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BY

LAURENCE GRONLUND, G. C. CLEMENS
AND G. A. HOEHN.

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SOCIALIZING A STATE

BY

LAURENCE GRONLUND.

It is possible to convert a state of our Union—not into a fully Socialist Commonwealth, but into a body that decidedly will be an approach to it.

What pleases me in the Social Democracy Colony scheme, and makes me heartily commend it, is its ulterior and principal idea to capture a state politically, and afterwards through legislation and constitutional amendment to socialize its institutions.

But in all undertakings it is necessary to know our limitations; and hence we should here be aware that it is impossible to introduce complete socialism in a State—that is, to do away with the competitive regime or even compete private enterprise out of existence—as long as exists our present federal constitution and the present Supreme Court to interpret it.

But we can bring a State to the threshold of Socialism, and this may be of immense benefit to our cause, to our nation, and to the world. Certainly it would be perfect folly if we Socialists did not make full use of that feature in our system of government which is the main contribution our people have made to the science of government,
to wit: Our federated system of Commonwealths, which permits us to make political, social and economic experiments in one State for the benefit of the rest.

The American people are by nature empiricists; they like nothing better than to make experiments. Innumerable such experiments in law making have already been made by this or that State, and the others have been awaiting the results—like the so-called "Dispensary Law" of South Carolina. Albert Shaw, of the Review of Reviews, says on this subject: "In the Western States there is ever a readiness, which is even amusing, to try experiments which would vastly extend the sphere of the State and limit private enterprise."

Again, we ought to bear in mind that the closing years of the century is the best possible time for us to exert ourselves. The competitive regime is rushing to its destruction, not on a straight downward road but in a wave-like line; at present we are on the top of the last wave: Prosperity has set in, but in a few years we shall have harder times than our people ever experienced before. Let us utilize this breathing spell!

There are, as I conceive it, seven grand measures which will bring a State to the threshold of Socialism, which are within the jurisdiction of the State, and which will be far from "amusing" to our capital holders, to wit: State productive work for the unemployed; effective Trade Unions and Obligatory Industrial Arbitration; State management of the liquor traffic; State control of mines; Municipalization of lighting, electric power, street-cars and the telephone; State savings banks and loan offices, and compulsory education of children from four to fourteen years, with kindergarten and manual training methods; besides, as an adjunct to these, a State income tax.

Of the e institutions I look on State productive work for the unemployed as by far the most important, and contend that it is perfectly practicable. But note, that it
is strictly with the class of the unemployed that we are concerned; it is for them we are making provision. Now an “unemployed” does not mean a man who cannot work or will not work, but means precisely one who both can and will work whenever he gets a chance. Note again, that it is productive work that is required. The unemployed should be divided into two classes of skilled and unskilled men. Set the latter to work on the streets and the roads, but the former should be assigned to their various trades as far as practicable. A man should never be set to do work that he cannot do well; it is degrading that a skillful watchmaker should be made to saw wood.

Do my readers know that there is still a law on the statute books of Pennsylvania, 120 years old, to this effect: “When a citizen of this State is out of work, the overseer of the poor shall furnish him with raw materials, with tools and a workshop?” Enact and enforce such a law and a State can immediately banish the real cause of hard times from its borders.

Of course the very first objection that will be raised, is: What is the State to do with the products of all that labor? Where is a market to be found for them? Ah, that is just the beauty of this project, that no market is needed. The unemployed will furnish a market among themselves, ready at hand, from the instant of their gathering together. They will all be hungry, of course; very naturally there are bakers to be found among them, or men that readily can be turned into bakers. Provide them with flour and ovens and let them bake bread for the whole party. Most of them are shoeless; there are shoe-makers among them. Give them leather and tools and they will go to work and make footgear for all. So with clothing, with hats, with everything they need or may want;—the plan is, in other words, that these unemployed shall work in order to relieve each others' necessities. Whenever their wants are fully satisfied, and a continuance of their industry will evidently result in a
useless surplus, why then they reduce their working hours—a most natural remedy.

"But who is going to pay for all this?" will of course be asked. In answer I remind you of the definition I gave of the unemployed—an able bodied man who is glad to work whenever he can find work to do. Such an "unemployed," I contend, can always earn enough to maintain himself and family, and also re-imburse the State for all its outlays. This re-imbursement, and payment even of a moderate interest on these outlays, can easily be made up from the earnings of the unskilled (on the roads of the State) who are supposed to be supported from the labor of the skilled workmen.

But the State must make an advance. To be sure it must; and this advance must be raised either by borrowing or by taxes. Please, however, to bear in mind that these means have to be created only once for all; there will be no yearly drain, no loss of resources, since we have supposed that these unemployed restore to the State its whole outlay every year, which thus will be available every ensuing year for the same number of beneficiaries. If, now, bonds be issued, all that the State virtually will do is to lend its credit, for the unemployed defray the interest. But suppose a tax be necessary? Then I suggest that nothing can be fairer than a State income tax.

I have no doubt that the measure will be met by this suggestion: "So you advise our State to invite the tramps from the whole country to come here and actually swamp our people?"

This objector forgets that it is not tramps we are concerned about, but unemployed men. At present tramps lead a comparatively easy life, because kind-hearted people know that there are thousands of good men who cannot find work, from whom the real tramps cannot be easily distinguished; but when these people know that an opportunity is open to every one willing to work, they will cease to feel pity for every way-fareing fellow, and the
consequence will be that the tramps will give that State a wide berth which introduces public employment. On the other hand, can the State be swamped by really useful people? Every one of our States seems rather proud of making a good showing every census year in regard to an increased population. I should say that any State would and should deem it a great benefit if public employment should make it one of the greatest and most populous among its sister States.

I know full well that there is one final, stubborn objection—the reason why the Pennsylvania statute was never enforced—to wit: That, though the State productive work need not interfere with private employers, it yet is totally opposed to the spirit of private enterprise and the competitive regime. That is true, and that is why Socialists would insist on it until they can do better. The spirit of this miserable profit mongering will not allow any poor fellow to earn a living for himself and family unless some other man can make a profit out of him. It is for the sake of profit that employers carry on their enterprises, and when they can no longer make their accustomed profits we have seen them, during the last few years, shut down their factories and close their shops. But when Socialists become strong enough, then the State will step in and say: "Gentlemen, when you so uncercemoniously abdicate your functions then I will step into your shoes and perform your duties. I am ready and able to do this, for I, the State, care nothing at all for profit, but only for my citizens having steady employment and decent rewards."

The other measures or institutions recommended are of such importance that I shall have to defer their consideration to another time and shall devote the rest of this paper to effective Trades Unions and Obligatory Arbitration. Surely these in themselves are of sufficiently great importance; the State that can present the others with a model worthy of being copied will deserve and obtain a
great measure of respect and credit. Of course, neither the one nor the other of these institutions will be an element of the Socialist State; but both are of vast importance as transition stages from the present competitive system to the co-operative commonwealth. All thoughtful students of sociology know that our working men owe their comparatively short hours and comparatively high American wages to the Trades Unions; and all thoughtful Trades Unionists know that if they are to maintain, still more, if they are to improve their present status, they have to keep up with the trusts. They know further, that the trusts will go on developing till very likely by the year 1910 all industrial activities will be under the control of trusts, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific—and by the way, this is a fact not to be regretted by Socialists, for it is simply playing into the hands of Socialism. When a business has become a trust it is ripe for Socialist control. But this has convinced these Trades Unionists that they must aim at one national syndicate of labor; that is to say, there must finally be one national organization that will control the whole labor force of the country. Hence, the union men, have in advance of other citizens, become imbued with one part of Socialist ethics. They look upon a working man as positively immoral who stands aloof from his fellows and refuses to enter the union of his trade. But I am confident that this ideal of theirs, a national syndicate of labor, can never be realized by the unaided efforts of workingmen. The law must help them; when Socialists get in control of a State legislature they must pass laws that give the Trades Unions a privileged status, thus—as has been said in a very high-flown style, but very truly—"incorporating the working classes into the constitution of their country." That is to say, in plain words, after it has been ascertained that the Trades Unions are really democratically organized, the law of the State must somehow persuade every workman to join his union or assembly; that is, must provide all
possible motives that may induce him to do this from motives of self-interest, and on the other hand it must be made as disadvantageous as possible for him to remain outside; and the most effective way to accomplish this undoubtedly will be to grant to the union the high privilege of finally determining all purely labor questions for the men in a given trade, whether they are outside or inside; in that way making the union or assembly the legal representative of the workingmen and placing them on an equal footing with the most powerful employers.

We shall find on consideration that such effective Trades Unions are a sine qua non of a satisfactory system of Industrial Arbitration. Everybody admits that strikes are now worthless, and Public Opinion is coming vigorously to demand that strikes and lockouts shall cease. Moreover, Prof. Henry C. Adams is surely right when he says: "The establishment of Arbitration is the first step towards the overthrow of the wage system."

But the voluntary arbitration we know so well will not do at all. The arbitration embodied in the law of a majority of our States and in the federal statutes, seems enacted in conscious mockery of the wage earners. This is the way it works: When the strike occurred on the New York Central Railroad, and the State board of arbitration met to mediate, the vice-president haughtily dismissed them with the remark: "There is nothing to arbitrate, gentlemen!" Precisely the same answer was afterwards given by officers of the Carnegie Company to the arbitration board of Pennsylvania in the Homestead strike. No, there is but one effective remedy, and a Socialistically inclined State legislature must apply it; that is, institute Obligatory Industrial Arbitration. No matter if this name be a contradiction of terms, it is the thing itself that is important. What is meant is, that a law be passed giving the State board of Arbitration power and making it its duty, not to invite anybody before it, but to summon both employers and the employees, both whenever a strike or
lockout breaks out, or is even threatened; and after hear-
ing the evidence to adjuge the equities between them, as
now courts adjudge contracts; that is, determine what
employers can afford to pay and to do and what working-
men can afford to take and to suffer. Of course, the cry
will arise: "Impracticable! If the decision be against
the employees, how in all reason can they be compelled
to go on and work against their will? If against the
employer, how compel him to carry on his business per-
haps at a continuous loss?" Easily enough. If it be
against the employees, let them have a few days to consider
and make up their minds; if finally they conclude that
they will not work on the terms laid down, then let the
employer be at liberty to employ new men, but not before.
If against the employer—well, in that case there is no
necessity to keep his factory running, but if he chooses to
go on he must conform to the decision, i. e., he must do
what all know is equitable.

Note, however, that all these propositions can never
show their best effect until Socialistically inclined men
get hold of the national government and establish govern-
ment banking and a real department of labor (like that of
Switzerland) in place of our present department of statis-
tics and labor.
Definitions do not teach doctrines, sciences, or philosophies; they teach only the meaning of words. One might read the most scientific definition of electricity and still not know enough to avoid a live wire. The most perfect definition of astronomy will not teach us to predict an eclipse or locate a comet. Definitions of Socialism are vain abstractions, which convey absolutely no meaning to the uninitiated. Socialism itself must be explained. But it should be so explained that it may be readily understood in a few minutes. The busy reader should not be left to absorb its meaning from the perusal of a large volume which presents the arguments for Socialism, rather than Socialism itself. Let people first understand clearly what it is they are to read about before they are asked to read books. Most people have not time for voluminous reading; yet, otherwise than by definitions or by elaborate books, who has tried to answer the plain question, so often asked by intelligent and interested people, "What is Socialism?" These people do not yet inquire whether it would be desirable, or whether it is practicable, or for a plan for carrying it into practical operation; they wish to know what
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it is, reserving other inquiries until that shall have been answered.

The object of the following Primer is to simply answer that question, leaving all else to more ambitious works. I shall neither advocate nor defend Socialism. I shall merely tell the busy reader what it is. This is not a treatise, but only a primer.

SOCIALISM'S OBJECT.

The struggle, renewed day after day, to acquire the means of maintaining physical life can not be called living. Only after his bodily wants are supplied and leisure has been given him can man begin to live. We do not live during the hours of drudgery we undergo in obtaining the means of keeping ourselves alive. It is in our evenings, our Sundays, our vacations, that we really live. What, then, under existing conditions, does even the longest human life amount to? How many years—how many days—does one actually live between the cradle and the grave? To the vast multitude of civilized mankind life is but a struggle to-day to win the means of giving strength to struggle again to-morrow, for the means to struggle again the next day, and so on through all the years till death. The pursuit of knowledge, the cultivation of the beautiful, the enjoyment of the fellowship of kindred souls—these, instead of being the principal affairs of life, are things apart. The energy of mind and body is devoted to the one purpose of securing the means of living—if, some day, we should chance at last to find time to live and be still capable of living.

The man who turns from this mad whirl of "business" and seeks his life in rational pursuits; who retires to solitudes at times to revel in dreams of beauty; who lives the life of the heart though he be a vagrant for it—in short, the genius—is looked upon with pity as an impractical fellow, or, with anger, as a lazy vagabond. Yet, when a Shakespeare
wishes to ravish the worldly mind with a vision of a happy life, as in "As You Like It," he draws a picture of this very "vagabond" existence—paints a picture of a life where "business" would be an impertinence. Surely, not the man who would change existing conditions to something happier is the Utopian—the dreamer—but rather the man who expects a fast waking world to consent to always drudge and never enjoy. Is a happy life possible? Easily so. Socialism is a practical plan for making possible a happy life. That is Socialism's only aim. To accomplish this aim we need only change the motive and the management of the industries which provide for the maintenance and enjoyment of physical life. We need change nothing else. Socialism proposes to change nothing else.

ITS MISSION PURELY ECONOMIC.

To the maintenance of civilized life, food; clothing, and shelter are indispensable, and, in these latter days, the use and enjoyment of certain conveniences—railways, telegraphs, telephones, gas and electric illumination, and the like—greatly contribute to the comfort of physical life and its enjoyment. Food must be not only produced, but prepared; and this requires mills and fuel. Civilization requires that shelter shall not be simply some rude contrivance for keeping out rain and cold, but that it shall possess some beauty, be supplied with light and heat and water, and many other conveniences, and be cozily furnished. In these modern days, light heat and water are, in cities, supplied from central plants. The use is individual, but the sources of supply are public. Rural homes might just as well be supplied with light heat and water in the same way, if the plants were for the convenience of the people instead of for making profits for a few men.

For the construction of houses, building materials of various kinds are required—stone, brick, lime, lumber, hardware, paint, varnish, and so on. In order to supply
clothing, and many things needed to make homes comfortable and beautiful, raw materials must be woven into fabrics in factories. Grain must be ground in mills to make it food. Iron must be taken from the mines and be put through proper processes, and then be fashioned in foundries and mills, in order to produce hardware. To produce lumber, trees must be felled, and be smoothed and fashioned by machinery.

The various articles of food, and the raw materials from which to make clothing and the things to make homes cozy or to adorn them, are not all produced in any one locality—a provision of nature, meant, perhaps, to compel the world to be fraternal. Lumber must be brought from the forests; iron from the mines. Grain must be carried across States or continents, or even across vast oceans. Coffee, tea, and many things of use or of beauty, must be brought from far-off lands. Hence, railways, canals, steamboats and steamships are, in our day, indispensable instruments for transporting and exchanging commodities, and for thus enabling people everywhere to enjoy all the needful or pleasurable things afforded by the industry of all the world.

But it is not enough that commodities shall be produced, or procured by exchange; there must be some convenient means of distributing to individuals and to households the things thus accumulated. There must be some system of storage and distribution which will enable individuals and families to draw supplies as needed, or every home must be made a warehouse. Hence, we have markets, stores, coal-yards, delivery wagons, and retinues of clerks; and, in this process of distribution of commodities, the telephone plays an important part in cities, as it should in the country, too.

Observe that all the things I have rapidly enumerated contribute to the maintenance or enjoyment of physical life. I have not alluded to schools. I have not mentioned churches. I have been silent about asylums and hospitals.
I have said not a word about the treatment of criminals. Nothing has escaped my pen concerning painting, sculpture, music or literature. I have not referred to morals. I have said nothing about marriage. I have suggested no regulations for the private lives or the homes of men. Nor have I said one word against private property in homes, furniture, horses, books, pictures, or any of the belongings of individuals or of families. I have spoken of only the means used in enabling people to enjoy comfortable, happy, civilized, physical life; for these are the only things with which Socialism has to do. It proposes that every human being, able and willing to do his share of the work society needs to have done, shall be absolutely assured the means of keeping alive and of enjoying to the full his physical existence. There its mission ends. What he shall do with his life, how he shall live it, are matters with which Socialism has nothing to do. Its domain is economic. It invades not the domain of mind or soul. It crosses the threshold of no man’s home to peer, to spy, or to regulate.

**ITS ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLE.**

Socialism itself is only the contention that production, distribution, exchange, and public conveniences—the means of providing for the maintenance of physical life and of rendering it enjoyable—should be managed by the people themselves for the sole purpose of providing themselves with the things required for the maintenance and enjoyment of physical existence. In other words, Socialism is the proposition that all such means of providing for the maintenance or enjoyment of life should be managed co-operatively; and what is it, after all, but the proposition that such things as I have mentioned shall be used for their natural and legitimate purposes?

Let us look closer at this principle. It requires that the sole object of raising food shall be to enable people to
eat; that the sole object of making shoes shall be to enable people to be shod; that the sole object of making fabrics shall be to enable people to be clad; that the sole object of building dwellings shall be to enable people to have homes; that the sole object of operating street cars shall be to enable people to ride, and so on. At present food is raised, shoes are made, fabrics produced, houses built, and street cars operated, for the sole purpose of *making money*. The farmer does not raise wheat to provide people with bread; he raises it to *sell*. So of all production. The farmer does not know nor care where, nor by whom his wheat will be bought or eaten, nor how much will be needed, nor who else is raising wheat; he raises his crop for that indefinite and uncertain thing—"the market." Shoes are made and fabrics produced without the slightest knowledge of how much of the fabrics or how many shoes will be needed by the people; nor does one manufacturer know what other manufacturers are doing. Each producer, or each group of producers, hopes to supply "the demand" and exclude competitors. Production goes on blindly, till "the market" is glutted, and the manufacturers are forced to cease production and undergo "a period of industrial depression" until protruding toes create a demand for more shoes and discarded garments create a demand for more fabrics. Then there is another blind rush of production—"a season of prosperity"—till the market is glutted again. The principle of Socialism requires that an estimate shall be made of the quantity of wheat which will be required for food, seed, and insurance against scarcity from uncontrollable causes, and that just that quantity shall be raised; that shoes enough shall be produced to keep the people shod, and that fabrics enough shall be manufactured to keep the people clothed; and that there shall be neither "periods of industrial depression" nor "seasons of prosperity," but an equable, constant production of what is likely to be needed. This much of the principle has been already
applied to some extent by trusts, and it will doubtless be applied to all production, including agriculture. The trouble is, however, that trusts are not governed in production by the quantity of things the people will need, but by the quantity they are likely to be able to buy. The object of the trusts is to make things scarce, in order to keep up the price—to make money out of the people who can buy—while the principle of Socialism requires that the object shall be simply to supply everybody with the things produced, and not make men and women work needlessly producing more to be wasted or to rot. Your baker does not work because he is worried lest you should have to go hungry. He hopes you will be hungry and be forced to buy his bread. He is not working to enable you to eat; his sole object in baking bread is to make money. The principle of Socialism requires that bread shall be baked solely that people may have it to eat, without a thought of any other object. Private companies operate street cars, not to enable you to ride, but to collect fares. The principle of Socialism requires that street cars shall be operated for the sole purpose of enabling you to ride, not to get rich off your fares.

Must it not be admitted that, unless the chief end of man is to make money, this principle is the only rational principle upon which to carry on the functions essential to material existence and enjoyment? Why do men wish to make money? That they may have the means of living? This principle would insure all a living. The object of money-making is either inequality or to make sure of an independence—of getting beyond the reach of dreaded poverty. The majority of people seek to make money—

Not for to hide it in a hedge,
Nor for a train-attendant;
But for the glorious privilege
Of being independent.

This independence, this being placed beyond the reach of want, this freedom from care and the dread of rent day,
Socialism would bring to all; and, having done a reasonable share of the work to be done, no man nor woman need worry about the morrow; the morrow would take care of itself. Bradley-Martin balls would probably not be fashionable, for people would think them insane. But ostentatious waste of wealth and the distinction it gives would be the only privileges men and women would have to give up were the principle of socialism adopted by society.

THE PRINCIPLE APPLIED.

In order to carry out this proposal, Socialists deem it necessary that the people shall own the means for carrying it out—land, forests, quarries, mines, mills, factories, railways, canals, steamboats, steamships, telegraphs, telephones, waterworks, water power, electric plants, plants for distributing heat and light, coal yards, stores, delivery wagons, and so on. Socialists do not all claim that the public should own all the land nor all these other things, absolutely excluding the possibility of private industry. A large number of influential Socialists claim no more than that the people should own all they may need of these things in order to supply everyone with a good living.

If the people are to carry on all the processes of production, distribution and exchange, of course the people must work, and, except as benevolence or devotion to science may otherwise voluntarily provide, of course no one can get a living without doing a fair share of the work necessary to be done. Hence, Socialists contend that it will be the duty of society to give work to all. There must be no class of "the unemployed" shut out from the chance to work and live. This would require a great reduction in the length of the working-day; for statistics show that, with the labor-saving machinery we now have, to say nothing of what might be invented by minds freed from harrassing care, were all to work, it would require
but three or four hours a day to supply the greatest abundance of everything for everybody. It is often flippantly said that the farmer's working-hours cannot be reduced. Why not? If farming were carried on co-operatively, could not the farmers work in shifts—a different set of men going to work every three or four hours, while the others would be free for the day?

HOW WILL PRODUCTS BE DISTRIBUTED.

There are divisions among Socialists as to this, but most are agreed that, for his fair share of work in any department, each worker should receive an income equal to a fair share of all the community has to give, and that he should be left to spend that income as he pleases, precisely as he may spend his income now. The income and all he buys with it will be his absolute private property; Socialism ends with providing him the income and the things to buy with it. It pays him for his work, redeems the pay it gives him, and then parts company with him. The government or society must do whatever is to be done with him from that point. Socialism is through. Of course his money, or substitute for money, would represent all men need for physical comfort or enjoyment, and anybody would take it as money is taken now. Opera singers and players could live by their profession as they do now, for people would have means to buy tickets, although opera would not be a governmental institution. With these hints, the reader can work out practical Socialism for himself.

THE AGENCY OF CO-OPERATION.

But how are the people to carry on the processes of production, distribution, and exchange? Shall they organize themselves into associations? They already have a great social machine which for ages men have been un-
consciously fashioning and perfecting to this very end. That great organization is in full operation, and the people have confidence in its stability. Why not use government—municipal, State, national, each in its proper sphere—as the agency through which the people may co-operate with one another? This is precisely what Socialists propose. The Socialism of to-day is very different from the old-time ideal commonwealths with which, from Plato to Fourier, ingenious men entertained themselves and the world. They were plans for complete new States, embracing every department of human activity. Some early schemes of Socialism, notably that of Babeuf during the French Revolution, and that of Saint-Simon early in this century, were equally inclusive. They were communistic, rather than socialistic. Latter-day scientific Socialism proposes no new system of government, for it needs none. Its aim is purely economic, and it can use the existing governments, where universal suffrage permits, precisely as the existing economic system has used them and is using them. So far as Socialism’s programme is concerned, governments where universal suffrage prevails can remain as they are, until changed for other reasons as the people progress. A city acquires and operates a street railway; is the city government thereby dissolved? It adds water-works, gas works, an electric-light and power plant, and a plant for the generation and distribution of heat; is the city government dissolved? What has happened but that the city government, by adding some new departments to the field of its operations, has become of some use to the people? May it not preserve the peace as before? May it not still take drunkards off the streets? Can not the city council meet and do business precisely as if a private corporation still owned and operated each public utility—with this exception, that now there will be something to do for the people? In many countries the governments operate telegraphs, some governments operate lines of railway, some own forests, and some carry on certain industries; yet, do not
all those governments continue to exist, precisely as if no such innovations had been attempted? Socialism is not a scheme of government. It is only a plan to be carried out through government as a convenient agency for the purpose. Some Socialists, while really meaning only this, have said much of "the co-operative commonwealth," as if they contemplated a complete new system of government, and have thereby given an occasional stupid fool of a "patriot" a chance to annihilate Socialism with the powerful argument, "This government is good enough for me!" although it was starving him to death. This is wrong. Government does not need to be made over; it needs only to be used for proper purposes—to be used by all, instead of by a class. It is perfectly consistent with Socialism, fully established, that legislatures shall make laws, and courts construe and enforce them, as now. What shall be done with criminals? Socialism has nothing to do with the question. How will the infirm and the orphan be provided for? Ask government—ask society; the matter is outside Socialism's domain. What about education? Socialism, as Socialism, has nothing to do with it. Socialism will provide a living for those who work for it, and will give all an opportunity to work, and there its mission will end.

Undoubtedly, the indirect effects of Socialism would be happier and more extensive than we can imagine now. The nobility and generosity of people no longer bound to "economize" and cringe in order to keep alive, would create a new environment of education, of morals, of taste, of beauty. Freed at last from the ceaseless fear of want, the harrassing worry about to-morrow's food, or dread of the approach of rent day—with a living absolutely assured—men would, for the first time in history, have a chance to actually live. But, while they are arguments, and powerful ones, for Socialism, these indirect consequences are no part of Socialism itself.

It may be remarked that every Socialist platform con-
tains demands for measures by existing governments—demands which do not pertain to Socialism, but are such as common justice or philanthropy might make. Is it inconceivable that, were Socialism an accomplished fact, there would be room for still further demands of the same general character? I wish the reader to understand once for all, as he can readily understand from the very nature of Socialism as I have tried to explain it, that Socialism contemplates no general "crush of worlds and wreck of matter"; that it proposes to use government, not to destroy it to build anew.

Were the people all assured a happy living, I, for one, firmly believe there would be no further use for prisons and scaffolds; that a world of brothers would know war no more; and that government, as we now understand the term, would cease from

Lack
Of somebody to hew and hack.

It is not to be overthrown. Socialism has use for it, till, with the full establishment of Socialism, its occupation will be gone. For the very reason that they are to use it by and by, it behooves Socialists to see to it that government be made as fit as possible for its coming duties by a reform of the civil service, the adoption of the referendum and the imperative mandate, and, in this country, by freeing the States from the control of the federal courts.
The Social Democracy.

ITS GREAT HISTORIC MISSION AS AN ECONOMIC-POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

BY G. A. HOEHN.

Yes, the time has come for action,
Freedom's voice is heard at last,
Calling to the sleeping nations—
Mammon's minions stand aghast—
And the people's foes shall vanish
Like dry leaves before the blast.

I.

"Strange! That a nation must run through such a labyrinth of trouble," exclaimed noble Thomas Paine, "and that it must expend such a mass of wealth to gain the wisdom which one hour's reflection might have taught."

Every true social reformer fully understands the author of the above lines. One hour's reflection might teach the millions of American wage-workers that to them the highly praised liberty of this republic is a mere *fata morgana*; that liberty without bread, without the means of living, is a farce and a lie.
Bread is freedom, freedom is bread!
This was undoubtedly also the opinion of the fathers of our American Republic when, on July 4th, 1776, they solemnly proclaimed to the world:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident:
1. That all men are born equal;
2. That they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights;
3. That among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness;
4. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed;
5. That, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

If the principles in the American Declaration of Independence are true—and who ventures to assert that they are not?—we must ask ourselves: Where are the inalienable rights of 75 per cent of our people? Where are the impoverished wealth-producer's rights to a decent living? Has our governmental machinery not become destructive of the people's life, liberty and general welfare? Is it not time that we abolish the present government and institute such administration of our public affairs, with such underlying principles as will most assuredly guarantee the people's safety and happiness?

The main principle underlying such a new system of government must be the economic emancipation of mankind: the abolition of the murderous system of wage slavery, and the introduction of a co-operative system of production and distribution,
II.

It is impossible to fully comprehend the great importance of the Social-Democratic movement, and to fully realize the absolute necessity thereof, without knowing the causes that have produced it. In order to clearly understand its aims and objects we must know the economic history of our country.

At the time of the Revolution America was mainly an agricultural country. Modern machinery was unknown. Chattel slavery was generally recognized, and so-called "free labor" almost unknown. There were but few manufacturing establishments where a great number of men were employed; all the work was done by hand. The tailor, the shoemaker, the joiner, the weaver, etc.—all of them were their own employers.

Thus it can easily be seen that a wage working class did not exist at that time, for every journeyman had a good chance to become a master-mechanic, to be his own employer.

The American Revolution not only freed our continent from British feudalism, but it also cleared the way for modern capitalist production and wage slavery. Every student of our country's history is acquainted with the fact that king George prevented the colonial manufacturers from sending their woolen goods, hats, iron wares, etc., from one colony to another, the object being to compel the colonies to do most of their trading with England, and thus make them still more tributary to the king and his British manufactures.

Naturally the colonial manufacturers became the most restless agitators against the rule of king George, because their interests were directly affected by this rule. Every free development of their legitimate business was checked, and they left no stone unturned to get rid of such embarrassing restrictions.
With the victory of the Revolution the economic arena was prepared for the free development of capitalist production. The colonial manufacturers were no longer restricted by any laws; they manufactured as much as they pleased and sold their goods in any part of the colonies wherever they could find a market.

During the early part of the 19th century the steam-engine came more and more into general use, revolutionizing the old manufacturing system and creating the system of modern industrial production. With the introduction of the steam-engine labor-saving machinery began its historic mission of revolutionizing the whole human society. The struggle between human labor and machine labor began.

III.

While, under the old system of production, where every worker could own his tools—his means of production—and be his own boss, or where a manufacturer could employ only a limited number of men, the concentration and monopolization of the means of production was impossible, it was quite different under the capitalist industrial system. The application of the steam-engine, and of labor-saving machines, demands that production be carried on in gigantic proportions. Thousands and tens of thousands of men are employed in one establishment as serfs of one man or corporation, working for wages since they can no longer own the means of production—the tools. In the process of this industrial evolution these men have been expropriated, i.e., they have been deprived of their tools, and thereby forced into serfdom—wage slavery.

Under the old system people produced for use mainly. Under capitalism the production is carried on for profit only. The very moment production ceases to yield profit for the capitalist, the workmen are thrown on the street, free to enjoy the freedom of starvation. This modern
capitalist system, in less than a hundred years, has brought about a division of society into two classes:

1. The class of capitalists, small in number, owning all the means of production, consequently also the means of life.
2. The class of wage workers, owning nothing but their labor power which they must sell to the capitalist in order to live; this class comprises the great majority of the people.

The middle class—the small manufacturers and dealers—is being wiped from the face of the earth; while a few of these middle class people may yet succeed in “climbing up the golden stairs” of capitalism, the rest of their colleagues will tread the thorny path of ruin and bankruptcy and become a part of the vast army of the wage-slaving proletariat. No god can save them; no power on earth can prevent their horrible, deplorable journey. It is the iron law of the economic development.

Necessarily, there must be an everlasting conflict between the class of labor-exploiters and the class of the exploited, the wage workers, because their class interests are just as diametrically opposed to each other as the interests of the highway-robber and the interests of the man who is being robbed. The result of these two conflicting interests is a kind of civil war, a class struggle. The capitalists are ever eagerly endeavoring to extract as much profit out of the bones and muscles and sinews of their wage slaves as possible, while the latter, in order to save their lives, resist and demand better conditions of living. Hence the conflict.

Capitalism itself, by forcing hundreds and thousands of people into one factory, takes the initiatory step towards organizing the wage workers. As the organization of the capitalists is constantly extended and strengthened, so the organization of the wage workers is rapidly growing in numbers and strength.
THREE IN ONE.

While the capitalist class is organizing local, national and international trusts, pools and syndicates, thus concentrating and increasing its power of resistance, the wage working class, by this very increased power of capitalist resistance, are compelled to organize into local, national and international unions, in order to protect themselves against the encroachments of capitalism.

IV.

During the last fifty years of this century our country has passed through an industrial revolution such as the world had never before witnessed. Like a tornado capitalism has swept over the continent, breaking down the barriers that prevented its free development, and tearing out the very roots of all middle class conditions. The proud, independent mechanic, the middle class manufacturer and merchant, the middle class farmer, all have had to make room for the modern capitalist, the king of industry and commerce.

Agriculture itself has become a branch of capitalist industry, wherein the division of labor is being carried out with as much advantage for capitalism as in factories and workshops. Our farmers, formerly the economic backbone of our nation, have been reduced to a vast army of bankrupt "free American citizens," or have been forced into the industrial reserve army.

Prior to the civil war chattel slavery played an important role in agriculture. Owing to the capitalist development, to the unavoidable expropriation of middle class people, and the consequent increase of the "free" wage working class, "free labor" had become so cheap, that it did not pay, in many cases, to employ slave labor. In the industrially more or less developed Northern States the capitalists were opposed to chattel slavery, because they failed to see any profit in it. In the exclusively agricultural South, slave-labour, of course, was still profitable.
The capitalists of the North, who so "generously" advocated the emancipation of the black slaves, were by no means better than the slave barons of the South. Exceptions only confirm the rule. To the capitalist, chattel slavery meant a restriction, inasmuch as the emancipation of the negro slaves opened to him a first class "free labor" market.

As stated before, the object of capitalism is by no means to buy slaves, because this would carry with it the obligation to support the slaves; no, the capitalist buys only the labor power of the slaves for hours, days or weeks, and cares not a particle whether the price paid for such labor power suffices to feed the slave or not.

It is a great mistake to believe that the Civil War was forced to an issue by the overwhelming power of Christian sentiment or by the general aversion to chattel slavery. No such thing. Chattel slavery had become incompatible with the new industrial system, and it had to go. Anti-slavery was not only preached on the public squares and in the abolitionist meeting halls, but in the counting houses and business offices of capitalism.

The plutocratic chattel slave barons of the South and the plutocratic wage slave barons of the North, fully conscious of their class interests, came into open conflict. A brave, heroic nation sent her best sons to the battlefields of Bull Run, Gettysburg, and Antietam, and with the life-blood of 600,000 men wrote the final order: "Chattel slavery shall no more be!"

And how many of the capitalist patriots found in the bloody Civil War a Klondike! The blood that was flowing in the South fertilized the fields of profit for Northern capitalism.

The great French Revolution cleared the road for the triumphal chariot of European capitalism; the great American Civil War removed the last important obstacles from the way of the final triumph of American capitalism.
The Civil War is over; chattel slavery abolished; the slave barons lost the game; twelve hundred million dollars' worth of their property gone; labor is "free", free to make "free contracts" with capitalism, free to sell its commodity of labor-power to the highest bidder in the competitive market. What a happy future for the nation!

Prosperity! prosperity everywhere! Oh, how beneficently effective is such a bloody civil war—for capitalism, of course!

Like mushrooms after the rainstorm so capitalist production grew and prospered after the anti-slavery war. Railroads and factories were built, mines opened in all parts of the country; new machinery was introduced; prosperity everywhere. For about eight or nine years the commodity of labor-power was rather scarce, owing to the extraordinarily strong demand caused by the capitalist boom. Wages, consequently, were better than ever before, and the average wage slave was apt to believe that the prosperous state of affairs would last forever.

During this period millionaires grew up over night by the thousands. In 1873 however the first cry of alarm was heard: "Overproduction!" The era of prosperity had suddenly ceased. A general industrial crisis was the consequence. Factories and mines were closed, thousands of men out of work; failures in business, bankruptcy, ruin, despair. Conditions grew worse from year to year. The number of unemployed wage workers, the so-called industrial reserve army, has been growing ever since, until to-day there are perhaps five million people without work. Gigantic strikes and lockouts, accompanied by scenes of civil war, are in progress during all seasons of the year. The industrial crisis has become permanent. Like dry leaves before the blast our middle class people are being industrially and commercially annihilated, and the process of pauperization is merrily progressing among the masses
of wage workers. The history of the last ten years is the history of a series of class struggles the like of which have never been recorded before in this or any other country.

It is a picture of horror that presents itself to us: Here in this most fertile country on earth, where 200 million people might find the means to live in plenty and happiness, we see half of the 70 million inhabitants on the verge of starvation! And this is not because our people have not produced enough, but because they have produced too much! because there is an overproduction of everything in the way of food, clothing and shelter!

VI.

In view of these deplorable conditions every true friend of humanity must ask the question: What is to be done? How can our people be saved from degeneration and ruin?

The organized wage workers of this country have made a noble fight against the powers of capitalism during the last decade. Many a hot battle has been fought. Many a victory has been gained. But these victories of Labor in the economic field compare very unfavorably with the victories of capitalism in the political field. The capitalist class has gained absolute control of the entire legislative, judicial and executive machinery of this great Republic. By means of this powerful apparatus it has obtained absolute possession of the land and all the means of production. By legislative means it has accelerated the process of the concentration of the nation’s wealth into the hands of a comparatively small number of men, while nine tenths of the people have been disfranchised, expropriated, pressed down into a cesspool of the direst misery whence there is no escape.

To-day the class struggle is on in full force in the economic field. Social Democracy desires that this struggle be extended to the political field and that there, in the political arena, the final decisive battle be fought for the
emancipation of mankind from wage slavery. We cannot hide the fact that the present war between Capitalism and Labor is a class struggle; but every class struggle is, necessarily, a political struggle. Is it not a fact that in all our present labor troubles capitalism is making the best possible use of all political powers at its command? The lawmaker, the judge, the militia, the sheriff, the police, in short, all political mercenaries are ordered to the field of battle to fight the giant of labor who is still unconscious of his own power.

It is the historic mission of Social Democracy to lead in this great struggle for the emancipation of mankind. The millions of wage workers will constitute the rank and file of our great army of emancipation; by their irresistible power the glorious banner of Social Democracy will be victorious, and the capitalist system of production, i.e., production for profit at the risk of many millions of human lives, will be abolished. Social Democracy demands that the land and all the means of production and distribution be restored to the people as a collective body; that production be carried on for use only, and that the profit system, by which one man may be enabled to subjugate his fellowmen, be entirely eliminated.

It is the historic mission of Social Democracy to organize the wage working proletariat of this country under its flag into a powerful political party. It is the historic mission of Social Democracy to conquer the political power of this country, effect the necessary economic and social transformation, and bring about a universal co-operative system of production that will guarantee to every man, woman and child, the right to enjoy life, freedom and happiness.

It is the mission of the Social Democracy to realize the principles laid down in our American Declaration of Independence, principles which are still a mere dream at the close of the 19th century.
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