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Socialism: Aim, methods and tactics as applied to twentieth century conditions

T. J. Holmes

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SOCIALISM

AIM METHODS AND TACTICS
AS APPLIED TO TWENTI-
ETH CENTURY CONDITIONS

BY T. J. HOLMES



*"Socialism is nothing if not
scientific."—Daniel De Leon.*

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45 ROSE STREET, NEW YORK CITY

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upon the capitalist class for a chance to earn a living as long as you allow that class to retain its autocratic hold on industry. If you would attain

THE RIGHT TO WORK

you must organize with the rest of the working class on proper lines. What kind of organization is needed, and what tactics should be pursued to end the serf-like conditions in the shops and industrial plants of the United States is pointed out and explained in

THE WEEKLY PEOPLE

45 ROSE STREET

NEW YORK CITY

The Weekly People, being the Party-owned mouthpiece of the Socialist Labor Party of America, aims at industrial democracy through the integral industrial union and revolutionary working class political action. It is a complete Socialist weekly paper, and sells at \$1.00 a year, 50 cents for six months, 25 cents for three months. A trial subscription of seven weeks may be had for 15 cents. Send for a free sample copy.

SOCIALISM

BY T. J. HOLMES.

[The subject-matter of this pamphlet was first presented in a lecture entitled, "What Do the Socialists Want to Do?" and was delivered by T. J. Holmes before Section Cleveland, Socialist Labor Party, on April 4, 1915.]

It is well for the adherents of a movement which has set for itself such a herculean task as that which the Socialist Movement has set for itself, to pause once in a while, and after looking over the ground and prospect of their activities, to state, to re-state their position, so to clarify their vision as their object and goal draws nearer.

The history of the development of Socialism from the first glimmerings in the early Utopias up to its present day scientific position has seen many such re-statements. "Time makes ancient good uncouth," says Lowell. Re-statements are helpful in so far as they make *clearer* to the understanding the old object; the same old object that even the dreamers of the old Utopias had in mind,—the establishment of an industrial co-operative commonwealth.

The re-statements that do *not* make clearer to the mind and make more possible the realization of the Industrial Republic are not helpful to the movement, but rather a danger and a menace.

Purpose of Lecture.

To anticipate objections and criticisms on this point I will say that it is *not* my purpose in the present re-statement to "revise" the Socialist tactics or objective. We have seen the usual result of "revisionism" throughout the Socialist movement has been, to lose sight of the Socialist *objective*; to substitute in the propaganda something allegedly more easily

obtainable; something thought to be more "practical." They have trimmed the "impossibilist" so as to make him possible. They have revised the objective of the movement till the Socialist Republic has become a meaningless empty sound to most adherents of the so-called Socialist parties throughout the world.

The Socialist parties themselves have in some countries become mere reform or "opposition" parties. The "Socialist Party of America" is not a Socialist party. The Social Democracy of Germany—that classic ground of Socialism—has lately shown that in spite of the great increase of its numbers in recent years it has lost, as a whole, to put it mildly, much of its old grasp and perception of Socialist principles. England has seen more varieties of Socialism than there are varieties of garden fence cats. In fact, Socialism has suffered revision to such extent that in almost all countries where the movement exists there are "good government" parties, "municipal milk" parties, "old ladies' home sewing parties," so to speak, all calling themselves "Socialist."

This much to show that it is not any purpose to try to "revise" the Socialist program. It is this "revision" thing that we have had altogether too much of. I desire merely to try to get right at, and to summarize, the Socialist position from the impressions that years of sympathy and contact with the movement have given me. I expect to re-state the old, the recognized, the orthodox, and to say nothing new. However, the imperfections of this presentation of the Socialist position must be laid to myself and not to the movement, or the party.

False Accusations Against Socialists.

In setting forth what the Socialists are trying to do, it would not be amiss to clear away a little fog by naming a few things that they are *not* trying to do;—some of which things our friends the enemy in their terror of, or admiration for, our activities and great ambitions have falsely credited us with doing.

In the first place, we are not trying to destroy the family. We have noted, however, that the family is not of divine origin, as the enemy were accustomed a while ago hypocritically to claim. We have looked over the history of the institution and have found that the family had its origin in property considerations. Nevertheless, we are entirely satisfied with the family

and are doing our best to preserve it by taking it out of the hands of capitalism.

If we had wanted to destroy the family we should need only to leave it to the tender mercies of the creator of the "she-towns" in the weaving districts of the East, and of the "he-towns" in the mining districts of the West, which is the same hypocritical capitalism that drives to distraction with overwork, poverty and worry, the wage slave's wife and mother of his children, in whose home there is not an hour in the twenty-four wherein the members of the family can joyously cultivate each other's society.

It is this same capitalism that destroys the wage slave's family by separations, poverty, and overwork, that destroys the rich by surfeit and ennui.

The wage slave is frequently too poor to keep love alive in his family. The capitalist is frequently too rich for pure love ever to make its appearance in his family life. His marriage is often a property consideration on one side or the other. Capitalist law has provided divorce courts to help mitigate some of its pretty bungling with the family. It is this same capitalism that keeps standing armies of celibate soldiers, which keeps standing armies of prostitute women.

In Aesop the wolf despises the innocence of the lamb drinking at the stream, and picks a quarrel to cover his violence. Injustice always hates and despises the object of its injury. Capitalism tacitly despises the family because it has injured it so much. Fearing detection, it howls, "Socialism will destroy the family."

The second thing I note the Socialists are not trying to do is to destroy religion, although they frequently get credit for so trying. We have looked over the Christian religion and found nothing in it which conflicts with what we are trying to do, that is, assuming that the teachings of Jesus as recorded in the Gospels be regarded as the expression of the Christian religion.*

* Some uncritical Socialists, perceiving the essential basic justice in the feeling and attitude of Jesus in relation to the society of his time, and being struck with the analogy of his attitude to theirs, have claimed Jesus as being the "first Socialist." Such language is the expression of fervent feeling rather than correct thinking and classification.

If we had wanted to destroy the Christian religion we think that it could not be better done than by those who have all down the ages been engaged in thwarting, twisting, and explaining away its simple precepts, when not living in direct denial of and antagonism to those precepts. Who have done this more than the popes, priests, prelates, and ministers themselves!

Who are responsible for the stifling of the free expression of the Christian precepts in the churches of today if they are not those who hold the treasuries, who contribute the funds, and control the livings of the preachers? Who are these? Surely not the Socialists! The Socialists never care what theology a man thinks or what church he cherishes.

What the Socialists are trying to do in this connection is to unmask political organizations hiding behind and in the church, which are actively influencing and controlling the politics of various countries in favor of reaction.

History shows it has ever been the favorite device of tyranny to invoke the aid of religion. Nevertheless it is the tyranny the Socialist is after, and not the religion.

The dear enemy accuses us of wanting to destroy the State. What terrible fellows we are getting to be! Yet on the other hand the Anarchists accuse us of trying to make the State all-powerful. We are between the devil and the deep sea,—and we don't know which is the devil.

Attitude toward the State.

Our attitude in regard to the State will form as good a door of entry into our subject as any other of several doors we might chose. We can very well commence our outline of what the Socialists want to do by showing what they want to do with the State, for we have very definite intentions in regard thereto.

Answering the accusation of the capitalist apologist, we confess to having no love or reverence at all for the State; that hoary robber and arch protector of oppression, and foster-mother of legalized thievery. How could we reverence it or hope to make anything good of it? The old beldam has mothered and turned loose on the human race a more frightful brood of mishapen evils than hell's kitchen ever saw.

Still, on the other hand, answering the Anarchists, we concede there is one virtue which has justified and to some extent

still justifies the State's otherwise infamous existence: *she keeps some semblance of order.*

To the capitalist apologist we will say we intend to destroy the State, but to the Anarchist we will say, "not yet," for even an Anarchist going from this meeting (should there be any here) and getting held up by a footpad on the sidewalk would yell for the protection of his private property, by the State in the form of a policeman, if one happened to be within yelling distance.

We have the phenomenon of 2,000 jobless men in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, on Dec. 31, 1914, standing in line waiting for a newspaper's benefaction* of a cup of coffee, helped by a bakery company's benefaction of a bun about the time in the morning when the wealthy residents of the town were leisurely rising from an undisturbed night's repose, secured to them by the strong protecting arm of the State.

This protecting arm of the State,—what does it protect? Why, the people of course, do you say? No, it does not protect people, or it would protect those people in direst and most bitter need of protection, those *destitute and helpless, jobless men*. The State does not protect people; it protects property. Suppose a man of wealth, one of the pampered pets of capitalist society, whose path is guarded by watchful detectives and police with the whole power of the State back of them, were by a turn of the wheel of fortune to come to beggary, he would find that the State was indeed no respecter of persons nor people; that so far as the State was concerned he was not essentially different from the beggars who had arrived in the coffee and bun line a few steps before him. And he would find, if he inquired, that most of the other beggars were cases just as special and exceptional as his; that very few of them were ordinary "down and outs" by profession and love of it; and that they as little as he deserved the insults of the police, the crack on the head with the baton, and the order to "move on," though this would be the nature of the protection that he would now get, along with them.

* The same paper had registered by Jan 14, 1915, 12,659 persons as being unemployed, 1,033 of whom were women. Vide Leader, Cleveland, Ohio. Later 60,000 were counted.

When State Will Be Abolished.

However, to "abolish" the State at this juncture, were it possible, would not render justice or security from want to the jobless and propertyless, though it would allow them the vengeance of momentary raids and reprisals upon a society which neglected them. In fact, the resultant chaos would make want even more widespread. For attention would be turned from such production and distribution as there had hitherto existed to every man's paying special attention to defending himself in possession of what he had, or trying to secure from others what he had not.

The first essential of the most elementary justice, is *order*. All talk of abolishing the State before the least and last member of human society is secure in his right to work for a living if he wants, is absolutely visionary.

We hold that the State cannot be destroyed by frontal attacks, as the old-time hare-brained bomb-throwing Anarchist used to imagine it could; nor as his offspring, the equally cracked-skulled saboteurs, direct-actionists, physical-forcists, of today seem to think. Nor is it desirable to try.

We will abolish the State when we have something to put in its place to maintain order and the continued functioning of society. In fact, at that point, the State will have become effete, obsolete, and will be about as difficult to get rid of as a child's milktooth after the more permanent tooth is ready formed beneath it to take its place.

Society will shake off the State when it is ready; as the snake is said to crawl out of his old skin, and the butterfly emerge from his chrysalis: when it is no longer of use to him.

It is a cheerful sign that outside of the office-holders themselves the State has very few real friends. It will one day be where the school gang finally put the school bully, when one fellow was standing on the bully's chest, another was punching his head, while the rest were yelling, "Hit him agin, he ain't got no friends and he ain't got no ma."

Even the typical capitalist who for ulterior purposes speaks in such awesome and respectful tones of his infamous beldam step-mother, the State, is nevertheless a base ingrate and an unworthy, or shall I say, worthy stepson of hers. He shouts for her protection when he needs it, but he never contributes

one cent to her support that he can cheat her out of. If left to his free personal volition he would let the old dame starve to death. He always lies to her about his income, possessions and importations, so as to cheat her out of her share of the swag—the taxes.

How Socialist Movement Organizes.

It has been made clear by the greatest exponent of Socialism and the greatest Marxist scholar that the movement in America ever had, Daniel De Leon, that the work, purpose, and historic mission of the Socialist Movement is twofold—political and industrial.

On the political field it sets up its ticket of candidates for offices in the State, for the purpose of temporarily utilizing its means for propaganda for the recruiting of the necessary numbers for its support; also to conduct on the high, civilized, peaceful plane of parliamentary discussion, the questions involved in its program and propaganda. The *ultimate* purpose of this activity is to secure possession of the offices of the State, not to hold these offices to administer the Socialist Republic therefrom; not at all; but to carry out the mandate of the electorate in *abolishing* the State by peaceful vote.

On the other field of its activities, the industrial field, the Socialist movement seeks to recruit and organize the *power* to back up its political action. A vote at the ballot box, or even a complete success at the polls, amounts to nothing, if it is not a register and indication of the existence of actual physical power to command respect for the vote.

The actual physical power that will command respect for the vote is not the mass meeting, nor the public demonstration, be it ever so indignant; it is not the street riot with the clashes of arms, still less is it the strike, be it so general as to tie up every wheel that turns. All of these things are means of protest, or at best, or worst, temporary expediences and skirmishes against the possessors of power, while they leave the actual possession of power unshaken, in the same old place, and in the same old hands. The power that will command respect for the vote is the actual, or temporarily, the potential, physical possession of the means of life—the land, the factories, the railroads, the mines, etc.

If success at the polls,—supposing a Socialist success at

the polls could possibly in any circumstances be registered, fairly counted and published, without the corresponding industrial power existing to compel recognition of that vote at the hands of the capitalist State—if, I say, success at the polls *could* be registered in the absence of its corresponding organized physical power such a success would be a *calamity*. It would be a signal for the capitalist class to deny recognition of its own electoral forms and machinery, with the suspension or abolition of such political rights as find expression in these forms. *Political freedom* and political equality, the flower and hope of America, which has made this country the greatest the world has ever seen, might in a day be snuffed out and crushed under the ruthless heel of a possible bloody dictatorship.

That is what might and probably would happen in the event of a Socialist success at the polls if there did not exist the power in the shops to back it up.

In this connection it is well once again for the Socialist Labor Party to ask the so-called Socialist Party of America, which ignores the necessity of the economic organization: "In the event of the success at the polls, what are you going to do about it, supposing the capitalist class *ignores* your pretty voting?" Or what would run it up a tree as bad, "Suppose the capitalist State *recognized* it?" I would like to have its answer to, "What are you going to do?"

Political Government Abolished.

The activity of the Socialist movement on the political field then is, temporarily, to recruit its strength by peaceful propaganda; and finally, to capture the offices of the Political State for the purpose of *abolishing* it.

You will perceive then, that it is not the purpose of the Socialist movement to fill the offices of the Political State with Socialist congressmen, senators, governors, and presidents, etc., leaving in their hands the function and power of political administration, with the difference that these Socialist representatives are supposed to pass laws to declare the land and machinery of production public or common property; and then for these political representatives to direct somehow the seizing of capitalist properties, ousting the capitalists, and then administering direction of these properties in the interest of the "peepul."

Such a picture, such an idea of the Socialist program, has been the delight as also has it been the snare of the enemies of Socialism. It seems never to have occurred to the cheerful idiots, who amuse us with their criticisms of this conception of our program, that we might possibly have half an eye and an ounce of brains ourselves. The dear dubs tell us with clownish glee that the State cannot succeed, or at least never has succeeded, in any industrial undertaking in competition with private enterprise; that the State can carry on industrial undertakings only by protecting itself by prohibiting competition, leaving itself in possession of a monopoly function, such as, for example the post-office; or else by making big financial appropriations to balance the loss due to its poor management; that the State itself recognizes its own inefficiency in industrial undertakings by getting most of its work done by contractors who can beat the government's own costs and still get rich on profits; that nearly all government industrial enterprises are at some point or other filthy centers of graft; that the State attracts the grafters as the carcass attracts the vulture and the crow; that, in short, the Capitalist Political State cannot administer industry,—therefore the "Socialist State" would fall to pieces, because Socialist senators, congressmen, and presidents, etc., would not, nor could be, any abler or better than those of the Capitalist State.

Industrial Commonwealth The Aim.

Ah, ha, these critics would be right if it were a *political* State that the Socialists seek to establish, with "government ownership" of railroads, of milk wagons, and bakeries. But our critics have mistaken us; they have got us confused with the old ladies' society for presenting parasols to the Esquimaux, and its junior branch, the society for providing peanuts for the elephants and lolly-pops for the monkeys at the zoo.

The Socialist Movement stands for none of these things. It seeks under the wings of the present political republic to establish the commonwealth of *industry*, and then and thereby to abolish the Political State with its graft, its inefficiencies, its oppressions and punishment forever. Yes, we propose to abolish punishments.

The capitalist apologist cannot imagine a condition of society where there is no "government" to compel people to do things. He does not perceive that society is held together in most part even now by the voluntary activity of the people. Nor does he notice that all law and laws which are the expression of government, are repressive, inhibitive, punitive,—*preventing*, so far as their operation goes, people *from* doing things. I wish here only to make the point that human activities are not *promoted* by law.

The Socialist Legislator.

I wish to observe that though the object of the activity of the Socialist Movement on the political field is temporarily for propaganda, it is still further served by the election of Socialists to fill offices of state, *to administer those offices, as far as possible, in the interest of the working class and the Socialist Movement.* The electors, if the propaganda to the election had been carried out on straight Socialist lines, expect that. For the Socialist office-holder to do otherwise than so to administer his office would be treason. For such treason, the Party tenders his signed resignation, left in its hands before he took office—and then drops him from membership.

If faithful in the carrying out of his trust he will probably be challenged by his fellow-holders of office, who are enemies of his position and party, and by the capitalist interests who have been offended by his administration or perhaps who may fear their safety. We expect our man to stand his ground and utilize the incidents of the campaign as propaganda for the Socialist cause. The party is expected to help him all it can. His enemies may unseat him, but he can carry his fight back to the electorate. He may lose out; for the capitalists can still in one way or another buy votes, but they cannot entirely prevent ideas from spreading. Some day our candidate or his successors in the Socialist cause will win. Then one office after another will fall into our hands, till we finally conquer the State.

We have seen, then, that the activities of the Socialist Movement on the political field are in the end destructive. The Political State is ultimately made obsolete and is superseded by the Industrial Commonwealth.

Industrial Aims of the Movement.

It is by its activities on the industrial field of today that the Socialist Movement hopes to build and to fashion the fabric of the new society. This is the most important field of labor, and it is confessedly the least satisfactory to report progress upon. The Movement's purpose on this field is to educate workers engaged in any and every line of work to recognize their interests as producers, and to organize themselves into unions which do not divide them up into warring and disputing trade factions, as does the American Federation of Labor, but which unites them in industries corresponding in some measure to the large aggregations of capital which employ them.

Temporarily it is the purpose of such unions to further the interests of the working class in its encounters with the exploiting class, in the struggle for reduction of hours, the raising of wages, and the adjustment of conditions. Instead of allowing the strength of the working class aspirations to be shattered in a multitude of strikes affecting parts of industries only, and leaving other parts to remain at work to help defeat the strikes, the Socialist Movement seeks to widen the organization to the confines of the entire industry and also to inspire the workers with a realization of the working class destiny, which is not to remain wage slaves content to strike for a little more allowance in their share of the product and a little more time to enjoy it, but actually to be big enough finally to *take hold of and run the industries*, not for the *exploiters*, not for the *state*, but for *themselves*, and to keep for themselves the *entire product*.

Then and thereby property titles to land are to be done away with. Land is to be freed. The gifts of nature in the form of spots containing some manner of special advantage, or location with deposits of minerals, oil, and other natural resources, instead of yielding their treasures to the first man who happens on their location, or to the husky buccaneer who dislodges by force the discoverer, or the wily business man who cheats the buccaneer out of his possessions by chicanery, as is merrily done under capitalism, these gifts of nature will, under the co-operative commonwealth, benefit all workers in common. This by a common sense workable plan, with no utopia

about it. Every form of natural or artificial special privilege will be rendered impossible of private exploitation. Equal opportunity without favor to anyone will be secured to every individual in the use of the means of production. The workers will not, as is done under capitalism, be compelled to "divide up" with the shirkers; their product is fully and entirely their own, without tribute to any man. The worker and the shirker each get what they personally produce. The worker eats, the shirker starves.

The Workers' Remuneration.

The tools, shops, ships, railroads, and all industrial plants being owned by the men who operate them, there is no room for idlers. Title to possession is work. What a man produces with his own hands or brain, plus the help of machinery and organization, that or its equivalent value in other products is his. The entire product or its value in exchange goes to the man who made it.

The value of a product is the sum and total of the least socially necessary labor time spent, or to be spent, in its manufacture, transportation, and sale. The full undiminished total of that value will be received and enjoyed by the producer. There is no longer any surplus value to be skinned off his hide.

His "wages" are not "decided on" by an absent official. "Wages" do not obtain. Wage slavery is gone. We have now the free citizen retaining the title and possession of the fruit of his labor until he exchanges it at his pleasure in a manner found most convenient to himself, for its equal value in the products of his fellow citizens. He is not robbed, then paid something back, as he is under capitalism. The producer never ceases possession of his product only as he himself should wish and decide.

Industries which are most economically operated on a large scale, a national scale, will be so operated, we imagine; but that should in no wise prevent industries, the essential character of which is small and local, from operating in the free air and flourishing on the free soil of the Socialist Republic. The efficiency of production and convenience, tastes and

desires, of its members are the main factors determining the size of industrial units.

Industrial Administration.

The organization of the industrial union of today, with its representation and self-discipline, is developed and perfected into the framework of the industrial commonwealth, controlling and conducting the whole of society.

Its ultimate administrative functions, what little there would be needed, if we look forward so far, are expected to consist of the management of production, supervising of transportation, commerce and exchange, and this by means, probably, of conferences of elected representatives of sections, departments, industrial units, etc., as foreshadowed in some sense in union meetings, Chamber of Commerce meetings, etc. Local units of production would control their local affairs by periodic election of chairmen and boards of control from their own members, much as owners of industrial establishments do now; but because everybody is a workman as well as a proprietor and there is nobody to exploit, there is no opportunity, and also no desire to, or advantage in, squeezing one another out.

District affairs and national affairs are conducted in the same way by bodies elected from and by people directly concerned in those affairs. Simplicity, directness, efficiency, will be sought for and found in the character of such administration. It will be men doing their own business and not electing a "State" to leave it undone for them.

The constitution of the Socialist Republic will grow out of and be a concrete expression of the experience of the movement which brought it forth. It will most surely recognize, protect, and guarantee the rights of the individual in his or her use of the basic opportunities of life; and its experience will determine the best way of maintaining those rights in perpetuity.

Idea Crystallizing in Organization.

The Socialist Republic is not to be poured like cast iron into a mould fashioned by us now. We are not making a cast iron lion. So, please, don't stand around like the small boy asking whether his tail will be curly, and what color we are going to paint his whiskers.

It would be to fall into the old error of the Utopians to specify too closely what we expect; for the reason that in a free society of living and live people its members will do as they deem best, and not as we set down for them to do.

But it is not Utopian to say there are at the present time already in existence industrial organizations based on the recognition of the class struggle and animated by hope of the triumph of Socialist aspirations. There are advanced unions of this sort in France, in Germany, and to lesser extent in England, and in other countries of Europe. In America there is the "Industrial Workers of the World" founded in Chicago in 1905 by a convention of advanced labor bodies. The headquarters of this organization is now in Detroit, Michigan.

The following excerpt from the Preamble correctly represents the spirit that animated the founding of that union:

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class without affiliation with any political party.

Note again, it says "a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political as well as on the industrial field and take and hold that which they produce by their labor." So you see the idea of Labor's controlling industry and running it for itself is well and definitely set forth and is abroad in the land.

Liberation of Mankind.

The capitalist, or "captain of industry," as Carlyle called him, cannot conceive of the possibility of industry's going forward without his control and captaincy. His attitude has been well pictured for us by Rostand in his play, "Chanticleer." Our capitalist, noble fellow, I love his grand air and fine feeling, though he is but Rostand's "cock-a-doodle-doo" making a grand business every morning of calling up the sun. He cannot for the life of h'im get it into his fine head that the sun of

industry would rise and shed his fructifying beams over the earth without his crowing. But the sun of industry will shine and will gladden with prosperity the heart of every man and every woman long after the capitalist's crowing is forgotten.

The breaking of the shackles of capitalism from production, such as the Socialist Movement contemplates, would result in such unbelievable impetus in wealth production that the position of the worker would be raised to the full dignity of a human being, with tastes to touch the higher things of life, ease, literature, and the arts; with time and means to gratify these tastes. It would be the final realization of feminist aspirations. It liberates woman equally with man. Even the capitalist of today, who for supremacy fights like a tiger, yet in spite of his skinings never knows his children will not come to beggary or himself to ruin, could see, if he had the momentary generosity to figure out the Socialist proposition, that he too as an individual would be better off under a Socialist commonwealth. He can never see it. Nor do we care; though I am sure that if some Rockefeller or Carnegie once perceived the real essence of this Socialist program he would want to get it through as quickly as possible, and would be devoting all his wealth in the philanthropic undertaking of setting the Republic going. (You know, for the sake of the power, and the glory, and the immortality, etc., that the capitalist cock-a-doodle-doo's will pay out good money.) But such is the law and nature of things, it really could not be done philanthropically. "Freedom cannot be granted. It must be taken." For it is easy to see that if freedom were granted it could be taken away, and that would not be freedom.

Methods—Two-fold Organization.

The Socialist Movement then seeks to liberate mankind by abolishing wage slavery. It brings the two branches of its activities to bear upon the problem, each branch aiding the other in its special, though independent, way. The capitalist class, in its ignorance will not yield without a struggle, we know. It is fighting and contesting every inch of progress we make. One arm of our movement cannot succeed without the help of the other.

The industrial organization, while forming, needs the pro-

tection of the political wing. For the industrial organization divorced from the political becomes the victim of treachery. The spy, the saboteur, the physical forcist, the direct actionist, the bomb planter, the agent provocateur, wing their foul putrid presence to its conclaves.

By conducting its activity in the open, on the above-board, civilized peaceful plane of politics, the Socialist Movement cannot be betrayed by spies. There is nothing to spy upon. It, therefore, cannot be stampeded by the bomb-planter, nor entrapped by the agent provocateur. Such vermin can find no lodgment in a movement aerated in the open field of politics and held in the light of the public eye.

The work of the economic arm is temporarily to protect the interest of the working class in the shop and finally to organize the workers to enable them to take possession of the units of production.

A work of such magnitude and importance cannot be done in secret. It must be done in the open and in the full knowledge of all concerned. To try to keep anything secret is to invite the spy and to give the enemy the chance to blast the movement with calumny and misrepresentations.

The best way, the only way, to place the movement before the world is by the regular publicity of an organized political party.

Such then is *what the Socialists want to do*. The movement invites your sympathy and help. On the field of politics the *Socialist Labor Party* asks your membership. On the economic field, the *Industrial Workers of the World* with headquarters at Detroit, invites you.

Seek your freedom!

Woman Under Socialism

By August Bebel

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GERMAN OF
THE THIRTY-THIRD EDITION BY DANIEL DE LEON.

The Woman Question is not a question by itself; it is a part of the great social problem. Proceeding along this line, Bebel's work is an exhaustive analysis of the economic position of woman in the past and present. Despite the boasts of Capitalist Christianity the facts show that under Capitalism woman, especially of the working class, is degraded and dwarfed physically and mentally, while the word home is but a mockery. From such condition of parenthood the child is stunted before its birth, and the miasmas, bred from woman's economic slavery, rise so high that even the gilded houses of the capitalist class are polluted. Under Socialism, woman, having economic freedom equal with man, will develop mentally and physically, and the mentally and physically stunted and dwarfed children of the capitalist system will give way to a new race. The blow that breaks the chains of economic slavery from the workingman will free woman also.

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