

MILITARY GLORY

Roscoe A. Fillmore.

The scheme of diverting the people in times of discontent by howling for military glory is not by any means new. It is not a twentieth century invention. We read of such games being worked very successfully in the old days when Patrician and Plebeian squabbled in Rome.

"After the deluge," said Louis XV to those who stood around his bed. Throughout his whole reign there were mutterings from the fourteen million starving peasants. But the outbreak was postponed by the continuous wars which he waged, thus making the people forget their miseries in the blaze of military glory. He knew that the deluge was inevitable but was determined to stave it off until his career was under the sod. Louis XVI was able to hold the job down for a short time. But he took the wrong course. And with the slogan "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," millions of starving peasants arose and swept feudalism from off the face of France.

When the revolution broke out in France and Louis was executed, other monarchies—England, Holland, Germany, Spain and Russia, in order to smother out the democratic mutterings that threatened to culminate in trouble for them also, declared war. They resorted to the popular love of brass buttons, military conquest and decorations (jingoism for short) to avoid revolution. Then Napoleon appeared and was later enabled to trample upon all the democratic institutions of the new democracy and proclaim himself emperor through an appeal to the general thirst for military glory.

Later, almost in our own time, Napoleon III, in order to save his head, brought about the Franco-Prussian war, and a few years ago Spain, because of discontent at home, engaged in the Hispano-American war.

These are a few of the many instances in which grave internal disorders and revolts have been postponed by an appeal to the so-called "patriotism" of the people. The appeal has always worked heretofore. The question which is today agitating the capitalist world is—"Can we, with safety to ourselves and our property interests, hoodwink the workers again?" For the masters know that the end is near. They know education which is assuming such huge proportions today spells ruin for them. They know our final victory is inevitable and they are putting forward frantic efforts to postpone the Deluge.

This is the reason that we have heard so much of the "Yellow peril," the "German peril" and sundry other perils lately. This is the reason that so many Dreadnoughts are being built. This is the reason that such silly jingo productions as "An Englishman's Home" have been scattered broadcast. And for this reason Lloyd George recently launched his thunderbolts against the lords.

Will it work again? It remains for us of the working class to answer this question. If we say no; if we arise and forbid the useless waste of millions of lives and untold wealth, the parasitic jingoes of the master class will be powerless.

The Socialist movement is the bogie, the spectre that is haunting the masters, and they are doing their utmost to postpone its final triumph. Do not allow them through their bought papers and politicians to bunco you, fellow worker. There is only one issue before the world today and that is "Shall wage-slavery continue?" We workers possess the power necessary to remove slavery in every form from the face of the earth. It remains only for us to learn the proper use for that power.

We workers want the things that we must use in order to live. We want these things because the fact that others own them gives them the power to rob those who toil. And we purpose taking them because we have the power. Now in order to get hold of these things we must cripple the power by which the capitalists are enabled to hold them. And that power is government, whether it be monarchical or Republican. It is through governments that the masters control Dreadnoughts, territorial armies, militia, police, all the powers of repression which they use to force us to remain slaves. Then it's up to us to get hold of this instrument, government, and thus hamstringing the capitalists.

So this is what we Socialists ask the workers to do. Vote for men of your own class to represent you in the parliaments of the world. Vote for Socialists, men who are determined to smash capitalism and know just how to do it. Vote for yourselves and your class; vote for your wives and children; vote for decent houses; vote that the robbing of the

workers may cease and for the elimination of poverty in a world of plenty.

The best way to show your sympathy with Socialism is in Subs.

"Those things that economically we should use together we should own together; what we use individually, own individually."—Debs.

It is not a wise thing to talk against Socialism. Your children will not like to think about fathers who fought against their emancipation.

"You can find happiness only in consecrating yourself to human service. No man can possibly enjoy what comes to himself at the expense of a fellow man."—Eugene V. Debs.

The economic processes of production go on back of the individual wills of the producers. Socialism is the unfolding of those processes. You don't believe that economic processes go on in spite of the wills of the ones therein engaged? Listen to this true tale. Once there were a couple of young men in Boston who had no money. They wanted to get money and they thought a failure was the quickest way to get what they wanted. So they rented a store on tick, bought stock in the same way, and started in to fail and put the kibosh on their creditors. But they occupied a good stand and, in spite of themselves, their business grew by leaps and bounds and they found they could meet all their obligations and have more left over than they thought they could make by failing. So they kept right on and became respectable merchant princes of Boston. Their foresight was much praised and they were held up as examples of what industry and honesty and energy could accomplish.

CONFISCATION

Confiscation is a great word and frightens many people. But do the people ever stop to think that confiscation is going on all around them? A little store keeper works up a local business. He toils day and night and makes a living. He has worked faithfully and well. Suddenly a department store begins to invade the locality with catalogs, the people rush to buy from the department store, stock goes dead on the hands of the little store keeper and he fails. The department store has confiscated his business for its own profit.

A teamster works up a business in Cobalt, and saves his money. The wage plug follows the advice of the master class, lives frugally and saves up enough to buy a few horses, partly in cash and partly on credit. Suddenly the Ontario government gives a monopoly of all cartage along its line to a company organized in Toronto for the exploitation of carters. By this order the business of the little carter is wiped out, his horses are sold for debt, and the carter sees the effort of years of toil confiscated by the executive order of a capitalist state.

A worker on the C. P. R. starts to work in the Farnham, P. Q., car shops. He is frugal and saves his money and buys a home, putting a mortgage on the home for the balance of the purchase price. He labors on, saves every penny he can, pays the interest and wipes out a good part of the principle of the mortgage. Suddenly the C. P. R. close down their Farnham shops and four hundred workers are forced to leave the town and go to work elsewhere. A couple of hundred houses become unoccupied and must be sold by the owners. The town becomes stagnant because of the closing of the shops and no one wants to buy. The worker finds that all he saved and spent to get a home has been confiscated by the action of the C. P. R. He must begin to save over again to buy a home in a new place.

Confiscation is the word the plutocrats like to use when talking against Socialism. They do not talk about the jobs and the homes and the horses and the property they have confiscated from the workers.

Wake up you workers. You are having a skin game played on you. You are being skinned alive. Every gag to rob you of your wages and of your savings is worked upon you. Your labor power is confiscated from you. Your homes and your jobs are confiscated; your savings are confiscated. When are you going to wake up to the fact that when the upholders of capitalism talk about confiscation under socialism, they mean that under Socialism they will not be able to confiscate what belongs to you? Wake up and get into the ranks of the Socialists, who alone are the only ones who want to give you a fair, square, honest deal, the first one you have ever had in the history of the world.

WHO WILL STRIKE THE BLOW FOR LIBERTY?

By WILLIAM RESTELLE SHIER

The other day the writer of this article had a conversation with a Fabian friend of his own on the subject of tactics.

My Fabian friend thinks that the middle class is the backbone of the socialist movement. He has also great hopes for the capitalists themselves. He says that they are good-hearted fellows who need only to have the claims of humanity laid before them in order to fall in with the socialist program.

And he put up a stiff argument in defence of these views. He pointed to the large number of middle class persons that are advocating socialism with might and main. He drew my attention to the prominent positions they occupy within the socialist party itself.

He produced a catalog of socialist books and made out a list of their authors, then triumphantly told me their occupations. Few there be that are not professional writers, university professors, lawyers, clergymen or ex-clergymen, merchants, artists, members of the leisure class. He emphasized in particular the names of Marx, Lassalle, Engels, Kautsky, Ferri, Labriola, Jaures, Vandervelde, Hyndman, Morris, Bax, Spargo, Hunter, Lewis, Hillquit, Vail, Bernstein, Adler, H. G. Wells and Sydney Webb.

"Come now," said Fabius, "admit that the middle class is the brains of the socialist movement. Admit too, that a propaganda among the exceedingly well-to-do is worth while, for there are many rich persons, some of them reputed to be millionaires, that are backing up the socialist cause with their money and their time."

"My friend," I replied, "I will not dispute the fact that our movement owes a great deal to the middle class. From it we have drawn many of our foremost theorists, ablest writers, most successful propagandists and parliamentary representatives. All that is granted. Yet I am still unconvinced that this class, much less the class that stands above it in point of wealth, will prove, in the long run, the main regiment in the revolutionary army."

"The fact is," I continued, "Socialism has hitherto been an intellectual rather than a class movement. That is characteristic of all popular movements in their pioneer days. While in their swaddling clothes they attract only idealists, iconoclasts, sentimentalists, philosophical radicals and the intellectually abnormal. These are recruited mostly from the educated class. For a long time this element preponderates, and, indeed, from the first chapter to the last play an important part in the movement. But this would not deceive us into discarding the doctrine of the class struggle. One swallow does not make a summer. Nor do a thousand, nor ten thousand, idealists from the upper classes prove that the moneyed people are with us."

"No," said my friend, "nor does it prove that they are necessarily against us."

"Quite so," I went on. "But history sufficiently demonstrates that when it comes to a fight the privileged are always on the side of re-action. Not all of them, of course, but the overwhelming majority. This is amply shown even now in England where the landed nobility are lined up against the budget that threatens to make inroads upon their unearned increments. And mention need only be made of the bitter class struggles in Russia during the past few years, in France in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, in England under the leadership of Cromwell."

"Now, as long as Socialism remains a distant ideal, the propertied classes will not be keen in their opposition to the party. They may even take a good-natured attitude toward it. And when they are appealed to from the ethical, religious, scientific, humanitarian or artistic standpoints, they may assent to its claims. But when it attains a degree of power, when it becomes a real menace to the established order of things, when it becomes a real, live force battling in the interests of labor, then, my boy, it will be found what untrusty allies you have been depending on."

"The fact is that the socialist program, even its immediate demands, can not be carried out without depriving the rich of both power and wealth. It is they who must pay the bills. Take even such reform as old age pensions, workmen's compensation acts, the reduction of the working day, state employment of the unemployed, advanced factory legislation and the feeding of school children, none of them can be

effected without tapping the incomes of the wealthy through taxation and strengthening the wage-workers in their fight against the employers. For this reason the plutocracy will wage a bitter war upon the social-democracy. They will be compelled to do so in defence of its immediate interests. Only unsophisticated sentimentalists will harbor the thought that business men can be inveigled into supporting a proposition that means lesser profits for them and a final overthrow of their control of the means of life. We have only fierce opposition to expect from landlords, money-lenders, employers of labor, financiers, stock gamblers and those who have much to lose and little to gain from the awakening of labor."

"That may be true of the capitalist class," said my friend, "but how about the middle class, the petty manufacturers, the shopkeepers, the farmers and the professional men?"

"Well, they are a problem. This class is at heart re-actionary. It wants a return to the old days of competition. Financially it is overshadowed by the family compact of trust magnates, and politically it is weak along side of the proletariat. Sections of it are worse off than the industrial workers, and are, indeed, being constantly pushed into the ranks of the wage-earners. Other sections are naturally capitalistic in their outlook and sympathies due to their associations and comfortable circumstances. The farmers, shopkeepers and petty manufacturers will support parts of the socialist program and oppose other portions of it. Their immediate interests dictate a vacillating policy. Hence the middle class will prove an uncertain factor in the social revolution."

Here our conversation ended. I cannot, however, close this article without stating that there is only one class that can accept the socialist platform in its entirety. That class is the proletariat. It is this class, as Marx said sixty years ago, that has everything to gain and nothing to lose through the great change. The wage-workers will undoubtedly prove the backbone of the socialist movement. It is they who will fight an uncompromising battle for the right of the laborer to the full product of his toil.

Truly, as the poet Byron once magnificently said: "They who would be free must themselves strike the blow."

Have You Ever Looked at It This Way

The ruling class over nineteen hundred years ago denounced Christ as a social disturber and criminal, just as Socialists are denounced today.

Copernicus was denounced and one of his disciples was burned at the stake, for saying the earth was round as a globe, the ruling class crying out that it was contrary to the bible, and against religion, just as Socialists are denounced today.

Christopher Columbus was considered a fool and a visionary by the public majority, just as Socialists are considered today.

The art of printing in its early days was denounced as being in league with the devil, just as Socialism is denounced by some people today.

The abolitionists in the States were called anarchists, free lovers, and destroyers of the home, the same old gags that are thrown at Socialists today.

The early free school advocates had the terms, anarchists, free lovers and home destroyers hurled at them, just as

Socialists have in this advanced day.

In every century, you will find if you study history, that the advanced thinkers have been branded as anarchists and dangerous citizens, just as

Socialists are branded in some quarters today.

The ruling class has always opposed a free press and free speech, claiming it to be dangerous to the country, just as

The Socialist press is opposed today.

The early inventors were opposed by the masses, claiming they would destroy them, just as

Is said of Socialists today.

But just as all these things have progressed and become part and parcel of our everyday life, so will the principles of Socialism triumph and become the guiding light of the world.

Make a study of Socialism. Don't stand in the path of progress. You will get run over.

—H. H. Ashby.

We all want the good things of life. In order to get them we must fight for them. And, furthermore, we must know whom to fight and how to wage the battle. That requires study. The most important study workingmen can take up is political economy.

THE NEW SOCIALISM OF HUNGARY

Every little while the plute papers report how Socialism has been side-tracked by concessions made by capitalist governments. The following is the latest. The article, taken from the Literary Digest, is interesting because it shows how European governments are being forced into activities in the vain hope of stopping the onward sweep of the Socialist movement. The governments should remember that every advance towards Socialist activity but whets the appetite of the workers for more.

Hungary is one of the most aristocratic countries in Europe; yet, under the surface, it is the hotbed of Socialism. The ruling class or caste are said by Socialists to be careless of the lot of the proletariat. Yet it is in this same land of the Magyars that a step has just been taken by the Government which is unexampled in Europe, if not in the world. In Great Britain and Germany various municipalities have been socialistic enough to build houses for low rental to the poor, but no national government has gone into this field before. Dr. Alexander Wekerle, the Hungarian Premier, has, by doing this, killed two birds with one stone, thinks the Budapest correspondent of the London Daily Mail. He has dealt a blow "very effectively felt in counterbalancing the excesses of the 'landlord-usurers' trust," while at the same time he "has outdone the Socialists" by an economic "experiment" of a regular and orderly character.

These houses, we learn, are being built at Kispes, on the outskirts of Budapest. They will be 960 in number, and consist of 4,300 flats, fitted with modern improvements and capable of accommodating 25,000 individuals. The rents amount to only 30 per cent. of that charged by "landlord-usurers." The writer visited Kispes and thus describes his impressions:

"Kispes is covered with snug dwelling-houses, with characteristic Hungarian fronts, quaint roofs, airy rooms, and neat little gardens. The men engaged in the construction of the houses have done their work well, and we seem to be wandering among villas put up by the wealthier citizens as summer resorts rather than among the dwellings of 'thirty-shillings-a-weekers.' The air is pure and invigorating, and the lot of the inhabitants is really enviable. In spring the gardens will be planted with young trees, and pretty flower-beds laid out; and the mother who has hitherto seen her children at play in a dismal courtyard will have the happiness of watching them running and rolling on the grass of her own garden."

Dr. Wekerle has "stolen a march upon the Socialists," whose leaders "have been busy haranguing fellows" and "telling them they are the victims of injustice and tyranny." The writer, who is evidently anti-Socialist in his sympathies, speaks thus optimistically of the experiment:

"Dr. Wekerle has outdone the Socialists. His principle in devoting a large sum of public money to the building of a model town has been not to reduce all to the same level of misery, but to raise the poor man out of the 'slough of despond.'"

"And the Cabinet has belied the reproach that Hungary is groaning under the yoke of a caste system by beginning its work of reform on the lowest grade. The work of leveling has been initiated not, as the Socialists would have it, from above, but from below. The workman is not told that he must wait until 'high and mighty' have been brought down to him, but is shown that he can rise by his own exertions to their level."

"The Socialism which is heralded by Dr. Wekerle's experiment is the right sort of Socialism."

"He has, in fact, stolen a march on the leaders of the Socialist party who, if they had been as ready to do as to talk, would have long ago anticipated the action of the 'caste' Cabinet which they are so fond of maligning. The cost would not have proved a barrier, for they could have provided the money out of the hard-earned savings of 'poor' comrades. "But it has been left to the leader of the 'privileged' Parliament to make the first start."

A GIGANTIC TRUST

A gigantic trust of what are called with grim irony "public service" corporations has just been started in Chicago. It includes only the south side street railways at present. But it is closely affiliated with the stock yards, the Commonwealth Edison Electric company, powerful banks and other industries that already dominate Chicago.

It is claimed, and with good reason, that this corporation is but the base upon which will be consolidated a large number of industries with a total capitalization of close to a half billion dollars. These corporations already have a close "community of interest," so that the proposed step will only give legal form and sanction to what already exists in practice.

Such a corporation would control the street cars upon the surface, the subways under the earth, the telephone wires above the ground, the power plants that supply light, heat and power to the industrial life of the city. It would own the docks and the harbor barges for transportation and would be powerful in its control over the great railroads that form the veins through which the life blood of the city's heart must throb.

Such a combination would own more than these things. It would own the jobs whereby a mighty army of men and women and children are permitted to live at the pleasure of

the owners. It would control the Democrat and Republican parties and every other party save the Socialist party. It could not control the Socialist party, because it is the only party that is financed, controlled and administered by and through the working class.

Sooner or later it will come to a finish fight between these two powers. Either the workers must own this gigantic combination or it will own them.—Chicago Daily Socialist.

Pungent Paragraphs

By W. R. Shier.

The opposite of free love is enforced love, which, of course, is an absurdity.

It is not the realization of Socialism that human nature will prevent, but the perpetuation of capitalism.

There is no hope for the ignorant. Uninformed minds are content with all that brutalizes and degrades.

The mission of the Socialist Party is to build up a strong, well-educated, closely-knit working class movement that will abolish wage-slavery.

The map who can build a house has more genuine education than a man who can say "hie, haec, hoc" in Latin.

The issue is between having industry organized in the interests of the few and having it organized in the interests of the many.

"Pour thy purse into thy head," said Shakespear. When the workers take to doing that, the doom of capitalism is sounded.

The trusts are good in so far as they economize labor and curtail waste. They are bad only because they are owned by the few in the interests of the few. Private ownership must go.

Wages must fall lower and lower and lower. Why? Because the competition for the jobs among the workers is becoming keener and keener. The army of the unemployed is increasing in size.

"Your college bred people have no monopoly of education. They only have a monopoly of insolence and gall. The ungrammatical fellows who can do things are more highly educated than the grammatical fellows who can merely say things."

Prices are soaring higher, jobs becoming relatively fewer and wages standing still. Those are pleasant prospects for the workers, are they not? At any rate, it would seem so from the contentment that still pervades the working class mind.

If it is worth while spending many years and hundreds of dollars learning a trade in order to become one of capitalism's skilled minions, surely it is also worth doing a little studying how to prevent yourself being deprived of the values your labor creates.

Low tariffs, high tariffs or no tariffs is no remedy for our social ills. In the highly protected United States and in free-trade England poverty abounds, unemployment is common, crime is rampant, strikes take place and long hours of labor prevail.

If Andrew Carnegie should die today and be reborn to-morrow, he could not duplicate his achievements in the steel industry. When he started in to make a fortune, he had no gigantic steel trust to nip his efforts in the bud, no great corporations to compete against, no cornered markets to capture.

Socialist propaganda should be directed to the propertyless rather than to the propertied classes. Though there is much in Socialism that commands the support of the well-to-do, yet the realization of its program, the enacting and enforcing of working class measures, will mean riding rough-shod over the immediate interests of landlords, capitalists, money-lenders and their kin.

Society is divided into three classes—beggars, thieves and chumps. The chumps create the wealth, the thieves appropriate it and the beggars get the crumbs that fall from lordly tables. The thieves ride upon the backs of the chumps, and the beggars cling to the legs of the thieves. And the many part of it is, the chumps say that if it were not for the thieves they would not be able to live.

The high-schools and universities are musty with the scholasticism of the middle ages. They crowd the memory with a mass of detailed knowledge that might very well be forgotten. They do not cultivate originality, nor the habit of research, nor the power of thought. Nor do they teach you to do things worth while. Nor do they even teach you how to live hygienically. They are a failure in every respect.