

The Vanguard

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The Month's Story

Lobby Brother Johnathan has a mighty good opinion of himself. He has nothing to learn from any effete old European country—not he! Least of all, can any Englishman give
or
Floor? him a pointer. Did we not lick the British at Bennington, Saratoga, Yorktown, etc? Does not that mean that what we don't know is not worth the knowing?

So it was a hard knock when the English fraternal delegates to the last convention of the American Federation of Labor bluntly told the American trades unionists that they were twenty-five years behind their brothers in Great Britain.

And what was worse, and really adding injury to insult, the fraternal delegates proved the truth of this uncomfortable statement.

For the fact is that the British trades unionists know a trick worth two of ours.

How do the American trades unions set to work when they want favorable labor legislation?

They send their representatives to the *lobby* of Congress, to beg the capitalistic politicians for a few crumbs of favor.

The British trades unionists send their representatives to the *floor* of Parliament, where they take their seats as members of the Independent Labor and Social-Democratic parties, working together for the interests of labor.

And the result? Exactly what might be expected. The American trades union lobbyists, cap in hand, get what they deserve—nothing. The British trades union members of Parliament, by standing independent of both capitalist parties, are in a position to dictate labor legislation. The old parties fear them, and fear for the foundations of the capitalist system. And with this fear before their eyes, the capitalist politicians willingly compromise with the new political power of labor by putting through many laws very favorable to the working class.

Take, for instance, the employers' liability act. This measure, as Fraternal Delegate Hodge explained in a recent lecture, so completely embraces all classes of hired workers, that even an assistant clergyman, or curate as he is called in England, might claim damages from his rector if injured in the performance of his duties. And so satisfactory is the compensation received, that if a boy of fifteen is disabled for life, he will not only receive a pension based on the rate of wages he was earning at the time of the accident, but at the end of

a year he may claim higher compensation, based on the raise of wages he would have received if he had not been maimed. And when he becomes a man he will receive as compensation one-half of a man's wages. And this will be paid him till his death.

What moral effect would such a law have upon our railway kings, coal barons and factory lords? Wouldn't they fall over themselves to introduce safeguards of all kinds? Would not life and limb-saving inventions suddenly become paying investments?

And would not mine owners want their mines examined by experts *before*, instead of *after*, the slaughter?

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"Violent and Vicious" Look first upon this picture, then on that! While the Tories and Liberals did not dare to refuse this measure to the British workingmen in Parliament, what do the old party politicians in this country think of such legislation for American wage-workers?

Ex-Governor Black, a prominent New York politician, in an address before the New Hampshire Bar Association, recently took a fling at the employers' liability idea. "Such a measure," he said, "*could serve only to open a new field to the violent and vicious*. It would mean that any servant"—have you noticed, "dignified" American laborer, that the capitalists of late have taken to calling you a servant?—"it would mean that any servant might submit to such injury as he chose, its extent and character being always within his control, and the employer, without fault or knowledge, should make compensation to his faithless employee."

See what a rascal you are, you Yankee wage-slave! You would cut off your right hand with a buzz-saw, or tangle yourself in the belt of the machinery, or mix yourself up in a railway accident, or crush yourself in a mine, just to spite your kind master and live the rest of your life in maimed idleness and crippled luxury.

Now, is it not humiliating to you, American voter, to think that under King Edward no politician would dare to hand out such an insult to British workingmen as this insolent twaddle of this American "statesman" who was, and hopes to be again, elected by vote of the American people?

Do you see what makes the difference between you and your British brother?

When a slave brings a whip and puts it in his master's hand, he must expect to be lashed.

When a workingman brings his vote and puts it in the hands of the capitalist politicians, he must expect that vote to be used upon him as an instrument of correction and humiliation.

That is the worst sting—if you only had the sense to feel it—that these are your own representatives, elected by the votes of workingmen, who make these capitalistic laws for the subjugation of the workingmen.

No, Yankee trades unionist, you have something to learn from your British brother. Throw off the old parties, send your own men to Congress and legislature, and you will be respected and become a force in the political field.

"Hereditary bondmen, know ye not,
Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow?"

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Trusts It is all over. So the papers eagerly assure us every morning and every evening. The crisis is past, the panicky clouds have broken, and the sun of prosperity is once more shining in the capitalistic heaven. But somehow the people with "soap wrappers" in their pockets have their doubts. So have the people without even a "soap wrapper." And especially the thousands of workingmen out of employment have the most serious doubts of all.

Thus there is a difference of opinion as to whether the crisis is ended.

There is also a difference of opinion about how it began.

But on one point no thoughtful observers can differ. All must agree that the financial flurry has left the trusts stronger than ever before.

The great trust-tamer has been discredited. Never did a more popular idol more suddenly lose prestige. Only about a year ago a man in Chicago was fined for coupling Roosevelt's sacred name with a naughty word beginning with a "d." Now all the big financiers and many of the little ones have been publicly "cussing" the president with perfect impunity. Whether Roosevelt's refusal to accept a third term was one result of the financial panic, we can not say. But at any rate his refusal did not excite anything like the regret which hitherto it would have caused. With the exception of a few politicians, nobody seems to be heart-broken.

On the other hand, the big financiers have been able to pose as public benefactors.

There is an old story that once in Rome an immense crevice in the earth opened right under the Roman capitol. The priests assured the people that this gulf would never close till the most precious things in Rome were flung into it. Courage and self-sacrifice being considered the most precious things in those benighted days, Marcus Curtius threw himself into the gap, which at once closed over him and troubled the Romans no more. In these more enlightened times money being recognized as the most precious of all things, our heroes of big finance threw their millions into the financial gulf—but with a string on them, since the money was lent at a good rate of interest—and so the country was saved.

Thus Morgan and Rockefeller have triumphantly ridden the storm, while Teddy's political craft has come out of it much banged and battered.

The truth is that if ever it was possible to "bait" or "curb" or "tame" the trusts, that time has passed. Woe to him who now attempts it! He is pretty sure to be knocked out, sooner or later, by a natural or an artificial panic.

The panic has settled one thing. Regulation will not regulate. Or it will only regulate as far as the big financiers may permit.

Concentrated capital has the whip-hand. The middle class reformer—even if he sits in the White House—is at its mercy.

If the people would learn this, if they would cease to pin their faith to "regulation," and if they would understand that we must *own* not *curb* the trusts—then a panic, with all the suffering it causes, would not be too high a price to pay for this knowledge.

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Austrian Socialists

Our frontispiece this month gives the portraits of five of the eighty-seven Social-Democratic members of the Austrian parliament now in session. Our readers will remember that one of the most remarkable characteristics of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party is that in it the various hostile nationalities of Austria work together in the utmost harmony and good comradeship. The Austrian empire is made up of many races, all hating and fearing each other. Social-Democracy has changed this race enmity to fraternal co-operation within its ranks. Here is a splendid sample of the practical brotherhood which Socialism will one day bring to the whole world.

Our portraits are representative of five of the different nationalities in the Social-Democratic Party of Austria. These men represent all the different races, except the Bohemians, who also sent twenty-four Social-Democrats to the Reichsrath. These, reading from left to right and downward, are Polish, Roumanian, German, Italian and Ruthenian. Of especial interest is the thoughtful face of Dr. Adler, the intellectual giant who has led the Austrian Social-Democrats to their first great victory.

This victory has more than one great lesson. Fifty years ago the Austrian Empire was the despair and the nightmare of all European Radicals. Many of these believed that the dismemberment of this empire was the only hope for the future of Europe. But since then events have marched! Francis Joseph, in his youth a hated tyrant, has lived to see himself forced to grant his subjects universal suffrage. And the first result, at the very first election, is this splendid Social-Democratic representation—the strongest numerically, and perhaps the most thoroughly proletarian, in any parliament of any large country of the world.

"Hours are long on the clock of fate," says a poet. In our generation they have been short and have marked tremendous progress.

And now, American Socialists, when are you going to get started? Where are *your* Socialist members of Congress?

Socialism or Communism?

By VICTOR L. BERGER

UNDER Socialism people will produce, but not consume, in common.

Our aim is Socialism, not Communism. We want this understood.

Between Socialism and Communism there is a great deal of difference.

* * *

Collectivism is not a negation of property, nor is Socialism. Please keep this in mind.

Socialism simply demands the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. We will produce in common, but the consumption will remain individual.

Socialism will control only our capital, not our property. A Socialist commonwealth will not do away with the individual ownership of property, but *only with individual ownership of capital*.

* * *

It is Communism that denies individual ownership of all property. The Communists want to produce and consume in common. There are few *conscious Communists* in the world at the present time.

To make myself still more explicit, "capital" is that part of wealth which is used as means of production—that is, raw materials, as machinery, factories, etc. To socialize these is the aim of all Socialists.

But all products and wares, after they have been distributed for consumption and personal use, will remain private property.

It is necessary to state this at this time because there are some Communists who think they are Socialists.

There are even some editors who seem to find it difficult to distinguish between capital and property from a Socialist standpoint.

A Social-Democracy must socialize capital because in the Co-operative Commonwealth the industrial democracy must rule.

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Under the present capitalistic system collective capital, especially as organized in the trusts and big corporations, has practically nullified most of the advantages of political democracy, and thus the capitalist class has become the ruler of the people.

It is clear from all this that the people must turn privately owned capital into collectively owned capital as a matter of self-preservation.

The people must do it because private capital, which was formerly a means of progress, is now impeding progress.

In short, the private ownership of capital was for several hundred years a historical necessity. Now the collective ownership of capital is becoming a historical necessity.

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That such is the trend of the time we can see at a glance from the discussion that is going on in the daily and weekly papers and in the magazines.

But that trend is toward Socialism, not toward Communism.

The measures that the Socialists will take and must take will closely connect with the present system and evolve from it. As a matter of fact, the collectivity,—that is, the nation, the state and the community—will closely follow along the lines of what people have already long been doing, only they will do this from a Socialistic standpoint.

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So Collectivism is not Communism, and Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, for instance, who in their early days were Communists, later on in life became Collectivists and Social-Democrats. Communism has often been tried and, outside of a few small religious communities, has failed.

About 1840 there was a wave of Fourieristic Communism in this country. It was started by Albert Brisbane, and some of the most brilliant and best men and women this country has ever produced participated in the experiments. But all the Communistic settlements where the religious and ascetic elements were lacking soon came to naught.

* * *

Socialism, or Social-Democracy, has never been tried, because it will be the outcome of modern conditions—of the invention of machinery and the centralization of capital on one hand and the development of political democracy on the other.

Communism would be a step backward, would be a retrogression to a very primitive and low stage of human society.

Social-Democracy will mean a step forward toward a higher civilization than history has ever known.

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Just to emphasize the difference between Collectivism and Communism—between the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution and the common ownership of everything—there is nothing in Collectivism that will prevent people who are so inclined from saving.

They will be able to save just as much as they wish; they will be able to utilize their savings in any manner they choose with one single exception. They will not be able in any possible way to “invest” their savings—that is to say, *they will not be able to use their savings to make profit.*

Of course our capitalists will cry out, “What is the use of a man

possessing a hundred thousand dollars if he cannot invest his money?" which means, what is the use of a man possessing wealth if he cannot use it to work others and live himself without work?

This, I will admit, is a grievance that cannot be helped.

But it is a grievance that is no grievance: First, because under Collectivism there will not be the slightest necessity for individual saving with a view of providing for the future or old age, for care will be taken of every citizen. Second, there will be no encouragement for saving, for accumulating capital will be looked upon as the function of society and not of the individual.

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But it is not my intention to describe the Co-operative Commonwealth, the Socialist Republic or any other future state in this article.

I have simply tried to bring out a *few* of the *differences between Socialism and Communism*, and about these a great deal more may be said.

The Eight-Hour Law

By CARL D. THOMPSON

The Wisconsin state legislature of 1907 passed a straight eight-hour law for all telegraphers.

How did it happen?

The Social-Democrats (Socialists) in the legislature did the work.

And this is how they did it:

First of all, some one had to get the facts together. Nobody knew the telegraphers were over-worked. Nobody thought they had any reason to complain. The railroad officials gravely assured everybody that there was no need whatever of any such law as this. They said the telegraphers themselves had made no complaint whatever and that they didn't want an eight-hour day.

And everybody believed them, of course.

So somebody had to get the facts

together and present them to the people and to the legislature. This the Social-Democrats did. And the *SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD* published

THE FACTS.

Facts are stubborn things.

Wisconsin telegraphers were working twelve hours per day.

Every man performs a long list of duties, arduous and often conflicting. We gave the list in detail.

Hardly a man but works overtime—some to fourteen, some to sixteen, and even eighteen hours per day.

It was not at all unusual for telegraphers to be on duty thirty-six consecutive hours.

We found and verified several cases of men who had been on duty

seventy-two consecutive hours without relief.

Three cases were found of telegraphers who had broken down under the strain, their minds had been shattered, their families broken up, and they had been sent to the insane asylums, where they had died.

So there was a need of an eight-hour law.

And there was another reason. The safety of the traveling public demanded it. 9,703 people were killed and 86,008 wounded in railroad accidents in this country last year. *It is six times as dangerous to life and limb to travel on the private railroads of America as it is to travel on the government owned railroads in Germany*, where there are 3,000,000 Social-Democratic voters and where the railway employes have an eight-hour day.

Why this murderous destruction?

Chiefly because the railway employes are overworked. So there was another reason for an eight-hour law.

THE RAILROADS FIGHT IT.

But the railroad officials and lobbyists told the legislature that the telegraphers didn't want an eight-hour day.

So the Socialists got busy. They secured an expression from practically every organization of telegraphers in Wisconsin. Resolutions, telegrams and letters and personal conferences by the hundreds poured in upon the legislature. And not only that. Friends of the working people all over the state got up petitions and sent them in. And by the time this work was done everybody knew what the telegraphers wanted. And they also knew what the traveling public wanted.

At every point the railway companies fought the measure. First

they said the telegraphers "didn't want it." They said they had never heard a word of complaint. But the reason why the railway officials had heard no complaint was because the man that complained would very likely lose his job.

They then claimed that the public didn't want such a law. And after we had answered these arguments completely, they changed their tune and said they couldn't afford it—poor things! Finally they tried to amend it.

They pointed out that the federal nine-hour law had been passed by congress and suggested that we change our law to conform to that. Now, as a matter of fact, the federal nine-hour law, besides being *nine* instead of *eight*, is also a weak law. It applies only to "offices operated *continuously* night and day" and therefore afforded no relief to the one-man stations and no relief to a large proportion of operators where the law is most needed.

And, besides, if such a law were passed it is doubtful just what interpretation might be put upon the very loose construction about "offices continuously operated." It would, no doubt, be held that if the office were closed for even a half hour during the day, the law would not apply.

Furthermore, the day cannot be advantageously divided into shifts of nine hours, but falls naturally into three shifts of eight hours each.

And eight hours is enough.

So we would not consent to the amendment.

The opponents of the measure gravely argued that these men wouldn't know what to do with those extra four hours a day. Presumably they would all go on a drunk. And when we could not

suppress a smile at this display of absurdity, the railway officials lost their dignity and angrily denounced the measure as vicious legislation.

THE POLITICAL POWER OF LABOR.

"Whom do you represent?" angrily demanded the railroad officials of the Socialist members of the legislature who were defending the bill.

"We represent the workers," they replied. "You see, sir," they said, "the workers of the world are in a great struggle for shorter hours, better wages, and a larger share of the richness of modern life. And in that struggle they wage two battles—use two arms. One is their economic power, the labor unions. You were up against that arm of the workers in the recent conference over hours and wages.

"But the workers of Wisconsin have another power, another arm, a much stronger one—their political power. They are organizing that into a working class political power the world over. They elect their own representatives to city councils, and the state legislatures. And, Mr. President, you're up against that fist here, now. That's what we represent."

UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

Finally, last of all, the lawyers, the paid attorneys of the railway companies, took up the fight. And their long suit was the question of constitutionality.

America is the only nation on earth that elects representatives to make their laws and allows a supreme court to declare them null and void. Socialism will change that, too, some day.

Our telegraphers' bill went to the attorney-general for his opinion.

and he declared that in his opinion it would be unconstitutional. This, of course, was intended as a blow to kill the bill. But it didn't. There were too many people interested in it.

SOCIALIST VOTES KEEP.

Meanwhile the measure had passed the assembly and was before the senate committee. The committee stood two against it, two for it and one undecided. The Socialists were able to bring strong pressure to bear at this point by reason of the fact that in certain districts the Social-Democratic vote was strong enough to make these legislators think twice before they voted down a labor measure.

In this way the Socialists got the measure through the committee. This brought it to the senate. After a lively debate it was passed. It went, therefore, to the governor. July 11, 1907, the governor signed.

And so on Jan. 1, 1908, the telegraphers of Wisconsin will begin work on an eight-hour shift.

Some have said that the railroads will not obey this law, that they will try to dodge it, and evade it.

But the law is very carefully worded. No company is to "require or permit" a telegrapher to be on duty more than one period of eight consecutive hours in any twenty-four. Moreover, it provides that after an eight-hour shift there shall be a period of sixteen hours off duty.

And the penalty is severe. Not less than one thousand dollars nor more than five thousand dollars for *each offense*. "And whenever the railroad commission shall learn of any violation *it shall be their duty* to investigate and shall have the power to require such company to

provide additional employes so as to comply with the law.

And the fine is to be sued for and recovered in the name of the state, to be paid into the county treasury of the county in which the violation occurred.

STILL BETTER BEYOND.

So the Social-Democrats, though only a very small minority, a comparatively weak and struggling organization, has been able to accomplish in Wisconsin what the O. R. T. has been fighting for for years. And it has cost the workers very little.

But an eight-hour day for telegraphers is a very small part of what Socialism is striving to win for the workers. And no amount of fight for better wages or shorter hours will solve the real and final problems of labor. Even with better wages the masters of bread are able to keep the price of living so high that the laborer can only barely exist.

Moreover, the telegraphers are only a small part of the vast army of labor. They lost their recent strike because there were so many other working people ready to take their places. So we must try to unite and organize all the workers. And then we must work for the public ownership of these great public utilities for the increase of wages and the reduction of hours and the cost of living until every one gets the full products of his labor. And this can only be done by an organized political party of the working class putting their own representatives into power.

And that is Socialism.

If you want it, join the movement. Strike at the ballot box. That's where your power counts for most. And that's the strike that is easiest to make and wins the most. Join the Social-Democratic party. Vote the Socialist ticket.

Help us in our fight for the working class.

The Rev. E. E. Carr of Chicago, writing from England says, "The capitalist press of America has acquired the habit of making false reports concerning the Socialist victories in Europe, hoping thus to keep down interest in the subject here. And, of course, they deceived many. For instance they reported that in the recent municipal elections in England the Socialists were routed, whereas the Socialists made a net gain of four seats and came very near electing many more, greatly increasing their vote. The attempt of the Tories to cover the Socialists with the muddy charge

that Socialism is against religion and the home was met by a terrific exposure of the hideous ungodliness of the Tories themselves. Their drunkenness, adulteries, divorces, thefts, and treasons were discussed so mercilessly that they will hardly dare choose that line of battle again. No wonder the Socialists came out ahead."

A town named Napoleon in Ohio has applied for a Socialist charter. Such news ought to give the shades of Napoleon and Bismarck something to talk about over the river.

Co-operation in France

By MILDRED MINTURN SCOTT

"Go to Marausson and see Socialism in practice," had been the advice of the militant; so I went.

The tiny train panted painfully up the hills at a pace that made me feel that I ought to get out and walk beside it, as one walks beside a valliant pony, harnessed to a too heavy phaeton; and coasted down them so fast that I feared we might jump the frail single track, and go ploughing through the fields of vine that stretched endlessly on either side of us. There was nothing but vine, as far as one could see, waves and waves of it, reaching to the hazy blue line of the Cevenues on the horizon and surging up to the very walls of the grey little town. I cannot call Marausson a village, because, though it has only two thousand inhabitants, its stone houses, huddled together in narrow streets, give the impression of a crowded corner of some ancient city; one fancies them pressed in by a great sea of human beings, instead of by the ocean of living vine.

"This ancient town a Socialist community?" one might well ask in surprise. For the words usually call up a picture of model modern houses, set down in some Garden City of utopian venture, the mushroom growth of a single day of idealistic thought. But modern Socialism is not utopian. Instead of the idea being put into practice by a group of visionaries, who have left their natural surroundings in order to found an oasis of perfect social justice, we have here a normal village community of great an-

tiquity, most of whose members have become imbued with the idea, and who are trying to embody it bit by bit in the solution of the problems of their daily lives.

The Socialists did not come to Marausson with ready-made social solutions. They looked at the conditions of the country and modified their abstract theories to suit the facts. Here was a peasant proletariat employed part of the time as agricultural laborers on the vineyards of the large proprietors of the countryside, at a daily wage of about 40 cents. But these laborers were also for the most part themselves owners of tiny vineyards, which they cultivated with the aid of their wives and children after the other day's work was over. The Socialist leaders have not said to these men:

"Give up private property altogether. Pool your vineyards and divide your profits equally." That will perhaps come later. What they have said now, is:

"Learn to work together and trust each other. Organize yourselves as wage-earners, so that in your Agricultural Laborers' Union you may present a united front to your employer. Organize yourselves as borrowers and borrow through a branch of the Farmers' Bank. Organize yourselves as buyers and through your union buy your fertilizers and tools in common. Let your wives organize themselves as buyers, too, and buy your household supplies in common. And, most important of all,

organize yourselves as sellers, and find a common market for your product."

This wise advice has found a direct answer in the hitherto conservative mind of the peasant. Besides its Agricultural Union and Farmers' Bank, which are not of recent origin, the Marausson citizens have built up in the last five years, a Wine Growers' Association, with a membership of two hundred and sixty-five, or nine-tenths of the wine growers of the commune; a co-operative store to which three hundred and seventy-four, out of a population of four hundred and thirty families belong; a workman's dwelling society, and a communist land-owning society. All these associations are autonomous, though they are composed of the same individuals as members, and each new society finds the sister organizations ready to help it in the beginning with non-interest bearing loans and subscriptions to shares that can never bring in a dividend. The first in the field, and the one that has made Marausson what it is, is the Free Wine Growers' Association.

The master spirit among the founders of this society was not a citizen of Marausson, but of the neighboring town of Beziers, a fiery militant Socialist of the Southern variety, valiant in discourse, a mighty man in battle, with eyes that have looked into the far future and seen the vision of justice but that are also capable of seeing the essential points in a business problem.

"I had been a militant since I was fourteen," Cathala said to me, "and I was tired of fighting in the void; I was tired of abstractions. I

wanted to accomplish something tangible and I thought if I could start co-operative life in one peasant community in our vine-growing country, I should be accomplishing far more for Socialism than if I converted five times as many communities to the abstract creed."

So he looked about for a village near a railroad, and near a great wine market and pitched upon little Marausson. Here was already a flourishing branch of the Agricultural Laborers' Union, of the Farmers' Loan Association and a nucleus of men trained in Socialist ideas. On this fruitful soil, Cathala sowed the seeds of his Socialist co-operative propaganda and has reaped in five years a magnificent harvest.

The one hundred and twenty-one original members of the society of producers formed at his inspiration began by hiring a tiny shop in which to sell their wine. The founders lent the necessary kegs, but they had no furniture for the office. At the first meeting a table was lent by a neighbor and each member brought his own chair.

Cathala, as agent of the infant society, began to travel about to find clients. He went first to the co-operatives of consumers, the great grocery stores who would be their natural patrons. He was well received and many promises were made, but he soon found that the stores cared more for the cheapness of the article than for the conditions under which it was manufactured. No orders came in, and the eager converts at Marausson began to despair.

At last, however, the great Parisian co-operative, the Bellevilloise, with its six thousand families, became interested in the new ven-

ture, and not only bought Maraussion wine itself, but introduced the society to other co-operatives as well. The new association was launched, for it is among the stores that it has found not only its most constant clients, but its most ardent supporters; and, indeed, I doubt whether, if the Free Wine Growers Association had had to enter the competitive market and submit to the uncertainties of the artificially fluctuating demand there, it could have lived at all in the form that now interests us.

The original function of the society, and still its most important one, was to act as agent for the sale of wine grown and manufactured by the members, each in his own vineyard and wine press. The society buys the wine from its members by the litre, paying a sum that has been fixed beforehand by the committee for each of the five types.

When the wine is brought in, the committee decides to which type it belongs, judging it by three standards: the amount of alcohol, the color, and the taste. It is then mixed with other wine belonging to its group and sold to clients as the Maraussion blend.

With success the operations of the society became more extended. First it hired a moderate sized cellar as a storehouse for the wine made by the members, then it built a great wine cellar of its own next to the railroad and set up an electric motor wine press, the members bringing part of their product in the form of grapes to sell to their society. It is interesting to note that the co-operative stores lent \$4,000 without interest to help build this wine cellar. Finally it has begun to buy a collective vineyard, where it cultivates its own

grapes, which it afterwards makes into wine. So that it has now become not only an association for the sale of privately manufactured goods, but a true association of producers.

The wine cellar is a huge barn-like building, very business-like and unromantic to the outward eye. The co-operative motto: "Each for all and all for each," is blazoned in red letters over the main entrance, while above are the words "Work" and "Solidarity," the whole being dominated by a bust of the Republic. It is all painfully ugly from one point of view and splendidly beautiful from another. Inside it is cool and dark as a wine-cellar should be. The great vats are ranged down the two sides; the tanks, where the mixtures of wine are made, are above. I heard the sound of running water, as I thought, and went up to the gallery, where I saw a steady stream of red wine flowing through a pipe into the big tank as large as a swimming-bath below. They showed me with pride where the grapes are weighed, and the mechanical device for testing their amount of sugar and degree of alcohol. The collective vineyard, several fields amounting to about 8 acres in all, surrounds the building. Two members, paid by the society at trades union rates, were at work upon it. On the railroad track were several of the huge vats, each mounted on its own car, of the sort that may be seen trundling slowly along behind freight engines in every part of this vine-growing country. The pipes from the casks in the building above run underground direct to the traveling vats, and every week these are shipped off to Paris and the other great cities. In Paris the

contents are again transferred into other vats in the depot of the society near the freight terminus there, and the co-operative stores all over the city buy here the daily supply for the family table of the Parisian members.

One may perhaps wish that the French workman and his family appreciated better the merits of fresh water as a beverage, but if they must have it mixed with wine, it is a satisfaction to know that so many of them are now drinking the pure product of Marausson instead of the almost invariably adulterated wine offered in the open market.

In the first year of its existence the society sold 553,000 litres of wine. Last year it sold 4,500,000 litres, over eight times the output of five years ago. Almost all of this went to supply the co-operative demand.

But commercial success, if it has been obtained at the cost of any of the essential ideas of Socialist co-operation, is of small importance from the standpoint of the militant Socialist. During the first year of its existence, the client societies in Paris and the rest of France wished to assure themselves that Marausson was a genuine peasant co-operative, so they sent a delegation of their members down to the tiny out-of-the-way place to inspect the working of the society and report to the strict Socialists at headquarters. The little pamphlet, published as a result of this journey, is very amusing reading. The delegates examined the books, approved the constitution, were banqueted and feted, exchanged speeches overflowing with brotherly sentiments with their peasant hosts and came away crying, "Hurrah for Marausson!"

Hurrah for Socialist co-operative France!"

What standard did the Socialist co-operators have by which to test Marausson and approve it as "Socialist" or condemn it as "yellow" or "bourgeois?"

Their national organization, the Socialist Co-operative Exchange, has certain requirements for admission, which, though they only concern the societies in their relation to the movement as a whole, probably serve as a touchstone for the spirit of their internal organization as well. In order to become a member of this group the Society must:

1. Accept the principles of International Socialism (the class struggle, the socialization of the means of production, and friendly relations between the working classes of all nations) and
2. Employ none but trades union workmen and pay union rates.
3. Contribute 12 francs a year to the exchange and 2 per cent of its net profits to Socialist propaganda.

I suppose in practice no society would care to fulfill these conditions that did not also in its internal organization embody the two essential Socialist ideas, democratic government and collective, not individual gain. At all events, the distinctively Socialist societies that I have seen have all been based on these two principles, and Marausson, individualistic as it may seem to the superficial observer, is no exception to the rule.

First, as to the democratic constitution. The members must be wine-growers who till the soil themselves, or agricultural laborers. This shuts out the large proprietors, of whom, however, there are few at Marausson, three-fifths of the land being in the hands of the peasant

proprietors. Trade unions and the client co-operative stores are also admitted as members. These great working class organizations, the backbone of the Socialist movement, oversee through their delegates the workings of the society, and they can be depended upon to keep it up to the Socialist standard and ensure its proletarian character. It is this federal element in the membership and management of this and other modern co-operatives that makes them especially interesting to the student of social conditions.

The society is managed by a board of nine directors elected for three years by the universal suffrage of all members in the general assembly. One-third come up for re-election each year. The nine appoint one of their number to be manager. The general assembly meets regularly twice a year, or oftener if special business requires it, and non-attendance is punished by a fine. It goes over the accounts, listens to the reports of the board of directors and the commission of control, authorizes loans and investments and specifies the conditions on which they are to be made. Peasant members have one vote each, societies have as many votes as they have shares; but no society may own more than five shares, while no individual member may own more than one.

The shares are of \$5 each. If a new member cannot pay the whole of this sum at once (for \$5 represents two weeks' wages to an agricultural laborer, and is not to be lightly disposed of), he may pay in \$1 installments. The whole amount must, however, be paid up within six months after his election. The shares are non-transferable and are

bought in by the society on the death or resignation of members. They are also non-interest bearing, nor is any dividend ever declared on capital.

What, then, does the society do with its profits? This question brings us to the second Socialist principle: the collective use of profit.

One of the most important questions for all co-operatives, whether associations of producers or of consumers, is the destination of this fund. Shall it be divided among individual members in proportion to their business with the society? Shall it be put back into the society's treasury and used to extend its business activities, almost always limited by lack of capital? Shall it be used to promote the well-being of the members as a body, by the creation of mutual benefit funds for old-age pensions, sick and out-of-work relief, and so forth? Or shall it be used to help on the cause of the working class as a whole, by contributions to the Socialist party, the co-operative movement and the labor movement? The individualistic or bourgeois co-operatives usually divide profits among their members in proportion to each man's capital and the work he has done for the society, and think they are doing very well if they give a share to the non-member employees and have a little fund for mutual aid. But if a society does not wish to be set down by the Socialists as a club of dividend hunters, corrupted with the capitalist taint of doing business for profit and not for a livelihood, it must devote a large part, if not all of this fund, to the common good of the members as a collective unit, in the first place, and of the working class as a whole in the second. Thus only can it give proof of "social solidarity," the chief Socialist virtue.

The Free Wine-Growers of Mar-ausson, convinced Socialists and eager propagandists, dispose of their profits in the following fashion:

A sum varying with the commercial success of the society is deducted from the gross profits for the local "works of solidarity." In 1905 \$500

were paid into this fund. 40 per cent of the balance goes to the fund for enlarging the scope of the society's business; in other words, to the creation of a collective impersonal capital, over which no individual member has any rights. This capital fund has now reached the respectable total of \$5,000, while the share-capital only amounts to \$1,280. The remaining 60 per cent is considered as net profits and is divided as follows:

One quarter is returned to the client societies in proportion to their purchase. One quarter is contributed to Socialist propaganda and to the national and federal co-operative organizations. One quarter is added to the impersonal capital fund of the society. And only one quarter goes to the members, not, however, as might be expected, in proportion to the business of each man with the society, but in equal parts. This provision is an example of the communist spirit shown in many modern co-operatives. Even this small portion, 15 per cent of the profits, is not actually divided, but is carried to the credit of the members on the society's books and payment is made only if the claimant moves away, becomes bankrupt, or dies. Under no other conditions can he touch a penny of profit, which, being left with the society, forms a useful addition (\$4,000 now) to the working capital.

Thus we see that all the profit made by the Free Wine Growers (\$11,740 in 1905) is used either to enlarge the scope of the Society or for the collective advantage of the inhabitants of Marausson and the French working class.

Moreover, the founders have tried to protect their work from ever being turned aside to individual use, as has so often happened with similar undertakings. If, in the future, the society is dissolved, no member can claim a share of the impersonal funds. Its land, buildings and stock are to convert to the town of Marausson, but for its use only, not for sale. The income derived from them is to be spent on local and secular "works of solidarity" until the day when a new co-operative, based on ideas similar to those now animating the Free Wine Growers, and accepting its constitution, shall be formed,

to take over and carry on the work of the present society.

Whether all these paper provisions will be effective if the attitude of the members themselves comes to change, I do not know. But I think I can vouch for the Socialist spirit of the Marausson co-operators of today. Indeed, figures are more eloquent than opinions, and of those I have given enough to show that their understanding of the words "social solidarity" is a practical, not a theoretical one.

"But," the reader may very well ask, "what do the down-trodden peasants themselves gain from all these organizations? Have they simply united to form themselves into a charitable society? For all that you have told us is in the end nothing but charity, and human nature being what it is...." No, the peasants are very sensible men, and they want to improve their present lot as sincerely as their critics want to do it for them. Their practical gains are quite clear and obvious, even though they do not include profit-making.

The advantages gained by the members of the Free Wine Growers are divided under three heads:

First. The co-operative pays them on the average 25 to 40 cents more per hundred litres than they could get for their wine in the open market. It is able to do this through the economy effected by the suppression of the profits of the middleman.

Second. It offers them a sure market, provided the wine they bring comes up to one of the five standard types. This factor of the sure market is of prime importance to the wine-grower in the south of France, who has often to face crises of over-production so acute that his good red wine must be turned into alcohol and sold in that form to cover the expenses of the vintage.

Third. It employs some of its members, and hopes to employ more each year, as laborers on the collective vineyard. These laborers are paid the full union wage and work under self-respecting conditions as free employees of their own society, not as wage slaves. How important an advantage the peasants feel this to be is shown by their having started the branch co-operative association, referred to above, for the purchase of another collective vineyard,

which is cultivated by the members on the same plan of no divided profits, but steady employment and good pay.

The three branch societies, though less rich and important than the Free Wine Growers, are extremely interesting to the student.

The co-operative store is the most successful, as it is also the oldest of the three. It was started in 1903, two years after the Wine Growers, which society helped it by a gift of \$100 and by inserting a clause in its own constitution to the effect that every aspirant to membership in the producer's society must first become a member of the store. The store now owns its own building on the main square of the town, and sells not only groceries, almost always the first co-operatively sold commodity, but household furnishings, shoes and certain staple articles of clothing. The intelligent peasant woman who showed me over their little stock with pride, explained that the boots and shoes were made by a co-operative society in the North and that the chocolate and biscuits came from a Paris co-operative factory. As far as possible, she said, they used only co-operatively made products. Since my visit they have started a bakery of their own and are now planning a cafe to be a rival to the saloon over the way.

The constitution of the store is modeled on that of the Free Wine Growers. Forty per cent of its net profits go to increase its impersonal capital fund—a fact that probably accounts for its rapid growth and enlarged scope. The other 60 per cent is divided among the members, in proportion to their purchases, this being the standard practice of English and continental societies.

The store is of advantage to its members in three ways:

First—It sells them the necessities of life a little more cheaply than they can be bought in the open market.

Second—It sells only pure goods, so far as these can be controlled by the merchant buyer. It is to no one's advantage to put sand in the sugar and chicory in the coffee, so that at any rate one source of adulteration is removed, and in the case of co-operatively made products the likelihood of fraud in manufacture is still further lessened.

Third—It hands back to its members three-fifths of the profits, which, under ordinary conditions, would go to the shopkeeper and all the intermediaries between him and the manufacturer.

The two other societies are more original than the Store and deserve mention, though they are of such recent origin that one can have no right to an opinion as to their permanent utility.

"The Peasant Emancipation" was started in August, 1905, by some "militant" members of the Agricultural Laborers' Union. Its object is "to unite all the agricultural laborers of the commune, to emancipate them from the yoke of capitalism by allowing them to live in freedom by their labor on the impersonal collective property of the society." The Free Wine Growers at once came forward with a gift of \$100 and a subscription for five shares, the Commune of Marausson gave \$50, and other societies and individuals bought non-interest-bearing shares to the amount of \$1,070. A good vineyard has been bought; but, as the society was not rich enough to pay it all at once, the members—115 men and women—have been taking turns working on their property without wages till the debt is cleared.

"The Proletarian Beehive," we read in the preamble to its constitution, has four main objects:

First, to free workingmen from the exploitation of the capitalist owners of workmen's dwellings by offering them clean, light and healthy cottages at a low rental. Second, to increase the morality of workmen's families by sparing them the pernicious promiscuity of the tenement house. Third, to familiarize workmen with fruit and vegetable and flower culture in order to wean them from the saloon, each cottage being necessarily provided with a garden; and, fourth, to socialize an element of prime necessity in the life of the proletariat by erecting dwellings that shall be the collective property of the society.

This youngest of the Marausson ventures was also started in the Agricultural Laborer's Union by one of the members who conceived the idea, brought it up at the meeting and con-

verted 80 comrades at once. The Free Wine Growers and the other local societies bought shares and contributed supplies, and the society has already begun to build two "coquette" workman's cottages. They will each have four rooms and a little garden, and will rent for \$24 a year.

"These people have gone mad on co-operation," said the militant Cathala, proudly telling me of this latest harvest of his sowing. "There's no stopping them now, and each society is more Socialistic than the last."

As a matter of fact the members of the "Bee Hive" propose to take no share of the profits for themselves or their families. Three-quarters of the profits go back to the impersonal capital fund and the other quarter is to be devoted to "one or more works of social utility, tending toward the same ideal of emancipation."

The society will, however, be of distinct advantage to its members. They will get better houses at a lower rent than heretofore, and any member who shall have paid rent for thirty years to the society will be given his house free to the end of his days. Nor will rent be exacted from his widow or their children, "even if the union was free and not officially consecrated by marriage."

In summing up the material benefits accruing to the citizens of Marausson from their co-operatives, we must not forget the impersonal capital that they are accumulating for their collective use. Taking the four organizations together we find that the villagers now own in common roughly \$50,000 of land and capital. It is true that legally the great wine cellar, the two vineyards, the horses, vats, carts and tools, the store in the square and the workmen's cottages, are the private property of the members of the four societies. But if solemn promises and covenants can bind men, the property will never be sold and divided among them, but will be kept as a joint patrimony to be developed and increased by them and their children for the common good of all.

The details of these matters were explained to me in the kitchen of the Socialist mayor of Marausson, by a bronzed young peasant, who had come back from his day's work in the

vineyard, his tools slung over his back. I was having afternoon tea, but my appreciation of the co-operative bread, chestnut preserves, and good white wine did not interfere with the interest his story had for me. I looked from his hard brown hands, rough with the roughness of outdoor labor, to his eager, far-seeing eyes and pondered on the strangeness of the phenomenon. These men were simple peasants. I kept telling myself, whose daily life was a trudge of miles every morning in burning summer heat, or bleak winter winds, followed by hours of hard physical work in all sorts of weather, for which they received on an average \$100 a year in wages. Their total family budget, including the products of their own vineyards, averaged \$300 a year. Yet they have seen a vision and dreamed a dream far more splendid than the visions and the dreams that occupy the minds of their better educated and more civilized brothers in other towns and other lands, and have, moreover, begun to put their vision into practice.

It is this combination of the dream and the practical success that makes Marausson so interesting. Here is a whole community of average people attempting to embody in their business relations with each other and the outside world an ideal of justice and solitary, and actually accomplishing something tangible as a result. It may be objected that all good people everywhere are making the same effort. That is true, but it is an isolated and therefore often an ineffectual effort. When the individual at Marausson feels within himself the desire to deal justly with all men, he is seconded by the actual business organization of the community. In other places he is opposed by that business organization. In the competitive world he must push against it, and is often forced to give up the struggle under peril of drowning. The reaction of the two systems on the character of the average man must be productive of decided results.

This fact ought to commend the experiments at Marausson to all social reformers, though it is to Socialists that they are particularly interesting. The co-operatives are not, as the too enthusiastic militant declared,

"Socialism in practice," because private property in land still obtains; but they are as nearly Socialistic as such businesses can well be under present economic conditions. The co-operators are showing to the world that the elimination of personal profit, a greater altruism in business dealings, and a higher standard of justice between man and man are not incompatible with business success. But they are doing more than this: they are showing that the democratic management of industry is possible and practical, and by training themselves in the administration of a small business they are making possible the socialization of all industry in the future. For Socialists will never be satisfied until the great farms, as well as the small, are run for the profit of the whole community and not a few pathetic scattered enterprises here and there, are controlled and used by the working mass of the people. The empty glory of legal ownership of a tiny mortgaged farm would, it is true, be taken away from the peasant and vested in the state, for all property rights would be public and not private; but all the wealth that he and his brother, the industrial worker, have created in the past would be theirs to use for their common good. In the co-operative societies the workers are proving themselves faithful over a few things; the Socialists propose to make them rulers over many cities.

It is then both as an object lesson and a training school that such co-operative associations as those at Maraussion are principally valued by Socialists. There are, however, other useful by-products of these organizations that are not to be despised by the practical politician, among the chief of which is the union they bring about of the town and country workers. The differences in ideas and standards between these two groups have led to fatal reactionary movements in the past, and Socialist and Republican leaders have at last realized that upon the support of the rural population depends the ultimate success of their movement. They therefore welcome with delight such a "fraternal union of the industrial and peasant proletariat" as the constitution of Maraussion and other modern co-operatives tends to bring about.

I had the pleasure of being present at one of the lovefeasts of the new brotherhood. It took place in Paris at the formal inauguration of the new Maraussion wine depot there. The members of the client societies had all been invited to attend, and when I arrived at four o'clock on a hot, spring afternoon I found a holiday crowd already gathered together under the great open shed. The red flags of the social revolution were draped over the doorway, and the men and women also proclaimed to the world the faith that was in them by wearing the red eglantine, the Socialist flower, in their button-holes. One of the party had brought a fiddle and was scraping a gay tune, while oddly-matched couples hopped solemnly round on the bare ground, with the painstaking expression always to be seen on the faces of persons unaccustomed to the diversion of dancing. The place was full of kegs, a few monsters; such as I had seen at Maraussion, the rest ordinary casks. On top of each of these were several bottles and glasses, the former always miraculously full, the peasant hosts having evidently decided that on this occasion wine was to flow as freely as water.

There were impromptu speeches when the dancing was over, each orator mounting on the cask that happened to be nearest him and haranguing the crowd below on the principles of justice and solidarity, co-operation and fraternal union between all members of the proletariat. One of the stores had provided several cases of sweet biscuits and these were dealt out by a broad-shouldered, laughing member, who provided for the children first, then the women, then the men in strictest impartiality. In the midst of this function we were all swept into the street to be photographed in front of the new building, an imposing enough group of cheery revolutionists bearing aloft the banners blazoned with their mottos, "Proletarian Solidarity," "Each for All and All for Each," "Workingmen of the World, Unite."

Then some one struck up the "Internationale." The "comrade" who had the best voice was hoisted on to a cask and sang the main verse, while the whole crowd standing

shouted the refrain. I watched one powerfully built workman who sang as if it was a revival hymn. Never was "Onward Christian Soldiers" given with a better will than the rousing chorus:

"We peasants, artisans and others
Enrolled among the sons of toil
Let's claim all men, henceforth, for
brothers,
And drive the lazy from the soil.
Join, comrades, together the last
fight to face,
The Internationale unites the human race."

One by one the delegations from the different societies climbed into the big, four-horse barges, so familiar to Parisians on fete days, and rattled noisily down the street, bells jangling, flags waving, and scattered voices still singing the chorus. I stayed to congratulate the militant on his happy family party, and then went my ways, too, putting back in my pocket the little red flower that had given me for one hour the illusion that men were really brothers and agriculture and trade a function of harmonious family life.

What For The Unemployed?

By VICTOR L. BERGER

UNDER the present economic system a workingman does not get—and cannot get—the full value of his product if his employer is to stay in business.

An employer is not in business for his health, nor for Christian charity—he is in business to make profit.

Profit is the soul of "business."

And since the workingmen of a country do not get the full value of their product—the workingmen of a country cannot buy back the production of the country with their wages.

And the capitalist class is too small in number to use up all the surplus of the production of the country.

This surplus is exported. And when there is any hitch in the world market, because every civilized nation has a capitalist class and working class—and the workingmen nowhere can buy back the production of their respective countries with their wages—then all of a sudden there is an "over-production," so-called.

* * *

In other words, the manufacturers and merchants all of a sudden find out there is more stock than they can sell. Mark well—not more than we could use if we had the money to buy, but more than they can sell because we have not the price to buy.

And thus begins failure after failure. Merchants go into bankruptcy. Banks close, factories stop working. Manufacturing and trading come to a standstill. Millions get out of work. Families are torn asunder—men become tramps and women become prostitutes.

And the grim satire of the condition is that the working people have to go ragged and hungry because there is "too much on hand."

So the underconsumption, based upon wage-system and "profit," is undoubtedly one of the main causes of industrial crises. Of course, there are *other causes*, which we are not going to discuss this time.

* * *

Whether this financial panic will grow into an industrial crisis I do not know. I sincerely hope this will *not* be the case. For he is neither a good Socialist nor a "class-conscious" proletarian, who, for the sake of "propaganda," or in order to get circulation for his paper, wishes for an industrial crisis with all its untold suffering for the millions of the laboring class.

And it is almost criminal to make people believe that the next industrial crisis is going to abolish the capitalist system and usher in the co-operative commonwealth.

Socialism is the name for an epoch of civilization. There can be no sudden break-off and the new civilization will not be started all in a year or even in a decade.

No one can tell us the year or even the decade when feudalism came in. No one can tell the exact date or even the decade when capitalism began to rule the world. And Socialism will not come in at a certain day, month or year.

* * *

At the same time the capitalist class will better also take warning from history. While the economic system can not be changed in a year, or even in ten years, any successful (or even unsuccessful) uprising may *change* by bloody force the *personnel* of the possessors, and undoubtedly would wreak terrible *vengeance* upon the capitalist class as a class. However, enough about this.

* * *

For if we have escaped the industrial crisis this time—one will be upon us very shortly anyway.

Since capitalism has attained its full development we have had panics in this country about every twenty years. The first came in 1819. Then we had them in 1837, 1857, 1873 and 1893. According to this experience, the next panic would be due about 1913. But since the development of the trusts we have to take this new factor into consideration. I am not prepared to say whether the formation of the trusts will hasten or retard the coming of the crises.

At any rate there was a serious disturbance in financial circles of late. Whether it was simply the outcome of over-speculation or really the fore-runner of an industrial crisis I do not know.

* * *

But I do know that at the first signal of distress hoisted by the bankers and speculators in Wall Street, our government hastened to come to the rescue of the bankers.

Our secretary of the treasury deposited \$25,000,000, without asking any interest, in the banks of New York, so that the bankers and

brokers and speculators could get money, cash money, from the banks at a low rate of interest.

* * *

Now there can be no question that there are many thousands of men out of work in the city of Milwaukee and the same conditions prevail all over the country. **Are those out of work to starve?**

Our Social-Democratic aldermen in Milwaukee will demand that the common council take steps to alleviate the condition of the workers out of work by getting public work for them. I know the answer of the capitalistic politicians and business men will be that there is no money for that purpose.

Well, then they will have to find the money somewhere, or bear the consequences. So much for Milwaukee.

* * *

However, here is a plan by which this could be done on a large scale and for the entire country.

Let congress issue money without interest on bonds to states, counties and cities for the purpose of building highways, schools, bridges and public utilities at union wages and under the eight-hour day—employing men directly wherever possible.

By doing this the government would only do for the working people what it always does for the bankers and brokers. The government would only be doing for the proletarians what it is doing for the capitalist class *now*.

* * *

To meet the objection of those who are afraid that in that way too much money might get into circulation and its value be depreciated—the law is to provide that the states, counties and municipalities shall be permitted to repay their indebtedness in easy installments, and that the money issued for the purpose be cancelled with the bonds repaid.

Thus we should also help the merchant and the manufacturer because people would be at work and could *buy*. They would consume the production of the country.

* * *

Furthermore, we should have an *elastic* currency. We could issue as much money as needed to employ the unemployed, but no more. And by cancelling the money repaid the amount in circulation would be practically self-adjusting.

And yet this money would be the very safest kind possible. The entire taxation and tax values of the respective states, counties and cities would stand behind it. And they would not owe the money to any group of private moneylenders—they would owe it to "Uncle Sam," of all uncles the best uncle. And the government would not only give employment to millions of wageworkers and at the same time help the farmers of the country, but the improvements made and created with the help of this money would be a lasting and valuable addition to our American civilization. The threatened industrial crisis could thus be averted. And should it come anyway, before these

public works are commenced—there is a way to turn a curse into a blessing.

Will any of the budding Washington statesmen take this up?
The Hon. R. M. LaFollette will not.
He stands for other interests.

Work Out Your Salvation!

By M. W. WILKINS

A serious hindrance to Socialist work is the widespread failure of the party rank and file to answer letters and make reports on party affairs.

From the writer's own experience, plus what other fieldworkers and state secretaries have told him, it is entirely safe to say that not one letter in five written by party officials on party affairs ever receives an answer. Some state secretaries declare that they do not get more than one answer to each twenty letters written.

The national secretary, in a vigorous letter, informs the party that only one local in six in the United States reported to their state secretaries last year.

Now there is nothing personal nor deliberate about this neglect. It is simply a part of that terrible general apathy and carelessness that dominates the working class where its OWN REAL INTERESTS are concerned.

But, considered from the viewpoint of party welfare, such neglect is deplorable, and it is inexcusable. Nor is it just treatment of comrades elected to office by YOUR votes.

The party official, however able

and earnest, cannot succeed without the hearty co-operation of the party rank and file. Having done his full duty, his success or failure will be proportioned to the help and encouragement given or withheld.

Further, the party official, if the right kind of a Socialist, will do his best to advance Socialism. But that is the same as doing his best to overthrow capitalism and its privileges and extortions. For that reason there will focus upon him the bitter dislike of the capitalist class. Therefore he NEEDS, and has every RIGHT and REASON to expect that YOU, a PARTY MEMBER, will give him all the help and encouragement possible, for YOUR votes placed him on the firing line, and the cause he champions is YOUR cause.

Any person who says with a fair degree of understanding "I am a Socialist" KNOWS the economic causes of a score of evils that afflict human society generally, and the wage-working class in particular.

The wage-worker who is a Socialist knows that economic freedom and justice for the wage-working class does not lie this side of realized Socialism. Hence he KNOWS that his own economic

welfare, and that of his family and his class, is inseparably involved in the progress and triumph of Socialism.

Therefore, NO SOCIALIST, and least of all a WAGE-WORKING SOCIALIST, can justify himself in lazy indifference to the affairs of the Socialist party.

Consider thoughtfully for a moment the economic loss involved in this neglect to answer letters. There are three large items of loss. First, the loss of stamps, stationery, and time used in writing the unanswered letters. Second: Again and again, in the past five years, I have seen the railroad fare for the state tour of a speaker doubled by this neglect to promptly answer letters. Third, the failure to promptly co-operate with the state and national office means poorer field work, manifesting itself in fewer locals, fewer members, loss of time, a smaller amount of stamp dues, a smaller income to spend for the propaganda of Socialism.

To illustrate one of these points: The national secretary requests a state secretary to arrange a tour for a speaker. The state secretary promptly writes each local secretary and a member-at-large or an unattached Socialist at each place where he has names.

To arrange the dates in consecutive order, with short distances between stopping places, thereby saving time and money, let us suppose the state secretary should receive decisive answers within ten days. But many of the letters will not be answered at all. The answers to many other letters will be unnecessarily delayed from two to four weeks, when a special meeting could be called and the matter settled in three or four days.

Because of the neglect and the delays, there will be all sorts of doublings back and forth for the speaker; long distances to travel with no meetings, no collections, no results. The state treasury will be skinned. There will be a deficit; and an assessment to meet an unnecessary expense. The final returns will be poor for the money spent. Apathy and discouragement grips the state movement.

Conservatively stated, these items of money loss and waste would pay, from one year's end to the other, the wages and expenses of twenty good speakers. Yet I want to emphasize that the chief harm to the Socialist movement comes, not from this money loss, but from the heaviness, discouragement, almost despair, which, because of this persistent and widespread neglect, settles down upon the earnest, active locals and individual workers of the party. For, of course, there are many locals and individual Socialists who are earnest, active, devoted, self-sacrificing—an inspiration to the state and national secretaries and the field workers. Lucky it is so, or party work could not go on.

Having outlined the neglect and its effect on the Socialist movement, let us next consider its cause.

Wherever the writer has found a dead or neglectful local, or a group of Socialists resisting organization, the same cry has always greeted his ears: "We need a leader;" "Wage-workers can do nothing by themselves;" "The movement would go ahead all right if people from the upper classes would only come in and lead."

These phrases briefly voice the SHEPHERD FOLLOWING tendencies of wage-workers as a class;

their 'subservience to the classes above them; their almost total lack of confidence in their own power; and the pitiful part is that this weakening, serf-like habit of thought clings tenaciously to many wage-workers, even after they have developed far enough to say, "I am a Socialist."

Wage-workers have taken orders so long that they have become almost automatic in their wait for, and their response to, a command. So completely have they left the direction of human affairs, industrial, financial, political, social, and religious, to other classes, that, taking initiative and assuming responsibility is as painful a process to the average wage-worker as the pulling of teeth.

How often the writer, in selecting a local's officers, has seen big, strong men like blushing, bashful schoolboys, refuse one office after the other with the cry: "I c-a-n't do the work," "I d-o-n't know how," "I never did such work," "We must get some business men to help us out," etc., etc. The worst of it is that so many of them, after elected, insist that they CAN'T do the work, and DON'T do it, to the great harm of the local and the movement generally.

In a certain state, it matters not which one, a movement which had been apparently strong in both votes and locals, had dwindled down to a movement comparatively weak.

When the writer entered the state for organizing work, he was met on every hand with: "You can't do anything here." "The wage-workers in this state are no good." "The material here is too poor for a strong movement."

In the next breath they declared:

"I tell you, we had a splendid movement here when comrades so and so, and so and so, and so and so were here," naming four comrades. "But they moved away and the movement went down."

My answer was: "The material here will average as good as in other states, but you certainly never had a 'splendid movement' in this state if the withdrawal of four comrades caused it to flatten out.

"You had a Socialist house here made of average material, but it was not built plumb. It leaned and rested its weight on four good props. The props withdrew; naturally the house came down.

"The right kind of a house is built plumb and rests itself on a **SOLID FOUNDATION**. The right kind of a foundation for a Socialist house is a **DEMOCRATIC RANK and FILE** that does its own thinking, knows what it needs and wants, and **KNOWS HOW TO GET IT**.

"A Socialist movement built on that plan, resting on that kind of a foundation, will not flatten out though half its membership should leave the state."

WAGEWORKERS! Don't be **SHEEP**; be **MEN**. Don't wait for the call or the directions of a shepherd. Learn to act **INTELLIGENTLY** on **YOUR OWN RESPONSIBILITY**. Doubtless you have all heard the old saying: "You are my sheep and I am your shepherd." The saying pleased a Frenchman, but in getting it off a few days later he turned it round so it more really fits the facts. Said the Frenchman: "I am your shepherd and you are my mutton."

Let us emphasize right here that the **SHEPHERD FOLLOWING FLOCK** will finally serve the **IN-**

terests of its SHEPHERD. There is something about a sheep—even a two-legged one, that invites the process which transforms into FLEECE and MUTTON.

Certainly, the Socialist movement should utilize its strong men and women—the clear thinkers, convincing speakers, forceful writers, skillful organizers. It would be a great mistake to do otherwise. But a movement that relies on them alone for its strength will be like a toddling infant clinging to its mother's skirts. The strong and virile movement will have a rank and file like the soldiers of Napoleon's army, every one of whom was supposed to carry a marshal's baton in his knapsack.

"But," says someone, "you must not expect much of wage-workers. As a class they will act differently when they get a different environment." That's easily said, but the fact remains that wage-workers will FIRST ACT DIFFERENTLY before they get the DECENT ENVIRONMENT. Right conditions

will not come through spontaneous generation. The beneficiaries of an unjust economic order will not seek its overthrow. Not until the great mass of its exploited victims intelligently re-act against it shall we see the end of the rule of capitalism.

WORKERS! You may have no college diplomas. You may not be able to make a speech. You may be a little short on philosophy and poetry; but if you have a little sturdy manhood, and a little everyday common sense, you can do a great deal to free yourself and your class.

It does not take the wisdom of Solomon, nor the cuteness of the traditional Philadelphia lawyer, to understand a few simple principles involving your interests and welfare. But to realize those principles in the form of justice and freedom for yourself and your class, you will have to ACT the part of a REAL man, and understand that the law of life is: "Work out your own salvation."

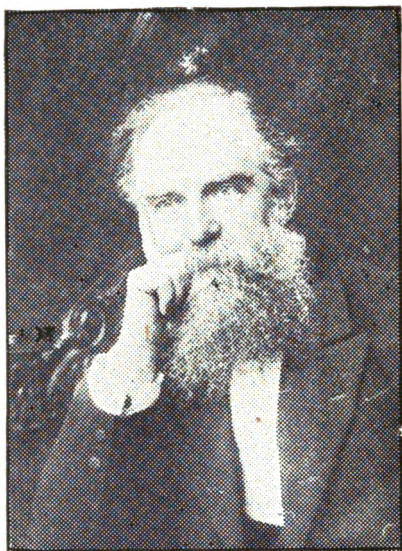
Girls wading in blood at the filthy task of cleaning entrails, their garments soiled by the putrid matter thus removed from these sausage "casings," is part of the picture of revolting conditions shown by newspaper syndicate writers to exist worse than ever in the Chicago packing houses—the jungle district laid bare by the Socialist, Upton Sinclair. Oh, yes, capitalism is the protector of the womanhood of the country! Oh, yes—nit!

A report says that at last the government is bestirring itself in the matter of labor peonage in the South. Several years ago we pub-

lished the first account of this foul blot on American justice and liberty, and since then a good deal has gotten into the papers on the subject. Our information came from a Socialist who looked into the practice in the Florida convict camps.

"To eat or not to eat, that is the question"—in these days of high prices!

Bryan's speeches are the speeches of a politician not an educator. He is the biggest case of "Barkis is willin'" that ever came down the pike.



NICHOLAS TSCHAIKOWSKI

**One of the Founders of the Movement for Russian Freedom,
who is now imprisoned in the Fortress of Peter
and Paul, St. Petersburg**