A Nation Divided

OR

PLUTOCRACY

Versus

DEMOCRACY

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

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PLUTOCRACY VS. DEMOCRACY

I. A HOUSE DIVIDED.

The United States cannot hope to exist part democratic and part plutocratic. It is impossible for two huge social forces like democracy and plutocracy to divide the field between them. There is no such thing as compromise. The issue must be met and decided, once for all. There will be discussion and compromise on the details, but on the main issue compromise is impossible, unthinkable.

The conflict between the South and the North over the slavery issues was like the present conflict between democracy and plutocracy. The greatest statesmen of the day tried compromise. There was the Compromise of 1850; there was the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. Both sides labored. Each was willing to give and take. But neither was willing to concede the one fundamental point without which negotiation, diplomacy and compromise were mere wasted effort.

Was the principle of slave labor or of free labor to rule in America's economic life? That was the question. Abraham Lincoln, democracy's champion in that struggle, put it squarely up to Judge Douglas in the debate at Alton (October 15, 1858). "That is the real issue. That is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between the two principles—right and wrong—throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time, and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity, and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, 'You work and toil and earn bread and I'll eat it.' No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle."

Once more liberty's world old challenge to tyranny sounded across the years and the eternal struggle between right and wrong swept up and down the land. Was an outworn, discarded form of economic life to con-
tinue in America or was "freedom of contract" to be accepted? The issue was fundamental. It had to be met and settled.

War was by no means inevitable. The slaves might have been bought and freed by the government. But whether the issue was settled, barbarically, on the field of battle, or intelligently and wisely in legislative halls, settled it must be, and settled in favor of the social system that promised most for the happiness and nobility of the human race. When there was arrayed, as in this case, an outlived, discredited form of social life, against a new, vital and apparently superior form of life, there was only one way in which the conflict could end.

Slave Labor or Free Contract?
That was the issue that became the gordian knot of Nineteenth Century American statesmanship and that was cut by the sword.

II. DEMOCRACY OR PLUTOCRACY.

The issue between democracy and plutocracy cannot be compromised. Democracy is man power; plutocracy is dollar-power. Either we must put the dollar above the man or else we must put the man above the dollar.

There are many instances in which we can do both, and there are not wanting a goodly number of old women of both sexes who are still confident that this can be done permanently. It was possible while the issue was clouded by other questions. Inject the tariff, or prohibition, or the religious issue, or the money question, and for the time being this conflict between the democracy and the plutocracy for the control of the United States sinks into a position of relative unimportance. The issue is there, however, and it will remain there so long as there is the difference, which the profit system necessarily maintains, between the contents of the pay envelope and the price of flour and shoes.

Classes are developing with dizzying speed in the United States, not because anyone wills that they shall develop, but because the abyss that yawns between those who work for a living on the one hand and those who own for a living on the other, is so broad and so deep that even the "fools and blind" are becoming aware of its existence. Once let its presence dawn upon the great mass of mankind, and the issue will take the center of the stage.
Years passed before the slavery issue came to a head in the United States. The early agitators—like William Lloyd Garrison—suffered indignities and were outlawed by the respectable people of the community. The time came, however, when the sale of men and women for profit was an issue of such dramatic power that no one could escape it. There were those in the days before the Civil War who believed as many believe today that the matter could be hushed up, if people would only stop talking about it. Judge Douglas took this point of view and pressed it hard in his debates against Lincoln. Lincoln met him fairly on the issue with this reply:

"Is it true that all the difficulty and agitation we have in regard to this institution of slavery springs from office-seeking, from the mere ambition of politicians? Is that the truth? How many times have we had danger from this question? Go back to the day of the Missouri Compromise. Go back to the Nullification question, at the bottom of which lay this same slavery question. Go back to the time of the annexation of Texas. Go back to the troubles that led to the Compromise of 1850. You will find that every time, with the single exception of the Nullification question, they sprung from an endeavor to spread this institution. There never was a party in the history of this country, and there probably never will be, of sufficient strength to disturb the general peace of the country. Parties themselves may be divided and quarrel on minor questions, yet it extends not beyond the parties themselves. But does not this question make a disturbance outside of political circles? Does it not enter into the churches and rend them asunder? What divided the great Methodist Church into two parts, North and South? What has raised this constant disturbance in every Presbyterian General Assembly that meets? What disturbed the Unitarian Church in this very city two years ago? What has jarred and shaken the great American Tract Society recently, not yet splitting it, but sure to divide it in the end? Is it not this same mighty, deep seated power that somehow operates on the minds of men, exciting and stirring them up in every avenue of Society,—in politics, in religion, in literature in moral, in all the manifold relations of life? Is this the work of politicians? Is that irresistible power, which for fifty years has shaken the government and agitated the people, to be stilled and subdued by pretending that it is an exceedingly simple thing, and we ought not to talk about it? If you will get everybody else to stop talking about it, I assure you I will quit before they have half done so.
But where is the philosophy or statesmanship which assumes that you can quiet that disturbing element in our society which has disturbed us for more than half a century, which has been the only serious danger that has threatened our institutions,—I say, where is the philosophy or the statesmanship based on the assumption that we are to quit talking about it, and the public mind is all at once to cease being agitated by it? Is it not a false statesmanship that undertakes to build up a system of policy upon the basis of caring nothing about the very thing that everybody does care the most about?—a thing which all experience has shown we care a very great deal about?” (Alton, October 15, 1858).

How little has the issue been changed! How similar is the situation that confronts the United States today! The contest between those who work for a living and those who own for a living has not been clear-cut in the past. It is so new, so unexpected in this land of liberty, that the mass of people do not yet believe in its existence, or, if they do, they are confident that it can be cured by an act of Congress. The time is coming,—and that right soon,—when the American people will see the issue.

III. CHATTEL-SLAVERY AND WAGE SLAVERY.

THE ECONOMIC issue today does not differ in any considerable degree from that which existed in the early years of the Nineteen Century. The South held solidly to her time-established system. The North was developing, rapidly, in the wake of the Industrial Revolution that had transformed Great Britain. The old and the new continued for a time, side by side, and then new challenged the old to combat; and the old was overthrown.

Today the American plutocracy is following in the wake of British Imperial development. Exploitation and parasitism are the key-words of the movement. But, stay! a new idea has dawned—the idea of social and industrial democracy. It has transformed Australasia; it has spread over Europe; wiped out the old tyrannies in Russia; it has permeated even into Britain herself, with her time-established system of economic individualism. The idea is winning—the world over. Social and industrial democracy is coming. The new idea challenges the old.

The issue is here and there is no compromise. Bear that in mind. Never forget it for a moment.
There is no compromise!

Compromise will be attempted as it was in the case of slavery, but compromise cannot succeed. The slave owners said they would compromise, but they could not. The plutocracy cries out its desire for unity—but social unity built upon economic conflict is like a fire built on the heaving bosom of the ocean.

Notice how similar are the issues presented by chattel slavery a hundred years ago and the issue presented by wage slavery today.

Under the system of chattel slavery which prevailed in the United States up to 1863, one man owned; another worked. The owner was master. The worker was slave. The master labored, the master took the product of his labor and gave him back enough to provide food, clothing, shelter and a little leisure and recreation—the simple necessaries of life.

The slave owner was master because he owned the worker—the slave. The power of his ownership gave him the first fruits of the slave's labor.

Under the system of wage slavery now prevailing in the United States one man owns; another works. The owner is the respectable, well-to-do “capitalistic” part of the community. The worker today labors; the capitalist takes the product of his labor and gives the worker back enough to provide food, clothing, shelter and a little leisure and recreation—the simple necessaries of life. With this one exception that where there is a powerful trade-union, the capitalist gives the worker what he must, and then charges the higher labor cost into the price of the product which this and other laborers must buy.

The master owned the slave, who was compelled to work for him in order to live. The capitalist owns the job, without which the worker cannot possibly maintain life under the present social order. Thus the job-owner is still master; just as the slave owner of sixty years ago was master.

The slave owner was willing to feed, clothe and house the slave. In fact there were many owners who prided themselves on the kindness and gentleness with which they treated their slaves—the members of their own families scarcely fared better. There were other slave owners who treated their slaves well for the same reason that they treated their horses well—because they were sufficiently intelligent to see that it paid. Then there were a number of slave owners who were barbarous in their treatment of the slaves. It is undoubtedly true
that kind treatment was the rule and brutality the exception among the slave owners. Most people treat their dogs kindly; only a few mistreat them. Kindness is more frequently met with than brutality because more people are dominated by kind than by brutal instincts. In the final analysis, however, whether treated well or badly, the notable fact about the Southern Negroes was that they were slaves.

The capitalist is willing to pay a wage that will feed, clothe and house the wage earner. In fact there are many capitalists who pride themselves on the cordial personal relations that exist in their establishments. They treat their employees as well as they do the members of their own families. There are other capitalists—and the number is growing rapidly—who treat their workers well for the same reason that they treat their horses and machines well—because they are sufficiently intelligent to see that it pays. Then there are a number of other capitalists who are barbarous in their treatment of their workers. Cases of good treatment are the rule; cases of mistreatment the exception, for the reasons already noted. In the final analysis, however, whether treated well or badly after they get their jobs, the fact remains that the American wage-workers must go to the capitalists and get permission to work at the jobs which the capitalists own before they can make a living for themselves and their families—in other words, they are vassals of the capitalist.

The average slave owner was willing to do anything within reason, except free the slaves. The average job-owner is willing to do anything within reason, except let go of the job. As Tolstoi so caustically remarked,—”The rich are willing to do anything for the poor, except get off their backs.”

The slave wanted the necessaries of life, but more than that, and better than that, he wanted liberty—that is, the thinkers among the slaves wanted liberty, because they had a vision of its possibilities. They believed that “no man is good enough to rule another man without that other man’s consent,” and they wanted a chance to say who would be master. There was no such thing as compromise. Either they were slaves or else they were freemen. There could be no middle ground.

A like situation exists today in the struggle between the plutocracy and the democracy.

The worker wants the necessaries of life, but more than that, and better than that, he wants liberty—that
is, the thinkers among the wage earners want liberty, because they have a vision of its possibilities. They believe that "no man is good enough to rule another without that other man's consent," and they want a chance to name the job-master. There is no such thing as compromise. Either they are sovereign in matters of general public concern, or else they are not. There can be no middle ground.

IV. WHO SHALL RULE?

The people of the United States, or the owners of the United States must control the affairs of the country. Compromises will be as futile and as ephemeral in the solution of this issue as they were in the solution of the slave question.

If the people control, a man will have a say in public affairs because he is a man, just as a woman will have a say in public affairs because she is a woman. The matters which are of concern to the people will be settled by the people, because they are people. This is democracy.

If the dollars win, men and women will have a say in public affairs because they are rich. The richer they are the more say they will have. Wealth will be of greater importance than people. Property rights will be sanctified; human rights ignored, except in so far as their enforcement bulwarks property rights. This is plutocracy.

The idea of democracy is as far from the idea of plutocracy as the East is far from the West. Democracy rests on the idea of service; plutocracy rests on the idea of profit. Democracy aims at equal opportunity; plutocracy aims at special privilege. Like oil and water, the two ideas cannot mix.

The people of the United States are facing this issue today, in the case of the railroads. Shall they be owned by the plutocracy, maintained as a form of special privilege, managed by the wealth interests, and run for profits, or shall they be owned by the democracy, maintained as a means of transportation and communication, managed by the community and run for service? The same issue will come up sooner, or later, in the case of every industry in the country.

Democracy aims at equal opportunity. Plutocracy aims at special privilege. The two ideas are in eternal
conflict, for the triumph of one means the overthrow of the other.

The issue between them is one of principle, just as slavery was an issue of principle. The slave owners argued that the slaves were well fed, clothed and housed, which was utterly beside the point, because the slaves, no matter how they were treated were still slaves, and the issue was one between slavery and freedom. The capitalist today points to good wages, short hours, sanitation, welfare work, which, though admirable in themselves, are wholly foreign to the argument, since the issue is one of sovereignty—in America shall people rule or dollars?

The struggle continues and must continue until one of the contestants is destroyed.

If the job-owners win, they will perpetuate the system of special privilege under which one man can say to another,—"You work and toil and earn bread and I'll eat it."

If the workers win, the owners will be compelled to go to work for a living, because under democracy, "he that will not work, neither shall he eat."

The conflict is on in the United States. It is raging at this moment. Now and again it breaks out in strikes, lockouts, riots, petty revolutions. No matter what its form the fight is a fight to the finish, because no community can endure part plutocratic and part democratic.

V. THE TRUMPS TO THE PLUTOCRATS.

The contest between the democracy and the plutocracy for the control of the United States is being waged with most of the high cards in the hands of the plutocrats. They have been in a position of such peculiar advantage that the rapid transformation from the old age of small shopkeepers and individual job-owners into the new age of big business has placed many of the vital forces of life in their possession. Chance and the wind have favored a few, who, because of this favor, have been hurled into position of pre-eminent authority.

The rapid sweep over a new continent gave the plutocracy its hold on the country's resources. Nature had been so generous! The wilderness seemed so inexhaustible! Possession was so natural and so inevitable that no one paused to think or even to look until the favored few, who had possessed themselves of the great body of nat-
ural opportunity, were discovered in the act of hogging what was left.

The people of America had called for a king. Circumstances gave them special privilege, and like the frogs in the fable, they were shouting with childish glee over their good fortune, when they suddenly discovered that their king was devouring them.

The plutocracy gained its possession of the resources because it was the natural—the easy thing. Fate beckoned, and the plutocracy sprang, full fledged, from the circumstances attending the double-quick conquest of a continent.

Had the resources been less rich and abundant, had the time been longer and the difficulties greater, the story would doubtless be a very different one. But as the land lay, the plutocracy was able to develop its economic spurs over night.

The lightning sweep of the American people across the continent gave the plutocracy its grip on the natural resources. The revolutionary transformation in industry guaranteed its control of the productive machinery.

The plutocracy professes a horror of revolutionists. If Edison, Steinmetz, Jones, Ford, Taylor, Rockefeller and Hill were to serve a year in prison for every revolutionary twist that they gave to the productive mechanism, they would have spent their entire lives behind the bars. The last few years have witnessed paroxysms of revolutionary change in every phase of business life from the construction of tools and machinery to the keeping of costs and the direction of the productive units.

The wizards of industrial activity have changed the structure of business life even more rapidly than they have conquered the wilderness. True sons of their revolutionary ancestors, they have cut and slashed, remodeled and built anew with little or no regard for the old, and guided only by a fever of desire for the conquest of new worlds and the amassing of ever growing fortunes.

The speedy economic development of the country, with its rich resources and its manifold industrial improvements has gone hand in hand with a rapidly growing population, and has resulted in an immense increase in wealth.

Revolution are the stalking grounds of predatory power. Napoleon built on the French Revolution. Cromwell on the revolution against tyrannical royalty in England. Revolution spells opportunity for the man waiting
to climb into the saddle of special privilege and irresponsible authority.

Peaceful times give little opportunity for the ambitious schemer. Institutions are well rooted; customs and habits are established; life is regulated and held to earth by the established framework of society.

Revolution comes—fiercely, impetuously, uprooting the institutions, overthrowing the customs, bearing old habits from their resting place. All is uncertainty—chaos, when, lo! a man on horseback gathers the loose strands together saying,—“Good people, I know, follow me!”

He does know! But woe to the people that follow him!

Yet, what shall they do? Whither shall they go? How? When? Who can be relied upon in this dark hour?

The man on horseback rises in his stirrups—speaking in mighty accents his message of hope and cheer, reassuring, promising, encouraging, enthusing all who come within the sound of his voice. What wonder that the people follow where he leads and beckons?

The revolutionary changes in American economic life during the past few years have given the monopolist his special privilege and his autocratic power. He was the man on horseback, quick, clever, shrewd, farseeing, persuasive, powerful. Through the course of these revolutionary changes, the Hills, Goulds, Harrimans, Wideners, Weyrehauesers, Guggenheims, Rockefellers, Carnegies and Morgans did to the American economic organization exactly what Napoleon did to the French political organization—they took possession of it. This should occasion no surprise. On the contrary, it was the most natural thing in the world. The people had no idea what was happening. They were unacquainted with social values. Their experiences gave them no clue to the gigantic structure of business organization that sprang into life within one generation. They had no idea of social sin. They were still mulling over the ten commandments of individual “don’ts.” Their eyes and ears were filled with the sights and sounds of an individualistic regime when the deluge of modern industrialism burst upon them.

The people were taken aback. They protested and struggled. Leaders arose who analyzed and explained. The people began to comprehend and to make headway against the new problems of public business, when the
great war struck, like a bolt from the blue, and all was chaos again.

Patriotism and sectionalism were substituted for intelligence and enlightenment. Hate replaced knowledge; organized force played havoc with human solidarity. People gasped, struggled, struck out blindly, protested. The night of ignorance hung over the lands.

Only in the office buildings, the stock exchanges, the banks and the business houses, the light of understanding burned brightly. Not for half a century had the fields been so ripe for harvest, and never, perhaps, in the annals of recent economic development has the plutocracy made a more intelligent use of its opportunities. During those hours of uncertainty, the plutocracy strengthened its hold on the job; secured a firmer grip on prices; piled up surplus wealth to its credit; strangled the free expression of opinion; enlarged its grip on the machinery of government and bulwarked itself more impregnably than ever against the wrath to come.

VI. JOB OWNERSHIP—THE JOKER.

JOB ownership is the big card of the plutocracy—the joker in the pack of economic advantages. School, press and pulpit unite to persuade the modern worker that he is a free man. He has liberty of contract. He may vote. His rights are safeguarded by constitutional provision and statutory enactment.

That is the joker. The worker is given freedom, and that very right—the right to work for a living—places him at the mercy of the man who owns the job with which he must work in order to live.

The rights that have been guaranteed, thus far, are political rights. The real power of the modern community is economic and so long as that remains true political rights are merely phrases for judicial interpretation and forensic exposition. They have no body and no soul.

The law of the modern world is,—“Work or starve.” For a few the law realis,—“Own and enjoy,” but they are the exception. The great mass are subject to the other command.

The worker may boast certain political rights, but even these the job owner may annul by prescribing the limits beyond which the job taker may not go.

There is no limit on the amount of industrial property that one man may own. Therefore there is no limit on the number of jobs he may control. It is possible (not
immediately likely) that one coterie of men might secure possession of enough industrial property to control the jobs of all of the gainfully occupied people in American industry. If the result could be achieved, these tens of millions of workers would be able to earn a living only in case the small coterie in control permitted them to do so.

Thus far the movement toward the concentration of job-ownership in a few hands has been very rapid. As it has progressed, the abyss between job owner and job taker has widened. The corporation; diffused stock and bond control; absentee ownership; the huge size of industrial units; the growth of financial power, all have helped to de-personalize economic relations, at the same time that they have strengthened the hands of the job owners.

Job ownership goes to the bottom of life—no job, no food.

By setting the conditions on the job, the job owner can limit life's outlook rigidly.

The job-owner holds the chief power in the apportionment of income. The worker must sell his labor. The job owner need not buy it today. The job taker is therefore at a woeful disadvantage.

The job taker must take a job if he is to live in the modern economic world. He must take what offers. A common laborer with a wife and four children, who cannot possibly live on less than a thousand dollars a year in the modern city cannot wait until that thousand is forthcoming. If he did, he and his family would starve to death. He must sell his labor where he can and at the best terms that he can make.

Hunger drives from below. The fear of want and the lash of social emulation and rivalry push from above. The job taker, wage earner, clerk and salaried man leap frantically into the crush of humanity and give their lives struggling there. Above them hovers the job owner—with his fingers on the resources, the franchises and special privileges, the tools and the credit of the community—the monarch and the sovereign of the modern economic world.
VII. THE OWNERSHIP OF THE PRODUCT.

The industrial monarch holds control of the job with one hand. With the other he apportions the product of industry. He exploits the worker on one side. On the other he gouges the consumer.

There is a theory that since all values are labor values, the worker alone may be exploited. Unfortunately for the theory, the facts point pretty conclusively to an exploitation based on the monopoly of the product.

Here, for example, are two coal fields. The one produces soft coal, the other anthracite. The same amount of labor power goes into the production of each ton of coal, but while the soft coal industry is competitive, the anthracite industry is monopolized. The soft coal therefore sells for $3 and the anthracite for $5 a ton. The extra two dollars is the toll taken in monopoly profits by the monopolists.

An illustration may be taken from the coal industry. Soft coal is selling for $2.50 a ton at the mine. The miner is receiving 70 cents for each ton that he digs. Industry speeds up. The demand for coal grows rapidly, and the selling price of the coal jumps to $5, while the worker gets no increase in wages. The difference between the two prices—$2.50—represents the accelerated demand for coal, and the consequent monopoly power in the hands of the coal owners.

While industry was competitive, the pressure of competition kept prices at a cost level and the exploiting power of the owner was confined to the job holder. Today industry has largely ceased to be competitive and the exploiting power of the job-owner is extended to the product user.

The modern town-dweller is almost wholly at the mercy of the private owner of the products upon which he depends. The ordinary city dweller spends two-fifths of his income for food; one-fifth for rent, fuel and light, and one-fifth for clothes. Practically the entire supply of these things is in the hands of private profiteers. Food, houses, fuel, (with the exception of the gas supply in some cities), and clothing are privately owned and sold at a price that will yield the maximum profit to the owners.

The public ownership of streets and water works, of some gas, electricity, street cars, and public markets, is a negligible factor in the problem. The private monopolist is in control, and he is in a position through the control of transportation, storage, and merchandising facilities, to gouge the consumer savagely.
THE plutocracy is doubly entrenched. It owns the jobs upon which most families depend for a living. It owns the necessaries of life which most families must purchase in order to live. Further, the plutocracy controls the surplus wealth of the community.

Those who seek to justify the present system of job ownership cannot deny that the big surplusses go to the plutocracy. They are forced to admit that the railroads, public utilities, large manufacturing enterprises, prosperous real estate ventures, and other forms of business enterprise carry hundreds of millions in surplus and special funds, which may be used for fees and salaries, and which in some cases have been used for bribery and corruption. It requires no argument to prove that a man with an income of a million a year and personal expenditures of a hundred thousand has an annual surplus of nine hundred thousand. In 1916, 120 people in the United States admitted that they had incomes of a million or more a year. The income tax returns, and the various investigations of business and public utility activities have furnished an abundance of conclusive evidence. “That is all true,” the apologists admit, “and let us grant it, but the real surplus of the community is provided by the wage earners, small salaried men and farmers who deposit their money in the banks and who take out insurance policies and shares in building and loan associations.”

Then it is the wage earners and the small salaried people and farmers who inaugurate thrift campaigns and work their lips off to sell insurance? No, it is the banks and insurance companies that do these things. Why? Think a moment. It is because when the wage earner, the small salaried man, and the farmer puts his money into the bank or the insurance policy, he has placed it under the control of the plutocracy.

The bank depositor does not control his deposit. The policy holder does not control the doings of the insurance company. Theoretically, in the case of mutual companies, he does. Practically, as everyone familiar with the financial world knows, the business interests—the plutocracy—are in absolute control of the surplus that arises from the business of banking and insurance.

When the capitalist wishes to start a new project, he goes to the bank and borrows the money placed there by the small depositor, and the lending is in the hands, not of the depositor but of the banker. Big business, which talks so glibly about “risk” and “venture” has
built its power by risking and venturing the money saved and stored away by the small fry all over the country.

The billions of surplus wealth that come, each year, under the control of the plutocracy, carry with them an immense authority over the affairs of the community. The plutocracy owes much of its immediate power to the fact that it is in a position to direct the flow of this surplus into such channels as it may select.

IX. THE CHANNELS OF PUBLIC OPINION.

NO ONE can question the control which the plutocracy exercises over the jobs, the industrial product, and the economic surplus of the community. These facts are admitted on all hands. The corollaries which flow naturally from these axioms of present day economic life are not so readily accepted.

Many people are slow to believe that the plutocracy exercises a large measure of control over the channels of public opinion. Yet the fact remains and its explanation is not far to seek.

The channels of public opinion—the school, the press, the pulpit,—are not directly productive of tangible economic goods, yet they depend upon tangible economic goods for their maintenance. Whence should these goods come? Whence but from the system that produces them, through the men who control that system? The plutocracy exercises its power over the channels of public opinion in two ways,—first, by a direct or business-office control; and second by an indirect or social prestige control. Both forces are powerful and they work hand in hand.

The business office control is direct and simple. Schools, colleges, newspapers, magazines and churches need money. They cannot produce tangible wealth directly, and they must therefore depend upon the surplus which arises from the productive activities of the economic world. Who controls that surplus? The plutocracy. Who, then, is in a position to dictate terms in all business matters? Who, but the plutocracy?

The facts are incontrovertible. It is not mere chance that makes the overwhelming majority of school-board members; college trustees; newspaper managers and church vestrymen successful business and professional men. It is necessary to work through these men to secure the "sinews of war." They are in the positions of power because they control the sources of wealth.
The second method of maintaining control—through the control of social prestige—is indirect, but none the less effective. The young man in college, the young graduate looking for a job; the young man, rising in his profession and the man gaining prestige in his chosen career are brought into constant contact with the influential men of the business world. It is the business world that dominates the clubs and the vacation spots; it is the business world that is met in church, at the dinner table and at the social gathering.

The man who would "succeed" must retain the favor of this group. He does so automatically, instinctively or semi-consciously,—but he does it;—it is the thing that everyone else does and he falls in line.

The plutocracy need not necessarily bribe. It need not resort to illegal methods in order to control the professions. The ordinary channels of advertising, of business acquaintance and patronage, of philanthropy and of social intercourse clinch the power of the plutocracy over the channels of public opinion.

X. THE CONTROL OF POLITICAL MACHINERY.

The American government,—city, state and national,—is in almost the same predicament as the schools, newspapers and churches. It does not turn out tangible, economic products. It depends, for its support, upon taxes which are levied in the first instance, upon property. Who are the owners of this property? The plutocracy. Who therefore, pays the bills of the government? The plutocracy.

It is not necessary to stop here and inquire whether the tax is not ultimately shifted to the consumer. The immediate source is certainly the property owner, who takes it for granted that the law should be administered in his behalf. The result? A government maintained, primarily in the interests of the propertied.

The naive citizen hears with astonishment so seasoned a veteran of the political arena as Mr. Elihu Root asserting that there is in this country a visible government of politics and an invisible government of business which controls the visible government through its handy man, the political boss. Surprising? No! After reading the revelations published by Lincoln Steffens and his co-workers, of the manipulation of municipal politics in the interest of business, it is quite a matter of course, and it becomes even more commonplace, if one reflects that the
money for the support of the capitalist political parties and party machinery must come from those who control the surplus wealth of the country—the plutocracy.

Woodrow Wilson, student of history and of political institutions, goes to great lengths in characterizing the control exercised by Big Business over Governmental machinery. In his "New Freedom," pages 57-58, he says, "The masters of the government of the United States are the combined capitalists and manufacturers of the United States. Suppose you go to Washington and try to get at your government. You will always find that while you are politely listened to, the men really consulted are the men who have the biggest stake—the big bankers, the big manufacturers, the big masters of commerce, the heads of railroad corporations and of steamship corporations. Every time it has come to a critical question, these gentlemen have been yielded to and their demands have been treated as the demands that should be followed as a matter of course. The government of the United States at present is a foster-child of the special interests." Again (page 35) Mr. Wilson sums up the situation in these words—"An invisible empire has been set up above the forms of democracy."

This is the direct control exercised by the plutocracy over the machinery of government. Its indirect control is no less important, and is exercised in exactly the same way as in the case of the channels of public opinion.

Lawyers receive preferment and fees from business—there is no other large source of support for lawyers. Judges are chosen from among these same lawyers. Usually they are lawyers who have won preferment and emolument. Legislatures are made up mostly of lawyers and of business men, or the tools of lawyers and business men. The result is as logical as it is inevitable.

Laws, constitutions, court decisions and the whole structure of the government is built to bolster and safeguard property. It is the plutocracy that stands to win no matter which way the political wind blows.

The plutocracy controls the machinery of government because it puts up the taxes and the campaign funds of the capitalist parties. It controls public officials because they have been, are, or hope to be on its payrolls or participants in its profits. The plutocracy is in the saddle—the saddle of economic and social power and privilege. Irresponsible power and special privilege have always proved hard riders.
XI. THE CONTROL OF OPPORTUNITY.

THE plutocracy thus controls opportunity. In place of an equal chance in the race of life being open to all, on equal terms, special privilege is enjoyed by the chosen few. These few are only too often chosen, as they were in the dark ages of European Feudalism, by the chance circumstances of birth.

The choice spots on the earth—the timber, minerals and fuels—the centrally located land in the cities and the industrial regions; the tools and machines upon which large scale production depends; the machinery of credit; the franchises and special privileges are in the hands of a very few. They enjoy the fruits of this property while they live, and at their death they pass the property on to their descendants—without regard for their ability or their worth.

Opportunity is the breath of life for most human beings. Without it they get nowhere. With it men and women of mediocre talents take places of brilliant authority and hold them successfully.

Opportunity is essential. The opportunity to be well born, the opportunity for a good time; the opportunity of sufficient food, clothing, shelter, air and sunshine; the opportunity to grow up among congenial surroundings—whether natural or social; educational opportunity; economic opportunity; opportunity for contact with living deeds and vital people,—all of these and many more phases of opportunity shape the mold of life.

Speaking in terms of economic life, the most important form of opportunity is an income sufficient to provide the necessaries and simple comforts of existence. With such an income goes a relief from the most primitive phases of the jungle-struggle.

The importance of leisure, as an element in achievement, has been well pointed out by Lester F. Ward in his "Applied Sociology." There Ward shows how the presence of leisure has inspired achievement.

The plutocracy of the United States has a means—property or ownership income—of securing leisure without working for it. Under the system of property income payment that the plutocracy has helped to evolve, those who own may live, without work, on the proceeds of the labor performed by others. By this means the plutocracy secures the leisure of the community for itself. By the same means, it confines the leisure to itself, because leisure is based, almost necessarily, upon the ownership of property.
The elaborate system of protective social machinery that is thrown about property—the legal, social and industrial provisions that guarantee its security—are, in the final analysis, the protection which the plutocracy erects about its leisure. Without these defenses, ownership income would be insecure. With them ownership income is guaranteed and perpetuated.

The step from leisure to culture is a short one. Men and women, in the hurly-burly of life have no time for the massaging and manicuring opportunities that accompany assured income and surplus wealth. Study, travel, converse with learned men and women, researches into the arts and literatures, come only to the fortunate ones who are relieved from the immediate brute struggle for existence.

The man fighting for bread has little time to “turn his eyes up to the eternal stars.” The western cult of “efficiency” makes no allowance for philosophic propensities. Its object is product and it is satisfied with nothing short of that sordid goal.

The members of the plutocracy are relieved from the food struggle. Their ownership of the social machinery guarantees them a secure income, from which they need make no appeal.

The plutocracy, because it owns the jobs, the industrial products, the social surplus, the channels of public opinion and the political machinery, also enjoys the opportunity that goes with adequate assured income, leisure and culture.

XII. THE PLUTOCRACY POSSESSES THE EARTH.

The plutocracy is in the saddle. The earth is theirs, and the fullness thereof. They and their children possess the land.

They hold in their hands a key—property ownership—which opens the structure of social wealth. They are the blessed ones. Theirs are the things of this world.

The plutocracy enjoys the fleshpots today. They hold the vantage points. The vital positions are in their hands. Economically, politically, socially, they are supreme.

If the control of material things can make a group of people secure, the plutocracy is secure. They hold property, prestige, power.
A disinterested outsider, coming into the world and watching the contest between the plutocracy and the democracy, if he put his trust in riches would inevitably conclude that the plutocracy had won the game—for good. If, on the other hand, he believed that “the battle is not always to the strong, nor the race to the swift”; if he had heard intelligently the prophecy, “not by might, nor by power,” he might be willing to turn from this orgy of materialistic worldly authority to examine the trump cards of the democracy.

XIII. SOME DAY—

THE trump cards of the democracy are good cards if they are used. Some of them are very strong, but little understood. The democracy is ignorant of itself and of its own right. Its strength is rough, crude, unorganized.

The people will win in the end. Finally the well-being of men and women will be placed above the profit on investments. The man will be put above the dollar—some day. The time is coming when the production of human happiness and nobility will be considered the most exalted enterprise in which any group of people can engage. The people will triumph finally because their contentions are founded on sound principles of human life.

Some day—some day, the democracy will be established. The victory may take ten years. It may take a thousand. The fight may be fought to a successful finish by the people of America, of Europe or of Asia. There is no time, no place and no people that are ordained to win the victory for democracy, but the time, the place and the people that witness that victory will see one of the turning points in the history of the human race.

Democracy will win only when the people set out to win. Democracy will triumph when the people champion their own cause. The people alone can set the people free.

Hence the message,—“When you will, peoples of the earth—in your own time! Study, understand, struggle, return invincible to the conflict. But be sure that the passing years will see your cause advancing,—inch by inch—your trenches creeping up to the trenches of plutocracy; your mines and sappers undercutting their breastworks. When you will, democracy, and in your own good time!”
XIV. THE GREATEST NUMBER.

The democracy is the people—the common people—the pack, the mob, the herd. The democracy is the mother bosom and mother heart of the human race. The joyful, sad, yearning, suffering, longing, despondent, hopeful, fearful human race is made up principally of the common people. Neither good nor bad, neither high nor low, neither saints nor sinners, the great body of mankind lives its life.

The ideas and ideals of the centuries center about the common people. The cry for democracy is the cry of the common people.

“The greatest good to the greatest number” means their number. They are five-sixths of the community.

“Majority rule” means their rule. They are the majority.

“Government of the people, by the people, for the people” means their government. They are the people.

If democracy means anything, it means that the people shall manage public affairs in their own interest and for their own advantage, with special privilege for none and equal opportunities for all.

The plutocracy smiles patronizingly. It filches leaders from among the people and enters their names upon its own payroll. It dominates and controls economic, social and political life. It directs public opinion through its control of the schools, the press and the pulpit. It trains the machine guns on the mob, where necessary. But when someone speaks of the time when the people shall rule, it scoffs derisely.

Listen, plutocracy, to the sighing of the winds of progress over the pages of recent history. Do you catch the ground tone? Do you hear the one deep, plaintive note that swells and surges, and then sinks into the great silence. “Brotherhood—humanity—mankind—brotherhood—humanity—mankind—brotherhood,” do you understand? Each time the note swells, it swells a little louder. Each time it drops into the silence, the silence is a little shorter. The human ear is responding to its cadence. The human heart is making a place for its uplifting power. “Brotherhood—humanity—mankind—brotherhood.” Plutocrats! heirs of property, prestige, power—The meek shall inherit the earth! The plain people, the common run of mankind will triumph, because they are the greatest number; because they understand the cadence and respond to the soul-notes of “brotherhood.”
If there is any destiny that is observable in the affairs of men, that destiny seems to point to the time when the people—the great, unenlightened, inarticulate, exploited body of common people—will see with their eyes; will hear with their ears; will affirm their rights; will rule the earth!

When you will, common people. When you will—in your own good time. The earth is yours, you make it. Enter in,—when you will.

XV. SERVICE.

The democracy has the numbers. In the end, the numbers will win the victory. Numbers is the big trump of the democracy. No less significant is the service that the plain people render.

Life is built upon service. All of the things that are enjoyed; all of the things that are possessed; all of the necessaries, comforts and luxuries; all of the wealth, leisure, knowledge, art, philosophy, is built upon service—the thing done by one person and enjoyed by another.

From those days—now many tens of thousands of years in the dim past—when the female first learned to care for her offspring; when men first learned the hunt in packs; when the members of the family and the tribe first learned to stand by one another for mutual benefit—from that day to this, life has been built upon service—upon the things that one human being does for another.

He that is greatest among us must be the servant of all. Prometheus was great because he brought fire to men; Minerva was great because she taught men wisdom; Hiawatha was great because he instructed his people in the arts of war and peace; Pericles was great because he advanced learning; Socrates was great because he spoke truth; Washington was great because he helped to give his fellowmen liberty. It is because of what they did for their fellows that the great men of history have been esteemed. He that would be great must serve.

The greater the service, the greater the leader. Those who have performed the greatest service have always been venerated as the greatest among the leaders.

Parasitism in every form is doomed to failure, because it violates this law of life. The parasite says to his fellow,—“You work and toil and earn bread, and I’ll eat it.” He demands service, giving none in return. He is a failure from the beginning. He takes without giving. He absorbs without returning.
Job-owners, who live without labor, upon the labor of other people, through the ownership of the jobs with which these other people must work, are flying in the face of the universe. They are deriding life. They are seeking to perpetuate an existence for which they need not pay. They are trying to establish perpetual social motion.

The workers of the world are those who perform its service—the great mass of common-mankind and woman-kind. Their backs are bent over their toil; their faces are lined; their figures are gnarled, twisted, distorted; their hair is streaked with gray, but they live—ardently, vigorously, fiercely. Day by day as they labor and serve, they are depositing in the bank of the ages the coin of human experience. Day by day they deposit. The time will come when they will present their pass-books and demand payment in full.

This is the language—the truth—that they speak.

"We have fed you all for a thousand years,
And you hail us still unfed,
Tho' there's never a dollar of all your wealth,
But marks the workers dead.
We have yielded our best to give you rest,
And you lie in crimson wool;
For if blood be the price of all your wealth,
Good God, we ha' paid in full!

"We have fed you all for a thousand years,
For that was the doom, you know,
From the days when you chained us in your fields,
To the strike of a week ago.
You ha' eaten our lives and our babies and wives,
And we're told it's your legal share;
But if blood be the price of your lawful wealth,
Good God, we ha' bought it fair!"

There is never a mine blown skyward, but we're buried alive for you,
There is never a wreck drifts shoreward now but we are its ghastly crew;
Go reckon our dead by the forges red and the factories where we spin,
For if blood be the price of your accursed wealth,
Great God, we ha' paid it in.

The democracy deposits, deposits in the bank of life.
The plutocracy draws out, draws out,—but some day—.
Today property, prestige, power are the open doors to respect. The time will come when this will be recog-
nized and understood—that he that is greatest must be the servant of all. Then respectability will be based on service and he only will be entitled to respect who serves his fellows.

XVI. THE KEY TO KNOWLEDGE.

The first two cards of the democracy are the all important ones of numbers and service,—all important because the development of social life seems to be away from the jungle struggle of competition toward co-operation and mutual helpfulness.

"Brotherhood" sounds better to the human heart than "property, prestige and power." The more men think, the deeper they go into the philosophy of life, the more clearly do they understand that the power of the heart and the mind are infinitely greater than the power of the heel and the fist. The currents of civilization seem to flow toward brotherhood. The impulses of life seem to press toward service. Brotherhood and service will be the foundation stones of that society that is to be—that world-democracy of the future.

These things are known to those who have read, thought and wondered about life. The developments of the past few centuries have pushed the democracy rapidly toward its final triumph. In this movement the greatest single factor has been the free school.

The open book gave learning to those who could read. But all could not read.

The open public discussion gave enlightenment to those who could understand. But only a few had the training that would give them understanding.

The people of a democracy must read in order to understand. They must understand in order to register intelligent decisions and to survive as a democracy. Hence the immense importance of the free school in which all of the children of all of the people receive a training that opens their eyes to life.

The movement for free public education has spread over America and over the world. First the primary school, then the grammar school, later the high school and finally the university have been made a part of the public educational system. To these schools all may go. To the lower schools all must go. Education—the special privilege of the few—has become the supreme right of all mankind.
The school takes the growing child from his mother's knee. First of all he must grow well—in body, in mind, in spirit. Next he must be made into a human being who can associate successfully with his fellows, in the home, the neighborhood, the work shop, the city, the world. Last, he must be prepared to take up some vocation in life, the pursuit of which will yield him a living. The school, organized to prepare and assist children to live effectively, must meet all of these needs.

Besides the school, there are abundant other avenues of educational activity. The library, the lecture platform, the newspaper and magazine, the theatre and picture play, pamphlets, tracts and propaganda from organizations of all descriptions, help toward a wider, more complete understanding.

The people cannot all be scholars. There is no necessity for that. But they can all be intelligent upon the great issues of life.

Literacy—the ability to read and write—is not an end in itself—far from it—but it is one of the indispensable tools with which the structure of democracy is built.

XVII. THE NEW LEISURE.

The leisure which modern life has brought has not gone to the plutocracy alone—the people in every walk of life are enjoying some of its fruits.

The leisure which the wage-earner secures is sometimes of very doubtful value. The speed of industry increases 25 per cent, while the ten-hour day replaces the day of twelve hours. The industrial pace increases another 25 per cent, while the hours are reduced from 10 to 9 a day. Another 25 per cent increase in the pace and the day is reduced to eight hours. The gain in working time has been more than offset by the growing demands of industrial life.

Leisure must be more than free time, if it is to be of value. It must be a leisure of energy as well as a leisure of hours.

The twelve hour day, in a modern factory, is as dark as darkest Africa from a social point of view. The worker in the twelve hour shift has scarcely the time to speak to his family or to enjoy his friends. The eight hour day may be even darker from the health point of view if it deprives the eight-hour worker of his energy to such a degree that he cannot maintain physical health under this eight hours of high-speed industrial effort.
The decreases in hours from the old eleven and twelve to the modern eight and nine hour shifts has meant free time. Whether it has, likewise, meant energy for study and thought, only the future can decide.

The present day efficiency of industrial production makes possible a relatively large amount of leisure. It is probable that a four or five hour day, for all persons of producing age and capacity, would create enough wealth to provide everyone with all the necessaries and most of the simple comforts of life. Each step in enhanced efficiency increases this probability.

The world produces enough, and more than enough to feed, clothe, house and educate all of the sons and daughters of all of the people. The possibility is there. When will it be realized? Only when the people, speaking through an invincible organization, insist that it shall be so.

XVIII. THE TRUSTEES OF DEMOCRACY.

The common people have an immediate, direct contact with life. They taste realism to the full. They know more about thorns than about roses, but they know life.

The reactions of the plain people are largely emotional or instinctive—not complicated by the fierce pressure of the vested interests which play so large a part in the thinking of our time.

This life with the world has taught the people to hate oppression and injustice and to love a square deal. They believe in justice. They yearn for truth. When a new gospel is heeded by the common people,—when they hear it gladly,—the learned do well to listen to its message, because out of the depths of life experience, the common people know.

The common people make up the body of the human family. The joys, sorrows, pleasures, pains, hardships and triumphs of the race are the joys, sorrows, pleasures, pains, hardships and triumphs of the plain people.

The common people are the trustees of the ideals and aspirations of the race. From among them flow the fierce, red currents of strong life. The hope of democracy lies in the people—for the most part in the poor people—who have always carried the remainder of the world upon their backs.
"Ye who think yourselves wise, shall perish through ignorance;
Ye who think yourselves benevolent, shall perish through greed;
Ye who think yourselves strong, shall perish through weakness;
Ye who think yourselves virtuous, shall perish through sin.

"Take not opinion from the world of these;
Go to the founts of human nature in the average man,
Taste for yourself, judge for yourself;
Find there the ingredients of life, humanity, society, the world.

"And do you know, if truth survives, it lives among the poor;
If any truth shall come, it shall appear among the poor."

XIX. THE POLITICAL RIGHTS OF DEMOCRACY.

LIKE the ability to read and write political rights are mere machinery. They are not an end in themselves, since they arrive nowhere. At the same time they are a great step in the right direction.

Political rights are the expression of sovereignty. They are not sovereignty, and they may be exercised in such a way as to vest sovereignty in the hands of political spoilsmen. The franchise is not necessarily an advantage. Only in case it is wisely used, can it be a power for the advancement of human well-being.

Political rights are indispensable in a society organized on political lines. They are like the pipes in a water system. Without them no water system is possible. With them and without the water, the system is merely an empty shell.

The European peasant, illiterate, and without the machinery of political rights upon which the American democracy rests, is deprived of two essential weapons in his struggle for liberty. At the same time he may enjoy greater liberty than the literate American citizen. The display of political intelligence of the people of Russia illustrates the point.

Sovereignty in a democracy rests absolutely with the people. They have the final decision—they are the last authority on every issue of public policy. If the people wished to do so, they could rewrite the Constitution; abolish the usurped power of the Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional; confiscate such private property as it needed for public uses, and put all of the job-owners to work for a living by taking all rent, and interest for social purposes. There is no limit upon the things that the citizens of a democracy may do if they so choose. On the other hand, they need do nothing, if they do not choose to exert themselves.

Democracy signifies free choice. The citizenship in a democracy is free to make or mar the public life.

Political rights are of immense potential importance. They are worthless unless they are used. Used, they are the means that enable the citizens of the democracy to assert their sovereignty.

The common people of the United States, who are the vast majority of the population, have the right to vote. Let these people once understand their power; let them know that when they decide to abolish industry for profit and every other form of special privilege, then and only then will it be abolished; let them realize that by selecting from among themselves representatives who have his point of view and delegating them to overthrow the plutocracy, they can set up a government that will place human rights above the rights of property; let them vision a world made safe for democracy by their effective opposition to their real enemies,—the plutocracy in every land, and the work of winning the world for democracy is well begun.

XX. INDUSTRIAL ACTION.

The common people of the world have another means of asserting their power—through industrial action. The beginnings of industrial democracy may be found in the industrial union which is gaining so rapidly over the old craft union.

The craft union was jealously exclusive. It was originally organized to protect a small group of workers who were engaged in a particular craft. None of the workers outside of this one craft were allowed to join the craft union.
Crafts have been disappearing in recent years. The craft is merged in the large, organized, specialized industry, which, in turn, is sub-divided into a myriad of lesser occupations.

The disappearance of crafts makes the position of the craft union untenable. With the economic basis of its craft in the melting pot of industrial specialization, the craft union goes to the scrap heap of outworn, discarded social institutions.

The logical organization for the workers in a specialized, large scale industry is the industrial union,—that is, a union open to all and on equal terms. Such an organization gives each man an equal say in an industry,—an equal say with all of his fellow-workers.

Many of the leaders of the labor movement go even farther, insisting that all workers, no matter what industry they may be engaged in, should belong to one great organization in which working class solidarity is the watchword, and in which the interests of all of the workers present a united front to the organized plutocracy.

"In union there is strength." The plutocrats know that, and they have organized in every direction, and with a thoroughness and efficiency that are menacing the very existence of democracy.

The common people do not yet understand the importance of solidarity. When they do, they will stand, shoulder to shoulder, electing their own kind of political office; fighting side by side with their own kind in the industrial field; educating, organizing, preaching and practicing the doctrine of each for all and all for each.

The common people of the United States have numbers; theirs is the life of service; they can read and write; they are securing leisure; they have the spirit of liberty; they have political rights, and the beginning of industrial democracy.

The plutocracy has property, prestige and power—the things of the present are all in their hands, but tomorrow will dawn and then—then the democracy may be awake to its possibilities.

The big cards of the democracy are potential ones. They may be used if only the people will. The democracy has in its grip all of the machinery for the establishment of popular sovereignty—if it will!
THE DEMOCRACY and the plutocracy are struggling for the control of the United States—of the Western World. The issue is clear cut—people against property; men versus dollars.

The plutocracy is in the saddle with property, prestige, power. The democracy—the rank and file of men and women—with numbers and service and the burning upward pressure of human life, is demanding the earth as its heritage. Day by day, year by year, the contest grows fiercer. The plutocracy is determined to hold its power; the democracy is out to win!

The indomitable spirit of youth is with the democracy. The young people are rising in protest, and the cry of their resentment against things as they are sounds across the land.

An immense fund of enthusiasm is latent in the souls of these young men and women. It is not for nothing that there has been a tremendous change in school and college courses from the classics to social science. It is not mere chance that is leading tens of thousands of high school and college students to do their major work and carry the chief line of their interest in history, economics, sociology and politics. These subjects are intensely human; they have a vital, gripping appeal; they point the way to better co-ordinated, more satisfying relationships between the members of the human family. Democracy's hope lies in the proper education of these ardent, idealistic, youthful souls.

The same force is working everywhere. Young lawyers, ministers, teachers, journalists, scientists, and literary men are revolting against the time worn grooves of predatory life and demanding an opportunity to make a society that is truly social.

These young people, in school and in the early years of their professional careers, are named legion. They have faith, hope, enthusiasm, ideals, and they are rapidly evolving a purpose to have these ideals realized.

Look well, O Plutocracy! Examine carefully the premises that lead all these young, hopeful ones—these symbols of the future—to side against your established order of life. There is no more portentous sign in the social universe than their indifference to you and their enthusiasm for the democratic society that is to be.
XXII. WHAT ARE THESE PREMISES?

THE young men and women of the United States who are trained to intelligent thinking see the structure of present day society toppling under the pressure of a great world crisis. Many of them believe that they feel the agony accompanying the death throes of the capitalist system. Understanding social problems, they realize that they must live for the next thirty years in a world for the conditions of which they are at least in part responsible, and they intend to devote their energies to making the best possible world for themselves and for their descendants.

The conditions surrounding the world crisis compel the men and women of the younger generation to view largely and seriously the world life in which they must participate.

A study of society shows that old institutions inevitably break down, only to be replaced by newer and more vigorous institutions, which are constructed along the lines of a wider social experience. The older generation is satisfied with the older institutions; the younger generation, shaped in its thinking by the drastic experience of the past decade, can never be satisfied with anything less than a reconstructed social world.

The young people are convinced that economic forces are fundamental; that economic changes must precede, or at least accompany every form of social change, and therefore they have turned their attention to the economic reconstruction of society. In the present order, they recognize the relics of a past era of economic life. Before them they see the possibilities of a new order built along more enlightened and more social lines. The old order has rested upon competition—the law of the jungle. The new order must rest upon co-operation—the law of civilized society. This co-operation must reach to the foundation of social life. All of the economic machinery—resources, factories, banks, mercantile establishments,—that is organized socially and used socially, must be socially owned and socially controlled otherwise the exploitation incident to the present economic system must inevitably continue.

The power exercised by the rulers of present day economic society depends primarily on their ownership of the productive machinery and on their control over the economic surplus. This control gives them a substantial
power over every phase of human activity. So long as one small group of individuals, responsible to themselves alone, is permitted to wield this power, society cannot be free economically, socially or politically.

The owners of the nation's wealth must be the people who depend upon that wealth for an opportunity to work and for the necessaries of life. All of the economic power exercised in society must be exercised only when it is delegated by the citizens—the workers—who make up the vast majority of the individuals in economic society.

The masters of economic life will not abdicate. They will continue their rule, they will add to their power and they will bulwark the "invisible empire" until all can see and feel its might. Against this menace, one thing and one thing only will avail. That is, the conscious, intelligent solidarity of the workers. This solidarity must show itself industrially and politically. Industrially in the form of industrial unionism—politically—in the form of party activity. Each worker must expect to stand shoulder to shoulder with his fellows on the political field just as he stands with them shoulder to shoulder on the industrial field. Then, as in England, the Socialist Party and the Labor Congress will meet in common council to determine the policies upon which they must act and to prepare for the final measurement of strength with the plutocracy.

The workers must stand shoulder to shoulder with a solidarity that is international as well as national. The most powerful of all international movements today is International Socialism. Every man and woman who belongs with the movement and works for it, has a part in the mighty organization that is lining up the workers of every land to strive for the common end, brotherhood based upon the foundation of a co-operative commonwealth.
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The only way is—ORGANIZATION. Join the Socialist Party. Pay dues and attend meetings regularly. Face Forward! Fall in line! Keep in step with the millions of Socialists who have consecrated their lives to make living WORTH WHILE.

And, by the way, we are talking to YOU.

WE WANT AN ANSWER! WRITE US TODAY.

NATIONAL OFFICE SOCIALIST PARTY
220 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

When we're divided, we're derided, and we must cringe and crawl,

But when UNITED, wrongs are righted, and justice comes to all.