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GROUND WORK OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

Various Distinct Eras in the March of Human Progress Noted—The Development of Capitalist System of Production

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

Evolution of Capitalism and the Goal to Which it Inevitably Tends—Unerring Forecasts of Marx and Engels

By James Oneal

In March, 1899, in the city of Chicago, Prof. Albion W. Small, in an address delivered before a body of Methodist ministers, used the following words: "In this age of so-called democracy we are getting into the thralls of the most relentless system of economic oligarchy that history has thus far recorded. The march of human progress is getting reduced to marking time in the lockstep of capital's chain gang."

This pessimistic cry is re-echoed by thousands who realize that something is out of gear in our industrial and social machinery, but who see no solution of the complex problems with which society is afflicted. To assert, as the Socialist does, that these evils which have become so intense are merely the pangs of child-birth incident to the transition from one stage of civilization to another, is to invite from the "learned" such phrases as "impracticable," "dreamer," etc. To such as these capitalist society presents itself as a solid crystal no longer subject to those great changes which have characterized its development in the past, and that while changes may take place, they will not be of such a magnitude as to burst the integument in which it is incased, and stand forth as a distinct stage in the evolution of society. Happily, however, the tendency and direction in which society is evolving cannot be made to move in the groove mapped out for it in the brain of some great man or thinker; and if it can be proved that the laws of social evolution inevitably point to the decay and dissolution of capitalism and as a consequence the dawn of a new era, then the ridicule of the "learned" will avail them naught.

I am well aware that Socialism is denied the name of science by those who hold the power to confer it. This is not difficult to account for when we recall to mind the opposition that Darwin met with in the publication of his "Origin of Species." As Marx has well said: "In the domain of political economy, free scientific inquiry meets not merely the same enemies as in all other domains. The peculiar nature of the material it deals with, summons as foes into the field of battle the most violent, mean and malignant passions of the human breast—the furies of private interest." When it is also remembered that those in possession of class privileges control the great educational institutions through endowments and other means, it is not surprising that Socialism should be denied, by this class, the mantle of science that one of their "professors" should declare John D. Rockefeller a greater man than Shakespeare. Nevertheless, the accuracy of the Socialist's analysis of industrial forces and social phenomena, is of more value than the questionable indorsement of these "professors." The first is essential, the second is not.

Modern Socialism as a science dates with the issuance by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels of the "Communist Manifesto" in 1848, which was published as the platform of the "Communist League," a workingmen's association, and which at a later period became international. This little booklet has become one of three classics in Socialist literature and has been translated into the language of every capitalist nation on the globe. In this little work no detailed plan of some ideal society is presented. It is simply an industrial history of the origin of capitalist society out of the womb of feudalism which preceded it, and an analysis of the industrial forces that brought it into being. In his later work, "Das Capital," published in 1867, Marx presents in detail a scientific analysis of capitalist society, explaining the method by which the working class is deprived of the surplus values of its labor, and with a logic and accuracy remarkable for its accordance with subsequent facts, sketched each successive stage in the development of capitalism up to the present trust era which he hardly lived to see, having died

in 1883. This achievement by him alone should be of sufficient importance to raise Marx's system of political economy to the plane of one of the exact sciences, for there is no better method of determining the merits of a science than the ability of its exponent to predict in advance the results of his observations. Thus astronomy is considered one of the most perfect branches of human knowledge because it enables the investigator to predict the occurrence of heavenly phenomena at a designated time and place in the future, marvelous for its accuracy. Just why Socialism has not been accorded the same privilege with other branches of human knowledge is easily perceived by those who recognize its evolutionary character and the opposition it must contend with.

As a science it presents three aspects, past, present and future. The first two (past and present) may be discussed under the head of the "Evolution of Capitalism." The third (the future) under the head of the "Goal that Evolution Points To."

Evolution of Capitalism

The results of such patient investigators as Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Taylor, Herbert Spencer, Lewis Morgan and others, have proven that communism was the "cradle of the human race." This is the first form of human society presented to man at the dawn of history, survival of which may yet be seen among the Australian aborigines and various tribes in South Africa. This society had as its basis communal ownership of land, herds and flocks and in many instances of wives. Such an organization was necessarily very crude, yet it lasted for centuries. After the dissolution of this primitive social organization, due to various causes, land began to be appropriated by military chieftains as private property and captives were enslaved for the purpose of tilling the soil for the benefit of the owners. Agriculture came to be the most prominent feature during this period and historians have appropriately designated it as the "Agricultural Stage."

With the fall of the Roman Empire a system founded on private property in land and human beings, a period commonly known as the Dark Ages prevailed for hundreds of years. Feudalism was its successor. A system wherein the serf was attached to the soil and was sold with it. Under this system, simple manufactures developed and played a prominent role in production. The towns began to grow and expand as manufacturing developed. Simple machines were invented, which replaced the simple and crude tools formerly used, and later on as industry developed through the application of water power and steam, the class in possession of these things obtained political supremacy, feudalism fell and capitalism made its entrance on the stage of history.

Thus in looking backward we find that the human race in its gradual ascendancy to civilization has reached certain marked stages and each and every stage presented advantages which were seized upon, improved and handed on to its successor. The most important factor in this development was the progressive improvement in the productive forces of society. As the productive forces in any given age develop a corresponding change takes place in the whole superstructure. New social classes and social factors hitherto unknown, develop and expand with the changes in the methods of wealth production, and slowly but surely push their way to the front and gain the ascendancy over the old. When this development reaches maturity the old society is burst asunder and the new starts on the path of progress and undergoes the same process. Thus in the march of human progress various distinct eras have been evolved only to pass away and make room for more vigorous ones and to assume that we have attained the highest and that capitalism is ordained to an eternal existence, is to presuppose a suspension of those laws that brought it into being. Capitalism itself presents abundant evidence of its decline and fall and in its old age presents such marvelous changes that it is hard to believe that this is the same lusty infant born a few hundred years ago. Like the other systems that have passed away capitalist society rests on the exploitation of the producing class, the only difference being in the methods and the intensity of the process. Beginning with private ownership of land and the instruments of labor, it has developed its own negation, corporate or trust ownership.

Let us trace the process. The entrance of the United States into the sisterhood of nations after the termination of the American Revolution, presented a system of small petty industry adapted to the domestic needs of the times. This crude method was based on personal ownership of the small shops and the simple tools then in vogue, and of

(Continued on Third page)

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

Charles W. Casson of Revere, Mass.

"Today is the day of salvation"
By Socialist science and sway,
From mammon's swift-coming damnation
And anarchy's awful array.

With Hanna our national leader,
And congress monopoly's slave,
With Roosevelt, the strenuous pleader
For guns to make labor behave;

With a prostitute administration,
Selling laws to protect evil gain;
With a people, in strange aberration
Once more giving tyrants the rein;

Soon, soon, spite of fear and of shirking,
The crisis shall bloodlessly come;
Evolution is quickly outworking—
Hear you not the low, ominous hum?

"Today is the day of salvation,"
By Socialist speech and song,
To guard our American nation
From the hell of unrepented wrong!

NOV

The election is over. The political crisis has come and gone. The event on which we had concentrated our whole interest is a thing of the past.

Naturally our interest wavers. We slacken our pace now that the election milestone has gone by. Or even we stop running and gaze back at the path we have trod, with backs turned to the future.

We make a grand mistake. Today is of more value than tomorrow. All investment of Socialist effort bears compound interest. Truth given to the mass is like leaven in the lump.

A Socialist made now may mean ten votes more in 1904 than if he be made a month hence. Turn loose a Socialist thought upon the world now, and it shall be like a grain of wheat in a plowed field.

The last election means little to us. The road leads straight on. We are bound for the co-operative commonwealth. The day after election is just as vital to us as the day before.

A PROPHECY

The recent election has removed all possible barriers to the swift culmination of economic evolution. The conditions for complete capitalistic consolidation are ideal. The party of the trusts has been given entire control, and the trust magnates will not lose their opportunity to buy up the earth and enslave its inhabitants.

Had Bryan succeeded in the contest he would have been in duty bound compelled to ameliorate the pain caused the people by tyranny's grasp and hence postponed the inevitable climax.

But McKinley, poor, pliable McKinley, has again been placed in his high chair by Hanna and given the presidential seal to play with, while the men who hold mortgages on the white house proceed to get back what they patriotically paid for campaign expenses.

Roosevelt—and here's the prophecy—goes into the strenuous training that shall make him, in less than a decade, the capitalistic leader who shall ride rough-shod over the people's liberties, and shall lead the army of mammon against the army of labor.

TWO SOCIALIST FORCES

Hitherto there have been two forces in the creation of the co-operative commonwealth.

On the one hand there has been the consolidating capitalist, who in blind pursuit of his own self-interest has been the chief factor in industrial evolution. By his combines and trusts and department stores he has been unwittingly de-

THREE WARNINGS TO THE RICH OF NEW YORK

"If you want to find the dangerous classes in this city, do not go into the East Side, among the ignorant, the criminal and the poor. * * * If you had stood in front of Delmonico's last night, as the members of the Chamber of Commerce filed in to sit down to the annual dinner of that organization * * * you would have found them, guilelessly innocent that they were."—Ernest Crosby, speaking in All Souls' Church, Nov. 21.

"What is needed as our next step in civilization is to break a hole and make a window that the public may see into the great corporations and trusts."—Bishop Lawrence, of Massachusetts, at the Chamber of Commerce dinner, Nov. 21.

"If the majority, through neglect of education and means of advancement, lapse into barbarism, spoliation and robbery, extinction of property would be the sure result."—Abram S. Hewitt.

stroying the old system of competition. On the other hand has been the Socialist educator, who has studied the science of social evolution, and who claims his principles to the world.

The one predicted, the other performed. The one studied the direction along which society should advance; the other, in clearing a way for himself, has helped to make the path.

Rockefeller has done more to prepare the way for Socialism than have any score of curbstone orators, who have stamped on soap boxes and blown soap bubbles of idealism before the blind eyes of the passing crowd.

"All things work together for"—Socialism.

SILENCE IS CRIME

But now times have changed. The consolidating stage of evolution has almost reached its end. Competition has gone; combination has come.

The time has almost come when the capitalist will use his power, not to pave the way for Socialism, but to prevent the people from using the way created.

Then comes the need of labor combination to overthrow the power and utilize the results of capital's combination. Then comes the need of proclamation of the new principles of Socialist co-operation.

Now, therefore, the silent Socialist becomes the social criminal. Having the mental key that would admit labor through the doors of co-operative liberty, he indolently keeps it to himself, while the growing mob hammers in blind and increasing fury at the gates.

Men near you on the street, beside you at the bench, are wondering what shall be done with the tyrant trusts. You know. How shall you dare, then, lock the truth up in your brain and let them drift in thought past the docks of Socialism into the whirlpools of anarchy and force?

ENTHUSIASM

There is one thing which, after having chosen right principles, conduces more than anything else to the success of an individual, a society or a political party, and that thing is enthusiasm.

The Social Democratic party has commenced its campaign for 1904 and it behooves every member of every branch of the party in every state to work with enthusiasm. You can often win a convert to Socialism by showing a man the platform, explaining to him the need for the changes we advocate, and then with all of the enthusiasm you can muster tell him what record we have already made and what we expect to do in the next four years.

You will be surprised at the effect you can produce. If you find a man who does not agree with you and is constrained to combat the principles you stand for, do not be too quick to use the same tactics. Let him have a chance to state his objections, and then, with perfect control of your own mind, quietly expound the principles of the organization. Let him see that you are thoroughly in earnest and that you have confidence in the final success of the principles you advocate and whether you win him or not, you will have gained his respect; for there is nothing humanity prizes more than earnestness and confidence in one's own plans and principles.

Let every member of the Social Democratic party do his duty, keeping the fires of a noble enthusiasm burning brightly within him, and in four years we will have the balance of power, even if we should not elect the next president.

W. A. Ross.

Getting a Line On Us

Just as Socialists hail the development of trusts with joy, so do they take satisfaction in the election of McKinley. They claim the logic of events, unhindered, will make them recruits with increasing rapidity.

If Bryan had been elected the radicals in the capitalistic ranks would have had a temporary success. That success would delay the development of many people who would otherwise soon be ripe for Socialism.

But Bryan has not been elected. Populist democracy has been severely set down upon. The old party managers will probably now get the reins, and democracy will go back to respectable conservatism. Those opportunist reformers who want to make progress by choosing the lesser of two evils, will not be able to detect much difference between democrats and republicans.

The real malcontents of the party, however, cannot go backwards. They must go into a third party of some sort. Why will they not go into the Socialist party? Look at the relative and absolute progress being made by Socialism! At the next presidential election, the Socialists, who now outnumber the Prohibitionists, will be the third party.—North American Review.

A WORD ABOUT THE "INDEPENDENT"

The Real Struggle of Socialism is to Develop the Political Party that Shall Establish the Co-operative Commonwealth

DEVELOPMENT IN GERMANY

"Independents" May Become Socialists but They are Not Such in Their Present Capacity

A great many men and women who call themselves Socialists do not affiliate with the national party. They hold aloof while the struggle is progressing and the party is evolving. They watch the struggle instead of being in it, with the result that the struggle is prolonged and the development of the party delayed. These "independents" may understand Socialism, but whatever they may conceive themselves to be, they are not Socialists.

The real struggle of Socialism is to establish the co-operative commonwealth. Once the party is perfected, the rest follows as a natural sequence, and is comparatively easy.

Note the struggle in Germany, for example, for over a third of a century to build up a national party. Who shall tell of the patience, self-denial, anxiety, suffering, the strife and turmoil, the jealousy, suspicion, anger and hate, the factional discord, friendships made and broken, the period of temporary harmony shattered by dissension and disruption entailed by the herculean task? But out of it all came the magnificent Social Democratic Party, the wonder and admiration of the Socialist world. Such a party could only have been forged and tempered and molded and fashioned in the flame of passion, the lightning of treachery, the tempest of hate, the sunshine of hope, the tide of economic necessity, the torrent of determination. This is evolution. Did the Titans who were its instruments sit on the fence and "wait" until the party was "made" and presented to them on a silver platter? No, they plunged into the struggle and "made" the party. They did not wait for it to "be made."

Suppose Liebknecht had been one of the "waiters" who are so numerous in this country. Would he have become the social colossus of his day? Would his funeral procession have shaken all Europe? Would the millions of the earth build monuments of flowers, watered by their tears, where the old warrior sleeps? No! If Liebknecht had been an "independent," if he had spent his time on the fence instead of in the fray, if remembered at all it would be as a time-server and a coward, of whom there has been an overproduction ever since man began his tramp from savagery to civilization.

Marx, Engels and Lassalle were not "independent" factors in the social struggle. They shared in all the trials and privations incident to, and inseparable from, the building of a great political movement, and the world will forever remember them with gratitude and love.

Those who become members of clubs and leagues and those who are connected with "independent" and "unattached" bodies for fear that their sensitive organisms may be shocked in the clash of the party struggle, may become Socialists, but they are not such in their present capacity.

Only those are Socialists who are in the national and international party; and if the national party has not yet fully developed, only those have correct conception of Socialist duties who are in and of the struggle, however fierce, of which the party is born, and from which it derives its strength and power.

Eugene V. Debs.

The dispatches say that the Hocking Valley railroad had a net income for the year ending June, 30, 1900, of \$1,168,547. This, we are further informed is an increase over the earnings of the previous years of \$861,545, or only 94 per cent. The rich like the capitalist system, for under it, prosperity lands all the plutes their way. Socialism will bring a different sort of prosperity. Under it there will be no lean wages for the toiler and fat salaries for stock-holding head officials. And the dividends will be short hours of work, high and just wages and added security to life in the service—and these dividends will go to the workers themselves.

