ticulars, has on the whole not been borne out by time.

The Socialist Commonwealth.

Broadly speaking, the modern socialist proposes that the state should take over and operate all the means of production, and that the income should be allotted by state authority in accord with some principle of justice, whether equality, need, or merit. As to the details of the future socialist commonwealth, there is naturally much variance, but party programmes and official expositions make the main points clear.

The [illegible] question that faces the socialist is whether the capitalist is to be expropriated without indemnity or is to be offered compensation. A few years ago expropriation was the cry, but later, with the growing admission that the new order must be established by degrees, it was seen that it would be impossible to expropriate certain capitalists and leave the rest in undisturbed possession. Further, forcible expropriation without indemnity would be impossible; even were the great majority of the city workingmen won over to the policy, they could scarcely hope to overcome the determined resistance of the millions of farmers and the urban middle class.

If the other horn of the dilemma is then unanimously chosen, and the capitalists bought out at one hundred cents on the dollar, how is the condition of the poorer classes one jot improved? There will be heaped up an immense debt, a perpetual mortgage on the collective industry; rent and interest will still remain a first charge, still extract "surplus labor" from the workers. Even if collectivist management were to prove every whit as efficient as capitalistic, the surplus for division among the workers would not be increased beyond that available to-day. Indeed, it would be diminished. To-day a great part of the revenue drawn in the shape of rent and interest is at once recapitalized, and makes possible the maintenance and extension of industry. A socialist régime could not permit the paid-off capitalists to utilize their dividends in this manner, increasing their grip on industry; they would be compelled to spend it in an orgy of consumption. All provision for capital extension would therefore have to come out of what was left of the national dividend. The last state would be worse than the first.

Assuming the state in possession, however, we have next the problems of organizing production, the selection of the administration, the allotment of work, and the regulation of output.