modest figure!

Here is an amazing bit of evidence of man’s producing powers and the marvel of modern industry. At least sixty million working men and women can be eliminated from participation in labor on the farms and railroads, from the mines, factories, workshops, and mercantile establishments for a period of four and a quarter years. The sixty millions are wrested from the normal pursuits of labor and are hurled into the maws of war. For four and a quarter years they are solely occupied in the manufacture of munitions of war and in the use of these means towards the destruction of property and
the maiming and killing of their fellow men. Think of it, modern industry can spare sixty millions of its toilers for four and a quarter years for such a brutal and fatal vacation.

Those that were left behind were reserved for the operation of industry in the work of supplying the needs of the non-combatants. With the aid of modern industry, these people produced enough to maintain their own existence, and among them arose tens of thousands of new millionaires!

What more compelling evidence do you want to illustrate the prodigious productive capacity of modern industry and labor? What more effective plea can be made for a radical change in our industrial relations? What more imposing fact can be presented to demonstrate the immediate possibility of an immense reduction in the hours of toil for all the workers?

The Socialists have predicted that possibility for the last fifty years. Their numberless publications and speeches have called attention to the facts underlying their forecasts. And the war has exposed them as conservative visionaries and exceedingly modest prophets of a coming civilization.

Socialism proposes the abolition of the private ownership of modern industry. It demands the ending of our competitive economic struggle and the organization of all human effort upon a huge co-operative basis. It also proposes the elimination of the duplication of industry and the senseless waste of our each-for-himself economic system.

When these duplications are abolished, the waste of material and life is reduced and every able-bodied citizen is permitted to work, then the humane mission of machinery and modern efficiency can at last be achieved. That mission is rapidly to reduce the hours of drudgery and uninspiring toil to the absolute minimum required to satisfy the needs of society.

Unemployment shall then be an enjoyment instead of a
suffering. Man under Socialism will consume and enjoy his over-abundance of goods in peace and comfort.

Man will then work to live! Machinery shall have but one function to perform—the abolition of needless toil. It must ultimately become truly labor saving.

Man freed from the enslavement of supplying his elementary comforts will rise immeasurably above the animal status. His mental, cultural and spiritual life will then blossom into a glory that shall transcend his fondest dreams.

Chapter IV.

THE INEVITABILITY OF SOCIALISM.

No intelligent and well-informed person doubts the possibility of ultimately abolishing economic insecurity and want. That is the program and object of Socialism. The bitterest critics of Socialism admit that poverty and destitution must soon cease to haunt civilized man. Herbert Spencer confessed the inevitability of Socialism even though he believed it a calamity and fought to retard its coming.

Besides the Socialists, numerous progressive economists and sociologists also proclaim that Socialism is inevitable. Their predictions are based upon substantial evidence gathered from readily observable sources of information.

The illustrations presented in the last chapters exhibited the facts that form the foundation of the possibility of the program of Socialism and the guarantee of the realization of its hopes. The evidence displayed by the marvels of modern industry and its prodigious output of wealth predicated a state of well-being considerably greater than now imaginable.

The crying need for a saner and more just method in the distribution of the wealth that modern ingenuity creates is vigorously forced upon the mind of every sensitive and
intelligent person. The contradictions in our social status, the extremes of affluence on the one hand and the wretched conditions of the masses on the other, is compelling proof of the requirement of a fundamental change in the distribution of wealth.

The conflict of these extremes in our present day phase of the class struggle is rapidly shaping its course towards a decisive ending. The great mass of the people, the workers, are becoming more conscious day by day of the unequal share of the good things of life that fall to their lot.

All these factors constitute the motive power that propels the movement towards the solution of our social maladjustments and demonstrates the inevitability of the coming change in social relations. Call it Socialism or any other name. It is coming. And no human power or agency can prevent its coming.

A knowledge of the forces of social evolution lends a more correct interpretation of the facts of the inevitability of Socialism and, moreover, it develops an understanding of the elements in social progress and the tendencies towards the coming change. In fact, we can learn still more vital information on this subject. We shall come to that matter in another chapter.

EVOLUTION.

By evolution is meant the forces that produce constant and progressive changes in both non-living and living things. The progress from simple to complex, from a lower to a higher state of existence is the outcome of evolutionary change. Let us simplify this a bit.

For example, take an egg (a fresh one, please). Chemically described, it is a comparatively simple combination. Its constituent parts are the albuminous matter, the yolk, nucleus, and shell. Under the process of incubation a wonderful change is effected. By gradual progress it evolves
from the simple combination of substances into that complex organism, the chick, a living creature of bone, muscle, flesh, skin, feathers and the compensating influence of a right and a left wing. An acorn developing into a massive oak is another illustration. Thus we can elucidate the definition of the term evolution, to mean the forces of constant, unfolding and progressive change; the movement from a lower to a higher stage and from a simple to a complex condition.

All nature is a manifestation of this constant and persistent power of evolution. Inanimate matter, plants and animals are all slaves to this power. Creatures of the plant and animal world are compelled to adapt, adjust or conform themselves to the changes in the various phases of environmental conflict brought about by evolution. If they disobey they cease to exist.

SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

The advent of man has altered the course of evolution considerably. Man is the one animal that has "monkeyed" with evolution. And because of his interference with the forces of evolution a new drama appeared upon the stage of life.

Instead of adapting and adjusting himself to the environment and its dictates man began to adapt and adjust the environment to suit his own tastes. The history of the human race from its separation from the animal kingdom up to its present complex status is the history of the struggle between man and nature for mastery.

Thus evolution has been imposed upon. Man has gained victory after victory. He has turned night into day, established himself in the most uninhabitable climes, navigated the mysteries of great oceans, conquered the air and defied the law of gravitation, harnessed the elements for his use and worried the soil of the earth into an ever greater and greater growth of abundance. By tampering with the
omnipotent power of evolution man has switched its course to his advantage.

The forces of evolution governing the growth and progress of the human race are more complicated than in the evolution of the plant and animal world. The evolution of mankind is therefore named "social evolution."

The forces of social evolution are twofold. They possess unconscious and conscious factors. In the following chapters we shall describe these factors in detail.

Chapter V.

THE UNCONSCIOUS FACTORS IN SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

"Man," writes Karl Marx, in his "Eighteenth Brumaire" of Louis Bonaparte, "makes his own history, but he does not make it out of the whole cloth; he does not make it out of conditions chosen by himself, but out of such as he finds close at hand."

This is a lucid answer to the commonly debated questions as to whether man makes history, or does history make man? Does man influence and change his environment, or does the environment influence and change man? Marx replies that both of these influences are forces of social progress.

The unconscious factors in social evolution are the influence of the environment, the development of economic and social conditions towards higher and more complex forms of society.

The conscious factors are the will of man imposed upon the environment, his efforts in adapting the elements of nature to serve his desires and his power to accelerate economic and social changes.

The conscious factors are vital forces in social evolution and yet they are far from dominant. Contrary to the popularly accepted notion, man is still very much a slave to his sur-
roundings. Economic conditions, social and political institutions are largely the outcome of the unconscious factors in social evolution. Great social changes arrive in spite of Man’s efforts to retard their coming. They are inevitable. Often their coming and their characteristics can be foretold with almost the correctness of the predictions of comets and eclipses. Thus Marx predicted and described the coming and the nature of the trusts and monopolies when capitalism was yet in its competitive stage. And thus, the confidence of the Socialists in the success of their program and ideals even though the powers of reaction, the hostility of the capitalist minority and the indifference of the working class majority seem such insurmountable obstacles.

Let us present a few examples to support these contents and to illustrate the unconscious forces of social evolution. To begin with, let us examine the origin, development and the possible future of the great trusts and monopolies.

THE TRUSTS AND MONOPOLIES.

The trusts and monopolies are not wholly the product of man’s avariciousness or maliciousness. Their origin was rather humble and unpretentious. When capitalism was young competition was the rule and the “life of trade.” But competition was disastrous to both the eliminated and the successful business man. The successful were greatly hampered by the meagre returns on their small investments.

Something had to be done. They formed partnerships and companies to save themselves from bankruptcy. But that did not help them much. What they needed was cheaper production and a greater volume of business to offset the rapidly diminishing rate of profits.

Then our youthful and enthusiastic capitalists started something the capitalist class will never finish. It will finish them. In their efforts to cheapen production and increase the volume of business they created a Frankenstein that soon got out of their control.
The early manufacturer had no machinery at his command. He began by introducing the sub-division of labor into industry. He soon learned that it was infinitely cheaper to get a number of unskilled workers singly to perform a simple operation than to hire a highly skilled and expensive laborer to perform an extremely complex piece of work all by himself. Thus, the long apprenticeship of the worker and the aristocracy of the master mechanics went into the dust bin of history.

Alone, however, the sub-division and specialization of labor was not a sufficiently large enough source of profit. There were entirely too many workers encumbering the work-shop and gracing the payroll. To get rid of some or all of that crowd was now the next ambition of our “Thrifty, frugal, abstinent and industrious” young capitalist class.

They encouraged the invention of power-driven and labor-displacing devices. They got them with a rush that overwhelmed them. Each machine became more complicated and expensive than the previous one and the tools of production rapidly took on immense proportions and required vast aggregations of capital.

More business men had to get together. Stock corporations were formed. When the cost of machinery rose to prohibitive heights and the expansion of commerce entailed an enormous outlay of capital, competition died and the trusts were born.

Then came the awakening of the middle class, the cockroach capitalists. With a howl of rage they assailed these “soulless” combines of great wealth. Their cries attracted the politicians. The Jackass Party offered its hoofs to the fracas. Came the campaign slogans,—“Bust the Trusts!” “Back to the good old days of competition.”

To appease the raving petty capitalist class, the Sherman Anti-Trust Laws were enacted. The Supreme Court handed the trusts a few mighty wallops. It smashed to
smithereens the arrogant "malefactors of great wealth," the 
Standard Oil and the American Tobacco trusts. The Meat 
Packers who eventually packed almost everything packable 
also went to the chopping block. Some other trusts were 
busted.

But even the blind could see that the trusts prospered 
by the busting. Though the worm was cut into a hundred 
pieces it still wiggled and preserved a spiritual (and financial) 
entity.

Then the Republican Party was appealed to, and the 
elephant lumbered to the rescue. "The trusts must be 
regulated," announced our statesmen. And regulated they 
were by commissions galore.

Goodness, gracious! The trusts grew corpulent on the 
fare of regulation. They expanded into monopolies. And 
the monopolies soon regulated the Government.

Whither are we going? "Forward!" says Socialism. The 
trusts and monopolies are excellent establishments in more 
than one particular. They have destroyed the waste of com-
petition, reduced the duplication of equipment, encouraged 
the invention of huge "labor-saving" machinery which only 
the trusts and monopolies could have made possible with 
their mountains of capital. They developed the resources of 
the earth, created the marvels of modern industry and re-
duced the cost of production (not necessarily, the price of 
commodities) to an unbelievable figure. Yes, Socialism 
recognizes all this. In fact, one must be a Socialist to truly 
appreciate the significance of the trusts and monopolies.

Oh, certainly, the trusts and monopolies have brought 
much misery in their train. But of that we need not mention 
here. In this chapter we sing only of the goodness and the 
greatness of the trusts and the monopolies. For it is par-
icularly because of their goodness and greatness that they 
shall die.

Socialists are not obstructionists. They will not place a
brick in the path of progress or the evolution of industry. Says Socialism, "Let the trusts grow. Harm them not. (If you can!) by fool legislation. Let them grow mighty. The trusts and monopolies will hasten the concentration of wealth into ever fewer hands. They will rapidly eliminate the troublesome and conceited small-fry pests and clear the ground for the final battle of the many against the few. Instead of the trusts and monopolies owning the nations of the world, let the nations of the world own the trusts and monopolies! Let society control their operation, the workers participate in their management and mankind benefit by their marvelous productivity and their energy saving devices."

Socialism looks upon the growth of the trusts and monopolies as a farmer looks upon a growing hog. "Eat, piggie, eat. Grow fat, grow ham, grow bacon," says the encouraging farmer. Finally the hog reaches his maximum growth. He has packed in all his skin will hold. "Stop," says the farmer, with a contented and benevolent smile. "Now I shall eat!"

Chapter VI.

MORE ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE UNCONSCIOUS FACTORS IN SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

CRUSHING THE "HUN."

Shortly after the outbreak of the late war the stupid portion of the capitalist class of the Allied nations saw what it believed was its great opportunity. For ever so long the capitalists had suffered by the ruinous competition of cheap German goods. The "Hun" had led them in the merry chase for the world market. The results of German mechanical ingenuity and efficiency presented an insurmountable obstacle. German goods were rapidly displacing British, French and American goods in all parts of the world.
The "Hun" had to be crushed. His naval and military powers, was, of course, a serious obstruction. As the war progressed, behind the firing lines there was inaugurated an avaricious propaganda for the elimination of the use of German merchandise and the destruction of the influence of German competition. Not only the "Hun's" naval and military might had to go but also his unwelcomed commercial power in the world struggle for profits.

During the war, an epoch making event transpired at one of London's fashionable hotels. A collection of monocled dignitaries were having a feast. One of the dining Lords, in a moment of intense scrutiny observed a German trade-mark on the under side of his soup plate. Rising to his full Lordly height, the enraged Britisher announced his discovery to the astonished gathering. And as a means of adding emphasis and dramatic climax to his impassioned remarks the Lord flourished the soup plate over his head and dashed it to the floor. Every ape followed suit and hundreds of pieces of the hateful Germany crockery struck the floor with a crash. That crash was heard around the world!

Numerous busy-bodies dropped their war-work and started a movement to boycott and banish the "Hun's" products from our Allied midst. In this country the German toys were the first objects of martyrdom. Then their dyes, drugs and other wares were concentrated upon. The propaganda swept from land to land. German music, literature, language and goods, in a word, everything German, had to be crushed.

Came the end of the war. The "Hun" was crushed. The Allied powers had their mighty foot upon his prostrate body. The "Hun" was down and out. At least, it looked that way to many people.

"Now, Fritz," said our conquering Allies, "you will have to pay, and pay dearly, for the damage you did." Then the Allies began to figure the indemnity the "Hun" was to pay.
They are figuring yet. They will probably never cease figuring.

"Got in himmel," replied our stricken Fritz, "ich hab kein Gelt!" He said he was broke. The war had vanquished the German armies and navy, their industries and finances. It had bankrupted them.

"Ah, that is true," said the Allies, "but you shall have to get the wherewithal to pay our indemnities. You must get on your feet again, Fritz, and make money." "Right you are," responded Fritz, "and you will have to help me." And the Allies did.

They loaned the Germans money, extended credits, furnished them with raw materials and thus unwillingly resurrected the hated German "efficiency."

Soon again, German industry began to turn out its flood of cheap wares. Now came the problem—what was to be done with these goods? Let the Germans consume all they produce? Well then, the German workmen must receive enough wages to buy back the products of their labor. Then there would be no surplus profit! Good God, that would mean Socialism!

"No, never!" shouted the Allies. "We must buy the surplus of Germany's production so that sufficient profits be left in the 'Hun's' hands to pay our indemnities."

And they did. The Allied buyers had their agents in Germany before the ink was dry on the armistice signatures.

German goods are again circulating around the world marts and the competition of these cheap wares is again the bane of our Allied profit-mongers.

As the old saying goes, "Man proposes but God disposes." Yea, man proposes but the uncontrollable forces of industrial evolution play the tune to which our fool capitalists must dance.
BOLSHEVIK ENTHUSIASM.

One more illustration of the power of the unconscious factors in social evolution is brought to our attention by the experiences of the Bolsheviki in Soviet Russia.

In the first rush of their remarkable revolution, the Bolsheviki were overwhelmed by their own enthusiasm. They were carried into power by their promise and slogan of "Land, Peace and Bread." They undoubtedly meant well and were absolutely sincere, but they were victims of circumstances which were difficult to clearly discern or evade.

In their efforts to solve the land question, the Bolsheviki were compelled to compromise with the peasants far beyond the ideal of the Socialist program. Instead of securing peace, they were forced to arouse the fighting spirit of the Russian people into supreme effort and mighty armies. At Brest-Litovsk they even offered to continue to fight the Germans if the Allies would come to their rescue. The first three years of their existence was one of constant warfare. And instead of obtaining bread, the Russian people have been and are suffering from the horrors of malnutrition, starvation and famine.

The Bolsheviki had announced the repudiation of war debts and the huge obligations in bonds and investments loaned to the Czarist crowd. The Bolsheviki have, however, since then, made a number of promises that they would meet these obligations if the Allies would but leave them in peace.

Though they promised the speedy socialization of all industrial enterprises, the Soviets have made overtures to foreign capital to come into Russia and Siberia. They have offered inviting and lucrative concessions.

But the Bolsheviki are sincere revolutionists. Beyond the shadow of a doubt they are striving with might and main to realize their goal and dreams. Their struggles and sacrifices are an inspiration to the workers in many lands, and their achievements, a guide to the Socialist movement of the world.
Nevertheless, our Russian comrades are also in the grip of the forces of social evolution. "Man makes his own history, but he does not make it out of the whole cloth," is true beyond contradiction. The relentless forces of economic, social and political conditions unconsciously shape the course of social progress.

Let the smug and self-satisfied capitalist class beware. They too, are not masters of their environment. The inherent effects of overgrowth and decay are becoming manifest in the bankruptcy of modern capitalism. In spite of themselves the destructive war has descended upon the prosperous nations and in spite of the struggle of the world capitalists toward reconstruction, the gangrene set in by the war is hastening the dissolution of the old order. The collapse is inevitable.

Chapter VII.

THE CONSCIOUS FACTORS IN SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

The evidence of the inevitability of Socialism has a curious effect upon some sympathetic souls. "Why exert yourselves in obtaining something which is sure to come? Why work, sacrifice, and suffer persecution for a cause if its success is assured?" asks our lazy reformer. Even ardent revolutionists often lull themselves into a state of inactivity and sit around arguing and proclaiming that the capitalist system must collapse of its own weight and rottenness.

This is a serious misconception of social progress, because the inevitable has its own sweet way in coming. Numerous obstacles can be placed in its path. The capitalist class is intelligent and class-conscious enough to adapt and prop up its dying regime and prolong its misery.

In view of these facts it is imperative to fully understand the influence of the conscious factors in social evolution.
These factors are the effects of man’s power to accelerate, guide and control the forces that produce social progress and cause society to evolve to ever higher forms.

**INTERFERING WITH NATURE.**

As we have previously stated, man has “monkeyed” with evolution. Instead of adapting himself to the environment he has adapted the environment to meet his desires.

At one time man, like other creatures, had to retire after sunset. One of the first great discoveries in his climb out of the animal kingdom, the anthropologists tell us, was man’s discovery of fire. By means of rubbing dry sticks and later by the use of the flint, he kindled the warmth giving flame and the cheering light. Still later he discovered that fat would burn. It is hard to tell whose fat he first ignited. Then came the knowledge of the use of vegetable and mineral oils, gas and presently the dazzling light of electricity. The terrors of darkness are now abolished and man’s power of illumination has eclipsed the feeble light of the stars and the moon.

Early civilization was confined to the tropical regions of the earth. Man’s original coating was a poor protection against climates beyond this zone. The fig leaf costume was no doubt extremely comfortable as well as fashionable in the equatorial clime, but as he moved into the temperate and frigid zones (and he moved not always because he wished to, but for many reasons beyond his control) he found that he had to cover his body with warmth-giving materials.

He soon met the bear, or more probably the bear met him. What a lovely overcoat that bear had! Our greedy ancestor promptly coveted it. Undoubtedly the bears had many a gratuitous dinner before man acquired skill and art in relieving them of their furs.

The sheep had such comfort-giving wool. For countless years our primitive forefathers must have slaughtered the
sheep to get their wool. However, the progenitor of our present day capitalist soon arrived on the scene. He taught a more efficient art of shearing and how to keep the sheep alive and contented while being sheared.

The vegetables and fruits that nature first gave man were exceedingly spare and of poor quality. The life-giving grains, greens, vegetables and fruits of modern times are mostly the products of man's intelligent interference with nature. The growth of these foodstuffs is an inevitable process in nature. But nature has no sense, order or system. In a happy-go-lucky way she gives us her products and quality or quantity is largely a matter of chance.

Man applied his intelligence and rapidly improved upon nature. He broke up the soil, removed the stones and weeds, fertilized and watered the ground, and he made miles bloom where but acres had blossomed.

By the invention of hot-box and hot-house methods man advanced the season's growth when nature still held the earth in winter's grip. By grafting, pruning and cultivation man made a luscious fruit out of the miserable little crab apple that nature first handed him. Goodness only knows what a despicable little sour dud it must have been that led Adam and Eve to their historic downfall. At least if it had been a "Pippin" or a winesap we could more easily sympathize with that fated couple.

Nature is generous but thoughtless. She will give a thousand small fruit on a tree when a hundred good-sized ones would be more nourishing. Nature will waste energy and juice in producing an overabundance of leaves on a grape vine when grapes would be more desirable. But man soon fixed all that. He took advantage of nature's inevitable produce and trained it to channels of wonderful growth.

Through the science of cultivation, man developed the maximum growth and quality of nature's yield of edibles. He combatted the ravishing pests and diseases and nursed
the weakly plants into hardy growth. By experimentation he eliminated the poorest, selected from the best and created entirely new varieties.

Man has tamed and domesticated the beasts that were his associates in his primitive existence. He has compelled animals to carry him and his burdens in his wanderings over the earth. Instead of hunting them for his meat, he has corralled them close to home to conserve his energy and needs and developed many of them into serviceable creatures.

Out of the wild flowers of the fields and forests, he cultivated the beauteous domestic posies. Out of the skimpy wild rose, he made the gorgeous and vari-colored beauties. Out the common Japanese field daisy, he created the resplendent chrysanthemum. The talents and genius of man transformed the jungle into the garden.

He has diverted rivers from their courses, bored holes through the mountain range and drove the waters through, created artificial lakes and dams, and by means of irrigation brought the moisture to the desert and "made it bloom like the rose."

The progress of evolution in nature is toward inevitable complexity and greatness. But man gets behind the inevitable and pushes. He speeds up, controls, guides and makes innovations. In a word, he revolutionizes his environment.

But why has he been so tardy in the changes of his social organization? Why has he permitted the evolution of society to progress in such a painfully slow pace? Why in the height of his glorious achievements is his social world still burdened with the fear of want and the misery of economic insecurity that cursed his primitive days?

Socialism gives the answer. Man has applied science to most everything but his social problems and existence. Society has developed along a haphazard path, and the few have seized advantage over the many. The next imperative step in the advancement of the human race is the application
of science and human intelligence to the solution of our inexcusable and unjustifiable social chaos.

Man, the revolutionist, must revolutionize his social household. He must get behind the forces of social evolution and accelerate their progress towards the inevitable. That is in his power and it constitutes the conscious factors in social evolution.

Chapter VIII.

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

This phrase appears with almost excessive frequency in Socialist propaganda. As plentiful as raisins in a holiday cake, the word revolution, dots the pages of numberless books, pamphlets and leaflets.

Most uninformed people are extremely sensitive to this word. Its sound immediately conjures up pictures of upheaval, destruction, fighting, bloodshed and dire suffering. The only excuse, however, for such a horrified state of mind is the ignorance of these people of the meaning of revolution as an element in social progress.

REVOLUTION.

There are many kinds of revolutions and most of them are perfectly peaceable. Anything in a process of revolving makes revolutions. A fly-wheel makes many revolutions a minute. No violence or upheaval there, eh? The wind carrying off your hat drives it spinning down the street. The hat makes many revolutions and likewise produces no fighting or bloodshed—unless some one maliciously steps on it! Violence is oftimes a mere accident in revolutions.

Some of the definitions the dictionaries give for the word "revolution" are: a fundamental change; a basic transformation. It is in this sense that students of social progress understand and use the word.
We read of a revolution in ideas, philosophy, science, or art. What is meant is that profound and fundamental changes have been effected in these domains of human thought. Surely no violence has been done there.

One of the world’s greatest events occurred in the eighteenth and in the early part of the nineteenth centuries. It is commonly referred to as the “Industrial Revolution.” This term intends to convey the fact that the change from the handicraft to the machine method in production, the transformation of industry brought about by the discovery of the power of steam and its application to the great inventions that shortly after arrived on the scene, fundamentally changed the whole structure of society.

The Industrial Revolution basically changed the method of wealth production, the nature of commerce, the economic activities of civilized mankind, the social relations and conditions in society, the political structure of modern nations and the ideas and outlook of the great mass of people. And yet, very little disorder or bloodshed accompanied this thorough and wonderful revolution.

We also speak of political revolutions, meaning thereby fundamental changes in the forms of governments. A change from a monarchy to a republic or vice-versa is generally a political revolution. The struggles for separations or independence on the part of subject peoples may also be described as revolutionary.

True, such revolutions are usually violent because of the tenacious hold the ruling classes maintain in their regime and their ruthlessness toward the subject peoples. Nevertheless even these revolts are sometimes comparatively peaceful events.

The early capitalist class having wrested the powers of state from the possession of the feudal lords attained its success violently in some countries and peaceably in others.

Socialism does not advocate a political revolution unless
an absolute autocracy in a nation denies the great masses of the people the means by which peaceful and orderly changes can be made. In all governments of the world where the right of suffrage, industrial and co-operative organization of the working class is established, the Socialists use every peaceful and legal means to attain their aims. The revolution that Socialism proposes is far more fundamental than a mere change in the form of a government.

Let it then be carefully understood, Socialism does not propound the need of any further industrial revolution. The evolution of industry and the multiplicity of inventions is taking care of that. Nor does Socialism specifically call for a revolution in philosophy, morals, science, art or in the institutions and political structure of modern nations. Socialism demands a social revolution and out of its success must come a fundamental change in the entire structure of society and the lives of the people.

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

The foundation upon which our present form of society rests is the private ownership of the instruments by which wealth is produced, transported and exchanged. These instruments constitute the basis of capitalist society and enable their owners to take advantage of the needs of the people. The owners of large land holdings, natural resources, mills, warehouses, mines, railroads, steamships, factories and mercantile establishments, own the jobs and opportunities upon which the great masses depend for their livelihood. The private ownership of these social utilities furnishes a powerful means by which one class exploits another and accumulates great wealth. Human society is thus torn by social strife and its structure is reared upon an anti-social foundation. Class divisions naturally develop; on the one hand a dominant or ruling class; on the other, a servile or ruled class. The state and its institutions, the press and the pulpit, become either consciously or unconsciously the servants of
the dominant economic class, the ruling class. The moral concepts and standards, the intellectual outlook of society, the opinions and ideals of the masses are generally the reflex of the mode of wealth production and distribution, and thus a radical change in this mode or economic basis must radically change the moral and intellectual life of society.

The Socialist objective is the basis of capitalist society. The ultimate aim of the program of Socialism is the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production and distribution. Socialism demands the social ownership of all things socially necessary and thereby seeks to conclusively end the possibility of any group in society taking advantage of the needs of another. Exploitation being abolished an equality of opportunity must eventually follow as an established order and class divisions must disappear with the economic conditions that gave them birth. Out of the ending of class conflicts must develop the beginning of a decidedly pro-social state of civilization. The state and its institutions rescued from the control of the dominant economic class must be transformed into organs of administration and service to the whole people and the principle of democracy must be applied to the management and control of the industries of the land. The educational institutions, the press and the pulpit no longer catering to class interests must reflect the moral concepts, the ideas and ideals of the cooperative and pro-social order of civilization.

This is the Social Revolution, the aim and object of the Socialist movement of the world. Socialists will cease their agitation and propaganda only when this goal is reached.

"But," cries our ever-ready critic, "a revolution of such proportions cannot be achieved without violence." Socialism replies, "Don't be so sure. No man can positively foresee the outcome of future events. Social as well as political changes have come and can come without violence." Writes Morris Hillquit, "As a matter of fact, street fights do not make a
social revolution any more than fire-crackers make the Fourth of July."*

The entire work of the Socialist movement is toward the education, preparation and organization of the masses for the orderly conquest of the powers of the State so that society may pass through the transition from Capitalism to Socialism with the least possible disorder, destruction of property or loss of life.

Violence, however, may be instigated by forces over which the Socialists have no control. Says George R. Kirkpatrick, "Revolutions are seldom noisy or bloody unless the ruling class impudently stand in the path of progress and commands, Halt!" This is the one great source of violence in social changes. The advocates of great social changes in the past have usually been as the Socialists are—apostles of peace and opponents of bloodshed and suffering.

The Social Revolution may be likened unto a locomotive which is an exceedingly progressive mechanism and perfectly harmless except to a jackass that will stand on the tracks.

(This illustration was the object of a painfully minute analysis by the attorneys for the Assembly in the trial of the five expelled Socialist Assemblymen at Albany, New York, during the Legislature of 1920. The learned and expensive counsel tried by induction, deduction and elaboration to divine the supposedly secret and mysterious meaning of the parable of the Locomotive and the Jackass. How deliciously naive was the whole performance. Little did the worthy counsel of the political cousin of that noble animal realize that the whole scene of the trial illuminated the parable. Only this particular breed magnified the nearness of the locomotive, brayed and brandished his menacing hind-hoofs in a gesture of defiance towards the on-coming forces of the inevitable.)

*See chapters "The Trend of Social Development" and "The Methods of Socialism" in Morris Hillquit's "Present Day Socialism".
THE MIDWIFE OF PROGRESS.

"Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one." Thus Marx describes the power of man in hastening and assisting the evolution of society through the transition from an old order into the birth of a new one. This is the revolutionary process and those that are engaged in the culmination of such a process are correctly named revolutionists.

The term "force" does not necessarily imply the use of violence. Marx clearly qualifies this in the same paragraph from which the above quotation is taken, in the 31st chapter of the first volume of "Capital," where he refers to "The power of the State," as "the concentrated and organized 'force' of society."

That Capitalism is heavy with the developing of a new order of society is clearly visible. In some lands the agony and labor pains are distinctly audible. In other countries the gestation is somewhat retarded. But every capitalist nation bears witness of the bankruptcy of the old social order, the helplessness of their statesmen to prop up the crumbling structure and the widespread disorder that is causing financial disturbances, unemployment, destitution and crime. All these are portentous facts. The war has shaken capitalism from its foundations and has hastened its collapse. It is clearly evident that the midwife is needed!

Of course, a midwife is not absolutely necessary. Very often she arrives on the scene too late. But in an enlightened society she (or he) is indispensable. There should be no trusting to luck. A mishap can occur. A still-birth may issue.

Russia was a vivid illustration of that fact. The war tumbled the mighty edifice of Imperial Russia, the gigantic power of the Romanoffs, into irreparable ruin. The social
and political conditions in Russia were ripe, yea overripe, for a fundamentally new regime. The efficient midwife was a little late in arriving and the ignorant, though kindly and well intentioned neighbors, dropped into lend a hand. The child was born and its delicate infantile life was seriously jeopardized by the bungling care and nourishment its hesitating foster-parents gave it. Then arrived our Bolshevik midwife. Some of her expert aides had a long journey to make, but they arrived in the nick of time. More than four years of the infant's most critical period are safely passed and the "summer-complaints" are seemingly over. Whether or not the baby dies on their hands remains to be seen. The political revolution belonging to past history, the years now ensuing must be devoted to the laborious and paintaking task of completing the Social Revolution in Russia.

From the facts at hand one can safely assume that the Social Revolution in Hungary, Germany, Austria, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia suffered a miscarriage. However, there is no cause for despair. Capitalism in these nations is far from barren. In due time a legitimate offspring must arrive and the proper midwife and nurse will not be lacking.

**PREPAREDNESS.**

The Socialist movement is the midwife of the Social Revolution. Its political expression in this country is the Socialist Party. It strives to obtain the consent of the majority of the people to transfer the powers of the state into the control of the progressive portion of the working class to accelerate and guide the inherent forces of development in the present system, through the transition to Socialism. This is the urgent appeal of the Socialist Party to the working class in particular, who are most vitally concerned, and to the rest of the public in general, who must ultimately benefit by the change.

Intelligently class-conscious labor organizations, com-
bined in a federation of industrial unions, are another indispensable wing of the Socialist movement. Without them, their power and influence, a purely political victory can easily be an abortion. The industrial union must educate and prepare the workers for the operation and management of the industries in the interests of all society.

The Co-operative movement, likewise, renders invaluable aid in the rehearsal of the cast that will play the leading roles in the next act of the world drama. So that the Social Revolution will not be a tragedy, the working-class must prepare with speed and dispatch!

No disorganization of our forces or hesitation on the part of our leadership should be tolerated. The determination that springs from the courage of conviction must steel us for the task ahead. The knowledge of the righteousness of our cause, the forces that are unconsciously developing our way and the inevitable character of the coming society must cheer us on to our duty.

Wake up, fellow workers! Yours is the mission to inaugurate the next social order! In the inspiring message of Marx and Engels, go forward. "You have nothing to lose but your chains, and you have a whole world to gain."
The Crying Need of the Day

By EUGENE V. DEBS

Need I say to my comrades that the crying need of the day is ORGANIZATION?

The war almost destroyed the Socialist party in the United States. That is one of the chief aims and inevitable effects of modern wars.

The party survived, but it was shaken to its foundations and stripped clean of everything that could not resist the shock. The test was a crucial one and the membership, though shattered, was purified and strengthened. The real revolutionary comrades stood true and saved the party, and now they have to rebuild it on a secure foundation and more powerfully and staunchly than before.

And this is now the crying duty of the hour!

Will you take hold now, and stick to the job, and do your part?

I appeal to you!

Attend the meeting of your local and plead the urgency of Organization!

If your local is weak, build it up and thereby help build the needed Organization!

If your local went down in the cyclone, rebuild it as another unit in the party Organization!

Build up the local, build up the state, build up the national party organization!

We should have a hundred thousand members again soon after the sun of the new year lights the world.

Take hold, comrades; I appeal to you, in the name of our beloved cause!

Take hold because you are a socialist, and know your duty, and have the will and energy to perform it.

Do it and do it now!

Ours is the liberating movement of the ages.

It is consecrated to the cause of the oppressed.

It bears the scars of a thousand defeats but it grows stronger and braver and more invincible through them all, and it will never lay down the weapons of its peace-loving crusade, never cease its holy war until its triumph is complete and sets the whole world free!
This Department is maintained by the workers of America for the sole purpose of enlightening the masses. Co-operation in education and organization will bring complete industrial and political freedom.

The important phases of the struggle of the workers throughout the world for supremacy will be covered by this Department through leaflets and pamphlets. The literature of the National office is selected for the prime purpose of educating and organizing the workers of America to the point where they will intelligently end the vicious system of exploitation that keeps seventy-five per cent of the American people engaged in a bitter struggle for mere existence.

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