

THE SOCIALIST WORLD

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IS THE OPEN SHOP AMERICAN?

By Joseph E. Cohen
 (Member of Philadelphia Typographical Union)

Is the open shop American? The employers say it is. Their associations are bent upon making their shops "open." And the Chamber of Commerce is ready to help with its money bags to destroy the power of the unions. The fact that the employers say that the open shop is American proves nothing. We had our experience with many who were loud-mouthed in calling themselves "Americans" during the war. The more they robbed the Government and the public, the more they profited at the expense of the nation, the bigger flag they waved, the louder did they boast of their patriotism.

The fact that the employers are against the union shop does not prove it is un-American. It merely proves they are against the union shop.

* * * * *

What is the purpose of the trade union? That is easy to explain. A trade union is a voluntary organization of men and women working at the same trade who organize for their common benefit. They pay their dues, conduct their meetings, draw up their constitution and by-laws, and pass all legislation by which they govern themselves. They elect all officers and determine every policy. A trade union is the most democratic organization in existence.

Moreover, a trade union takes particular pains to inform the whole public of its policy and objects. The purpose of the unionist is to bring into membership every person working for a living—the overwhelming majority of the people. Because the working people must be organized into unions if they are to take care of their welfare when threatened by the vast combinations of capital which control all large industries.

* * * * *

Right here we see the fundamental difference between a trade union and a manufacturers' association or chamber of commerce. An employers' organization, even if one hundred per cent organized, contains only a small part of the

public. A trade union, if one hundred per cent organized, contains the vast majority. An employers' organization never speaks for the people—it cannot be altogether American. A trade union speaks for most of the people—it can be and is thoroughly American.

* * * * *

The direct object of the union is to establish the union shop; that is, make an agreement with the employer, whereby only members of the union are employed. The union says this object is fair and just and altogether American. Let us see.

What do we ordinarily mean by American? We mean one who, whether born here or becoming naturalized, does his share toward upholding American institutions and principles. He is a citizen, a member of the community, with full rights and obligations of citizenship. If he accepts the benefits of living here, he must likewise accept the responsibilities—pay his taxes and abide by the Constitution.

What the trade union says is that everyone working in a shop where the conditions of labor, the wages and hours, have been improved by the efforts of the union, should become a member of the union, pay his dues and share in the responsibilities of membership. If he accepts the benefits won by the union, he should be a member.

The nonunion man or woman is the industrial non-citizen.

* * * * *

Now, what is the main purpose of the union? Only this: To bring a larger share of comfort and content, better pay and treatment, shorter hours and longer life, to all those who work—the great majority of the population. Is that not entirely within the idea for which the American Government was established—"to promote the general welfare"?

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THE SOCIALIST WORLD

Formerly The Young Socialists' Magazine

VOL. 2. NUMBER 1

JANUARY 5, 1921

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Post-Office at Chicago, Illinois, January 26th, 1918, Under the Act of March 3rd 1879.

Subscription Price: \$1.00 a year. Single Copies 15c

All matter intended for publication must reach this office not later than the 1st of the month preceding date of issue

Published Monthly at 226 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill. by the

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA

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EDITORIAL

THE SCHWARTZ CASE.

Comrades should withhold judgment regarding the interview with Comrade Schwartz regarding his experiences in Russia, now being published in the capitalist press. Comrade Schwartz and his wife, formerly Jessie Molle of Kansas City and California, are members of the party in California and have been for some years. They passed through Chicago last April enroute to Europe on a sightseeing tour, and to gather material for lecture work.

As is customary in such cases, Comrade Molle was given a letter of introduction which read as follows:

"To Party Officials and Comrades in Europe.
Dear Comrades:

This will introduce Comrade Jessie M. Molle, a Socialist Party member of long standing in the United States. Comrade Molle and her husband, also a comrade, are traveling in Europe for the purpose of gathering information regarding industrial and political conditions. Any information furnished or courtesy extended to them will be appreciated by our organization.

With fraternal greetings,
(Signed) Otto Branstetter,
Executive Secretary."

Such a letter is given upon request to any comrade traveling abroad who is known to the National Office. It does not constitute a credential or make the comrade receiving it a representative of the Party in any capacity. Credentials issued to party representatives always state the purpose for which the credential is issued and the official capacity in which the member is representing the organization.

Nothing in the nature of a credential was issued to either Mr. or Mrs. Schwartz and the letter of introduction quoted above is the only thing of the kind issued to either of them. Mrs. Molle, however, was given a mimeographed copy of our application of affiliation with the Communist International. This had been forwarded several months previously by several different routes, but we had no definite knowledge that it would be received. A copy was therefore given to Comrade Molle for delivery in case she reached Russia and the copies sent earlier had not been received.

As to their experiences in Russia or the treat-

ment accorded them by Soviet officials, the National Office is not in a position to pass an opinion. The experiences of Albert Boni of New York, and of numerous other Americans, as reported by Washington D. Vanderlip, who secured concessions in Russia for American capitalists, would indicate that there is nothing impossible in the experiences of Comrade Schwartz, as reported in the capitalist press. It will be difficult to convince a large number of comrades personally acquainted with Jessie Molle, and knowing of her work and devotion to the cause for the past fifteen years, that she was guilty of anything which would justify the treatment reported. On the other hand, comrades will be reluctant to believe that the Soviet officials imprisoned them without convincing evidence of the most serious offences.

Immediately upon receipt of the information regarding their arrest and the death of Comrade Molle, the National Office communicated with the Soviet Bureau in New York City, asking information regarding the case. Mr. L. A. Martens, in charge of the Bureau, has assured the National Office that inquiries have been forwarded and that a full report from the Russian officials will be secured at the earliest possible date.

Pending receipt of such a report from Russia and more detailed information from Comrade Schwartz, the comrades should withhold judgment in this matter.

IS THE OPEN SHOP AMERICAN?

(Continued from Page 1)

How better can the general welfare be promoted than by securing the product of labor to the producer, by making possible a healthier and happier generation of children, by removing from the home worry over unemployment, sickness, accident and old age, by securing leisure for men and women who toil, to drink at the fountains of knowledge, of art, of music, of science, and add to the sum total of civilization which alone can make this nation great and enduring?

Can these ends be had by workers underbidding each other for a job, accepting starvation wages, laboring for exhaustingly long hours, leaving the shop like so much material out of which all service has been wrung, and only waste remains?

No! The nonunion man and woman and the open shop are not American. The trade union and the closed shop are a firm bulwark of Americanism!

* * * * *

What does America owe to the nonunion man and woman, to those who stand alone, to those who hide themselves in the nonunion shop, where they are only so many separate numbers? What great principle do they uphold? What noble idea have they furnished their fellowman? What new lesson do they teach?

Nothing at all. They are the outsiders, those who fail to come together and so fail to help and encourage humanity.

It is the trade union that has put into practice the lasting principles of democracy. It is the

trade union that is built on the American idea that all must stand together and abide by the will of the whole body, and it applies this principle to industry. It is the trade union that has put life into the idea that to do good for oneself good must be done for all others. It is the trade union that carries along the American principle of political democracy to complete industrial democracy. The trade union is the back-bone of American democracy.

* * * * *

If American democracy is in danger, it is because the vast combinations of capital, represented by the profiteers, the employers' associations and chambers of commerce, will have to destroy democracy in order to strengthen their industrial and financial oligarchy and autocracy.

If the money kings of this nation are to wipe out democracy, they must destroy the unions. They must compel labor to work at slave terms in open—nonunion—shops. They must beat labor to the point where the working people, the big majority of the nation, are willing to accept political and industrial despotism.

Are you ready for that? If not, pay no attention to the masters of industry, their daily press and their well-financed campaign to destroy American freedom by destroying the labor movement.

Make no mistake about this fact, the Open Shop Movement is aimed at you, whether you are a union man or not. It is an effort of the large employers to enforce lower wages, longer hours and intolerable conditions.

It is directed against the labor unions because

they are the bulwark of defence for the working class. Once they are destroyed, the workers, union and non-union alike, will be completely at the mercy of the big employers.

If you are not a member join the union of your trade or industry and help in a big practical way to maintain decent living standards for American labor.

The Socialist Party puts all of its energy behind the struggle of organized labor against the pernicious and dangerous "open shop" agitation, because the Socialist Party is the political arm of Labor's activity, defending its interests at the ballot box as the union does in the shops.

The Socialist Party would have Labor control the conditions of its employment, by having the industries run for the public good instead of for the profit of the present private owners; the Socialist Party would have Labor organize industry for the health and welfare of those who do the work.

To accomplish this, Labor must remove the strangle hold of Capital upon the government, which it maintains through its control of the democratic and republican parties.

Just as you should belong to your union, so you should belong to your party—the Socialist Party.

But whatever you are, Socialist or non-Socialist, unionist or non-unionist, foreign or American born, give your best efforts and support to defeat the sinister, un-American Open Shop Movement which is directed against the happiness and welfare of the great majority of the American people, the working class.

IS UNEMPLOYMENT NECESSARY?

By Otto Branstetter.

There are three million workers involuntarily idle in the United States at the present time. This is not an unusual condition in our industrial life and any explanation offered, or remedy proposed, which deals with unemployment as a temporary or unusual problem, is superficial and valueless.

To attempt to explain the present unemployment as entirely a result of the cessation of the war and the necessity of industrial readjustment to a peace basis, is to insult the intelligence of every student of the subject and of the millions of working men who tramped the streets begging for jobs in the winter of 1918 following the armistice, in the winter of 1914 following the outbreak of the World War, in 1908, during Mr. Taft's psychological depression, in 1903 during Mr. Roosevelt's administration and in 1893-4 during the great "over-production" panic.

It is true that the waves of unemployment in 1914, 1918 and 1921 can apparently be traced to effects growing out of the war but the simple explanation "on account of the war" is hardly satisfactory when we recall that equally large numbers of workers were involuntarily idle in

1908 and 1903, when there had been no war and we had been enjoying an exceptional period of prosperity.

In 1912 Congress created a Commission on Industrial Relations, the members of which were appointed by President Wilson, for the purpose of investigating and reporting on industrial conditions. On page 103 of the Commission's report is found the following statement.

"Wage earners in the principal manufacturing and mining industries in the United States lose on the average from one-fifth to one-fourth of the working time during the normal year . . . The actual number or proportion of workers at any given time who are unable to work cannot be estimated, because of the lack of adequate data in this country. Recent investigations by Federal authorities and the statements of competent authorities before the commission, however, prove beyond doubt that the number of unemployed persons even in normal times is appallingly great. The statistics of highly organized trades show that even in times of greatest industrial activity there is a considerable percentage, ranging from 7 to 15 per cent

of all the members of unions in different trades and industries, of workers who are unemployed during the year. In any year the unemployed who congregate in the large cities alone during the winter months number several hundred thousand, while in years of industrial depression the number of unemployed in the entire country is at least three million."

Other government reports as well as the reports of many independent investigators bear out the above conclusions.

Unemployment is a chronic evil in our industrial system. We have what may be called a "standing army" of unemployed numbering from five hundred thousand to one million in normal times which is periodically increased to two, three or four million during industrial depressions.

In 1903 the Bureau of Labor conducted an investigation not only into the extent but also into the cause of unemployment.

The result is published in the Thirteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor and shows that 6% of the unemployment was due to vacations, 2% was due to strikes and 1/2 of 1% was due to drunkenness. This makes less than 9% of voluntary idleness. Adding 14% due to sickness makes less than 23% for which the workers were in any way personally responsible. All the rest of the unemployment, over 77%, was involuntary on their part. It was forced upon them when they were willing and able to work by forces over which they had no control.

The report shows further, that 12% was due to bad weather which interfered with outdoor work and that 56%, considerably over one half, was due to "closed shops, slack work and inability to get work".

Why should millions of men be unable to "get work" when their families are suffering for necessities of life and the factories in which these necessities can be produced are standing closed? Why cannot this army of the unemployed go into the idle mills, mines, land and factories and produce with their own labor the things which they require?

The answer is quite simple. They do not own the factories and they have no right to work there—nor anywhere. This brings us to a point where we begin to uncover some of the fundamental causes of unemployment.

Our society is organized, industrially, upon the basis of private ownership. All the great industries are privately owned and operated with the single purpose of making profits for the private owners.

In the present crisis there is no doubt that many of the large employers are arbitrarily discharging men for the purpose of lowering wages and aiding the Open Shop Movement to destroy the labor unions. This, however, is not wholly or usually the cause of unemployment. Our system of production is itself responsible—it requires a standing army of unemployed for its successful operation. Actually, it could not continue to exist except for the fact that a certain percentage of the workers are at all times unemployed.

One of the least important reasons why an army of unemployed workers is required is found in the enterprises for which labor is required temporarily. We undertake to harvest the wheat in Kansas, to build a railroad in Alaska, an irrigation project in Arizona or a subway tunnel in New York. For each of these enterprises a great army of working men are required temporarily. Where would these workers be secured if there were no unemployed?

Would working men quit jobs with good wages and steady employment for two or three weeks work in the Kansas harvest fields? Would they leave their families and go a thousand miles into the Arizona desert for a few months' temporary work? Certainly not. If there were no unemployed workers it would be extremely difficult to secure men for this temporary work. They could be secured only by offering unusually high wages as an inducement to quit their steady jobs, and these unusually high wages would reduce the profits of the enterprise. It is necessary, therefore, that there be a great army of unemployed workers who can be used wherever their services are temporarily required.

This week, if it is profitable to the employing class, they may be employed in Maine or California, and when it is no longer profitable they will be discharged. When the system needs them in Florida or Texas they can hobo there and be allowed to work two or three weeks or two or three months longer.

They are not allowed to work as long as they are willing to work, nor as long as the children are hungry or the wife needs shoes, but only so long as it is profitable to some member of the master class. When it is no longer profitable they are turned adrift to wander back and forth across the country until the system needs them some place else.

Another need for the unemployed is found in seasonal industries. A seasonal industry is one which is operated for a portion of the year with a reduced force or on reduced time, in some instances closed down completely. Then comes a period of feverish activity in which additional men are employed, perhaps a night shift is engaged, and the factory operates at full capacity turning out the goods for the next season's orders. Most of our great industries have become to a greater or lesser extent seasonal industries.

Suppose that in a given industry ten thousand men are normally employed and when the rush season arrives, five thousand "extra hands" are needed. Where can five thousand extra men be had if there are no unemployed? They cannot be had and failure to secure them means a crippling of the industry and a lessening of its profits.

In order that such industries may have extra hands when needed it is necessary that thousands of men and women wait outside the factory gates through long weary weeks or months until the time arrives that extra hands are needed. Then the gates are opened and they are allowed to work as long as it is profitable for the employers, and no longer.

The army of unemployed, however, serves a still more useful function than that of furnishing

men for temporary enterprises and extra hands to permanent industries. It is the army of unemployed outside the factory gates that keeps down the wages of those employed on the inside. It is the competition of the working class among themselves for the jobs that are never sufficient to go around that keeps wages down and enables the employers to make still greater profits. When this competition results in reducing wages to an intolerable extent, and the employed workers go on strike, it is the army of unemployed that furnishes the strike breakers.

The system so operates that a sufficient number of men are kept unemployed at all times to effect these results.

If too great a proportion of the workers are employed the effect is to increase the number of the unemployed. This results in the paradox that a job for everyone results in millions being jobless.

Granting that there is or can be work for every one under the present system, what is the inevitable result? There is little or no competition among the workers and wages rise, strikes are not necessary or are uniformly successful because there are no unemployed men to take the strikers' places, instead of the workers competing for an insufficient number of jobs, the employers compete for the services of an insufficient number of men. Wages continue to rise in every industry until they actually catch up with or pass the increases in the cost of living. As long as this lack of competition lasts there can be no cessation in the increase of wages and often a certain point such increases come, wholly or in part, out of the employers' profit.

Now what happens under these conditions? Does the employer continue to pay wage increase after wage increase until all his profits are gone? He does not. As soon as the increasing wages seriously reduce or threaten to destroy his profits, he closes down his plant. He is not in business for his health. He is not operating his factory for the benefit of the public or to give work to working men. He is in business for PROFIT.

When he can make no profit out of his employees he closes the doors of the factory in their faces and denies them the opportunity of working. Against this denial the workers are powerless to protect themselves. The employer OWNS the factory and they have no RIGHT to work there without his consent.

What this owner does, others do. All over the country mills and mines and factories are closed down and hundreds of thousands or millions of men are forced into involuntary idleness. Why? Because there had been work for everybody, because there had been no army of unemployed to furnish strike breakers, and no competition in the labor market to keep wages down and enable the employer to make a satisfactory profit. In other words, millions of workers are unemployed because all the workers were employed.

This in fact is the condition at the present time. During the war, for the first time in thirty years, there actually was work for everyone, and this, for the reasons stated, is the inevitable result.

Let us examine the possibility of work for everybody from another angle. The condition upon which men work in modern industrial establishments is that whatever they produce shall belong to their employer. In return therefor they receive a portion of its value in the form of wages. The portion they receive varies in different industries from one fifth to four-fifths of the value their labor has created.

When the working man goes out on Saturday night and spends every penny of his earnings he is able to buy goods equal in value to only a portion of the goods which his labor produced. When the entire working class goes out and spends every dollar it has received in wages, it is able to buy back but a portion of the wealth which the entire working class has produced.

The remainder stays in the hands of the employing class. It represents their interest, rent and profit.

They use a part of it for their personal needs. They use a part of it in the extension and improvement of their industries and the surplus is disposed of in foreign markets. When the foreign market is not sufficient to absorb this surplus it results in an accumulation of which they can make no profitable disposition. They cannot sell it to the working class because the workers have spent all their earnings in purchasing only a portion of the product; they cannot consume it in even the most riotous dissipation because of its enormous quantity; they cannot put it back into industry profitably because the means of production are more than adequate for the time being, as is proven by the existence of this unconsumed and unsalable surplus.

It is useless to manufacture more goods when they cannot dispose of those which they have on hand. And so, the output is restricted or the factories closed entirely with a resulting increase in the army of the unemployed.

This over-production, or the necessity of restricting output to prevent such over-production, occurs every few years. The surplus gradually accumulates during normal years when there are upwards of a million workers constantly unemployed.

What would be the result if those million idle men had been put to work? Every one of them would have produced more wealth than he could buy back with the wages he received. That is the only condition under which the workers are allowed to work under the present system. A million extra workers, producing a surplus for the master class, means that just that much sooner, or so many days or weeks or months earlier the markets would be glutted with the surplus product and the country face to face with the greatest over-production panic we have ever had.

Mills and mines and factories would again close down and millions of workers be thrown out of employment. Why? Because everyone had had a job. Because everyone had been producing more wealth than he could buy back and thereby creating a surplus for which there was no market. And again we have the army of the

"ORGANIZATION"

DEBS SAYS

"Is The Crying Need of The Day"

Every Socialist Party Member, voter and sympathizer knows that this is true. Then—

Let Us Have Organization

Not just a skeleton organization, nor yet a mere paper organization, but a live, aggressive, fighting organization with a punch. And let us make this organization big enough to put some

POWER BEHIND THE PUNCH

It can be done. It can be done very easily if every one of you will

DO YOUR DUTY!

unemployed because everyone had been employed.

This chronic condition of unemployment for hundreds of thousands and periodical unemployment for millions is an inevitable result of industrial capitalism. It cannot be explained or excused or denied away. It is here and here to stay as long as the present system lasts.

Some temporary relief can and should be afforded through the development of social unemployment insurance and the extension of public works during periods of industrial depression.

Such relief, however, can be only partial in

extent and temporary in character. To the extent that it demobilizes the army of the unemployed and lessens competition in the labor market it creates those very conditions which lead to a new wave of unemployment.

There is only one practical remedy and it will not be applied by the capitalist class because it is destructive of capitalism.

The remedy is to give the working class access to the means of production, to secure them in the right to work without the permission of the master class and to give them a purchasing power equal to the value of their products.

This would prevent the arbitrary closing of industries while men were willing to work and in need of things which they could produce. It would eliminate the necessity of wars of conquest for foreign markets and the danger of over-production panics.

There would be a home market for the entire output. The working class itself could buy back all that it produced. If it produced more than it could possibly use and it was necessary to curtail production, the workers would consume the surplus in comfort and enjoyment instead of suffering for the surplus locked in the warehouses of their masters, as they do at present.

To effect these results it is necessary that the great industrial enterprises be collectively instead of privately owned; that they be operated for the benefit of the working class instead of for the profit of private owners; and this is Socialism.

The choice is open to the working class. They can have Socialism or they can have Capitalism. If they choose Capitalism they choose unemployment and all its resultant evils because an army of unemployed is necessary for the successful operation and continued existence of the Capitalist System.

OFFICIAL PARTY BUSINESS

AMERICAN SOCIALIST AND LABOR MISSION TO RUSSIA ABANDONED.

The National Executive Committee has adopted the following:

N. E. C. Motion No. 16

By Melms

"That the N. E. C. reconsider its action with reference to sending a delegation to Russia."

Submitted Jan. 8—Vote closed Jan. 20

Voting "Yes," Brandt, Hagel, Henry, Melms, Oneal.

Voting "No," Roewer.

Not Voting, Maily.

The Mission, which is thus abandoned, for the time being at least, was to have consisted of Algernon Lee, Alexander Trachtenberg, Joseph Cohen and Meta Berger, representing the Socialist Party, and representatives of a number of radical unions.

SOCIALIST PARTY NOT TO BE REPRESENTED AT THE VIENNA CONFERENCE

The National Executive Committee has adopted the following:

N. E. C. Motion No. 17

By Oneal

"That the N. E. C. does not consider it expedient or timely to attempt to send a delegate to the Vienna Conference because (1) the time is short, (2) because of the financial condition of the party, (3) because of the fluctuating opinion within the party.

"That the Executive Secretary try to get information of the exact status of the party to the Vienna Congress regarding affiliation and the unusual difficulties we face in sending delegates to Vienna or a Commission to Russia."

Submitted Jan. 10—Vote closed Jan. 22

Voting "Yes," Brandt, Hagel, Henry, Melms, Oneal, Roewer.

Voting "No," Maily.

**SPECIAL MARCH NUMBER TO INCLUDE
ALL DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE
THIRD INTERNATIONAL.**

When publication of *The Socialist World* was commenced it was intended to be primarily of educational value to the membership. Experience with the Official Bulletin has shown that the membership generally is not interested in verbatim reports of N. E. C. meetings, exhaustive financial reports and interminable controversies.

It was therefore decided to devote the magazine proper to articles of educational value, and to insert the absolutely necessary official business and reports in a four page supplement. After two issues, however, this was made impossible by a Post Office ruling. Since that time we have published such matter in *The Socialist World*, but have tried to boil it down to the minimum.

With the close of the campaign and the end of the year it is desirable that an elaborate, detailed financial report be published. We have also a mass of material dealing with the Communist International, the Berne Conference, the Vienna Conference, the Language Federations and other matters which should be published. Much of this material has been sent to the printers and is already in type. We find, however, that there is enough of it to fill two numbers of the magazine without including a single article of educational, propaganda or organization value in the work of building a Socialist Party in the United States of America.

We have therefore decided to hold this matter and publish it all in a special double or triple number for the March issue. The March issue will also contain the convention Agenda, and we will thus have in a single issue all the official documents and reports required by the membership for an intelligent understanding and discussion of the various subjects included in the Agenda.

We hope this decision will meet with the approval of the membership. We believe it will, as it is the only means whereby we can find space for articles of educational value on subjects that are of interest to Socialists and non-Socialists alike. Please drop a line to the National Office and let us know what you think of our decision and of this number.

NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The National Convention is to be held in Detroit, Mich., between May 15th and June 15th, the exact date to be fixed by the N. E. C. later. It will consist of between forty-five and fifty delegates. The apportionment of delegates among the various States has been made and the State Organizations have issued calls for nomination of delegates.

Convention Stamps.

The Special Convention Stamps provided for in Section 6 of Article 8 of the National Party Constitution, are now in the hands of the State Secretaries and can be purchased in the same

This Is Your Duty

1—If you are not a party member—

Join the Socialist Party

2—If you are already a party member—

Get Others to Join the Party

3—In either case, pledge yourself to make a monthly contribution to the

One Hundred Thousand Membership Fund

4—Pay your dues promptly; attend branch meetings regularly; take an active interest in the party affairs; give some of your time to distributing literature, canvassing your precinct or serving on committees. In other words

Be A Working Socialist

manner as dues stamps. The price of the Convention stamp is fifty cents, and every member must have one in his membership book by the time the convention meets in order to be in good standing. Dual Convention stamps (of the same character as dual dues stamps) are also provided for the use of husband and wife. The Dual Convention stamp is sold at the same price as the regular Convention stamp—that is, fifty cents.

These stamps will not be sent to the local organization on credit. The locals will order them from the State Secretary, sending remittance with the order in the same manner that they purchase dues stamps. Local organizations having money in their treasury should purchase a limited supply of these stamps in advance so that the secretary can stamp the member's book when he pays the Convention assessment.

National Referendum

Proposed by the 2nd Ward Branch, Local Milwaukee Wis.

"Whereas, Section I, article VIII of the National Constitution of the Socialist Party provides that there shall be held "a National Convention of the Socialist Party each year", and

"Whereas, The holding of a party convention in 1921 is not necessary, besides entailing the expenditure of a considerable amount of money and energy which could be put to better use in organization work, therefore, be it

Resolved, That there shall be no National Convention of the Socialist Party in the year 1921; further

"Resolved, That the National Executive Committee be and hereby is directed to take such measures as are necessary to carry into effect the purpose of the resolution."

(Members in good standing, 30).

The above motion is properly initiated and is herewith published for seconds. If a sufficient

Nine Hundred and Fifteen Thousand Citizens

Voted for Debs and Socialism on Nov. 2nd. Every one of these voters is a prospective member of the Socialist party. Our job is to make the actual, dues-paying, redcard members.

Getting Their Membership

Depends largely upon our ability to reach them with written and spoken arguments showing the necessity of organization.

The Hundred Thousand Membership Fund

Is to be used for that purpose. When we have a hundred thousand members we can begin to DO things worth while.

Let's Get the Hundred Thousand!

number is received within ninety days from date of publication, January 28th, it will be submitted to referendum of the membership.

FINNISH CONVENTION VOTES TO WITHDRAW FROM PARTY.

The national convention of the Finnish Socialist Federation, meeting at Waukegan, Ill., Dec. 25 to Jan. 1, voted to withdraw from the Socialist Party.

As this action will by no means meet with the approval of a large portion of the Finnish membership, the element dominating the convention decided not to submit their action to referendum of the Federation membership. They take the position that the action of the convention is final, that all Finnish members are withdrawn from the Party, and they instruct any Branch desiring to remain in the Party that it must so notify the Federation headquarters within sixty days.

As a matter of fact, the action of the Finnish Convention did not withdraw the membership of a single Finnish comrade. Under the Party Constitution, the Federation has never had the right to admit or expel members from the Party. The Finnish Branches are affiliated with the Party Organization through their respective State and Local Organizations and will remain thus affiliated until they themselves withdraw from membership. Practically all the powerful Finnish organizations in the Eastern States will refuse to follow the Federation leaders and will retain their affiliation with the Party.

The action of the Convention was based largely on the fact that the Socialist Party had not accepted the twenty-one terms of affiliation laid down by the Communist International. The Finnish delegates made a fine revolutionary gesture in withdrawing from the Party on this account. Like so many of our extreme revolutionists, who denounce the Party for not accepting the twenty-one conditions, they themselves do not intend to accept them. They are not joining the

United Communist Party as they were commanded to do by Moscow, but have decided to keep the Federation "independent." This decision, of course, is determined largely by the fact that they have valuable properties in halls, cooperative stores, banks, and newspapers in various sections of the country, which would be lost and their organization destroyed if they adopted the program and tactics laid down by Moscow. Having proved their revolutionary character by denouncing the Socialist Party, they will now be satisfied to go quietly along, observing all the requirements of the existing capitalist law in order to protect their property interests. Great is the Revolutionary Gesture—and perfectly safe!

NOTICE.

An error occurred in the last price list sent out by the National Office. Scott Nearing's great pamphlet "A Nation Divided" is listed at \$4.00 per hundred. It should have been \$7.00 per hundred.

In filling orders received on account of this mistake, as many copies will be sent as are paid for at the correct price of \$7.00 per hundred.

MARCH TO BE RED MONTH BIG DRIVE PLANNED FOR ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND MEMBERS.

THE SOCIALIST WORLD for December contained an appeal by Comrade Debs for contributions to pay off the National office debt and clear the decks for new work and bigger things.

It was very fine of Comrade Debs to make this appeal in behalf of the National Organization, as funds are badly needed at the present time, and everything he says about the importance of getting out of debt is absolutely true. However, the National Office cannot be maintained indefinitely on contributions to pay past indebtedness. We must get the organization on a sound financial basis and having once done so, we must keep it there. This is the intention of the National Executive Committee, and we think it can be accomplished.

The expenses of the headquarters have been reduced to a minimum and from now on we expect to keep our expenditures within our income. It is absolutely necessary that this income be increased in order to enable us to do the necessary organization work. There is but one reliable source of income that can be depended upon at all times to furnish funds for necessary work, and that is the membership dues. In order to have a steady, substantial income from dues, sufficient to initiate and carry out new plans of work, it is necessary for us to have a greatly increased membership. The activity of the National Office is to be devoted to that end from now on. Increased membership is the answer to all our problems.

The National Executive Committee has decided upon a campaign to increase our membership to one hundred thousand. This should be accomplished within the next six months with the opportunity that exists at the present time. Plans for

an extensive membership campaign are under way and will be submitted to you within the next few weeks. These plans include a nationwide campaign not only for the organization of new locals, but for the increase in membership of the existing locals. It will include a Red Month in March, during which special efforts will be made to secure new members.

Valuable prizes, such as beautiful silk banners, a library of cloth-bound books, etc., will be awarded to Branch Organizations securing the largest number of new members and the largest percentage of increase in their membership. Individual prizes of value may also be given to individual comrades securing the largest number of applications.

The details of the campaign are being worked out at the present time, and this is just to tip you off to what is coming. Be on the watch for detailed information and prepare to get into this membership drive for all you are worth. It is the most important thing which the Party has undertaken for years.

A hundred thousand members means a Party worth while. It means a Party with some power and influence. It means a sufficient income from dues alone to pay all operating expenses, and to carry out new plans and methods of work. We want you to get ready for the big drive.

In the meantime, the attention of the membership is called to the necessity of purchasing the National Convention Assessment stamp and to Comrade Debs' appeal for contributions. All contributions received in response to Comrade Debs' appeal will be placed in the One Hundred

The Work Has Commenced!

Four National Organizers went to work this month. They are going to keep at it. Others will be sent as soon as we know that

You Are With Us

We will know when you send the following answer—

I promise to pay to the National Organization Fund of the Socialist Party the sum of \$..... each month until we have

One Hundred Thousand Members

Signed.....

Street.....

City.....

Write plainly and send to

The Socialist Party

220 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

Thousand Membership Fund to finance the Membership and Organization Campaign.

The first duty of every member is to see that his own dues are paid up to date and to see that his branch makes every effort to reinstate delinquent members and prepare for aggressive and effective work in the big membership campaign.

Let's get the Hundred Thousand!

What Is The Matter With The Party?

By an Old Comrade

There will be many different answers to this question, but I know ONE thing, which is partly the answer and upon which I think we will all agree, regardless of our differences as to platforms, policies or tactics.

In the old days there were not many of us. We were, individually, lone and lonesome Socialists. Often the only one in our shop or factory, the only one in our lodge, or union, or school, or church, the only one in our social group, in our neighborhood, in our precinct.

We were living a non-socialist world. We worked and played with non-socialists. We visited and entertained non-socialists. According to our various inclinations, we danced, or drank, or philosophized, or gambled, or worshiped, or celebrated, or talked, or read, or dined, or theatred, or picnicked—WITH NON-SOCIALISTS.

And because we were Socialists, we talked Socialism. We talked it to the people we associated with—the non-socialists. We talked it in season and out, on every occasion and at every opportunity. No doubt we were often nuisances and bores to our friends and acquaintances, but nevertheless, we were getting across with the propaganda, we were reaching the non-socialist

with the message of Socialism. Of course, we GREW, that kind of propaganda always gets results; if we didn't get them with our arguments we got them with the literature we persuaded them to read.

The Result.

Soon there were many of us. We had large party branches. We had Yipsel organizations, and Women's Leagues, and Sunday schools, and Study Classes. We had tremendously large and interesting meetings, lecture courses, dances, bazaars, picnics. All sorts of activities in which we could meet and associate with our own kind of people, people who understood us and sympathized with us, who understood our viewpoint, who felt and thought like we did and were interested in the same things that we were interested in.

One by one we dropped all our old friends and acquaintances who had not become Socialists. We did not make new friends outside the Socialist circle. We did not enjoy ourselves with non-socialists. We were not interested in them or the things they talked about or were interested in.

Gradually we have built a stone wall of impatience, intolerance and exclusiveness around

ourselves. We are living in a little Socialist world of our own, cut off from all direct, personal association with the great mass of people occupying the great non-socialist world around us.

We go into it only long enough to earn our daily bread. We associate with the rank outsiders we meet there only to the extent that our work or business compels us to. We make no friendship, we accept or extend no friendly or neighborly invitations. We are impatient to get away from them at the earliest possible moment and rush back to our own crowd and our own circle.

We still attend lectures and entertainments, we still dance and play cards, we still go to picture shows and baseball games, but always we go with Socialists. We still talk Socialism—but we talk with Socialists. We still argue, but we argue with Socialists. We still read books and pamphlets and pass them along, but we pass them along to Socialists.

Isn't this true to a large extent in your own case? Stop and think about it for a moment. You have talked a lot of Socialism in the past week, you have had a lot of arguments, perhaps, but how many of the talks and arguments were with non-socialists?

This is one of the reasons why we are at a standstill, why we are not growing as we should be with the tremendous social forces working on our side as effectively as they are at the present time.

We have, of course, new recruits but most of them COME to us, we don't go out and GET them. Through the organization we still pass our leaflets and papers to the non-socialist, we carry on house to house distribution but some way it seems to have lost much of its effectiveness. What is lacking is the personal touch, the lack of personal acquaintanceship, association and discussion between the socialists and the non-socialists.

The remedy for this condition does not lie in abandoning our present activities. We need the lectures and debates and study classes for our own further education and development. We need the dances, entertainments and other social functions because recreation and amusement are necessary for normal development. While we retain all these things we must re-establish the personal acquaintanceship and discussion between ourselves and the non-socialists.

To do this I propose that individual members of the branch pledge themselves to make the acquaintanceship of FOUR non-socialists in their OWN precinct each month for the next year, working along the following general lines:

1. Commencing the first of the month the volunteer will call upon, or otherwise make the acquaintanceship of four non-socialists in his home precinct. That he will see them once a week thereafter for the three next succeeding weeks.

2. Upon the first call the volunteer should do no more than introduce himself, say where he is living, that he is interested in Socialism and believes that it is a good thing for the neighbors to investigate and discuss the proposition among themselves so as to arrive at an intelligent idea as to its merits or demerits. Give the prospect a

good pamphlet and ask him to read it, tell him you are coming back the next week to find out his opinion of it and that you will be glad to have him point out, on your next visit, anything to which he objects in the pamphlet which you are leaving.

The object should be to AVOID argument or discussion on this first visit. If the prospect wants to argue, don't do it. Say you don't know much about it yourself—you're just getting interested—this pamphlet had rather appealed to you—if he will read it during the week you'll be glad to discuss with him on your next visit.

There are just THREE things you should do on your first visit: Make his acquaintance; leave a pamphlet; pave the way for your next visit.

It should not take more than ten minutes. You can make the four calls in from forty five minutes to an hour.

3. The conduct of succeeding visits will be determined by your reception and the degree of interest you are able to arouse. However, it is a good policy to hold all of them down to comparatively brief visits, avoiding long arguments and discussions, and directing your efforts towards getting him to read the pamphlet which you leave each time.

Generally it will not be difficult to hold the visits down to 10 or 15 minutes. If the prospect is interested and wants to argue or know more, take his subscription for party papers, invite him to propaganda meetings, even arrange to go by for him and take him to the meeting if he will agree to go.

4. At the beginning of each month you will start your new prospects while the Country or Branch Organizer continues the work you have started with the old ones.

This work will not take more than one evening a week. It will not interfere with any other activity of your branch but will supplement any work it may be doing. At the end of the year you will know, personally, 48 non-socialists in your own precinct. Everyone of them will have mentioned your visits and your literature to someone else, maybe commenting favorably, perhaps unfavorably, but mentioning it nevertheless. It means that with the people whom you directly reach in this manner through your prospects, practically every voter in your precinct will have Socialism called to his attention directly and personally. As a Socialist you KNOW what the result will be—you will have a big increase in membership in your branch and a big increase in sentiment and in votes in your ward.

Here is an opportunity for you to do some real organization and propaganda work. I am leaving the selection of literature you hand your prospects to the volunteers themselves, or to the branch.

No matter what our policies and tactics are they will not succeed unless we reach the great mass of non-socialists. This is one way of reaching part of that mass, of re-establishing the personal and acquaintanceship between ourselves and the non-socialists which has been lost to a large extent and which we must have in order to get our message across.

AFTER THE BATTLE

By Eugene V. Debs

The election is over, the returns are almost complete, and we are better than satisfied with the result.

The political battle of 1920 resulted in a decisive victory for our party. We are less interested in the election of candidates here and there than we are in a uniform vote that indicates the steady growth of the movement, based upon the class-consciousness of the party membership and a clear understanding of Socialism and what it seeks to accomplish.

The vote cast for the Socialist party this year is all the more remarkable when it is considered that the party was almost wrecked by the war and the brutal persecution which followed in its wake, and that the campaign was begun with a small and demoralized membership, an empty treasury, and a heavy load of debt.

The Socialist vote would have been more than double what it was but for the following factors in the campaign:

First, A million voters, I think, and perhaps more, would have voted the Socialist ticket, gave their votes to the Republican party to make sure of the crushing defeat and rebuke of the Wilson administration, which appeared to them the vital issue of the campaign.

Second, The Farmer-Labor party, the outgrowth of Socialist propaganda, and led by former members of the Socialist party, many of whom deserted because they could not stand the party's unpopular attitude toward the capitalist war. In their speeches and writings they appealed to the radical sentiment by declaring that they were sanely socialistic, while they assured the conservative and reactionary elements that they were heading off Socialism. They were therefore at once a Socialist and anti-Socialist party.

Third, Tens of thousands of workers engaged in seasonal occupations and moving from place to place, and tens of thousands of others seeking employment, or perhaps evicted, or having to move for one reason or another, as poor people have so frequently to do, are perpetually disfranchised and lose their votes in a system in which uncertainty is the only certainty they know.

Fourth, The Socialist party ticket was not on the official ballot in the following states:

Vermont, South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Arizona, New Mexico, Louisiana.

Fifth, The Socialist party had no watchers at most of the polling places and no means of seeing to it that its vote was counted, and know-

ing as we do from actual experience how corrupt the capitalist parties and politicians are, and to what ends they go to control elections, it is absolutely certain that we have been cheated out of many thousands of votes that were cast for our party.

Sixth, At certain polling places, notably in New York, the thugs in charge resorted to strong arm methods and drove Socialists from the polls or threw out their votes without counting them. The evidence of these outrages is not wanting, but there is no recourse for justice in such cases in capitalist courts.

Seventh, The United Communist party, consisting of former party members, according to reports, boycotted the election, and did all in their power in their campaign to "smash the Socialist party," to keep workers from voting, and some of them went so far as to say to voters that if they must vote they should vote the capitalist ticket. This was done, presumably, to advance working class solidarity. Bills were posted and distributed, and men were hired in the furtherance of this campaign. But few voters were influenced in this way. My advices satisfy me that most of the communists ignored these tactics and voted the presidential ticket of our party.

Several weeks before the election I said in one of my campaign statements that the Wilson administration would be swept from power in a whirlwind of indignation.

But it was not really an election at all; it was a political slaughter. But for the Bourbon South, where colored men and women do not vote for fear of being murdered, it would have been practically unanimous.

The Wilson administration was not defeated, it was literally steam-shoved into the sea.

And Wilson lies at the bottom of the wreck! But he doesn't know it. He is almost the only one who don't.

President Wilson is the most tragic figure in ancient and modern history. Never did overweening ambition and lust for autocratic power and glory meet with such crushing annihilation.

"But yesterday the word of Cæsar might
Have stood against the world:

Now lies he there and

None so poor to do him reverence."

History will consign him to the pillory and not to the pantheon of the immortals. Posterity will write his epitaph.

He had the supremest opportunity mortal man ever had to achieve immortal fame. But alas,



Eugene V. Debs



Eugene V. Debs

he lies stricken and palsied by his own moral betrayal!

I have all compassion for him. He is reported in the press dispatches as having "authoritatively" declared that he will not release me from prison. I have not asked him to. It is not in his power either to hold or to release me. My conscience is clear and my spirit free. I stand in need of no man's release, and least of all from one who is himself in the grip of iron fetters and for whom there is no pardoning power on earth or in heaven.

Other hands than the feeble ones of Wilson and Harding hold the key to my prison cell. In those hands, strong and clean, reposes my trust, and when I have served my time and proved my fidelity to the cause, they will open the door and my comrades and I will walk forth free without the stain of ignominy or cowardice upon our souls.

President Wilson waited until after election to say he would keep me in prison on account of my "influence," a compliment I should appreciate if I could receive any compliment at his hands.

In view of his condition I am more than willing to excuse him for being the only man who does not know that the White House was struck by lightning, and who does not understand the significance of the political tornado.

The President suffered political annihilation as the result of his own "solemn referendum", and he may at his own leisure contemplate the most solemn political wreck in history.

There is nothing more inexorable and nothing

more stern and pitiless than retributive justice. It has done its work in the campaign just closed. Not all its work has been done, but a drastic beginning has been made. The rest will follow. It cannot fail. The moral order of the universe is pledged to it. We have but to wait and do our duty.

Political action is a necessary part of the emancipating program of the Socialist movement. Some workers, disgusted with political corruption, renounce the ballot and refuse to vote. They ridicule the ballot and declare it of no use. The capitalists think otherwise. They realize the value of the ballot and of political action and political power, and with their grip on the government, all the courts and armies and all the injunctions, backed by clubs and guns, are in their hands, and are used to hammer and shoot it into the heads of the enslaved and exploited workers that "the ballot is a joke" and that "there is no virtue in political action".

But let us not quarrel with those who ridicule or otherwise seek to discredit our party and retard its progress. Let us reason with them in a comradely spirit, and if we cannot do that, we can let them alone and go on with our work of uniting the workers industrially and politically and building our party that it may act loyally and courageously its part in their emancipation.

The political battle of 1920 was a great Socialist victory!

Onward, comrades, to the next, with united ranks, a fearless front, to still greater victories!

The World of Books

TUCKER'S HISTORY OF IMPERIALISM.

A History of Imperialism, by Irwin St. John Tucker, Chicago, National Office Socialist Party.

Reviewed by William M. Feigenbaum.

Two things impress one about Tucker, whether one hears him speak, reads his writings or engages in conversation with him. They are his eloquence, and the profundity of his knowledge. These two qualities are strikingly manifest in his "History of Imperialism", just off the press with the imprint of the Socialist party.

Irwin St. John Tucker, orator, Socialist organizer and pamphleteer, convict as Eugene V. Debs is a convict, Comrade in the Socialist movement, is likewise a priest in the Protestant Episcopal Church. His training for the ministry, his studies in history, theology, and numerous other realms of learning, together with his previous work as a newspaper man, combined with his rare powers of oratory, have given him the training for the task that he undertook in the writing of "A History of Imperialism."

In a very real sense, this work is a history of the world, down to the day before yesterday. Taking up each empire in turn, Egypt, Babylonia,

Persia, Greece, Rome, we come down through the thundering centuries until we find ourselves in England, India and America. Each Empire is taken up carefully, with the keen mind and the trained scholarship of a real historian; readers will find the answers to many vexing questions in these chapters, explained from the standpoint of what has come to be known as the "new history".

At the same time, Tucker does not worry about the conventions of the average historian. He has the rare faculty of relating the problems of the past with the events and in the language of today; that is, if there is a wild reaction in ancient Egypt, we are told that those who object are called "Bolsheviks". And so on, through the book, so that wherever we go, we are reading the language that we talk every day upon the streets.

There is one thesis back of the book; it is that down through the centuries of history, empire after empire has been erected, based upon the roads that business men need to get around. Egypt was the Nile; Babylonia was Mesopotamia, that is, the valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates; Rome was the medium of trade—and so on down to the railroads of America. As business interests have dominated nation after nation, so business interests have dominated the conduct of nations, until the history of the world has been a history of business interests of the world.

Can this story be made interesting? It can—and it is. More fascinating than a novel, more thrilling than a movie, Tucker takes us down the nations—and ends his tale with an idyll of such rare beauty that it fairly takes the breath away.

This book of over 400 pages, well bound and well printed, should have a large circulation. It will be found useful as a text-book by Socialist study classes, who have thus far found no text book of original history written from the standpoint of the "new history". It will be found useful to recommend to persons unfamiliar with the Socialist conception of history, who will find by a reading of its pages not only instruction, and pleasure, but also the fundamentals of the philosophy back of Socialism.

This work of Tucker's is the most important contribution to real scholarship by an American Socialist in many years. Socialists should be proud of the fact that it is the work of a Comrade in the ranks, the result of activity in the Socialist movement.

AGAIN—RELIGION

COMMUNISM AND CHRISTIANISM: by William Montgomery Brown, D. D., sometimes Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Arkansas. The Bradford Brown Educational Company, Gallon, Ohio.

"Religion ist Privatsache" the old fathers of Socialism used to say. Religion, to them, was a private matter, totally unconnected with the Socialist movement that they were founding, regardless of the fact that many of them, individually and privately, were opposed to religion.

"Banish Gods from skies and Capitalists from the Earth" says this degreed and begowned Episcopal bishop, in a book that is a direct challenge to the statement that "religion is a private matter".

Bishop Brown is opposed to religion of all kinds, and Christianity in particular; and he is something of a Socialist. So with false "scientific" method, he proceeds to tie his two beliefs together, and "prove" that it is impossible for one to be both Socialist and Christian at the same time.

Dr. Brown, in his book, does a great and grave disservice to the Socialist movement. "It is therefore" says Brown, "a profound truth that Socialism is the natural enemy of religion". No, dear reader, this isn't Davery Goldstein or Pete Collins speaking. This is a man who professes to speak as a Socialist.

Dr. Brown's disservice to the movement, however, is slightly mitigated by the fact that, like all the smart Alecks of radicalism, he takes the new-fangled and more romantic and blood-curdling title of "communist" in place of that of Socialist; but he plays safe, in a curious and amusing manner.

Our valiant author quotes in full the "Official Manifesto Showing the Antagonism Between Socialism and Religion; by the Socialist Party of Great Britain". But Paragraph 6 is modified by

the American author (without the consent of the British authors) "to make sure" Brown says, "of guarding against the advocacy of armed insurrection"! Mister Brown remembers the Ohio anti-radical law, and while he valiantly discards the "moderate" title of Socialist, for the more "revolutionary" one of communist, he isn't going to run any danger of arrest; no sirree.

And the Socialist party of Great Britain quoted so glibly? Oh, well, that's a tiny, insignificant factional sect that nobody pays any attention to, that has about the standing of the numerous "Industrial Socialist parties" in this country, numbering a disgruntled "leader" and a few score men. But Brown wants to back up his position with "authority"—and very few Americans know that the "Socialist Party of Great Britain" is neither Socialist, nor is it a party, nor does it amount to a tinker's dam in any way. The Socialist party in Great Britain is the Independent Labour Party.

"The new Communist party" says Brown, "has entirely replaced the former British labor party"! Don't go any further than the two statements just quoted. They give you the extent of Brown's knowledge and authority. The "former" British Labor party, the giant organization that stopped the government's war upon Russia last Summer, has millions of members, and they are growing more militant every hour. And the "new Communist party" consists of E. Sylvia Pankhurst, Col. Cecil L'Estrange Malone, (a Liberal M. P.), and a few hundred quarrelling sectarians. So much for the value of this work.

This book, taken on its merits, is as worthless as the cheap paper it is printed on. But Bishop William Montgomery Brown, D. D. (he always uses his full title) is advertising the book very heavily, and the unthinking will be tempted to spread it. A Socialist bishop! Fine! And with every copy of the book placed into the hands of a non-Socialist, there is a new blow at the organized Socialist movement. This book is meat and drink for the Goldsteins and Collinses; and the only way to meet the bitter attacks that are going to be leveled against our cause, using this book as a valuable text, is this; that Mr. Brown is an irresponsible person, not even a Socialist; that he is utterly misinformed on the very elements of Socialism and knowledge of the Socialist movement; and that he speaks for exactly one person—that is, Bishop William Montgomery Brown, D. D.

Maybe Doctor Brown finds it a profound truth that "Socialism is a natural enemy of religion", but Bishop Paul Jones and Bishop F. S. Spalding, two sterling Socialists, did not find it so. Keir Hardie, and Bruce Glasier, both of sacred and glorious memory, did not find it so, and they speak with more authority than this Communist-afraid-of-the-law does. And so do all the Socialist parties that ever existed, when they say that religion is a private matter.

And all the pseudo-science, and all the misinformation about the Socialist movement that a Bishop, Deedee can pour into a book cannot make it otherwise.

AFTER FIFTY YEARS

By **FREDERICK ENGELS**

(Continued from last month).

Moreover, in addition to this, the German working men had done their cause a second great service, besides the first one, consisting merely in their existence as the strongest, best disciplined, and most rapidly growing Socialist party; they had shown their comrades of all countries a new weapon, and one of the keenest, in showing them how to use the ballot.

Universal suffrage had long existed in France, but had come into disrepute through the misuse which the Napoleonic government had made of it. After the Commune there was no workers' party in existence to make use of it. In Spain, too, it had existed since the republic, but in Spain it was always the custom of all the real opposition parties to refrain from voting. And in Switzerland, too, the experiences with universal suffrage were anything but encouraged for a proletarian party. The revolutionary working men of the Romance countries had become accustomed to look upon the ballot as a snare, as an instrument of oppression manipulated by the government.

Universal Suffrage

In Germany it was different. The Communist Manifesto had already proclaimed the winning of universal suffrage, of democracy, as one of the first and most important tasks of the militant proletariat, and Lassalle had taken up the point again. And when Bismarck saw that he was forced to introduce this franchise as the only means of getting the masses interested in his plans, our working men at once took the matter seriously and sent August Bebel into the constitutional convention. And from that day on they have used the ballot in a manner that has repaid them a thousand fold and has served as an example to the working men of all countries.

They have transformed the ballot, in the words of the French Marxians, "de moyen de duperie, qu'il a été jusqu'ici, en instrument d'émancipation"; from a means of jugglery, which it has been heretofore, into an instrument of emancipation.

And if universal suffrage had offered no other advantage than to allow us to count ourselves every three years, and by a regularly certified and unexpectedly rapid increase of votes to raise in equal degree the confidence of the workers and the terror of their opponents, and thus to become our best means of propaganda; and to inform us exactly as to our own strength and as to that of all opposing parties, and thereby give us a standard for apportioning our activity such as could not be equalled; and to save us both from untimely hesitation and untimely rashness; if that were the only benefit derived from the franchise, even then it would be enough and more than enough.

But it has done far more. It gave us in election campaigns an unequalled opportunity to come in contact with the masses where they still stood aloof from us, and to force all parties to defend their views and action before all the

people against our attacks; and it also opened to our representatives in Parliament a forum from which they could talk to their opponents in Parliament as well as to the masses outside, with an entirely different tone of authority and freedom what they could use in the press and in meetings.

What good did the anti-Socialist law do the government and the bourgeoisie so long as the election campaigns and the Socialist speeches in Parliament were continually nullifying it?

Moreover, with this successful use of the ballot, a wholly new method of proletarian warfare had gone into effect, which was rapidly extended. It was found that the political institutions, by means of which the supremacy of the bourgeoisie is organized, afford further handhold by which the working class can attack these very institutions.

The party took part in the elections for State Legislatures, Aldermen and industrial courts, and contested against the bourgeoisie for every office in the filling of which a sufficient number of the proletariat had anything to say. And thus it happened that the bourgeoisie and the government came to a pass where they feared the lawful activity of the Workers' party for more than its unlawful activity; they dreaded the result of an election more than those of a rebellion. For here, too, the conditions of the struggle had materially changed. The old style rebellion, the street fight with barricades, which down to 1848 gave the final decision everywhere, had become decidedly antiquated.

Ballots and Bullets

Let us harbor no illusions on this point; a victory as between two armies, is a thing of the rarest occurrence. Moreover, the insurgents had seldom aimed at this. Their object was to soften the troops by moral influences, such as in a conflict between two warring countries would be of no effect at all, or at any rate, in a far smaller degree.

If this plan succeeds the soldiers refuse to obey orders or the officers lose their presence of mind and the revolt is successful.

If this plan does not succeed, nevertheless, even in the case the military is fewer in numbers, the result shows the superiority of their equipment and training, of the unified leadership, of the well-planned arrangements of forces and their discipline. The most that an insurrection can attain in real practical action is the scientific construction and defence of a single barricade.

Mutual support, the disposition and utilization of reserves, in short, the assistance and co-operation of the separate divisions, which is indispensable for the defense even of a single district, to say nothing of the whole of a large city, is very imperfect, and for the most part wholly unattainable; concentration of forces upon a vital point is out of the question. A passive defense is the characteristic form of the struggle.

The attack will extend here and there to occasional sallies or flank movements, but only as exceptions, for as a rule it will be confined to occu-

pying the positions abandoned by the attacking troops. Then, further, the military is equipped with artillery and with completely equipped and trained battalions of pioneers, which the insurgents in almost all cases wholly lack.

No wonder, therefore, that even those barricade fights which were conducted with the most heroic bravery, as at Paris in June 1848, at Vienna in October, 1848, and at Dresden in May, 1849, ended with the suppression of the revolt as soon as the officers of the army, unhampered by political considerations, fought according to purely military principles and the soldiers remained trustworthy.

The numerous successes of insurgents down to 1848 are due to manifold causes. At Paris in July 1830, and in February, 1848, as also in most of the Spanish street fights, these stood between the insurgents and the military a citizens' guard, which either sided directly with the revolt or by its own lukewarm and hesitating attitude caused the regular troops also to waver, and in addition to that, furnished the insurgents with arms.

Wherever this civil guard at the start took a stand against the revolt, as in June 1848, at Paris, the insurgents were defeated. At Berlin, in 1848, the people won partly through an important addition of fresh forces during the night and on the morning of the 19th of March, partly on account of the fatigue and lack of care suffered by the troops, and partly on account of the hesitation of the authorities. But in all cases where a victory is won it was because the troops mutinied, or because the officers were lacking in determination, or because their hands were tied.

Therefore, even in the classical period of street fighting, the barricade was more of a moral than a material force. It was a means for breaking the loyalty of the army. If it accomplished this, the victory was won; if not the cause was lost.

Even in 1849 the chances were already poor enough. The bourgeoisie had gone over to the side of the governments; "culture and property" greeted and treated the troops marching out against the insurgents. The barricade had lost its charm.

The soldiers no longer saw behind it the people, but only rebels, rioters, plunderers, "dividers-up," the outcasts of society; the officers had in time become skilled in the tactical forms of street fighting. They no longer marched out straight ahead unprotected against the improvised breastworks, but went around them through gardens, courts and houses. And this course with a little skill, would be successful in nine cases out of ten.

And since then many things have changed, and all to the advantage of the military. Though the large cities have become larger, so also have the armies. Paris and Berlin have not quadrupled since 1848, but their garrisons have been increased more than that. By means of the railroads these garrisons can be doubled in twenty-four hours, and in forty eight hours can be expanded into gigantic armies. The weapons of these enormous hosts are incomparably more effective than formerly.

In 1848 they had only the smooth bore, percus-

sion-cap, muzzle-loader; to-day the small calibre magazine breechloader, which shoots four times as far, ten times as accurately, and ten times as fast as the other. At that time they had only the comparatively ineffective solid balls and cartridges of the artillery; to-day the percussion shells, a single one of which is sufficient to demolish the strongest barricade. At that time the pick of the pioneer for breaking through walls; to-day the dynamite bomb.

On the other hand, for the insurgents all the conditions have become worse. A revolt with which all layers of the population sympathize can hardly come again. In the class struggle all the middle layers of society will probably never rally around the proletariat so exclusively that the reactionary party which rallies to the bourgeoisie will almost disappear. The "people" therefore will always appear to be divided, and thereby a powerful lever is wanting which was so exceedingly effective in 1848. Even if more trained soldiers are found on the side of the insurgents, it will be so much the more difficult to arm them. The hunters and sportsmen's guns from the retail stores, even if the police should not have rendered them unserviceable by removing part of the lock as a precautionary measure, cannot by any means compete with the magazine gun of the soldiers even at close range.

Up to 1848 a man could manufacture the necessary ammunition himself out of powder and lead; but to-day the cartridge is different for every gun, and if only one particular is it alike everywhere, viz., in that it is a technical product of large scale industry, and therefore, cannot be extempore, and therefore the most of guns are useless so long as one has not the ammunition specially fitted for them.

Finally the new districts of the great cities have been laid out with long, straight, broad streets, as if made with special reference to operations with modern cannons and small arms. The revolutionist would be insane who would deliberately select the new workingmen's district in the north and east of Berlin for a barricade fight.

Does the reader now understand why the ruling classes are so anxious by all means to get us where the rifle cracks and the sabre slashes? And why they to-day accuse us of cowardice because we do not straight away betake ourselves to the street, where we are beforehand certain of a defeat? And why they so passionately beseech us to play cannon fodder just for once?

Changed Tactics

These gentlemen are wasting both their prayers and their dares for nothing and less than nothing. We are not so green as all that. They might just as well ask their enemy in the next war to follow the line of formation used by Frederick the Great, or the formation in columns of entire divisions a la Wagram and Waterloo, and that, too, with the old flintlock gun in the hand. As conditions have changed for warfare, so not less for the class struggle. The period for sudden onslaughts, of revolutions carried out by small conscious minorities at the head of unconscious masses, is past. Where the question involves

the complete transformation of the social organization, there the masses themselves must be consulted, must themselves have already grasped what the struggle is about and what they stand for. This is what the history of the last fifty years has taught us. But in order that the masses may understand what is to be done, long and persistent work is needed, and it is just this work that we are now doing, and that, too, with a success which drives our opponents to despair.

In the Latin countries also people see more and more that the old tactics have to be revised. They have everywhere followed the German example of using the ballot and of winning every position which is accessible to them.

In France where the ground has been broken up for 100 years by revolution upon revolution, where there is not a single party which has not furnished its share of conspiracies, insurrections and all other revolutionary doings; in France where, as the result of this condition, the Government is by no means certain of the army, and where the circumstances generally are far more favorable for an insurrectional venture than in Germany, even in France the Socialists are coming to understand better and better that no enduring victory is possible for them unless they first win the great mass of the people; that means there the peasants.

(Concluded next month)

"You All Were Right"

The following letter received in the National Office will be of interest to the many comrades who have taken part in the work of the Prison Comfort Club, particularly to those to whom the writer is personally known through long years of association in the work of the Socialist movement.

"Another Christmas in prison has passed and we still live to tell the tale. The expected release of political prisoners did not materialize—and as I have a reputation for veracity to maintain, I will not say that I was not disappointed, but, as Kipling says, that's another story'.

"I received a wonderful shower of Christmas cards and letters from all parts of the country. I appreciate this more than words can express. Many Cards were simply signed 'Comrade', others with names and addresses. All bore expressions of cheer and comradeship.

"But among the many sentiments, there is one from some unknown comrade in Chicago that stands out as prominent as a sore thumb on a few words, written in a scrawling hand, by a

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well hand. The card from this comrade had these workingman:

"Best wishes from one who fought for Democracy. You all were RIGHT."

"I have received many gifts of food, tobacco, etc., from kind comrades which I appreciate very much, but somehow this postal from this unknown comrade has touched my heart, and now I feel that I can stay here until Hell freezes over and sinners get away on skates. I wish you could find this comrade and get his story—it may be interesting. . . . I would rather be a convict in Atlanta than a miner in West Virginia. God help them—man seems to have forgotten them.

"Gratefully and fraternally yours,

"Joseph Coldwell, Convict No. 10,057."

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