

THE VANGUARD.

"We're beaten back in many a fray,
Yet newer strength we borrow,
And where the Vanguard camps to-day,
The rear shall rest tomorrow."

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The essence of slavery did not lie in the fact that the slaves were ill fed, ill clothed or ill housed. If it had been true that they were better fed, clothed and housed in slavery than in freedom, still slavery would not have been justified. The evil of slavery was not that families were separated. If the law had provided explicitly that slave families should not have been separated, still slavery would have been unjust. The injustice was not in specific acts of cruelty. If there had never been a Legree, still slavery would have been unjust. It was not that the slaves were denied education. In Rome the slaves were educated; and authors, copyists and literary men were held in slavery, and still slavery was unjust. The wrong of slavery lay in this: that **PERSONALITY WAS INVADDED; THE PRODUCT OF THE MAN WAS TAKEN FROM HIM; HE HAD PUT A PART OF HIS LIFE INTO THE WORLD, AND WAS ROBBED OF IT.** Whosoever and howsoever society does this, it does injustice.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

Jesus knew what he was about when he hurled his most terrible words of denunciation at the religious professors who devoured widows' houses and for a pretense gave tithes and said prayers. If here today, there can be no question as to where he would be found in the present struggle of the common people against corporate greed. He would occupy no doubtful "non-committal" neither-one-thing-nor-the-other position, but would "take sides" squarely in behalf of humanity and a new social order.

Of all people in the world the ministers of the gospel ought to be first and foremost in advocacy of Socialism. They certainly would be if they understood it and are sincere in their preaching of peace and good-will. If they do not understand Socialism in these days when it is the live topic of discussion or if they have not the courage to espouse it because it has not yet become sufficiently popular, they ought to be too ashamed to look intelligent and honest men in the face. Let them know, however, that Socialism will free even them. It will deliver the church from the clutch of mammon and permit it to carry on its work with clean money and a clear conscience. It will enable men to practice the Sermon on the Mount. Under Socialism the church will never experience the humiliation it is now suffering at the hands of the money power.

The defense which the Missionary Board makes in its acceptance of Rockefeller's money is that the church in all ages has welcomed all gifts asking no questions for filthy lucre's sake. This is not altogether true, for there have been times when the church has had enough moral stamina and self-respect to refuse the offerings of less shameful violators of moral law than Standard Oil! But it is seldom we now hear of any proffered gifts of "stolen money" being declined by religious institutions. On the contrary we continually hear of clergymen and educators fawningly beseeching some piratical "captain of industry" for a share of the loot obtained through robbing the public and riding rough-shod over every precept of the gospel. And it is not strange that so conservative a writer as Prof. Ladd should feel obliged to describe the ethical condition of the churches as "low and nerveless," and that there should be considerable concern over the morals that issue from our colleges.

It is to be hoped that the agitation over the Rockefeller gift to foreign missions will open the eyes of the church people to see their complicity in the moral crimes of the present economic system of which Rockefeller is but a representative. Here, for instance, is a sentence from "The History of the Carnegie Steel Co.," by James H. Bridges, private secretary to Mr. Car-

negie: "No great business has yet been built upon the Beatitudes, and it is not all cynicism which condenses the negative decalogue into the positive exhortation to be successful—somehow." Here is the testimony of Paul Morton, formerly of the Santa Fe railroad, now Secretary of the Navy, given under oath in the United States Circuit Court in Los Angeles: "We tried the costly experiment of being honest in this thing—and we lost so much business that we found we had got to do as the Romans did." "The fact of the matter is," says the Wall street Journal, "that the moral law finds no expression in the law of business." These are frank confessions, but they simply bear out the charge that Socialists have all along been making. "Capitalism," as Hyndman says, "has no ethic."

Admitting the truth of all that Dr. Washington Gladden is saying as to the criminality of Rockefeller, it is also true that the money of Rockefeller does not essentially differ from that which is "made" in other channels of trade. Nothing is becoming clearer today than that the dominant factor in what is called "business" success is exploitation. Men "make" money or "amass" fortunes by what they term "shrewdness." But boiled down to hard fact, "shrewdness" usually means getting wealth without creating it or giving value in return. And this is robbery. That it may be done legally, that "they all do it," or that it spells "success" affects not the inherent dishonesty of the transaction. "Standard Oil" is but an exaggerated form of the whole character and inevitable working of capitalism. Rockefeller's money is no more "tainted" than the money that is being "made" by Rockefeller methods on a smaller scale on all sides. And the truth is that institutional Christianity could not move its machinery another day if its share of profit, plunder, unclean donations and stolen endowments were withheld. We venture to assert that even the money which finds its way into the treasury of Dr. Gladden's own church bears the "taint" of Rockefellerism. Socialism will place business on an honest basis.

John D. Rockefeller is a type. He represents the big "business interest" of the country of which we hear so much, especially at election times, and whose

behests both Republican and Democratic politicians are ready to obey. "Business" is now being shown to be rotten to the core. Rockefeller stands for the whole "system." He says truly that his methods do not differ from those common to the commercial world. He also represents the complicity of the church in the notoriously vicious practices of "the system." He belongs to the church (or perhaps we should say the church belongs to him). Anyway, he has "got religion." "The personal comfort that religion has been to me," he says, "has been such that sometimes I feel that I would like to go upon the lecture platform and tell the people about it." And why should we question his sincerity any more than that of thousands of others who may likewise be found in the place of worship one day in the week, while the other six days they are engaged in "business" which involves the most un-Christian, unjust and cruel practices? Indeed, we may as well at once admit that "the system" enthralls us all and forces upon us a "financial morality" as distinct from that of the Sermon on the Mount as night is from day. Here as everywhere else in these days we face the moral bankruptcy of commercialism, with its deadly influence upon the church. And we shall look in vain for relief from the evils complained of until we are thoroughly aroused to the duty of taking a straight stand against the whole capitalistic system of exploitation which contradicts the fundamentals of morality and makes possible such a hideous travesty of Christianity as that which Rockefeller and his millions represent.

The letter of Mr. F. T. Gates, confidential secretary of Rockefeller, written to the oil magnate at the request of Secretary Barton of the Missionary Board, recommending the gift of \$100,000, is now made public and is interesting reading. The following excerpts from this letter, which no one was expected to see but Mr. Rockefeller, throw light on the "motives" of the "philanthropist" as well as on what the writer calls the "good business policy" of the whole missionary enterprise from the capitalist point of view:

"Quite apart from the question of persons converted, the mere commercial results of missionary effort to our own land

is worth, I had almost said, a thousand-fold every year of what is spent on missions. For illustration: Our commerce today with the Hawaiian Islands, which are now christianized and no longer take missionary money, is, I am told, \$17,000,000 per year. Five per cent of that in one year would represent all the money that ever was spent in christianizing and civilizing the natives. When the missionaries went there, the Hawaiians were cannibals, without a dollar of exports or imports. Today these islands are an immense source of wealth and of comfort to the American people.

"What is true of Hawaii is even more strikingly true of Japan and its commerce. Missionary enterprise, therefore, viewed solely from a commercial standpoint, is immensely profitable. From the point of view of subsistence for Americans, our import trade, traceable mainly to the channels of intercourse opened up by missionaries, is enormous.... Our export trade is growing by leaps and bounds. Such growth would have been utterly impossible but for the commercial conquest of foreign lands under the lead of missionary endeavor. What a boon to home industry and manufacture! An officer of the United States Steel Corporation tells me that that company alone is exporting American products to between forty and fifty different countries.... We are only in the very dawn of commerce, and we owe that dawn, with all its promise, more than to anything else, to the pioneer work and the channels opened up by Christian missionaries."

Stripped of all palaver about the salvation of the heathen, missions are thus considered as a "business proposition." Who says Christianity is not commercialized?

A Vision of Today.

I passed the plate in church.

There was a little silver; but the crisp bank notes heaped themselves up high before me;

And ever as the pile grew the plate became warmer and warmer, until it fairly burned my fingers, and a smell of scorching flesh rose from it, and I perceived that some of the notes were beginning to smolder and curl, half-browned at the edges.

And then I saw through the smoke into the very substance of the money, and beheld what it really was;

I saw the stolen earnings of the poor, the wide margin of wages pared down to starvation;

I saw the underpaid factory girl eking out her living on the street, and the overworked child, and the suicide of the discharged miner;

I saw poisonous gases from the great manufactories spreading disease and death;

I saw despair and drudgery filling the dram-shop;

I saw rents screwed out from brother men for permission to live on God's land;

I saw men shut out from the bosom of the earth and begging for the poor privilege to work in vain, and becoming tramps and paupers and drunkards and lunatics, and crowding into almshouses, insane asylums and prisons;

I saw ignorance and vice and crime growing rank in stifling, filthy slums;

I saw usury spring from usury, itself again born of unjust monopoly and purchased laws and legalized violence;

I saw shoddy cloth and adulterated food and lying goods of all kinds, cheapening men and women and vulgarizing the world;

I saw hideousness extending itself from coal-mine and foundry over forest and river and field;

I saw money grabbed from fellow-grabbers, and swindled from fellow-swindlers, and underneath them the workman forever spinning it out of his vitals;

I saw the laboring world, thin and pale and bent and careworn and driven, pouring out this tribute from its toil and sweat into the laps of the richly dressed men and women in the pews, who only glanced at them to shrink from them in disgust;

I saw the gifts of the wealthy and well-to-do given grudgingly from hoards so great that they could not be missed, as a bribe from superstition to a dishonest judge in the expectation of escaping hell.

I saw all this, and the plate burned my fingers so that I had to hold it first in one hand and then in the other; and I was glad when the person in his official robes took the smoking pile from me and, turning about, lifted it up and laid it on the altar.

It was an old-time altar indeed, for it bore a burnt offering of flesh and blood—a sweet savor unto the Moloch whom these people worship with their daily round of human sacrifices.

The shambles are in the temples as of yore, and the tables of the money-changers waiting to be overturned.

Ernest Crosby.

Socialism and Prohibition.

By REV. A. M. STIRTON,

Formerly a Member of the Prohibition Party.

Note.—These pages embody much of what the author has from time to time presented in sermons and lectures, hence the occasional use of the first personal pronoun and the occasional hortatory style.

The author acknowledges his debt to Comrade Young's book on "Rational Prohibition," whose phraseology, also, in some half a dozen sentences, he has adopted.



HE characteristic thing in a Socialist's view of any question is his insistence on facts. And this insistence distinguishes the Socialist from the typical Prohibitionist, among others, in his view of the Liquor Traffic.

In these pages no specific attack is made on the Prohibition party. The present writer voted for Woolley in 1900, and the following pages embody his reasons for changing his party and voting for Debs in 1904.

The typical Prohibitionist is not a statistician. With figures he has little to do and with close reasoning from mathematical premises less. His appeal is to the moral sentiment of his auditors. "The saloon is an iniquity," he cries, "therefore join the Prohibition party and vote it out." The purpose of this pamphlet is to show that changes in our economic structure vastly more radical than the Prohibitionist ordinarily contemplates must be made before Prohibition could be made effectual, even with a Prohibition party in power.

The writer uses the word Prohibitionist in this pamphlet in its narrower sense, denoting a voter of the political party of that name. He is a prohibitionist himself in the wider sense of one who works for the elimination of the liquor traffic. And this is one reason of his membership in the Socialist party.

But to save confusion the word "Prohibitionist" is used in this article in the sense defined above, with especial reference to one in the Prohibitionist party who has not yet embraced the Socialist philosophy.

Everyone has noticed how the typical Prohibitionist speaker begins his discourse by telling his auditors that he need not detain them long, enumerating the evils of the liquor traffic. With these they are conversant. And straightway the speaker begins with much fervor to press the moral reasons why such a traffic should be "voted out of existence."

The Socialist method of dealing with any problem is radically different, being statistical, reasoned, mathematical. The Socialist, whatever his theories on any subject, will always take off his hat to a fact.

Let me illustrate the method by asking your attention to the economic aspects of the liquor traffic. My figures can in each case be verified by reference to the twelfth census or to the revenue receipts of the government.

The American people spend annually in intoxicants one billion five hundred million dollars! The writer is indebted to Dr. Dickie for an apt method of illustrating what this amount of money means. It would

build more houses than there are in Chicago at a cost of \$2000 each. It would furnish each of these houses at an additional cost of \$1500 each. There would be enough left to place a \$5.00 gold piece in the hand of every man, woman and child in the United States and there would still be 50 million dollars left. If this were spent for some useful commodity we might well rejoice; if it were spent for something harmless we might view it with equanimity, but as a matter of fact many people were sadly injured, and many lost their lives through this traffic in liquor. Dr. Swallow computes that there are 100,000 who thus annually lose their lives, and all things considered, what with disease engendered, what with crime, what with accidents caused, what with deaths directly due to acute alcoholism, this estimate is probably not out of the way. But for the sake of certainty let us cut these figures in half and call the number 50,000. Were then the victims who lost their lives yearly by the liquor traffic in the United States to be loaded on cars it would take 10 trains of 50 cars each, each car loaded with 100 dead bodies, to move their ghastly freight, and were these victims laid in one long funeral trench, it would make such a trench 50 miles long.

Horrible is the thought, how much more horrible the reality!

For this is not a picture of what might be, but of a condition which actually surrounds us.

Nor is this all. Every one will realize, and the Socialist with his figures will be the first to insist, that the sum total of human misery thus engendered can never be revealed in statistics. What with the heart-aches, the insanity, the blighted homes, the crime, the social disgrace thus caused, no finite mind can grasp the iniquities justly to be attributed to the liquor traffic. I have only indicated a few red bubbles on a vast ocean of sin and shame, of guilt and horror and despair whose depths God alone can sound.

And yet I am not a party Prohibitionist, but a party Socialist. I believe in my heart that the Socialist party, in addition to all other blessings which it brings mankind, is vastly better qualified to deal with the liquor traffic than is the Prohibition party. Let me tell you why.

In reference to the liquor traffic, three mental attitudes are possible: First, one of indifference; secondly, one of unreasoning antagonism; thirdly, one of antagonism based on patient scientific investigation.

Let us examine each of them in turn.

What can be said for the attitude of complaisant indifference? Probably as much and no more as can be said for complaisant indifference toward any social evil.

It is sometimes said that "if you let whiskey alone it will let you alone." But this is absolutely untrue. The people who suffer most from whiskey are those who let it alone—the wives, mothers, children of drunkards. And we all suffer from it and are menaced by it as we should be while the liquor traffic is permitted to exist. It is said that one family in five has either a son who is a drunkard, or a daughter who is a drunkard's wife. What guarantee have you and I that our homes shall not be among those which are thus afflicted while a single saloon is permitted to exist.

And yet men are indifferent to these things with the same logic and with the same quality of morals with which they are indifferent to other social evils directly due to capitalism. What of child labor in the mines and in the silk and cotton mills? What of the poverty of New York sewing women as shown by Helen Campbell and Mrs. Van Vorst? What of the emaciated multitudes of our large cities huddled in unwholesome tenements like rabbits in a warren, because speculators "own" the land and he who builds must buy or rent of them, must pay for the privilege of living or get off the earth.

Cast not the first stone, my temperance friend, at him who is guiltily indifferent toward the liquor traffic unless you have organized your life to oppose the giant robberies of capitalism, nor presume to shed tears over the woes of the drunkards' family unless you too have wept for the massacre of the innocents in the factories. It is little short of an impertinence for anyone today to profess attachment to any phase of reform unless he is likewise the avowed enemy of capitalism. And if you are the friend and advocate of capitalism with its sweat shops and child labor, yet decry the evils of intemperance, if you defend the "vested rights" of the exploiter, yet clamor for the confiscation of the rum-seller's business.—"Thou hypocrite: First cast out the beam out of thine own eye, then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote from thy brother's eye."

Something more can be said for the second attitude of mind possible, that of unreasoning hostility. It is at least and at most moral. Something can perhaps be done against any evil simply by decrying it, even if the declaimer have no practical plan for its suppression. Not that these methods have brought much fruit to perfection in the effort to secure State Prohibition. We have had it in Vermont; and it has been repealed; we have had it in Iowa and they have driven it out of Iowa; we have had it in Michigan and it has been repealed there, and Carrie Nation and her hatchet have testified that it is a screaming farce in Kansas. None the less, much has been done by those brave men and women of the Anti-Saloon League, the W. C. T. U., the Prohibition party and similar organizations who, though they did not understand the real causes of the liquor traffic and the work that must be done, yet by their denunciations have kept public conscience alive on the subject.

But is this the most and the best that can be done?

The writer pleads for the third mental attitude possible, that of opposition based on patient scientific inquiry.

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In connection with the sale of alcoholic liquors there are three factors: the consumer, the seller and the manufacturer. A word concerning each of them in turn.

As to the consumer. Why do men form the liquor habit, or frequent the saloon?

Some for the sake of the intoxicant, some for company, some through the fancied or real need of a stimulant created by overwork. Men crave and will have some form of excitement. If healthful means are not to be had, they will take up with unhealthful means. Repress

human nature at the top and it will break out at the bottom every time. No thoughtful person denies that while intemperance is one cause of poverty, poverty is also a leading cause of intemperance.

All of which is tremendously accentuated during labor troubles and still more during one of those periodical seasons of distress, called a "panic," which are inherent in the capitalistic system.

The fact is that at such times the saloon is about the only place where a workingman can go, meet with friends, talk over his troubles and hopes, enjoy a fire and lights and go out again without buying anything. And even if he is without a cent to spend at the time and hence does not contract the liquor habit then, he contracts meanwhile the saloon-going habit. It is easier to go again, meanwhile when "prosperity" returns to take an occasional drink. First the man takes a drink, then the drink takes a drink, then the drink takes the man. Can anyone fail to see that with the inauguration of a new and sane system of society in which the laborer would receive the full product of his toil, and the periodic panic due to underconsumption thus eliminated, in which, moreover, chronic poverty, with its resultant ignorance and wretchedness, overcome, one powerful cause of liquor drinking would be done away?

And yet, as is well known, the drinker is only one factor, and far from the most important one, of the liquor traffic. Every one who has at any time been engaged in any effort for the suppression of the saloon, has soon learned that the liquor traffic is not intrenched in the thirst of the buyer, but in the economic interests of the seller. The drinker was never known to make much of a fight for the continuance of the traffic, often enough he will go to the polls and vote against it. It is doubtful if ever a measure has been carried looking to the limitation or extinction of the saloon, which could have been carried solely with the efforts of total abstainers. But whenever such a measure is passed it is always after a terrific fight with the "liquor interests," and these interests always mean the financial interests of those who are engaged in the sale of liquor.

Shall we then settle the matter off-hand by throwing sticks at the saloonkeeper and his bartender? Are they a species of fiend incarnate and the source of all the woe which flows from the traffic in intoxicating liquors?

The writer believes that the average saloonkeeper is no worse man than the average citizen. He, too, is but a cog in the wheel and the victim as we all are of our economic environment.

The writer has just as much respect for a rum-seller as he has for a strike-breaker and no word or thought of hardness toward either of them. They are, for the most part, simply men who have been coerced by untoward circumstances into doing an unworthy and unsocial thing. For men come into the liquor business for many causes, but they are all held in it for one reason—the profits.

Unquestionably a number of men are selling liquor who heartily detest the business, yet fear to abandon it, because of the uncertainties

of the "labor market." More than once the writer while doing the work of an evangelist endeavoring to persuade men to a better life has been answered: "But I am in a bad business."

"Well," I would urge, "give up your business and go at something else."

"I am afraid to. I have a wife and children depending on me and I am afraid that, like others, I might not find work, and what would become of them?"

More than once I have talked with men who have been in the liquor business, whose personal experiences confirmed the ideas set forth in these pages.

Imagine a case like this. The usual panic due to the accumulation of the laborer's product in capitalist hands has settled down on the land, or the incoming of a labor-saving machine has dispossessed a man of his employment. He seeks work day after day, finding none, only to learn that in the labor market the supply exceeds the demand. Meanwhile his slender savings are consumed and his family begins to be in need. Put yourself in that man's place. But no: No one can imagine such an experience unless he has actually suffered it. To a man who is a man it would be hell on earth. I use no rash or unconsidered words when I say that I have never read any description of any sort of a hell that to me would be more unendurable than to see my wife and child want, while I, willing and able, could find no work to do because of capitalistic "over-production."

But along comes the brewer and offers this man a situation. Says he will give him \$75.00 a month as bartender, or offers to set him up in the saloon business and stock his bar, giving him plenty of opportunity and time to pay for his outfit. What will this man do? What ought he to do? And we must ask what he *will* do as well as what he *ought* to do.

If we are in earnest about desiring to suppress the liquor traffic we will consider men and the motives which actuate them not only as we think they ought to be, *but as they actually are*. If on the other hand the reader's temperance proclivities are simply a means of furnishing himself with a little cheap self-righteousness in refusing an evil which he refuses to consider, the remainder of this article will be of no further interest to him.

It is written for men and women who seek not simply to "shift responsibility" for this traffic and "keep their ballots white," but actually to compass its destruction.

Let once the co-operative commonwealth of Socialism appear with none to shut the factory door, or to deny access to the land, and no possibility of "glutting the market" since the purchasing power of each will be equal to his productive efforts, and none shall be constrained to enter a detested business through lack of employment.

So much for the liquor-seller; what can be said of the manufacturer? Here we are more directly brought face to face with the workings and the power of capitalism. There are in round numbers one and a half billion dollars and over invested in the liquor traffic in the United States. Considering the fact always insisted upon by Prohibitionists that capital

employs fewer laborers in proportion to the amount invested in this industry than in any other, and the fact that the manufacture of liquor is centralized in a few hands, a conservative estimate would give these liquor capitalists yearly revenues of 70 million dollars.

Or we can arrive at the same conclusion by another route of thinking. On the very conservative supposition that for every \$20.00 spent in alcoholic liquors, annually \$1.00 finds its way into the chests of these liquor kings as clear profits, they have again and more their 70 million dollars annually.

What do these liquor kings do with their enormous annual dividends? What does dominant capital do in any line of industry with its dividends? There is only one thing on earth that dominant capital can do and that is to re-invest these dividends in the industries of the country. Instance the case of a man with say 10 million dollars annually. He cannot spend this money. He cannot realize it in currency and lock it up in a strong box to go and look at once in a while. He must realize his dividends as re-investments. This applies to the revenues of the liquor capitalists as it applies to all others.

But this produces competition among the several capitalists for a place where they may re-invest their dividends with the result that each is constrained so far as possible to re-invest his dividends in enlarging the industries which he now controls. This applies to the liquor business as to all others. We have then, thanks to capitalism, a situation in which a few brewers and distillers have a war chest of 70 million dollars annually, which for the most part they are constrained to expend in spreading the liquor traffic. Does any one wonder that the consumption of alcohol is on the increase despite all that has been said, sung, written, prayed, and voted against it? Does any one wonder at the marvelous increase in liquor advertising? Is it likely that these liquor capitalists will be niggardly of funds in corrupting legislatures and officials when they have this war chest of 70 million dollars yearly? Is it any wonder that they have been able to wet-blanket so much that temperance reformers have tried so hard to do?

Because of this necessity for re-investing dividends, the same economic developments are taking place in the liquor traffic which show in the lines of commerce, that is, the small establishment is passing away or becoming an adjunct to the large establishment. In the mercantile world, as is well known, this shows itself not so much in the actual passing away as in the demoralization of the small retailer's business. More and more the small store is owned by and becomes an adjunct of the large wholesale establishment. Precisely the same thing is true in the liquor traffic. When in Fostoria, O., recently the writer was informed that there were 32 saloons in the place and that only in three instances did the "proprietor" own his own bar fixtures. The city of Detroit affords 1,000 saloons, yet the brewing companies alone pay the licenses of 200 of these—are so accredited in the treasurer's office—and no one knows of how many more they actually pay the license likewise.

Mr. Walsh, license inspector in the city of Minneapolis, is quoted in the Outlook, Aug. 27, 1904, as saying that eleven-twelfths of the

saloon licences in that city are paid by the brewers, and similar conditions, of course, for the same reasons obtain throughout the country.

Is it likely that this powerful interest, daily becoming more consolidated in obedience to the laws of finance, will be easily curbed by local-option laws?

Is it likely that a liquor king with an income of 10 million dollars, which he is constrained to re-invest, will be forced to obey such laws as we have now, because he is fined \$50.00 for violating these laws in one of his outposts?

Is it likely that this powerful moneyed interest will be easily crushed while the investing power of money remains as it is?

To overthrow the liquor interest we must overthrow the money power.

To overthrow the money power, opportunities for investment in the exploitation of labor must be done away, in other words rent, interest and profits abolished and Socialism inaugurated.

When we have seen all this we have only begun to see the obstacles which capitalism offers to the control, say nothing about the suppression of the liquor traffic.

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There are in round numbers 300,000 men in the United States employed in making and selling alcoholic liquors. To which add all those engaged in making such cooperage and glassware as that trade directly calls for, and such drayage as it necessitates, and it would be a conservative estimate indeed to say that 500,000 men are kept in work directly by the liquor traffic.

What to do with these 500,000 men did prohibition prevail under capitalism is the problem. The labor market is already full, even in our most prosperous times. Does anyone doubt it? Let him watch the progress of a strike, no matter how justly called. The boast of the employers that they can always find plenty of men to take the place of the strikers if these last will go quietly to their homes and abstain from picketing is no idle one. Despite the obloquy attaching to the strike-breaker plenty of such men can always be found, because the labor market it always full.

Is it, then, seriously proposed to turn 500,000 men with their dependents out of employment, without compensation or guarantees of any kind, onto a labor market already full?

Is it likely that this can be done?

Is it likely that 500,000 men will put up some sort of a fight before they will submit to be evicted from their present means of employment and left to make a fight for life as best they can in an already congested "labor market"?

This much will probably be conceded at once by every fair-minded and reasonable man that before we can hope to do away with the liquor traffic we must solve in advance the problem of employment for these 500,000 men whom Prohibition aims to displace. And not for these 50,000 men alone, but likewise for that other army of at least 50,000 yearly who are now destroyed by liquor and who would, of course, be preserved to compete in the struggle for existence were the traffic in in-

toxicants effectually suppressed. The employment problem for this mighty host absolutely must be solved, and in advance, ere the traffic can be done away. Let us with much patience examine every solution that has been offered.

Times and again the writer has heard the Prohibitionist speaker declare that "we would set all these men at work in our cloth factories making coats for those who now are coatless through strong drink, we would set them at work making shoes for the now unshod feet of the drunkard's children, making stoves and digging coal for those who are now without the comforts of warmth," and when he was a child this seemed to him all that was necessary to say on the subject.

The fallacy in all this is, of course, the quiet assumption that "we" have such industries under "our" control in which without let or hindrance we could set people at work. And under Socialism this would be true. But not so does capitalism proceed. Capitalism buys labor as it buys potatoes and onions, for the lowest price possible, and always operates industry with as few men as possible.

There lies before me as I write, the Detroit Times of Dec. 6, 1904, in which anent his troubles at Zeigler, Joseph Leiter is quoted as saying. "Labor unions at Zeigler or any other place can't put a collar around my neck and give me orders what kind of labor I shall buy with my money. When I go into the market to purchase labor I propose to retain just as much freedom as does the purchaser in any other kind of a market. There is no difficulty in obtaining labor, for the country is full of unemployed men."

There it is in a nutshell, the spirit of capitalism, and what is of more importance, its method. With capitalism an increase in the number of the unemployed never means a shortening of hours, but always a shortening of pay. Capitalism is never concerned to find employment for all, but rather its interests always lie in the existence of a great mass of the unemployed.

But another argument has been advanced. It is claimed that prohibition of the liquor traffic would release the enormous amount of one billion five hundred million dollars now spent annually in liquor which would therefore be spent in useful avenues of trade and furnish employment to those displaced by prohibition. The fallacy which underlies this argument is the assumption that this sum of money is at present used for no other purpose than the purchase of intoxicating drink. But a moment's reflection will show that this is not the case. A dollar passes over the bar into the saloonkeepers's till. Does it remain there forever? Does the saloonkeeper destroy it? Or does he in turn use that dollar in paying taxes and purchasing commodities, thus sending it into general circulation again? Possibly enough that same dollar inside of three months has bought five times its value in groceries, been banked a dozen times and paid three times by stalwart prohibitionists on the pastor's salary.

The fact is that the money now spent in alcoholic liquors circulates as freely as any other in the purchase of commodities and hence there is no such fund as some suppose which could be released by prohibition for the furtherance of useful enterprises. But some will say, "It is not

claimed that prohibition would increase the actual volume of money, but that through closing the avenue through which one billion and a half passes now it would hasten its circulation which would have all the economic value of an increase in volume." Let us see.

There are two ways in which the circulation of money may be hastened, (1) by passing through fewer hands; (2) by an increase in the cost of living coupled with an increase in the general purchasing power. A word on each of these. (1) If the money of the country were made to pass through fewer hands as the present writer contends it would with Prohibition under capitalism, then woe for those through whose hands it did not pass at all. They would be the 500,000 whose case has been already considered.

(2) An increased cost of living with increased purchasing power could only appear as a result, never as a cause, of increased demand for labor. We have seen already that an increase in the number of laborers available under capitalism only means a decrease in wages, hence also in the cost of living.

Another form of the same idea is this, that at present a great many "bad debts" are contracted, to the detriment of merchants and others and to the general stagnation of industry, because inebriates spend the money in liquor which should go to the purchase of necessities for their families. True, but those who live by the liquor traffic spend the same money for *their* necessities in the furtherance of trade and industry. Prohibition would not increase the volume of money. The most that it could accomplish would be a transference of purchasing power from one individual to another. And of what moment is this as affecting the general welfare? A bad debt on the part of the inebriate due to his habits is no more an economic loss than a bad debt would be contracted by a worker in the liquor traffic unable to pay because of enforced idleness under Prohibition. But it is said that the inebriate's inability to pay is not due alone, nor chiefly to his expenses, but to his inability to work. True, but by so much as liquor incapacitates him it retires him from competition with his fellows, who thus, through the law of supply and demand, are enabled to secure a better wage.

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The purchasing power which Prohibition proposes to confer upon the inebriate is now shared by the employes of the liquor traffic and by the laborers with whom the inebriate is unable to compete. A transference of purchasing power without any net increase in the same would never provide employment for additional laborers, least of all for the half million and more which Prohibition aims to displace.

The liquor traffic has the same economic functions that war has. Alike they are great destroyers of human life and property. Alike because of this they relieve the glut in the market due to the accumulation of surplus product and through lessening the stress of competition in the labor market raise the wages of the survivors. This is of course true under capitalism where everything moves by competition, the downfall of one being a necessary incident in the rise of another. But under Socialism with its abolition of competition and the wage system all this

would be changed, and war, intemperance and every social evil would be a dead loss to society. And this is one reason why society under Socialism would tolerate none of them very long.

The argument from experience is called upon and it is asserted that Maine has successfully enforced a Prohibitory law, with the result that the wealth of the people has materially increased as shown by the fact that the percapita wealth of Maine is very much greater than that of states like Illinois whose natural resources are much greater. And it is argued that what Maine has done, other states and the whole Union might do as successfully. Let us observe:

(1) The major promise that Maine does enforce a prohibitory law may very seriously be questioned.

(2) The liquor problem, as is well known, is always more difficult to solve in large cities, and least difficult in rural districts. There is not a large city in the state of Maine. Her three principal cities, Lewiston, Portland and Bangor, if condensed into one would not make a city one third as large as Detroit. The whole population of the state of Maine, rural and urban, scarcely exceeds $1/5$ that of Greater New York.

(3) As to the wealth per capita of Maine and Illinois it is of the very nature of capitalism that where natural resources are richest the poverty of the people is greatest, for thither capitalism summons its armies of wage slaves.

(4) Even if Prohibition could be effected in one small corner that would not prove that it could be effected with equal facility throughout the Union. The liquor interests would not think it worth while to contend strenuously for the trade of a small state like Maine while they had an enormous open market elsewhere.

(5) The essential obstacle to Prohibition under capitalism, employment for the displaced and rescued, would not be felt in state Prohibition on a small scale at all, seeing that a few hundred displaced tradesmen might easily find employment by going elsewhere, perhaps to continue their trade in alcoholic liquors. Not so with half a million men did Prohibition obtain over the whole country.

A curious "argument," worthy of a moment's notice, is that of Mr. Carroll in his acceptance of the Vice-Pres. nomination of the Prohibition party. In effect it is this. Consumption of liquors lowers the productivity of the laborer, hence his wages. Remove the liquor, the productivity, hence also the wages will be increased. A school-boy should reason better than this. The veriest tyro in economics should know that wages are not determined by the laborer's productivity, but by the cost of his subsistence. Competition tends to force all commodities on the market at about the cost of their production. But labor power is also a commodity and its cost of production is the laborer's subsistence. Which term includes not simply the bare necessities of life, but that with which the average laborer will be submissive.

Hence not productivity at all, but the average cost of subsistence determines the laborer's wage. And as to depriving him of his beverages, so far as his outlay is thus lessened so far will his wages fall.

A lady once said to the writer in indignation against the trade unions: "If they would spend less money for beer they wouldn't need

to ask their bosses for so much wages." Well said and truly. They wouldn't need so much wages and the "bosses" would reap the economic benefit. For as the redoubtable Mr. Leiter declares: "Capital proposes to be just as free when it goes into the market to purchase labor as does the purchaser in any other kind of a market." This, too, for the men in employment now, without making any provision or allowance whatever for the half million men and more which Prohibition aims to displace.

Anyone can see that if increased production meant a general increase of wages this increase would follow the introduction of every labor-saving or product-increasing machine.

But does it? Not under capitalism.

If ten men have employment today and tomorrow a machine is introduced whereby one man can produce as much as all ten formerly produced, does that mean that all ten would therefore receive an increase of pay? More probably it means that nine of them would lose their jobs.

Under Socialism, however, all this would be changed. The more the public created the more they would have. Every increase in the general productivity would be welcomed and every condition including intemperance which tended to decrease production, would find itself arrayed against the economic interests of society. An additional reason why the traffic could not long survive the inauguration of Socialism.

The favorite economic contention of party Prohibitionists, however, is set forth at great length in the "Citizen" of Harriman, Sem. issue of Aug. 31, 1904.

This issue was extensively issued as a campaign document, and its argument deserves extended notice. It is this: Under Prohibition and the consequent reclamation of thousands from inebriety the standard of living would be so materially raised, that to supply these new and enlarged demands would set industry in motion and more than provide for the 500,000 men displaced by Prohibition." The fallacy in the foregoing is in the assumption that "demands" in themselves are of economic value, whether supported or not by purchasing power. Not that anyone seriously believes this, but men do not stop to think. If they did there would be more Socialists. "Demands," however insistent, have no economic value except as they are re-inforced by purchasing power.

For that matter we all have "demands" enough now. The writer has "demands" and plenty of them, and probably will have so long as he advocates the principles of Socialism. He can also "give men work" at any time, if that is all they require. But of what benefit to industry is this, seeing that he is so limited in his ability to pay?

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For this additional employment must also be found immediately ere Prohibition can be made effective. It must be found immediately because men cannot live for ten, five, or even one year on nothing, waiting for better times to appear. And the men engaged in the liquor traffic and those lines of industry which it necessitates like other laborers selling their labor power receive but little more than the cost of subsistence, and if dispossessed of present occupation stand in need of employment immediately.

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The Successful Man.

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fact that a number of others held his views exactly, and still a larger number were entirely unmoved by the incident, and yet a larger number than this were totally ignorant of the cause for the decline in price, and unable to suggest any remedy at all, suggested that something should be done to show that all the wisdom of the times is not possessed by the successful men.

"When the writer called upon the successful man, he was busy about his place of business, moving rapidly here and there, directing this employee and that, hurrying up one, showing another how he should do his part of the work. The writer found it difficult to keep within hearing distance of him, but managed to catch every one of his words. The question was put, "What do you think of burning cotton to keep up the price?" "It's none of my business. It's a private matter for those who own it to solve. If they have a thing that is of no use to themselves, let them burn it, or throw it into the river, or do with it whatever they like."

"But if it is destroyed in this way, you would have to pay more for what you need for your own use," the writer interposed.

"I'll always see to getting together enough to pay for all I need, whatever the price," he replied.

"But do you not think that many persons who cannot do this will suffer for the want of it, if it is destroyed?"

"That is not my business, that's theirs, and besides you are thinking only of those who have cotton goods to buy, not of the farmers who have raised it. If it goes down to the price it now is, they will be the sufferers, and cannot afford to raise any more and so they might as well

burn it, as it makes no difference any way."

Now there will be no attempt to analyze fully these questions and replies. The reader will be given ample opportunity to make the most of them. Attention will be directed, however, to the following facts: First, A successful man may have very erroneous ideas of economy. This one seems unconcerned about the waste of a useful article. Possibly because he feels as he says, that it is not his, and as before stated it is more than probable that this feeling and saying is the result of his environment which in part it is now proper to describe. He is one of the class of persons who think only in terms of selling the finished product at a profit, and that profit is the source of his life and his accumulated fortune. He produces nothing; his employees produce nothing; they only sell what some one else has produced. They in no way increase the bulk of wealth, they only gather it together and place it at the disposal of this successful man. It is not difficult therefore to appreciate the fact that such a person in such an environment is very little interested in such a thing as a raw material, feeling as he does that he will always be able to keep his stock of finished product full, and that if anyone wants what he has to sell they will have to pay the price.

Second: A successful man may care very little about the inconvenience and suffering of others, for while this one seems to feel regret for the farmers, he fails to see that they, while possessing abundance of cotton, must buy their cotton goods, just the same as others, and until they can turn this cotton into money they must suffer for clothing just as much as others, to say nothing of

the suffering they must undergo by reason of the lack of food and other things.

Third: A successful man may carry his individualism to extremes, forgetting that while for the present he may take care of himself as he boasts, there are others who can not do so, such as the unfortunate, the widow, the orphan, and who can say whether or not he himself or his own children may not sooner or later fall into these classes.

Fourth: A successful man may be totally ignorant of the basic laws of economics, as was the case with this one by his intimation that things are grown and made to be sold, that is for the purpose of profit to certain individuals rather than for use, that is for the enjoyment, comfort, and improvement of all the people. Moreover it never occurred to him that this profit idea is the very thing that has caused this present slump in the cotton market, and that causes the slumps in all the other markets. He seemed totally unconscious of the fact that it is the middle men, the profit takers, that make it impossible for the growers to live any longer by producing cotton, because after the middle men have taken out their profit there is nothing left for the growers, and that these slumps are produced at certain times in order the more effectually to appropriate this profit.

A friend of the writer who lives in the cotton region of Texas gives the following as an illustration of the course of this raw material, from the time it leaves the hands of the growers until it reaches him again in the form of cotton cloth: "The grower takes a bale to the country storekeeper to settle an old account of a year's standing for goods purchased at a profit to the storekeeper of at least 33½ per cent. This

country storekeeper sells to the wholesale merchant in Dallas who in turn sells to the cotton dealer in New Orleans. The New Orleans firm has the bale compressed a second time, so as to make it into the smallest possible size, and then sells to the manufacturer in Fall River, Mass. This manufacturer sells the cloth to the jobber in New Orleans, the jobber sells to the wholesale merchant in Dallas, the wholesale merchant, through his drummer, sells to the country storekeeper to whom the grower goes to exchange his cotton to cancel that permanent debt. Space forbids a full explanation of the evils of all this commercial machinery, the reader must use his own intelligence and study it out for himself. This much must be clear, that the idea of profit by unnecessary handlers will have to be banished, so that the growers will be encouraged to produce all the cotton that is necessary to comfortably supply all. Then let a sufficient quantity of cotton goods be made to supply the needs of all. Let a simple method of exchange be arranged so that the cotton growers and the cloth makers can supply themselves with the things they have not produced, as they have supplied others with cotton and cloth. Then instead of a few one-sided successful men, there will be a nation of successful, happy, patriotic citizens, living in harmony and fraternity, and making such progress as can not now be conceived.

Do not miss an opportunity these days to make a convert or to sow the good seed of economic emancipation. We are getting face to face with capitalism in all its livid fury and every soldier gained adds strength to our arms. Spread as much literature as you can—keep at it persistently!



Socialist Headquarters.

To achieve the objects of Socialism, the American Socialists have formed the Socialist Party, now organized in all the States of the Union. In New York and Wisconsin, this party is known, for legal reasons, as the Social Democratic Party and in Minnesota as the Public Ownership Party.

NATIONAL SECRETARY: J. MAHLON BARNES, Boylston Bldg. 269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

The Danger of the Race.

Physical Culture Magazine: Dr. Gorton, in his "Ethics, Civic and Political," writes: "Three-fourths of the wealth of the United States has drifted into the hands of one-tenth of its people.

"Should the power of greed continue unchecked to control the laws of trade, the earth and everything of value therein will ultimately be in the hands of a small minority of individuals, now known as capitalists, a class by no means distinguished by meekness; while the majority of mankind will be reduced to dependence and beggary. The result is as inevitable under the present regime as the ebb and flow of the tides, the procession of the seasons or the law of gravity—as the history of all nations and peoples prove.

"It is amazing to us that the thinkers and statesmen of the period do not see the perils which menace Christendom from this mal-condition of things and exercise wisdom and courage sufficient to devise and apply the remedy.

"We are vitally interested in this momentous question; not because of a desire to enter into Socialism. There are a number of magazines that are handling this subject better than we could if we would. We are interested in this question because physical culture is impossible to a man with an empty stomach and unable to buy the wholesome food through which only he is able to build up his body. It is said that the common people of England are deteriorating in physique and in health because of the half-starved condition under which they are forced to live. In New York today are 70,000 hungry school children. The food they do get does not go to nourish or strengthen their bodies, but is rendered non-nutritive by the cramming method of study pursued in

the schools. Hungry children cannot develop into the superbly built men and women that we are hoping to develop by means of physical culture. Thousands of other children are employed in the candy factories, sweatshops and mills of the country by the unfeeling employer—Greed. And these children, instead of becoming magnificent specimens of manhood and womanhood, will never be more than undeveloped, stunted pigmies in stature—dwarfs mentally, morally and physically. For these reasons we are vitally interested in bringing about better conditions among the people."

N. Y. Times (Belmont capitalist): It seems hardly worth while for a man as big as Washington Gladden undoubtedly is, to plan "an organized movement of the churches against the acceptance of John D. Rockefeller's gift to the American Board of Foreign Missions." If he is going to do anything of that kind why doesn't he try to establish a principle or rule of action that will meet, not the case of one rich man, but that of all rich men, and of all rich women, too, and will enable "the churches" to decide in every case whether or not it is right for them and for their followers to accept money offered. As Dr. Gladden knows perfectly well, Mr. Rockefeller, though he may stand on a higher pile of millions than other potential benefactors, is not in a class by himself, even if all the charges against him are well-founded. His business methods, however open to criticism they may be, are not exclusively his. He invented applications of those methods, rather than the methods themselves, and not only is there quite a number of men who do much the same things, but there is a vastly larger number of men who will do the same things IF EVER THEY GET A CHANCE.

SOCIALIST PLATFORM.

Adopted by the National Convention of the Socialist Party,
Chicago, May 5, 1904.

I.

WE, the Socialist Party, in convention assembled, make our appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole society.

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are alike false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great propertied interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take unawares the right of the worker to a vote or a voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public school, the pulpit and the press, the arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths in which our institutions were founded. But under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings to ever become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working

class produces, above its subsistence-wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

Socialism comes to so organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being, thought and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

II.

As an American Socialist Party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national but international, both in organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of the so-called patriotisms which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalists to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalists for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

The socialist movement therefore is a world-movement. It knows of no conflicts of interest between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

III.

The socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world-process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery, as its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever

and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long since ceased to be individual. The labors of scores, or even thousands, enter into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two distinct classes; and from it has sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interest, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

IV.

The socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of this developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of this strain and crisis of civilization, the socialist movement comes as the only saving or conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the socialist movement. The socialist party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for

profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together, and that opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

V.

To the end that the workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government, and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Socialist Party pledges itself to watch and work in both the economic and the political struggle for each successive immediate interest of the working class, for shortened days of labor and increases of wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, and of franchise and land values, the proceeds to be applied to the public employment and bettering the conditions of the worker's children, and their freedom from the workshop; for the equal suffrage of men and women; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist and increase the like powers of the worker.

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America, and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause, to cast their lot and faith with the Socialist Party. Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow-workers is at once an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and those which we represent to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the soil of the economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.

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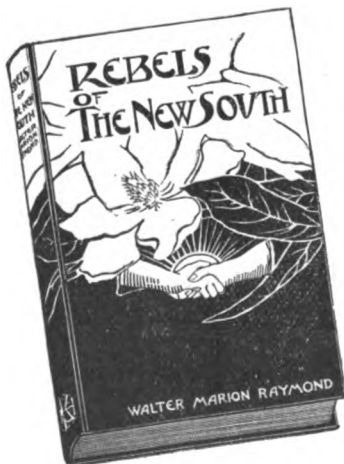
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