

workingman where his interests lay, and the victory was won. So in every European country, and more recently on this continent, socialist parties have been built up.

It is not possible to review here the strength and the fortunes of the socialist parties of the leading countries. The world over nearly twelve million men vote the socialist ticket. In Germany, before the European war, the socialists had become the strongest party, every third man in the Empire being a socialist, but they did not control the government. In France the socialists were among the largest of the party groups and two socialists, or rather ex-socialists, have been premiers; in Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, they were strong, and in some cases the leading party. With this growth in members came a growth in opportunism. Experience soon showed that the middle-class did not disappear as Marx had prophesied; their influence was great and their votes numerous; the farmers particularly showed no signs of disappearing. To win them over, the programme and policy had to be changed. Even the city worker proved harder to win than had been expected, more anxious for immediate reforms than for the great revolution of the vague future. Lassalle once declared that workingmen would no longer be content with cheques on the Bank of Heaven; neither, it has appeared in Europe, would they be content with cheques on the Bank of the future socialist state. To secure their vote, the socialist party had to change its tactics and endorse reforms, such as the German insurance measures, which at first it had denounced as shams, mere palliatives and delusions. To get power, the party leaders began to make alliances with other progressive groups, and so gradually socialism on the continent of Europe has been changing into a more advanced type of radicalism.

The growth of this opportunist spirit in the socialist parties led to a reaction, in the movement known as syndicalism. This movement is a blend of anarchism and labor unionism. Its advocates, who are found chiefly in France, contend that political action always leads to compromises, leads to the socialist chiefs becoming hand in glove with other politicians and at last deserting their party for office. They claim that the industrial union should be the weapon of attack at present and the unit of organization in the future. By the general strike, the strike of all unions at once, capitalist society can be brought to its knees, and the socialist state ushered in. In this state, production will be organized by the respective unions, the mines controlled by the mine workers, the steel-works by the steel workers, and so on. Syndicalism spread rapidly through