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EVOLUTION
AND
REVOLUTION



MARK FISHER

Evolution and Revolution

BY
MARK FISHER

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CO-OPERATIVE

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CHAPTER I.

Evolution.

Many writers of propaganda works on Socialism, in an effort to make them as simple as possible, have neglected to explain the fundamental theory of scientific Socialism. Many are of the opinion that the ordinary working man with little schooling cannot be reached with scientific literature. This, however, is a great mistake. Practically every great invention has been made by the workers; and many scientific theories, recognized today as correct, were championed by the workers at a time when they were being ridiculed and fought by the "intellectuals" of the ruling class.

Such writers, believing that the workers cannot understand the theory of scientific Socialism, have confined themselves to appealing to their class interests and to their sense of right and justice. This has led enemies of Socialism to attack it, and has resulted in ridiculous arguments between Socialists and non-Socialists as to whether Socialism is right or wrong.

First of all, let it be understood that Socialism does not present any problems in ethics. Socialism is a theory of social evolution; and, being such, there can be no more argument as to whether it is good or bad than there can be argument as to whether the Darwinian theory of organic evolution or the law of gravity are good or bad, just or unjust. The only

question confronting us is whether it is true or false.

Science has shown all creation to be the result of evolution. Cosmology tells us the way new solar systems and worlds are evolved, geology how the surface of the earth was made ready for organic life, and biology the way in which organic life has developed on the earth. The working class alone has a science of society and can explain the law of social evolution.

Darwin has shown us how, in the organic world, **"All living things must adapt themselves to their conditions of life, or perish."** The animals of the far north are nearly all snow white. Countless generations of natural selection, through the destruction of the darker ones and the survival of those which were lighter colored, have adapted them to their conditions of life. Centuries of subsistence upon a flesh diet have developed in the Esquimaux the digestive apparatus and fluids of a carnivore. The long necked giraffe, the green tree-toad, the fleet long-winded wolf, the soft-footed tiger of the jungle, the deep-rooting, leafless cactus of the desert, the swamp cypress, and all other living things are adapted to their particular conditions of life.

If for any reason the conditions of life change, the species must also change and adapt itself to its new environment. For instance, the whale has growing under its blubber four little degenerate legs, showing that it was once a land animal, but was driven into the sea. Natural selection has adapted it to the new conditions of life:

The study of the fossils found in the various strata of the earth's surface proves that in the different

ages the forms of life on the earth have been entirely different. As geological changes took place in the earth's surface, the conditions of life on the earth changed and all living things adapted themselves to their new environment. For this reason the forms of life were altogether different in the different ages.

When we come to study the evolution of society, we find that social, like organic evolution, has been divided into several different ages in which the social systems were entirely different. Our known history divides human progress into several distinct epochs or periods. Each of these epochs ended in a revolution which ushered in a new social order. Tribal communism, ancient chattel slavery, medieval serfdom and modern wage slavery are each as distinct as the animals of today are distinct from those of the reptilian age.

Scientists have proven that the organic life of the earth changed during the ages and adapted itself to the changing conditions of life; but it has remained to the revolutionary working class to explain why the social systems have changed. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels showed that **men, like all other organic beings, must adapt themselves to their conditions of life, and that man's intellectual and social development in any age depends upon the conditions of life.**

Geological and climatic changes altered the conditions of life for the lower animals, and for plant life. The changing social conditions are due to man's development of new methods of production. Man, like the lower forms of life, has changed in order to adapt himself to the changing conditions of life.

But strip modern, civilized man of his tools and give him only the stone axe of his ancestors and by the second generation all civilization will have perished from the earth and man will have adapted himself to the savage conditions of life of many thousands of years ago. On the other hand, we read not long ago of the son of a cannibal chief who graduated with honors from one of America's largest universities. This savage adapted himself in a few short years to the conditions of life that are the result of modern machine production.

Each social order in its beginning was adapted to the conditions of life—in the modes of production—of that time. But with the steady change in the methods of production there was bound to come a time when the old social order was no longer adapted to the conditions of life. Further progress became impossible while the old social system lasted. So the old order had to be overthrown and a new social system evolved in accordance with the new conditions of life. A revolution had to take place.

But the methods of production kept on changing, producing new conditions of life. In this way one social system after another has been outgrown and overthrown by a revolution.

CHAPTER II.

Tribal Communism.

Tribal communism is the earliest social order of which there is any definite record. That the human race was once at a lower stage of social development there is no doubt, but we know practically nothing about the conditions that prevailed then. Social history begins with Tribal Communism.

Under Tribal Communism the people lived in tribes and the land was owned in common by the tribe. Such simple weapons as the stone ax, the bow and arrow and the spear were the only tools. These were privately owned, but the products of labor were owned in common by the tribe. Each person took what he need from the common store. The group form of marriage prevailed, a man being married to all women not of his own marrying marrying group. The latter were all related to him. People worked all of their time to secure a living and no intellectual advance was possible. There was no slavery because no man could produce a surplus for a master.

The social order was adapted to the conditions of life and lasted for over 100,000 years. It would have lasted until today but for one thing—the conditions of life changed.

Men learned to domesticate animals and to cultivate the soil, thus producing new conditions of life. The old social order of Tribal Communism was not

adapted to the new modes of production and the new conditions. The old social system had to give way to a new one adapted to the new needs.

When men began to cultivate the soil and to domesticate animals it became possible to produce more than was needed to exist upon. The tribe was unable to consume all of the products it owned. This caused each individual to demand his own product so that he could save what he did not consume. Private ownership of products made it necessary that each individual have a piece of land to cultivate privately, at least for a season. So the communal land was apportioned every year. This, however, soon became tiresome, and the land was finally apportioned for good. Caesar found the German barbarians apportioning their land yearly; one hundred and fifty years later Tacitus found that they had apportioned their land for good and that private ownership was an established fact. The communal land thus became private property.

Formerly when tribes went to war with each other they fought only to kill. The only way in which a person could get anything out of an enemy was to eat him. But agriculture and the domestication of animals made it possible for a man to produce more than he needed to live upon. It became possible to produce a surplus for a master. So in place of killing all their enemies, they captured and enslaved them.

When all the land and its products were owned by the tribe it was impossible for a man to accumulate any personal wealth. With the introduction of slavery and the private ownership of property it be-

came possible for a man to acquire considerable wealth in land, cattle and slaves. Therefore, it was necessary for him when he died to have some legal heir. As long as the group marriage system lasted a man did not know his own children and therefore could not leave his property to them when he died. The changing method of production thus radically altered the marriage customs.

With the introduction of slavery and private property there began to be a great deal of trading between the tribes. Finally the more highly developed tribes combined, forming a nation, so that they could better resist the attacks of the more backward tribes.

A centralization of wealth took place, necessarily resulting from the system of private ownership, and many of the free men soon found themselves propertyless and no better off than slaves. The class struggle, the struggle between the propertied master class and the slaves and propertyless free men, became so violent that it threatened to disrupt the newly established order. It became necessary to find some power to suppress the class struggle and hold the lower class in subjection. It was at least necessary to compel the class struggle to take a legal and less violent form. In the words of Engels, "A public power of coercion became necessary." This public coercive power was found. The **state** arose, and in the name of **law and order** the lower classes were held in subjection.

All that now remained of the tribes was their names. The people were represented in the central government by their old tribal divisions, but as commerce and trade increased a diffusion of the different

tribes took place, until all lines of descent were blotted out and tribal representation became impossible. History tells us that at this period Greece was divided into territories. Tribal representation in the national government gave way to territorial representation. The revolution was complete. The old order of Tribal Communism had served its purpose. It had been outgrown and while it lasted further progress was impossible. It gave way to a system better adapted to the modes of production and to the conditions of life. Tribal Communism gave way to the Slave State.

CHAPTER III.

The Slave State.

The historic purpose of the ancient slave system was to make civilization possible. As long as people had to work all of the time to secure a living, civilization was impossible. Slavery produced a leisure class which could give itself up to intellectual pursuits, and in this way **only** was civilization made possible. For this reason slavery was right and necessary in its time.

Following the introduction of the new social order there was a great surge of progress. The markets for slave products seemed almost unlimited, and it must have seemed to the people of those days, as it seems to those of today, that the existing order would last forever. But economic development does not wait on any system. Even when the ancient civilization based upon slavery was at its zenith, unseen forces were at work destroying it.

At first the ruling class had a function in society. It gave to the world art, music, literature, philosophy, mathematics and the culture of civilization. Finally the classes became hereditary castes. The ruling class was debauched and parasitic and the subject classes were degraded by abject poverty.

New tools of production had been invented, but the ruling class was unable to adapt society to their use. If there had been in Rome another class with sufficient intelligence and strength to overthrow the

ruling class, a revolution would have taken place and the rising class would have adapted society to the new conditions of life. But there was no class in Rome able to overthrow the ruling class, so society began to deteriorate. The towns began to decay, commerce was ruined by extortion, traffic decreased and art declined. The social order was not adapted to more complex tools of production used in agriculture and the handicrafts. Society returned to a lower and ever lower stage. Rome decayed for lack of a class to save her.

When the barbarians swept down upon the city they found only a shell. Rome had been weakened and destroyed by her castes.

The chattel slave system could not be adapted to a society using the more complex tools of production. **The Roman despotism could not readapt itself to the new conditions of life. It thus proved itself unfit to survive and was overthrown.**

CHAPTER IV.

Feudalism and Serfdom.

The overthrow of the Roman despotism and the fall of the old slave system threw the entire civilized world into chaos. An era of violence followed, during which it was impossible for the workers to carry on production. It was necessary that the new social system furnish the workers protection at their work in the field. The new order had to be adapted to the conditions of life then prevailing.

A great many people traded their lands to the military leaders for protection during these troubled times. By promising protection and by other means these military leaders soon got control of all the land and thus was laid the foundation for the next great class labor system—serfdom. The greater part of the people, finding themselves without land and dependent on the military power, were forced to till the soil. For the privilege of working the land, they gave to the owners a portion of what they produced.

The revolution was then complete. The old, outgrown system of chattel slavery had been overthrown and the new order of serfdom introduced. Following the revolution there was a rapid advance in the handicrafts. A greater division of labor took place and there was rapid advancement in the technique of production. The new social system was adapted to more complex tools of production than was the old one.

Handicraft production was at first confined to the feudal estates. Some of the serfs were trained as artisans to enable them to do what work of the kind was necessary upon the estates. As a greater division of labor took place and the handicrafts assumed a more important position, little towns or guilds sprang up which were devoted entirely to the handicrafts. As still greater divisions of labor took place and the tools of production became more complicated, a handicraftsman would take several apprentices into his shop to learn the trade.

This paved the way for the factory system. The guild master soon learned that he could hire men to do the work and pay them less value in money than they returned to him in products. He did not have to work himself. A number of inventions made individual production impossible and factory production inevitable. Since the new machines were too complicated and expensive for each producer to own them for himself, it became necessary for him to go into the factory of the man who had the machines and become his wage slave.

Thus it was necessary that wage labor and the factory system should be introduced. But the wage system requires that there shall be a surplus army of wage workers to bid against each other for employment and thus keep wages down to the mere requirements of subsistence. As long as the workers were employed on the manors of the aristocracy as serfs, there could be no surplus army of wage workers in the towns. As long as the workers were being exploited as serfs by the feudal aristocracy they could not be exploited as wage slaves by the rising

master class, the bourgeoisie. The new tools of production could not be put into general use while the old order lasted. No further development was possible during the existence of serfdom. The social order of that time was no longer adapted to the modes of production and the conditions of life. It had to be overthrown and a new order, adapted to the new conditions of life, evolved.

The ruling class tried to prop up the outgrown social system, because it was to their material interest to exploit workers as serfs as they had done in the past. The rising master class—the bourgeoisie or capitalist class—sought to overthrow the old social system and establish a new one, adapted to the new modes of production, because it was to their material interest to exploit the workers as wage slaves. A struggle took place between these two classes. The new master class, the bourgeoisie, overthrew the old master class, the feudal nobility.

The Bourgeoisie, victorious in the struggle, overthrew all of the old feudal institutions which were no longer adapted to the methods of production and the conditions of life. The Catholic church, which had taught the divine right of the feudal nobility to rule and exploit the workers, was overthrown. New institutions, adapted to the new conditions of life, were introduced.

CHAPTER V

Capitalism and Wage Slavery.

After the bourgeoisie had overthrown the feudal nobility they proceeded to adapt society to the modes of production. The new social system was adapted to a society used to machine and factory production. Instead of the masters owning the slaves' bodies and being responsible for their keep, or instead of the masters owning the soil and compelling the serfs to give them a part of what they produced for the use of it, the masters of today own the machinery of production and keep all that the workers produce, save only a sufficient amount in wages to enable them to keep alive and in fair working condition. The masters in the middle ages were landlords. **The masters of today are machine lords.** The methods of exploitation have changed because of the changing modes of production, but there is still a master class. The form of slavery has changed but we still have slavery. The ancient chattel slave produced his own keep and a surplus for his master, the serf produced his own keep and a surplus for his master; the modern wage slave produces his own keep and a surplus for his master; and, due to machinery having increased his productive power, the surplus which remains to his master is greater than ever before in history.

Historic Mission.

We saw in our review of the preceding systems that each had an **historic purpose**, that each had a

mission, and that when each of the past systems had fulfilled its purpose, forces set to work which destroyed it. Now let us see if the present system, or capitalism, has a mission.

When machine production was introduced, those who could afford to adapt the new machines found that they required less labor and could produce more and cheaper products than by the hand method. To increase their income they of course had to sell more of their products. The only way in which they could enlarge their markets was to sell more cheaply than their hand competitors. They could sell more cheaply than the hand producers because they could produce more cheaply. In this way the hand workers were unable to compete with the machine producers. Those who could afford to do so adopted machine methods; those who could not were forced to go into the factories of those who had the machines and become their wage slaves. Thus we see at the very birth of the capitalist system a tendency to concentrate the means of production into fewer and fewer hands. We can see at the beginning of the capitalist system a force which has ever since whipped the capitalist class into adopting new machines and compelled an ever increasing division of labor.

The new machines of production soon came into general use. Then the competitors found themselves in the same position as they were at the start—only there were fewer of them. One capitalist could drive the others from the field only by selling cheaper than his competitors. In order to sell more cheaply he must produce more cheaply. He increased the productivity of labor by introducing new machinery

and subdividing the work. Thus competition resolves itself into a contest, the aim of which is to make labor more productive.

The competitive system means a continual race between competitors to cut down the cost of production and undersell each other. Those who cannot keep in the race fail. In this way the number of competitors in each industry steadily decreases. Karl Marx said more than sixty years ago that this centralizing process would lead some day to each industry being controlled by one large firm. In other words he predicted the rise of the trusts at a time when people said that competition was the life of trade. One of the missions of capitalism is to perfect, through competition, the machinery of production, and then by this centralizing process to build up the large industries and thus prepare them for socialization.

The mission of Tribal Communism was to bring individuals into community relationship with each other, so that when one of them discovered some new way of securing food, or made some invention, the secret would not die with him but would become the heritage of the race. Tribal Communism served its purpose and then was overthrown by forces from within itself.

The mission of the ancient slave system was to create a leisure class which should give to the world the culture of civilization. The Slave State served its purpose and then was overthrown by forces acting from within.

The historic purpose of serfdom was to introduce more complex tools and to give the handicrafts a

chance to develop, thus preparing society for the introduction of the factory system. Serfdom served its purpose and was in turn overthrown.

The historic mission of capitalism is, through competition, to perfect the machinery of production, to bring about a greater division of labor, thus reducing to a minimum the amount of labor necessary to carry on production; to take capitalist production to every part of the world and through the centralizing process build up large industries ready to be taken over and administered by the victorious working class.

Capitalism has now accomplished its mission. The machines of production have reached a high degree of efficiency and a great division of labor has been accomplished. The amount of labor required for production has been so reduced that if every one worked two hours a day—according to recent investigations—there would be an abundance for all. Capitalist production exists in all parts of the world. The large industries have been built up till production has reached its greatest efficiency in the trust. Capitalism has nothing more efficient to offer than the trust. With the forming of the trust, competition, and the race to cheapen production by the introduction of better machinery, ends. It could be restored only by destroying the present great machines and returning to the methods of production that existed in the days of competition. With the passing of competition, further progress becomes impossible during the continuance of the capitalist system.

Destructive Forces.

We saw that when each of the preceding systems had accomplished its mission it was acted upon by forces which overthrew it. Capitalism has accomplished its purpose; let us see if forces are at work which will eventually overthrow it.

In the entire category of old sayings there is one which is probably the most odious of all.

“It has always been this way and it always will be.”

This attitude is not confined to people who have passed the three score year mark. One of the best known political economists in this country said: “If we learn to distinguish thus between private property and public property, **we lay the very strongest foundations for the existing order.**”

“Laying foundations for the existing order”—that sums up the entire bourgeois political economy. The Socialists do not seek to lay foundations for the existing order, nor yet to overthrow the existing order without reason. We merely seek to find in which direction the forces of evolution are moving, and to move with those forces and not against them.

Monopoly.

We have just seen how a centralization of capital has taken place, by the continued introduction of modern machinery and the failure of the small concerns which could not keep up in the race. This process continued till there were only a few large concerns left in each industry, and then they combined into one great concern, or trust. Had they not

combined, the war between them would have continued until they were all crushed but one. We would have had the trust just the same.

The weaker capitalists and middle class exploiters, who failed because they could not afford to introduce the latest machinery, have now commenced to whine because they can no longer compete with the mammoth machines used by the trusts. When the hand producers found that they could not compete with the power loom, they tried to destroy it. Now when the small producers find that they cannot compete with the large and costly machinery used by the trusts, they propose to destroy the great monopolies.

But the trust is the product of evolution. It is impossible for the small manufacturer to compete with the great machines owned by the trusts, and the modern machines are too large to be used by small competing concerns. **Production on a small, competitive basis, and the great machines, are not adapted to each other.**

To re-establish small, competitive production, it would be necessary to destroy the modern labor-saving machinery and return to the modes of production of fifty years ago. The Socialists have been called Utopians and dreamers because they think that society moves forward; but those who imagine that they can turn back the wheels of social evolution are far greater dreamers. Even if it were possible to restore the competitive system of fifty years ago, it would merely mean that fifty more years would be required for society to reach the present stage of development.

As long as capitalism lasts the trusts will remain.

But people cannot and will not submit to monopoly. When they learn that competition cannot be restored they will overthrow the capitalist system. The trusts alone have sealed the fate of capitalism, but there are other forces at work which are undermining it.

Castes.

The development of castes was instrumental in bringing about the overthrow of each of the class labor systems of the past.

Under the ancient chattel slave system, the ruling class at first had a function in society—building a civilization—and it was possible to pass from one class into another. After the ruling class had introduced civilization it ceased to be of any further use to society. It was impossible to pass from one class into another. The rulers became a hereditary class. Castes formed and the ancient slave state was overthrown.

At the beginning of feudalism the ruling class had a social function. They protected the workers as they toiled in the fields. At first it was possible to pass from one class into another, but the classes finally became hereditary. Castes were formed and feudalism was overthrown.

At the beginning of capitalism the ruling class had a social function—to perfect through competition the tools of production. At first it was possible to pass from one class into the other. But now the capitalist class cannot further perfect the tools of production through competition, for competition is ended. Every year the wealth of the world centralizes into fewer and fewer hands. Every year

the class divisions become more clear-cut, and every year it becomes harder for a person of the working class to climb into the capitalist class. It would be utterly impossible, today, for any boy of the working class to become an oil king like John D. Rockefeller, or a coal baron like Baer, or a steel king like Andrew Carnegie. These industries are already monopolized and the smaller capitalists in them are being thrust back into the working class. On the other hand, the children of men like Morgan and Rockefeller are born masters, and will be the future rulers of this nation even though they be idiots or degenerates.

The classes are becoming hereditary classes. Castes are forming in capitalist society and no system can last which is built upon caste.

Labor-Displacing Machinery.

People who do not understand the Socialist philosophy often wonder what will be the final result of the constant introduction of labor-saving machinery. Every new invention throws great hordes of men out of work and thus increases the misery of the working class. Every year there is more labor-displacing machinery introduced.

The power necessary to produce food, clothing and shelter was at one time furnished by the muscles of men. Today it is furnished by steam and electricity. There are still, however, great hordes of men who toil with picks and shovels to dig the coal out of the ground to use to generate steam and electric power. The time is coming when the forces of nature will be harnessed and will furnish the power to carry on all production and transportation as well

as to furnish all the artificial light and heat used. Men's muscles will simply furnish the power necessary to direct the machines. When this time does come, all of the coal miners, engineers, firemen, and half the railroad workers will at one stroke be thrown out of employment.

Every invention that is made in the future, instead of lightening the burdens of the workers, will increase their misery. Inventions make less work necessary and increase the amount of food and clothing that can be produced. Why does this make those who do the work more wretched?

Because, once more the time has come when the social system is no longer adapted to the modes of production. The present social system, like tribal communism, chattel slavery, and serfdom, must give way to a newer and better system adapted to the new conditions of life. This will be a system under which those who do the work will be benefited by the introduction of labor-saving machinery.

Foreign Markets and Capitalist Expansion.

A market must be found for all the products of labor. Manufacturers must sell all that they produce if they are to continue to operate their factories. Since the workers, according to Census Bulletin No. 160, receive wages sufficient to buy back only 17% of what they produce, it is evident that only 17% of what is produced in the United States is consumed by the workers who produce it. Eighty-three per cent of all that is produced in the United States must be consumed by others than those who produced it.

The capitalists, with all their retinue of lackeys,

intellectual retainers, and kept creatures of various kinds consume a part of the products of labor. There still remains, however, a large unconsumed portion that must find a market outside of the workers who produced it and the capitalist class. Where can this surplus find a market? It must be consumed by workers who did not help to produce it. But if workers who did not aid in its production are to buy this surplus, they must have work and receive wages with which to buy it. So they are set to work by the capitalist class. These workers build new factories, railroads and mills, and dig new mines, and receive this surplus in return.

When these new mines, mills and factories are put into operation their workers in turn produce a surplus which must find a market. For this surplus other workers must in their turn build new factories and railroads, which, again, must find a market for their surplus products.

For this reason there must be new mines, mills and factories built all the time and there must be more men and more workers to work in them. In other words, the total mass of capital in existence is growing and as it grows it requires ever more and more people to create a profit on it.

Back in the middle ages, when the factory system originated, the total mass of capital commenced to grow. As it grew, it brought an ever greater and greater number of people under its exploitation. The time came when the total mass of capital could not expand further while serfdom lasted. Therefore serfdom was overthrown and the serfs of the field

were brought into the factories where they could be exploited by the expanding mass of capital.

Finally the time came when all the workers in all the industrial countries of Europe and America could not create profit on the expanding mass of capital. An English capitalist who recently visited this country said, when interviewed, that the capitalists of England could no longer make profitable investments at home, but were forced to invest in India, Africa, Australia and New Zealand. He said that this was all due to the blunders of Lloyd George's legislation. This thick-headed captain of industry believed that they could keep on building new factories, mills and railroads, and digging new mines in little old England forever and ever—even if the factories got so thick they could not walk between them. The workers of England, he thought, could continue piling up profits in them indefinitely if it wasn't for Lloyd George. That is the bourgeois way of looking at things. Some individual is always held responsible, no matter whether it be for the reformation or for the bubonic plague in India.

When new industries could no longer be profitably established in the industrial countries, when the total mass of capital had grown so large that all the workers in the capitalist countries could not create a profit on it, the world market originated. The surplus which could not be consumed at home was sent to the more backward countries. The heathen were set to work building factories and railroads in return for the goods they received. In this way a world market builds up industries of its own, and not only ceases to be a world market for the consumption of

the world's surplus, but produces a surplus of its own which in turn must find a market. In this way Japan once served as a market into which the United States could dump her surplus. Today Japan is no longer a market; but a capitalist country producing a surplus of its own. It is now the most formidable competitor of the United States for the Chinese market. But China is now becoming a capitalist country. She has outgrown the old reactionary government which was not adapted to conditions of life under capitalism, and introduced a new government which is adapted to capitalist production. The four hundred million inhabitants of China will soon be producing a surplus which must find a market if the capitalist system is to continue.

We have seen the backward tribes and nations brought one by one under the exploitation of the expanding mass of capital. We see the Kaffirs and Zulus of South Africa and the Hindus of India at work creating a profit on the world's capital. We see the Arabs, the Chinese and the South Sea Islanders, all reached by capitalism. We see the Indians of bleak Alaska toiling to create a profit on American capital, and we can all remember when the United States army was sent to the Philippines to hunt down the rebellious natives as wild beasts are hunted. The order, "Take no prisoners and let no one escape" was given because they refused to be civilized by the sugar trust. Today the little brown men of the Philippines are at work creating profit on the expanding mass of capital. It was right and necessary that the workers should be exploited under

capitalism and forced to create a surplus with which to build up the modern machinery of production. A professor of history in one of the largest universities in the country once said to me, "There have been times in the past when we were nearer to Socialism than we are today." His ignorance of the process of social development is responsible for the idea. If the workers had always consumed all that they produced, leaving no surplus, with what would the great industries of today have been built? The captains of industry who exploit the workers and build the great industries with the surplus value wrung from them, are thinking only of themselves; but there will come a time when the great capitalists are all gone and the industries which they have caused to be built by labor will remain as the heritage of all the people.

The time is drawing near when the surplus produced by the workers will not be needed to build new factories and new railroads. All of the industries that are needed by the people of the world will have been built. Further capitalist expansion will be impossible, as all races will have been brought under capitalist exploitation. Capitalism will have then served its last historic mission.

The world market will be exhausted, but the capitalist class will still have a surplus. What will happen when the world market is exhausted and the capitalist class can no longer dispose of the surplus? What will happen when the total mass of capital has grown so large that all of the workers in the world cannot create a profit on it? How will the great and

wise political economists then prop up the foundations of the existing order?

The Industrial Crisis.

What will happen when there is no longer a market for the world's surplus? **What happens today when more has been produced than can be sold?** An industrial crisis, or panic, is the result. When manufacturers are unable to sell what they have produced, they do not keep on producing more, they close down their factories until they can sell the products which have accumulated on their hands.

When the factories close the workers in them are thrown out of work, their wages cease and their purchasing power is gone. The factories which close down stop buying raw material, and this results in the closing of the industries supplying the raw material. More men are thrown into the unemployed army and the purchasing power of the working class is still further reduced, thus again decreasing the market and causing the closing of other factories. With the stopping of manufacture there is a decreased demand for coal and a consequent closing of mines. Railroad traffic falls off and still more men are discharged. Hordes of men are unemployed and the industrial crisis is on.

The unemployed workers wander by the millions about the streets in search of work and have the pleasure of seeing the markets glutted with the goods which they have produced, but which they cannot buy back. They cannot secure work, because the factories must first sell what has already been produced; the workers cannot buy up their products be-

cause they are unemployed. Here is a condition in which the workers are forced to be hungry, ragged and homeless because they have produced too much food and clothing and built too many houses. It must be a pleasure to the man who is starving to know that he is hungry because too much food has been produced; it must give him a peculiar satisfaction to know that he is ragged because too much clothing has been manufactured.

A crisis, or panic, is really a state in which the markets are so glutted and choked up with what has been produced that all further production is rendered impossible. Capitalism has reached that stage of development where it is temporarily smothered in its own unconsumed products. In the words of Engels: "The means of production have outgrown the methods of distribution and are in rebellion against them."

The capitalist system could not recover from an industrial crisis were it not for the world markets. The products with which the home markets are glutted are gradually consumed by the undeveloped countries and production is resumed. But the introduction of labor-saving machinery steadily increases the productivity of labor. The surplus that each worker creates is therefore constantly increasing; so, also, is the number of workers in capitalist society. For this reason each of these periodical crises is more violent than the preceding one, and each time capitalism recovers only by opening a new market where the surplus can be dumped.

The time will come, however, when the markets will no longer suffice to consume the surplus. The

time will come—and before long—when further capitalist expansion will be impossible and the working class will have permanently lost its purchasing power. There will be no sale for anything that is produced under the profit system. **Capitalism—the profit system—will be plunged into a crisis from which it cannot recover.**

These periodical industrial crises are simply the death paroxysms of an outgrown social order. These paroxysms are coming with ever increasing violence, and with the ending of capitalist expansion and the passing of the world market there will come a crisis that will close down every mill, mine, factory and railroad in the world. They will never again be able to operate for profit. This is what will happen unless the old order is voluntarily overthrown before it comes to a violent end.

From this we see that no matter whether we like capitalism or not, and regardless of how hard every one may try to prop it up, the system is doomed to collapse. It cannot last. People are simply wasting time when they argue in favor of capitalism. Foundations cannot be laid for the existing social order, not even by bourgeois political economists. The order of capitalism has been outgrown. It is no longer adapted to the conditions of life and it must now go the way of previous systems. A revolution must take place. That Revolution is here.

CHAPTER VI.

The New Social System—Would Stop Agitation.

The question which confronts the people of today is not whether they shall or shall not overthrow the present system. Economic forces beyond our control are at work which will overthrow capitalism within a few years. If these forces were not at work it would be impossible for any political organization to overthrow the existing order; with these forces at work no party can do anything to perpetuate the capitalist system. The only question which confronts thinking people of today is, what sort of a system will follow the capitalist system, and how may we best help to bring it about?

There are many people who believe that the present system must some day pass away, and that an era of universal brotherhood will be inaugurated; yet they condemn the Socialist movement and say that no good can come of it. They say that by their agitation the Socialists are arraying class against class and that a better system can only come by reconciling the two struggling classes. As one writer puts it, "It is a question of how the poor and the rich can dwell together in a more cordial brotherhood." The assumption is that when both classes have developed the spirit of love for each other, the day of human brotherhood will come. The good simple people who really believe this think that the

agitation of the Socialists merely intensifies class antagonisms.

To them the only question is, "How can we stop all this agitation that is going on about us?" They imagine that if agitation could be ended, if all this "stirring up of class hatred" could be stopped, the problem of today would be solved. Since the capitalist class is well satisfied with its position, upon the backs of the workers, all of this agitation and "stirring up of class feeling" is done by the working class. In the last analysis, the question that confronts these good people is not "How may we stop the robbery of the workers?" It is, "How can we keep them quiet while they are being robbed?"

The class struggle is such an unpleasant thing to think about that these pious people would like to stop all discussion of it. Just as the ostrich sticks his head into the sand and seeks to escape danger by not looking at it, so these people seek to abolish the class struggle by not talking about it. If the class struggle is such an unpleasant subject that these sleek, well-fed persons cannot bear to hear it discussed, think what it must mean to the people who are sweating blood because of it. It is these people who choose to talk about the class struggle, not because it is a pleasant subject, but because they wish to end it.

The agitation of the workers is not what is arraying class against class, as many would have us believe. Class is already arrayed against class. That is the cause of all the agitation that is going on today. It is not the agitation of the workers that causes the parasites to live in palaces while they themselves

live in hovels. It was not the agitation of the workers that caused a factory full of little girl slaves to burn with them in it, or that caused a mine to cave in, entombing the slaves as they toiled to create wealth for their masters. It is not the agitation of the workers that forces their daughters into lives of shame that they may buy bread, or that causes the workers to slaughter each other upon the battlefields in order that the capitalist class may have a market for the wealth that has been stolen from them. It is not because of the agitation of the workers that the class who have produced all the wealth receive back only seventeen per cent of it. No, these things are not the result of agitation; they are the **cause** of agitation and class hatred. The class struggle is the cause and not the effect of agitation; and there will be agitation as long as there is a class struggle.

Let us suppose that the two classes have become reconciled and love each other ever so much. Suppose that the "poor and rich" have learned to "live together in more cordial brotherhood." The awful fact remains that there would still be "poor and rich" no matter how cordially they might dwell together. There would still be exploiters and exploited as long as the profit system lasted. The Socialists do not care to bring about a condition in which "poor and rich" can "dwell together in a more cordial brotherhood." The Socialists want to see a system established in which there can be no masters and no slaves, no rich and no poor.

CHAPTER VII.

No Relief from the Capitalist Class.

Suppose a capitalist should desire to quit exploiting his workers. Suppose he should be actuated by a spirit of brotherhood and should refuse to exact a profit from his workers; he would simply succumb to competition and another capitalist who was willing to exploit the workers would take his place. We have seen that victory is for the capitalist who can produce most cheaply; to produce as cheaply as possible a capitalist must secure the cheapest labor available. Otherwise, as a capitalist, he cannot exist. It is not within his power to stop the robbery of the workers. It is not within the power of the capitalist class to re-adapt society to the new conditions of life.

Even if the capitalist class could end the exploitation of the workers, there is a formidable obstacle in the way; they do not want to do so. They are selfish and naturally wish to continue to ride the workers. It's far pleasanter than working. Moreover, their environment and the conditions of life under which they live are such that they believe that they are doing **right**. They believe that they are the saviors of society and that if the "mob" once got control of the government and the industries, civilization would perish from the earth. On the other hand, the conditions under which the workers live are **not** such as to cause them to regard the capitalists as the saviors

of society. The workers must accomplish the overthrow of the profit system.

Step at a Time.

There are people who admit that the profit system must go before the ideal of human brotherhood can be realized, but they disagree with the Socialists as to how the profit system will end. They believe that class lines will gradually be obliterated as the workers consume more and more of their product. They believe that the change from the profit system to the co-operative commonwealth will be gradual, by a step at a time, instead of suddenly and by revolutionary methods. There is a certain kind of people who cannot bear the thought of any sudden change; these believe that the change will be gradual instead of revolutionary because a gradual change sounds nicer to them. There is absolutely nothing to justify anyone in this belief.

To show that the abolition of the profit system will be gradual they must first show that the workers are consuming more and more of their product. This, however, is not true. Every year the workers consume a smaller part of what they produce. Every new invention increases the productivity of labor and still the workers receive only enough to exist upon. All the rest goes to the capitalist class. In 1885 the workers consumed fifty per cent of what they produced, according to governmental figures. The balance was kept by the master class. According to U. S. Census Bulletin 150, seventeen per cent of what the workers produced in 1910 sufficed for them to exist upon. Eighty-three per cent was re-

tained by their capitalist masters. Labor-saving machinery is continually being introduced; therefore within a few years the workers will consume only ten per cent of what they produce and the masters will be able to keep the other ninety per cent.

When this fact is taken into consideration it is easy to see that the profit system is **not** gradually passing, and cannot gradually pass away **because there is a continually increasing rate of exploitation.** The gulf which separates the master class and the working class is growing wider and class antagonisms are increasing. As the class lines become more pronounced, agitation and class feeling will also increase. This growing agitation is the result and not the cause of the growing class antagonisms.

Neither the workers nor the capitalists are responsible for this growing antagonism between the classes. The increasing class feeling is coincident with the increased rate of exploitation and both are the result of the changing methods of production. They are the result of an economic evolution that all the platitudes ever uttered cannot check. The struggle between the working class and the capitalist class is approaching a crisis. Either one class or the other **must** be victorious.

Other Historic Changes Were Brought About by the Overthrow of the Ruling Class.

Why should we think that the present system will be overthrown in a different manner from the systems of the past? **In each of the class labor systems of the past the ruling class was unable to re-adapt society to the new conditions of life, and each time**

the ruling class was overthrown by another class which could so re-adapt society. We saw this in the change from feudalism to capitalism. We saw an economic growth which demanded the introduction of the factory system, and we saw the old ruling class seek to hold to the outgrown feudal institutions by which it had profited. We saw a new class created—the bourgeoisie—which sought to overthrow the feudal institutions and introduce new institutions by which they were to profit. The bourgeoisie won in the struggle, because the feudal system was outgrown. Evolution was on the side of the bourgeoisie.

The workers are often told that it is inevitable that they be oppressed by the masters, because their masters are fitter than they. The workers are told that the old law of the survival of the fittest is responsible for their condition.

The great monsters that were the terror of primitive man ruled the animal world of their time; but when the conditions of life changed and they could not re-adapt themselves to the new conditions, they perished. So it is with the capitalist class. In their time the capitalists were the rulers of society, but the changing modes of production produced new conditions of life. Since the capitalist class is unable to re-adapt society to the new conditions, it is unfit to survive as a ruling class. Its place will be taken by a class which can remold society in accordance with the new system of production.

Society may be compared to a growing boy and the various social systems to his clothes. As the boy outgrows one suit after another, so society outgrows one social system after another. Each revolutionary

class has tailored a new suit and put it on society. The boy looked fine in each new suit for awhile, but there always came a time when he outgrew them. Each class which gave him a suit has tried to compel him to keep on wearing it, and each rising revolutionary class has made him a new one and put it on him when the old suit could be no longer worn.

Thus it is today. Old Aunt Bourgeoisie made the suit which the boy wears at present and she thinks it is the only suit that will do for him. But the boy is outgrowing the suit his aunt gave him. It is growing tighter every day. It is all wrinkled across the back and the sleeves hardly reach his elbows. Poor little Willie screams with pain and gasps for breath and every now and then he keels over in an epileptic industrial crisis that almost scares his aunty to death. She can't imagine what ails the child, but says the agitators are responsible for his condition. In the meantime a bright young fellow—the revolutionary class of to-day—has seen what ails the boy and is hard at work making a new suit for him. Aunt Bourgeoisie sees him making the new suit and grows hysterical. She tries to reform and begins letting out the seams in the boy's clothes. Listen as she screams: "Get out! You anarchist, you free lover, you undesirable citizen! You can't put long pants on Willie. He must wear the clothes I gave him the rest of his life."

But Willie keeps on growing larger and larger and his clothes become tighter and tighter. There is already a big rip in the seat of his trousers and it is rapidly growing larger. Before long his clothes will

pop entirely off—and then something will have to be done.

The profit system must collapse. Every system of the past has ended by one class overthrowing another class. The struggling classes of today cannot possibly be reconciled; one or the other must be victorious. Therefore we are forced to believe that the profit system will end by one class overthrowing the other class.

Since the struggle between the working class and the capitalist class can end only in the victory of one class, and since the capitalist class is unable to adapt society to the new conditions of life, the question that confronts the workers today is how their class may be victorious in the struggle.

CHAPTER VIII.

How to Be Victorious.

Both politically and industrially the capitalist class is the ruling class. It rules the nation and controls the industries. To overthrow the capitalist class the workers must take from it both its economic and political power.

As exercised by the capitalist class the economic and political power cannot be separated from each other. **By virtue of its economic might the capitalist class is able to rule the workers politically.** In other words, the capitalists control the government because they are able to corrupt legislative bodies and executives, appoint judges, control conventions, make nominations, and above all because they control the press of the country and are thus enabled to hold the minds of the people in slavery. **On the other hand, the capitalists are able to exploit the workers on the industrial field because they control the government, make, interpret and enforce the laws.**

Every political state is a class state. The government of the United States is a class government. The capitalists, backed by the machinery of government, rob the workers every year of billions of dollars worth of the wealth they have produced. Our laws legalize the wholesale robbery of the working class, but there is a policeman on every corner to protect the stolen wealth of the capitalist class. If a worker takes back by stealth or violence the most insignifi-

cant fraction of what has been stolen from his class, he is a criminal, is hunted down like a beast and cast into prison. Once there, he is abused and tortured and leased out by the class state as a slave. Then some manufacturers can rob him of the wealth he has produced and have no fear of his getting any of it back.

Unless the ruling class does control the state, it cannot stand as a ruling class. When a ruling class loses control of the state it cannot continue its rule. In the South the slave owners were able to exploit the negro slaves because they controlled the government. When the slave holders lost control of the government they could no longer keep their slaves. They could no longer continue as the master class, therefore they seceded and attempted to start a government of their own. The leading citizens of the American colonies—the Washingtons and Hancocks—could not exploit the colonies because they did not control the government; so they seized the government from the British ruling class. They were then able to exploit the colonies to their hearts' content. The ruling class of England was unable to exploit the workers of the Boer Republic because they did not control its government. So they conquered the Boers. The ruling class of England was unable to exploit the workers of India for the same reason; therefore they seized the government and are now able to exploit the people of India. The master class of America desired to exploit the Filipinos, but were unable to do so because they did not control the government of the Philippine Islands; they seized the

government and are now exploiting the native islanders.

Every master class in the past has been able to maintain its rule because it controlled the government. Every rising revolutionary class has overthrown the old ruling class by seizing the powers of government. The bourgeoisie overthrew the feudal aristocracy by wresting the government from them.

The capitalists of today are able to exploit the working class only because they control the government. They pass laws legalizing profit taking and making private property sacred. From this it is easy to see that the anarchists who ignore the ballot are in the wrong. As long as the capitalists control the machinery of government they do not fear the working class. Dynamite bombs, or any other weapons that the workers may use do not alarm the capitalists as long as they make the laws controlling the courts, the police and the army. The capitalists of California gladly gave the McNamara brothers their lives in return for their confession on the eve of the Los Angeles election. The working class were thus kept from seizing the government of that one city.

The revolutionary class of today must win by seizing the government from the capitalist class. The revolutionary classes of the past were compelled to seize the government by force of arms, but the revolutionary class of today can secure control by use of the ballot.

We have seen that the capitalists of today are able to rule us politically because of their economic supremacy. It is in their power to disfranchise the workers if they see fit. If the workers are victorious

at the polls the present office holders can claim the election to be fraudulent and refuse to let our men take office. The only legal course open to the workers would be to contest the election in court. **The success or failure of the social revolution would depend upon the decision of a capitalist court.** The only alternative for the workers would be to fight against the machine guns and grape shot with their bare hands.

The capitalist class rules the working class politically because it is economically the most powerful class. Logically, if the working class is to seize the machinery of government peaceably, that class must first become more powerful than the capitalist class upon the economic field. The economic strength of the masters lies in their being able to purchase the labor power of the workers. If the workers should withhold their labor power and refuse to sell it to the capitalists, that class would have no economic power. When the workers are organized as a class so that practically all can suspend work at the same time, the working class will become, economically, the most powerful class.

The strength of an army lies in organized, concentrated action. A large body of troops, disciplined, organized and acting as a unit against a mob of workers can quickly shoot them into submission. **In the event of a general strike the situation will be reversed. The workers will be organized and acting as a unit. The very nature of the struggle will disorganize the army.** The workers will not mass themselves behind barricades in the streets to serve as targets for soldiers. The revolt will extend to every

part of the country. **The purpose of the general strike will be to confiscate the industries now owned by the capitalist class.** In order to protect their property they would be compelled to station soldiers at every factory, mine, mill, public building, every bridge and every mile of railroad in the United States. The army would be completely disorganized. One soldier would be guarding this factory, two more that mill, and so on from New York to California, providing there were enough soldiers for the purpose. Most of these soldiers, being working men themselves, upon finding that they were alone, or nearly so, and surrounded by revolutionists, would immediately desert. Any who would not desert could be easily overpowered and disarmed.

With the army gone, the workers will not sit down and starve while the warehouses are full of the food that they have produced and the factories in which they can produce more stand unguarded. They will go back into the factories and once more work—this time for themselves. The workers who were elected to office will take the offices which were refused them and proceed to serve the new industrial government. They will be needed as long as the reconstruction period, following the revolution, lasts. Society will adapt itself to a system in which production is for the use of the workers instead of for the profit of the Industrial Lords.

If the Capitalist Class is Victorious.

Prof. Ridpath, the historian, said that the capitalist system was doomed to collapse and that it would be followed by either a military despotism or by the

co-operative commonwealth. Prof. Ridpath was not a Socialist, but as a student he arrived at this conclusion. He saw that the profit system could not last after there were no markets for the world's surplus, when the total mass of capital could expand no further. He knew that the surplus must be consumed and destroyed by a large army that would also keep the workers in subjection, or that a system must be introduced in which no markets would be required for the surplus. The workers must consume all that they produce. He believed that this co-operative commonwealth would come because it was in line with evolution. But not being a Socialist, he did not understand how either system would come.

All of the more intelligent capitalists and capitalist politicians are advocating either government control of the trusts or government ownership. They are doing this because they fully appreciate the significance of the Socialist movement and realize the necessity of finding some more efficient method of holding the workers in subjection if they are to continue their rule. George Perkins, Andrew Carnegie, Roosevelt, Lyman Abbott, Dr. Eliot and many others of equal prominence are advocating either government control or government ownership.

If the present capitalist government should purchase the industries from the capitalists, the government would issue bonds to pay for them. The government would exploit the workers to the limit and use the profit wrung from them to pay interest on the bonds. The government would fix the prices of commodities by law, thus ruining the small individual concerns. All production would soon be carried

on by the state. The capitalists would receive their incomes the same as now, but would be relieved of the worry of constant labor troubles and all the responsibility that accompanies private ownership.

The workers would be in the government employ and would lose what little freedom they now possess. Army discipline would prevail, wages would be fixed by law and, as is already the case among post office employes, the workers would be denied the right to organize. A strike would be considered an act of treason against the state and would be put down by military force. Today the capitalists must at least find some serious sounding excuse before the militia can be used against the workers; when the ownership of all industry is centralized in the state no such excuse will be necessary.

In that case the capitalist system would give way to what Lyman Abbott termed an industrial feudalism. The capitalists, relieved of all responsibility, would doubtless take up art, music, and the sciences, as did the leisure class of Athens. Part of the surplus which is now used under the capitalist system to build up new industries would then be used to build great cities of art, far surpassing any of the ancient cities, in which the masters would live. The great armies and navies of today, built to secure control in the struggle for the shrinking world market, would be used to hold the slaves in subjection. A military caste would doubtless arise. It would be maintained by the state and would consume a part of the surplus. **If the working class is unable to overthrow the capitalist class, if the capitalist class**

is victorious in the present struggle, a military despotism will follow the present system.

If the Working Class Is Victorious.

In each of the preceding revolutions, the revolutionary class was a new master with new forms of exploitation better adapted to the modes of production of the time. In the present revolution the revolutionary class is the working class.

If the working class should be victorious in the struggle, what sort of system will follow the capitalist system? Before feudalism was overthrown, the embryo of the capitalist system could be observed growing within the feudal state. The bourgeoisie—the revolutionary class—was introducing the factory system and wage labor, and this was destined to be the class labor system of the future state. Can there not be observed in the movement of the revolutionary class of today the germ of the future social system? If we look closely enough can we not see the suit of clothes that the revolutionary class is making to put upon society when it has outgrown the suit which it now wears?

In the beginning of the capitalist system the workers had no organization to lessen the competition among them for employment. The workers were individualists, each one taking advantage of every other whenever he had the chance. There was no co-operation among the workers and their class had no voice in deciding the conditions under which they should work. All laws and constitutions made secure the right of private property. No one had the right to interfere with the way in which a person

used his private property. If a man used it to exploit and rob other people it was nobody's business, for it was his property and he might do with it as he pleased.

This was the capitalism before the embryo of the coming social system began to grow within it. A handful of men once decided that they could better their condition if the workers in their trade organized and refused to compete with and bid against each other for employment. In 1830 the first labor union was formed. The employer was stunned with indignation. What impudence in these men to attempt to dictate to him as to what wages he should pay and how he should run his factory! It was his factory, and the constitution was based upon the right of a person to do as he pleased with his own property. The men were arrested, haled into court, charged with a "criminal conspiracy to raise wages," and convicted.

This first labor union was the embryo of the future social system. What new social tendencies did this first labor union introduce? First, the tendency of the workers to co-operate for their common good. Second, the tendency of the workers to demand a voice in the running of industry.

Little by little an ever greater number of workers organize and co-operate for their common good. Little by little the workers demand more voice in running the industries. Today the right of the workers to have something to say about the conditions under which they shall work is universally admitted.

The first unions were craft unions. They were organized at a time when great skill was required

by the workers in the different trades. The craft unionists wished to organize the workers of each craft, have initiation fees, long apprenticeships and prevent as many workers as possible from learning their particular trades. They hoped to thus build up a labor monopoly and secure a high price for their labor because of its scarcity. There came a time when machinery began to take the skill away from the workers. Work which once required great skill and long training was now done by a simple machine process that any person could learn in a few hours.

The time has come when the craft union can no longer be a labor monopoly. The craft unions are being forced to fight for their very existence. Standing alone, they are too weak to survive the vicious onslaughts of organized capital. In order to live they are forced to help each other. In the different industries we see the craft unions federating into one big union. The coal miners are already industrially organized and now the railroad unions are federating.

Thus there is a constantly increasing number of workers co-operating with each other to fight the master class. The movement can only end in one union of all the workers in an industry being organized and in all of the industrial unions uniting in one great union of the working class.

With this union of the entire working class there will come a greater feeling of brotherhood. No further steps in co-operation are possible while the present system lasts; but when the workers are organized as a class they can dispense with the para-

sitic capitalists and take the next step—co-operation in the ownership of the industries.

When the workers are so organized they will realize their power and demand more and more voice in the management of industry, finally taking over all means of production and distribution. The workers have as much right to govern the industries in which they work as they have to govern the nation in which they live. Our forefathers won political democracy from a class which claimed to rule by divine right. The workers of today are fighting to secure industrial democracy from a class which also believes that it rules by divine right.

The increasing co-operation on the part of the workers will end only when the workers co-operate in the ownership of industry. The increasing demand of the workers for a voice in the running of the industries can only end in the workers securing exclusive control of those industries—in industrial democracy. Thus in the movement of the working class of today may be observed the embryo of the future social system. In the rising industrial unions of today we can see the germ of the industrial government that is to be. This embryo will continue to grow as long as growth is possible within the shell of the present social system. When further development is impossible it will break the shell and society will emerge to enter upon a new period of growth unhampered by its old environment.

The political state which appeared as the result of the class struggle will vanish with the end of the classes and will be succeeded by the new industrial state. When the revolutionary proletariat has

seized the political state and used it as a club to overthrow the capitalist class, then that political state will have served its last historic purpose. As society adapts itself to co-operation, courts, police, armies, legislatures and penitentiaries become unnecessary and will **gradually** disappear. The government of the future is not a political government, but an industrial government. It is a government not of people but of things.

In the industrial union we can see the form that the industrial government of the future will take. Instead of a congress in which the people are represented by territorial divisions and which devotes itself to making laws regulating the actions of persons, there will be a congress in which people are represented by industries and that congress will devote its time to adjusting production to the consuming power of the workers. We saw how when the nation was first formed by a federation of the tribes, the tribal divisions were the basis of representation in the central government; but as the tribal groups were blotted out, people were represented in the central government by territories. Today territorial divisions are the basis of representation; but as the universal brotherhood of labor destroys territorial distinctions and the labor organizations form into industrial groups these geographical divisions will be succeeded by industrial representation. The interests of the workers in all parts of the nation will be identical but the peculiar conditions prevailing in each industry will make it necessary that the workers of each of those industries shall have separate representation in the central government.

Our present political government will give way to an industrial republic in which the workers will consume all that is produced, leaving no surplus for a foreign market. Once more society will have adapted itself to new modes of production and new conditions of life.

CHAPTER IX.

Human Nature and Co-operation.

Many people have argued that Socialism is impossible because human nature is not adapted to co-operation. Even Herbert Spencer, the great evolutionist, said: "You cannot build a perfect society out of imperfect and selfish people." In other words Spencer, after showing how evolution had consisted of a constant readaptation of all living things, from the first protoplasmic cell to man, to new conditions of life, said that modern man could not possibly adapt himself to a system under which the machinery of production would be socially owned and democratically administered. As we look into the past it seems impossible that the primitive man-apes could ever adapt themselves to modern machine production. And yet, here we are.

It is true that people of today are selfish and wicked but that is because they are adapted to the present conditions of life. The interest of the individual is now in conflict with the interests of society. In the Industrial Republic the interests of the individual and the interests of society will be identical and man will adapt himself to the new order just as man and all other living things have adapted themselves to various conditions of life in the past.

Which Class Will Be Victorious?

If the workers are victorious in the struggle between them and the capitalist class we shall have an

industrial democracy. If the capitalist class is victorious the result will be an industrial despotism. Time alone can decide which class will be the victor in the impending crisis, but the Socialists believe that evolution is on the side of the working class.

We believe that the working class must be the victors,

First: Because the historic time for a working class victory has arrived. Even if the workers in the past had been able to overthrow their masters in any part of the world, they would have been crushed by an armed force from the outside. This was the case with the Paris commune. Now, however, capitalist production exists in every part of the world; when capitalism collapses it will collapse in every part of the world; and when the workers are victorious they will be victorious in every part of the world, leaving no outside power to crush them.

Second: Because to be in line with evolution society must adapt itself to production by means of the gigantic machines of today. In the Industrial Republic society would be able to use the most complex machinery of production; but under a military despotism society would not be adapted to the modern modes of production.

Third: Because each system in the past has increased production. Tribal communism brought about a slight division of labor and made possible the use of fire and stone weapons, thus increasing production. The slave system was a still further advance. The feudal system developed the handicrafts to a higher degree of perfection than was

possible under the slave system, thus increasing production. Today the capitalist system by means of the trust and the mammoth machines it uses has increased production still further.

Judging by each of the past systems, we are forced to the conclusion that the new order, to be in line with evolution, must still further increase production. A military despotism would return production to a lower stage and thus decrease the output. By eliminating the waste of competition and by putting everyone to work with the most efficient machinery the Industrial Republic would increase production. Therefore the victory of the working class is in line with evolution.

Fourth: Because every forward step that the human race has taken has been a step in the direction of greater co-operation. In his most primitive state man was an absolute individualist. The first advance that the human race made—the formation of the tribe—was a step toward co-operation. The first nation was a further attempt to co-operate. The first division of labor that took place, the first labor union, the first stock company that was organized were each steps toward co-operation. The formation of the trust and the organization of the industrial union are both attempts to establish co-operation in place of competition. Very soon the organized industrial unions will enable the workers not merely to protect themselves, but to co-operate in carrying on production in the factories where they work. The workers must next co-operate in the ownership of the machines of production. The next step must bring together the co-operative or-

ganization of the workers—the industrial union, and the co-operative organization of the capitalists—the trusts.

A military despotism would be a move away from instead of toward co-operation, therefore not in line with evolution. The next step in co-operative effort can only be possible if the working class is victorious. Therefore we are forced to believe that the working class will be victorious in the impending crisis. According to evolutionary science that must be.

When the bourgeoisie had overthrown feudalism they thought that they had discovered a perfect system; and to this day even the children are taught that the existing order is an ideal one. Socialists do not think that the human race will have reached its evolutionary goal when this particular revolution has taken place. We would hate to think that there would be no further progress after men co-operate with each other instead of competing. All of the war and hate and struggle of man against man in the past has simply been a struggle to live, a struggle for existence. When man is no longer compelled to struggle against his fellows in order to exist; when he is assured a living without the worry and struggle of fighting for it; when the enslavement of the modern machines of production has solved for all time the problem of animal existence, then a new era of human progress will commence. We do not know to what heights the human race may attain in ages to come. It is possible that there may be more difference between the men of the future and the men of today than there is between the men of

today and our ancestors who lived in tribes in the stone age. We do not know what the future holds in store; but we do know that the next step to be taken is to overthrow the capitalist system and usher in the Industrial Republic.

Remember that it is useless to attempt to uphold the capitalist system, because that system is doomed to collapse. When further capitalist expansion is impossible, when there are no longer sufficient markets to consume the surplus, the capitalism system is bound to collapse. It is your duty to decide how you are going to act when it does collapse.

You are wasting your time in thinking that a better system can be brought about through a growing together of the capitalist class and the working class. Every year the class lines become more clear and the class antagonisms more pronounced. **Whether we like the fact or not, it is nevertheless a fact.** The two classes cannot be reconciled and the time has arrived when every one must take one side or the other. You must either take the side of the workers in this struggle, or you must line up with the masters. You cannot remain neutral in this struggle, for such a thing is impossible. If you continue to ignore this question and vote an old party ticket you are voting for the perpetuation of the capitalist class rule. You are taking the side of the capitalist class.

The only other course open to you is to join the party of the revolution, vote the Socialist ticket and help perfect the industrial organizations of the workers so that they may be victorious in the strug-

gle against their masters. In which army will you enlist, the army of the working class or the army of the masters? There is no middle ground.

THE MILITANT PROLETARIAT

THIS book by **Austin Lewis** is a thoughtful and logical study of the American working class and its struggles on the economic and political field. It will prove immensely valuable to any student who wishes to understand the problems with which the Socialist Party and the Industrial Workers of the World must deal in shaping their tactics.

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The book contains a wealth of timely information regarding the recent growth and struggles of the proletarian in the various capitalist countries, but especially in the United States. Its conclusion is that in spite of all its reformist tendencies, the Socialist Party is bound to take the proletarian side in the coming conflict between workers and owners, and will thus be transformed into a revolutionary fighting organization.

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