

THE WAY TO POWER



BY J. B. OSBORNE

Published by Dominion Executive S. P. of C.

SOCIALIST MEETINGS,
SWALES' HALL,
1st & 3rd Sundays at 7 p.m.

SUBSCRIBE FOR

**The Western
Clarion**

OWNED AND CONTROLLED BY THE
**SOCIALIST PARTY OF
CANADA**

**\$1.00 PER YEAR
.50 SIX MOS.**

ADDRESS

Vancouver, British Columbia

The Way to Power

PREFACE

In the production of this little pamphlet, "THE WAY TO POWER," I have not tried to do the impossible—to originate ideas entirely new, but rather to condense, and at the same time make plain, the historical viewpoint of the laws of social development, especially as they apply to capitalist society.

Of late years many of the opponents of the present social order have grown weary of reading and thinking and voting, and have endeavored to find a short cut out of wage slavery into industrial democracy. History, philosophy, and experience all prove that the way to power lies along the path of the economic and intellectual development of society. My only endeavor here is to assist the working class to discover their plane of power in order that they may perform their mission in society as rapidly and effectively as possible.

JAMES B. OSBORNE,

1533 San Pablo Avenue,

Oakland, Cal.

June, 1913.

CHAPTER I.

THE ECONOMIC AND INTELLECTUAL FACTORS IN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

In 1859, eight years before the appearance of the first volume of "Capital," Karl Marx wrote a "Critique on Political Economy," from the preface of which I quote the following as a general text to be treated in this pamphlet: "No social order ever disappears before all the productive forces, for which there is room in it, have been developed, and new higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society." This statement is not true because Marx said so, but on the contrary, Marx made the statement because the experience of mankind had proven it to be true.

In the evolution of society there are two prime factors: first, the economic factor, and second, the intellectual factor, or power of the mind. Changes taking place in the mode of production are always followed by changes in the social organization arising from the mode of production. In other words, the political, the juridical, moral and intellectual superstructure of society is determined by the economic formation of society. This being true, it follows that

we can only have those kinds of government or social relations as are compatible with the degree of economic and intellectual development of any particular period. Notwithstanding that this historical fact has been given widespread circulation by the printed works of Marx and others for the last half century, many well-meaning people in different countries of the world are trying to bring about social conditions and using methods entirely out of harmony with the social environment. The Paris Commune, of 1871, is a good example of the kind of endeavor mentioned. The Paris Commune was an attempt to establish an idealistic community composed of a small part of the population entirely surrounded by a society altogether at variance with those ideals. It was also an attempt to establish social conditions and social relations not justified by the social economic formation, and the consequent social intellectual development. The Commune accordingly disappeared, and remains only as a historical and social phenomenon of what is bound to happen to all such movements at variance with the laws of social development.

In Mexico today there is a well meaning group of considerable proportions whose revolutionary motto is, "Land and Liberty." They appeal to the peons, the landless and the dispossessed, and believe, if they could overthrow the Mexican Government and restore the land to all the people, that full-fledged democracy would arise on the ruins of Mexican despotism. Notwithstanding the heroism, the self-sacrifice and the general well-meaning of these people, they would be doomed to disappointment, even if they were given full sway in Mexico, for the very good reason that the degree of economic and intellectual development compatible with a democracy has not yet been reached. It is equally true that if the Czar of Russia could be transplanted into the United States or Canada with his Russian regime, that such regime could find no foothold in North America for the reason that it would be incompatible with the economic and intellectual development of this country.

If history teaches anything, it makes plain the fact that one cannot force upon any people higher social relations than they have been prepared for, or substitute social relations incompatible with economic conditions and intellectual development. Society is alive, growing, and changing all the time, and therefore perfection of social institutions or social movements or organizations is by the very nature of society out of the question.

Mankind has been on the earth for at least two or three hundred thousand years, and has passed through stages of savagery, barbarism, chattel slavery, feudalism, and a large part of the people of the world are now living in capitalism, and we can still find extant vestiges of savagery, barbarism, chattel slavery, and feudalism. In fact, the mode of life of each historical period has lapped into the succeeding mode of life and production. Also, the effect of its institutions and relations have been felt in the succeeding society. It would therefore be impossible to draw an exact line at the point where savagery ended and barbarism began, or where chattel slavery ended and feudalism began, or where feudalism ended and capitalism began, and it would be quite as impossible to draw a line at the point where capitalism will end and Socialism begin.

Notwithstanding this fact, there are those who still believe that at a given time, by a general strike the workers will overthrow all there is of capitalism and inaugurate all there is of democracy, and there are others who believe that things must remain stationary until a given point is reached in the conquest of political power by the workers, and then instantaneously all there is of capitalism will disappear and all of Socialism appear. Such will not be the case. By the time this decisive point is reached other points along the way will have been reached and passed, and the large decisive point now in the future will seem much smaller than it appears at present, the way having been steadily paved to that particular point, and there will still remain other points in the future to be reached and passed by the ever onward march toward democracy.

Each society in preparing for its own disappearance must at the same time prepare within itself the material conditions for the appearance of higher social relations to follow.

Throughout the social evolution of the past the dominant economic factor in social development has had very little conscious intellectual assistance. But economic determinism is not a blind fatalism. While it is true that the intellectual superstructure arising from a particular mode of production is an effect of the economic formation, yet the intellectual effect has become more and more a cause and a potential factor in social development. The further back we go in the history of man the harder it is for us to perceive the influence of the mind on economic development. But the intellectual development resulting directly from the capitalist mode of production promises to be a most potential factor in the establishment of higher social relations, removing the present obstructions in the path of social development.

In the following chapters we will devote ourselves to the consideration of these phases of the capitalist society.

CHAPTER II.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FORCES OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION.

Aristotle said that "slavery was necessary until the forces of nature were harnessed to the uses of man." The economic formation developed by the capitalist mode of production is as marvelous as it is stupendous. By the very nature of things it had to supplant all the other forms of production, and not only establish a world's market, but conquer and exploit all the forces of nature. Capitalism has covered the oceans, the lakes, and the rivers, with the white-winged ships of trade and commerce, and has encircled the earth with girdles of iron by the construction of great continental railways, bringing all people of all nations in close touch with one another, creating an international capitalist class and at the same time, an international proletariat.

The capitalist system of production has exploited the forests, the mountains, the prairies and the valleys, as well as the waters of the earth, of whatever values labor has been able to extract therefrom. It has gone further, and transformed waste places and deserts into instruments of wealth production.

It has conquered the power in the water falls, harnessed electricity, and used these forces to add to its productive powers. It has employed the genius of man to hasten the evolution of the wild apple and the wild banana into a marketable product; to assist the evolution of the potato, the orange, and other kinds of fruits and plants; to transform the cactus of the desert into a valuable commodity. It has done not only these things and a thousand other things in the production of wealth by the exploitation of the forces of nature, but it has organized on a colossal scale, instruments of social production and exchange.

So great has been the tendency towards centralization and organization of capitalist property on the basis of the community-of-interest plan, that at the time of the death of J. Pierpont Morgan, it was estimated that he—one man—had control of twenty-six billion dollars in capitalist property, or securities.

It will be interesting at this point to note the evolution that has taken place in capitalist property itself, and to discern that this very evolution is a necessary preparation for the collectivism of the whole to take the place of the collectivism of the few.

Seventy-five or one hundred years ago, when capitalism was in its infancy in both England and America, the individual capitalist was sole owner of the mill, mine, shop or factory. He employed a small group of workers; he, himself, acted as foreman, superintendent, or manager. He was therefore "on the job" in person, and performing a necessary function in production. But soon his experience taught him that in order to increase his productive forces, it would be advantageous to associate himself with other capitalists of like conditions and motives. The natural result was a copartnership or corporation. Any two or three or more owners could combine their holdings and form a partnership. Soon waste was eliminated, larger capital massed together, productive forces augmented, and profits increased.

But there was hardly room for each of the partners to be a manager, superintendent, etc. The next step came about in the same natural process as the last, and we find that these companies and corporations, also, and for the same reason, associated themselves together in still larger combinations called the trusts, and the trusts have likewise grown and merged into one another until we have capitalist property owned collectively by the capitalist class.

The individual capitalist of a half century or more ago could say, "This is my shop, my factory, my mill or my mine." Today, these lines of individual ownership have been eliminated to such an extent that it is almost impossible for any particular capitalist to claim ownership of any particular piece of capitalist property. For instance, who can claim the ownership of any particular piece of property of the Canadian Pacific Railway? What individual can lay his hand upon freight car No. 3984 of the Southern Pacific Railway system and say, "That is my property"? Who can point out a water tank on the

Illinois Central or the Pennsylvania Railway and say, "That is my water tank"?

Just as it is impossible to distinguish the owner of any particular piece or part of railway property, likewise it is impossible to distinguish the individual owner of any particular piece or part of capitalist property.

This evolution from individual ownership of capitalist property by the individual capitalist to collective ownership of capitalist property by the capitalist class as a whole, has been necessary to prepare for the collective ownership by all the people of what is now collectively owned by the capitalist class. Just as it has been the mission of the capitalist class to develop collective ownership of the means of production, so it will be the mission of the working class to assist in the evolution to collective ownership by society.

The evolution of the capitalist form of production has not only prepared the means of production for collective ownership, but at the same time it has prepared the way for the disappearance of the capitalist class by eliminating any useful function performed by that class. With the large and ever larger organization of the forces of capitalist production, the capitalist performs smaller and still smaller functions in production, until at the present time the capitalist plays no part as foreman, superintendent, manager, etc. It is no longer necessary for him to furnish either brains or muscle in the process of production. The foreman, the superintendent and the manager of industry today are all hired men, and the capitalist method of concentrated and associated production has been an education to the working class in collective or co-operative production. So much so, that the working class surveys the route for the railroad; builds the grades; bores the tunnels; cuts the ties; lays the rails; builds the cars and locomotives; digs the coal to furnish the motive power; mans the trains; collects the fares and freights; pays the expenses; figures out the dividends; and mails the same to the owners.

Perhaps no better test could be offered as to the accuracy of this general statement than was furnished in the case of the Standard Oil Company when the government was trying to collect \$29,000,000 from that corporation. Mr. John D. Rockefeller was placed upon the stand. Counsel for the government asked Mr. Rockefeller for certain information about the affairs of the corporation. His reply was, "If you want to know anything about such facts, you should ask one of the bookkeepers of the company, and he will tell you." Mr. Rockefeller said he had not been in the office of the company for eight years. What is true in the case of Mr. Rockefeller is true of the owners of all the larger capitalist properties.

In the development of the forces of capitalist production, the intellectual development to follow in its wake was far greater and of more far-reaching consequence than the intellectual development from all other modes of production in the past. So great, in fact, are the intellectual developments springing from the necessary development of the capitalist forces of production, that the working class under capitalism is the first working class, or slave class, ever prepared to be the only useful or necessary class in production.

CHAPTER III.

THE INTELLECTUAL REVOLUTION RESULTING FROM THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FORCES OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION.

Unlike ruling classes of past societies, the capitalist class, in order to develop the productive forces of its mode of production, was compelled to use the intellect of men as an important factor. In fact, the capitalist mode of production has been directly responsible for the development of our modern school of physical science. All parts of the earth had to be discovered anew and the component parts ascertained before they could be exploited. Every department of physical science has furnished some knowledge in that direction, and contributed its part toward making possible the development of the forces of modern production.

Capitalism was interested in astronomy, while the feudal nobility allowed the persecution of the early astronomers. Capitalism was interested in that line of research because upon its discoveries was built the science of navigation. The development of the science of navigation was necessary to the establishment of the world's markets and the transportation of large quantities of commodities as rapidly as possible. The science of geology and mineralogy likewise became necessary in order to more effectively extract the precious and baser metals from the earth. The science of chemistry and all other physical sciences in their development contributed their quota to the development of the forces of capitalist production. The interest of the capitalist class was not only in the direction of the development of physical science, but in as widespread a diffusion of that knowledge as possible.

This general diffusion of scientific knowledge consequent upon the development of capitalist production has produced an intellectual revolution—a revolution in the philosophy of history, in fact, the philosophy of social democracy itself, as the direct result of capitalist development industrially and intellectually.

The development of schools of technology and of the free school system and compulsory education were also necessary factors in the development of the forces of capitalist production. As this intellectual development sprang directly from the economic basis of capitalist society, therefore it is called an effect, yet it is easy to see that this intellectual effect has already become a powerful cause in hastening the evolution of the economic formation of capitalist society. This intellectual development will be a still larger and more potential factor in substituting for capitalist collectivism the collectivism of the whole.

Under feudalism it was not necessary for a feudal serf to have an education, while under chattel slavery the education of the slave was not only unnecessary to production but was considered a social danger. In the State of Georgia, just previous to the civil war, only a little over fifty years ago, a state law provided that any person convicted or found guilty of teaching a negro how to read or write the English language should pay a fine of not

less than five hundred dollars or serve a sentence of not less than six months in prison. Practically the same view-point maintained throughout the Southern states—at that time agricultural slave-owning communities.

But with the disappearance of chattel slavery in the Southern States came the development of mill, mine, shop, factory and furnace throughout the South, and the consequent transformation of slave-labor into wage-labor. An intellectual revolution has also taken place, and the State of Georgia five or six years ago passed a compulsory education law, compelling the negro boys and girls, as well as the white ones, to attend school so many months in the year. The same law had been previously passed in several of the other Southern States.

It is true that the compulsory education of the negro proletariat of the South met with considerable opposition from members of the old school of Southern aristocracy, but the capitalist method of production, in order to develop its productive forces, demanded in the Southern States as it demands everywhere else, that the proletariat shall have some degree of academic education. By the very nature of capitalist production, the wage-working class which operates the plant of industrial society, in order to maintain the standard of productive efficiency required, and ever increase its productive efficiency as a working class, is compelled to be able at least to read, write, and figure. Hence, compulsory education grew naturally out of the needs of capitalist production.

Education in the past had been the private monopoly of the aristocracy. Capitalism invaded and dissipated this special privilege, and placed it at least in some degree within the reach of all. This has been of especial advantage to the proletariat.

In the development of the modern school of physical science and the publication and widespread distribution of scientific literature, the schools of technology and the correspondence schools, and the compelling of the proletariat to acquire at least an elementary education, the whole world of knowledge is opened up to the propertyless. The proletarian today has power to read, is developing power to think, and just in proportion as he reads and thinks he will be able to discover his position in modern society, his relation to the rest of society, and his mission as a proletarian, and also just in proportion that he does this, will he travel on the way to power.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LIMITATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FORCES OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION.

The limitation to the development of the forces of capitalist production is not imposed by nature, but by the mode of capitalist production itself. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, when the feudal system of production had about run its course by developing those powers of production for which there was room within the feudal society, the problem of the great nations of

the world was the problem of production, because they, with their systems of production, found themselves unable to produce enough of the necessaries of life for the ever-increasing population. This condition gave rise to the Malthusian doctrine. Malthus pointed out the fact that the population of the earth was increasing at greater ratio than the ability to produce wealth, and argued that therefore the earth would have to be visited with an epidemic or famine in order to reduce the population, or that the nations would have to go to war with one another in order to kill off enough of the population, so that the remaining part might have sufficient food, clothing and other necessaries of life.

Then came the development of the beginnings of machine production and steam engines. Invention after invention followed, until the development of the forces of capitalist production has not only solved the problem of production, but on the other hand it has brought about a world economic problem equally as intense;—i.e., the problem of consumption. Hence, today, the problem of the great nations of the world is not the problem of productive ability, but the problem of finding a market for what they actually produce. This problem of consumption is today, and will be for some time to come, the perplexing problem of all capitalist politicians and every apologist of capitalist class supremacy.

Today, Germany, France, England and the United States, the four great capitalist nations, are searching the uttermost parts of the earth for markets for their surplus products, not only conquering for markets the populated islands of the earth, but colonizing and increasing the population of undeveloped places in order to extend their markets for manufactured products.

As long as capitalism can find a market for what it produces under the capitalist system it will remain with us. When it has developed all the productive forces for which there is room within it, it will disappear, and we can begin to see the beginning of that disappearance. Capitalist nations are more and more perplexed for markets, and the greater the development of their productive forces the greater this perplexity will become.

Out of this condition has arisen all the wars of recent years. The war between Japan and Russia grew out of the desire and necessity of Japan—just recently developed into a capitalist nation—for markets. The war between England and the Boers of South Africa came from the same economic cause. The war between the United States and Spain, in which the United States assumed a protectorate over and took Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines, also grew out of the necessity of American capitalism for larger markets. On this ground, expansion was justified by Mr. Mark Hanna. The war recently threatened between Germany, France and England about Morocco was over the question of markets.

The expenditure at the present time of such enormous sums in the building of warships by Germany and England is the direct result of the contest for markets for the products of capitalist production.

But this problem of consumption cannot be solved by national wars. England has been unable to solve it by free trade, just as the United States has found a protective tariff of no solution. Prohibition of liquor or any other traffic would not even be a tendency towards its solution. Shorter hours or higher wages will not solve this problem. It can be solved only by removing the limitations imposed by the capitalist mode of production upon the consumptive capacity of society. The limitation imposed upon the consumptive capacity of society by the mode of capitalist production is found in the wage system. The greater the forces of production are developed by capitalism, the smaller becomes the relative portion received by the working class in wages.

In the United States seventy years ago the wage-working class received 83% of the total production in wages, while today they receive but from 15% to 17% of the total product in wages. In other words, when the producing class produces five billion dollars worth of wealth it receives about one billion dollars in wages. This means that they have produced four billion dollars in wealth that they—the great majority—cannot consume, because it is not theirs and they have no power to buy it. This is the economic situation in all the great capitalist nations today, and capitalism in the past has been able to prolong its life by finding foreign markets for its surplus products.

Past conditions have been favorable, for even now over half the population of the world is living in countries that have not yet developed the modern capitalist method of production. However, in the last few years Japan has rapidly developed into a manufacturing country. The recent revolution in China with its upward of four hundred million of population, has opened the way to the development of the forces of capitalist production there. India, with the three hundred million population, will soon witness the appearance of capitalist development, as will likewise the continent of Africa, and then, where will be the markets for the products of international capitalists?

It, therefore, becomes plain that the only solution for the world's great economic problem of consumption lies in removing the limitation imposed upon the consumptive capacity of society by the wage-system. This is the program of the Socialist Party. Through the collective ownership and democratic management of all the material instruments of social wealth production, all limitations upon consumption now resulting from the wage-system will disappear as the wage-system itself will disappear. We will still be able to develop higher and still higher forces of production and to reduce hours of labor in proportion to the progress made.

But this cannot, in the very nature of things, be done within capitalist society. The wage-system, the form of labor upon which the capitalist system is based, prevents any further room for the development of the forces of production within the capitalist society. Capitalism, therefore, by performing its mission in the development of its productive force, at the same time digs its own grave.

CHAPTER V.

ECONOMIC POWER.

Economic power is that power arising from the ownership of economic wealth. Under the capitalist mode of production the entire product becomes the property of the capitalist class. Hence they are called the economic masters.

It has been the mission of the capitalist class, as has already been shown, to develop the forces of capitalist production in all their concentrated and accentuated forms. In the development of the economic formation of capitalist society all of the forms of labor previously existing were converted into wage-labor, and just in proportion as the forces of capitalism become larger and more thoroughly organized, the wage-working class will grow larger and larger numerically, and continue to form a relatively larger portion of the population.

The wage-working class found itself forced by sheer necessity to sell its labor-power to the capitalist class as a commodity to be used in the process of capitalist production. This condition of labor gave rise to the organization of the trades unions and the organized labor movement, on the theory that since labor-power was a commodity that had to be bought by the capitalist class as a necessity in production, if it was organized into a union the price of the commodity—labor-power—usually called wages, could be determined by the union. Thereby the working class could get a higher and still higher price for the commodity labor-power, until eventually it would receive the full product of its toil.

Experience, however, has taught most union men that this is an economic fallacy. Two years ago there was a successful strike to raise the wages of the dock laborers in Liverpool, and while the strike occasioned considerable friction between the employing capitalists on one side and the wage-workers on the other, yet later developments show that the dock laborers gained not one iota more of their production as the result of the successful strike that increased their wages, for in the space of one year after the strike the prices and the cost of the necessities of life had risen enough to offset any advantage gained by the workers in increased wages.

As long as labor-power is a commodity, it will be impossible for the wage-working class, through the organization of unions, to reverse the law of commodities, or command very little, if any, more for that commodity than the average cost of its production, which is measured by the average cost of living for the working class, necessary to maintain that standard of productive efficiency required of them.

Notwithstanding that the money wages of the working class have steadily been increased, and that organized labor has assisted in that increase, it yet remains that in proportion to what the working class produces today it gets a relatively smaller wage than ever before. That is, a smaller portion of its product.

It is true that the hours of labor have been reduced and that the unions have assisted in this reduction, but it is also true that we have a constantly larger unemployed population than ever before, and that the wage-working class produces more wealth not its own in eight hours than it formerly did in fourteen or fifteen hours.

Unionism grew naturally out of the conditions in which it found itself in capitalist society, and has been useful and necessary. However, union men as a whole are becoming more and more conscious of the limitation of the power of unionism as far as its economic advantage, or power, is concerned.

The prime factor that has made necessary the reduction of the hours of labor and increase of the wages of the working class under capitalism with its speeding up process, has been the phenomenal development of the forces of capitalist production. The high standard of productive efficiency to be maintained by the working class in the main would require a high standard of living, hence, higher wages. The high standard of productive efficiency developed by the working class under capitalism is likewise responsible fundamentally for the reduction of the hours of labor. If all the workers should work fourteen or fifteen hours a day and maintain the same speed that they do now in eight hours or nine hours, the army of the unemployed would not only grow so large as to become dangerous, but there would be a continual panic caused by the production of so much surplus product.

Notwithstanding these facts, the capitalist class has steadily refused to increase wages or reduce hours. There has been a continuous clash between the organized capitalists on one hand and organized laborers on the other, and organized labor has been helpful and successful in forcing concessions from the employing class that were already an economic necessity to capitalist production itself.

The wage-working class has no economic power under capitalism, the labor-power of the working class only functioning in production at the bidding and to the interest of the capitalist. Since the capitalist class owns the tools of production and the raw materials used in production, it follows it likewise owns all the labor-power used in production.

Labor-power, therefore, only functions in capitalist production after it is bought as a commodity by the capitalist class, and therefore, itself becomes just as much a part of the capital of the capitalist class as do the tools and the raw materials.

For example, if a capitalist concern has one million of capital to invest in a business. Then say, five hundred thousand in the plant, including buildings and machinery, two hundred thousand in raw materials, and three hundred thousand in labor-power, it is easy to see that the three hundred thousand invested in labor-power is a part of the total capital, and further, that the seven hundred thousand invested in machinery and raw material can only transfer its value into seven hundred thousand of commodities, but the three hundred thousand invested in labor-power is different in this—that the commodity, labor-power, not only transfers three hundred thousand dollars value

into commodities, but transfers two or three times that value into the commodities produced.

As long as labor-power is a commodity it becomes evident that all economic power will reside with the capitalist class.

CHAPTER VI.

INTELLECTUAL POWER.

We have just noted by a short analysis that all the economic power developed by capitalist production is appropriated by the capitalist class. We have also previously noted in a brief way the influence of the mind—or human intelligence—as a contributing factor and a necessary one in the development of the forces of capitalist production. However, the growth and development of the human mind and the social advantage arising therefrom cannot continually be appropriated by the capitalist class, but on the contrary becomes the most powerful instrument of the working class in its own emancipation, in democratizing, or socializing, all the progress of the race and all the benefits of the new, highly developed forces of production.

Material civilization can mean nothing else than the conquest of all the forces of nature and their utilization for the benefit of mankind. Just as it has been the mission of the capitalist class to bring about the utilization of these conquered and developed natural resources for the benefit of its class, and just as the intelligence of man has been used to hasten the evolution of the wild apple, the wild banana, and the wild orange, into more useful and valuable commodities; and just as the intelligence of man is used to hasten the evolution of the development of the capitalist forces of production in the conquest and utilization of the forces of nature, just so the intelligence of the working class must be the most potential factor in bringing about the utilization of all the progress made in production and its possibilities for the benefit of all mankind, and just as the capitalist viewpoint of society has for a long time permeated the minds of the people of all capitalist nations, just so in its turn the working class view-point—the view-point of the philosophy of social democracy—will permeate the whole of society. And while it may not be accepted by all, all will be affected by it.

The development of the working-class view-point has proceeded rapidly throughout the entire world, and came as a result of the working class environment in capitalist production. The further development of this view-point, or the intellectual ability of the working class to be able to analyze the mode of modern production, and to be able to discover its place in society as a class, as well as its historic mission in social development, is the object and purpose of the Socialist propaganda in every country of the world. For this reason we print tracts and leaflets for distribution, publish newspapers—daily and weekly—magazines, periodicals, pamphlets and books, by the millions, and so thoroughly has this been done that the reading population in every country of the world has already felt the intellectual effect of the literature of Socialism. It has been said that the sun never sets on the Socialist propaganda. No institu-

tion or association has been able entirely to escape the literature and propaganda of the philosophy of social democracy.

Most of the professors of the great universities of the world, to a great degree at least, accept the Socialist philosophy, and every great daily paper, or weekly, or monthly periodical, has been compelled to take notice of the ever-growing development of this great working class movement.

In the social evolution of the distant past, just as the intellect played a small part in assisting the economic development, and at the present time plays an exceedingly large part, just so in the past the intellect played a very small part in the solution of the economic or social problems, but in the present and future must play an ever-increasing larger part.

In the past individuals and classes solved their differences with clubs, spears, javelins, bows and arrows, and later by shot and shell. However, the class antagonisms settled by these methods were settled only to arise again in the antagonisms of other and newer classes.

During the recent Lawrence strike, when the manufacturers had the government of the State to send State troops to Lawrence, one of the strike leaders made this retort: "You cannot weave cloth with bayonets." That is true. It is equally true that you cannot build an industrial or social democracy with bayonets, dynamite or nitro-glycerine. A social democracy cannot appear until the intellectual development of society, as well as the economic basis of society, is such as to make anything else impossible but democracy. For this reason, the power of the working class is in its intellectual development rather than in bayonet or giant powder.

If the serfs of feudalism could have overthrown the aristocracy by physical force, they could not have established a democracy, because they had not the economic or intellectual foundation for democracy. If the slaves of the Southern States by physical force could have overthrown the slave-owning society and the general government, they would have been incapable of establishing a democracy.

The working class is developing the ability not only to emancipate itself, but the whole of society, from classes and class antagonism, and the best interest of the working class lies, not only in the abolition of class society, but the accomplishment of that purpose by conscious, organized intelligence, employing as peaceful methods as are provided.

One evidence of the development of the working class view-point internationally is that the capitalist governments of the world find it very hard to get working men who will serve in the army and navy. The United States, for instance, is expending some millions of dollars annually advertising for men to enlist in the army and navy, besides raising the wages formerly paid. It is also further evidenced by the Socialist workmen of the Scandinavian countries refusing to fight one another a few years ago, thereby preventing national warfare. The Socialist workmen of Germany, France and England have just recently entered a vigorous protest against those countries going to war with one another.

The development of the working-class view-point will, in itself, within a very few years make war impossible between the great nations of the world, and thus we have arrived almost at that period when the power of the intellect is not only the great factor in conquering the forces of nature, but also in the bringing about of their utilization for the benefit of all mankind, without the necessity of blood-shed or social catastrophe.

CHAPTER VIII.

POLITICAL POWER.

Political power is that power arising from the control of the legislative, executive, judicial and military forces of the State.

We have already shown how the intellectual development of the proletariat was made not only possible, but necessary, by the capitalist mode of production. Following in the wake of the intellectual development of the proletariat and the general diffusion of present-day knowledge came the extension of the franchise to the proletariat in the whole world of capitalism.

The development of the forces of capitalist production has prepared a material condition for the social ownership and democratic management of all the means of wealth production, and the intellectual development resulting therefrom has prepared a way, through the ballot box, for the peaceful transformation of capitalist property into collective wealth as a result of the widespread effect of the development of the Socialist view-point and the social concept.

That social concept which places the collective well-being above every other interest, together with the ever-increasing vote of the Socialist Party, has already had its effect on legislation by capitalist governments. In Germany, France, and nearly every other country in Europe, the governments have made many concessions to the working class, not only in the ever larger and larger increase of the suffrage, but in the economic conditions also. The recent legislative action in England, as well as in some of the American States, on the subject of the establishment of legal minimum wage and maximum hours, while voluntary, involves tremendous concessions on the part of the capitalist class.

Not that any immediate economic advantage can accrue to the working class as a result of such legislation. In California, for instance, a universal eight-hour law came within eleven votes of passing in the California legislature. Such a law is already passed in Australia and other countries, and such laws will be passed by various States with great rapidity in the near future. In California, two years ago, a law was passed establishing an eight-hour work day for women, and the present legislative session appointed a commission to investigate the wages paid to women with the view of enacting at the next session a minimum wage law for women.

Such legislation by a capitalist State is a plain admission of the power of the State to control capitalist property. In fact, such legislation is laying the

foundation to undermine the power of the capitalist class, not only in the control, but even in the ownership of capitalist property. For if the State has power to say to the capitalist, "You shall only work your employees so many hours per week," and that "You shall pay your employees not less than so many dollars per week," it then logically follows that the power of the State can be legally extended to the point where it can say, in the interest of the social well-being, "What is now capitalist property shall be the collective wealth of all, in order that all may be able to appropriate their share of all the social progress of the past and present."

In taking note of the class struggles between different factions of the propertied classes in the past, it is evident that the wealth of one class has not been shifted to another class until the political power was first shifted, and the transformation of capitalist property into social wealth will take place by shifting the political power from the hands of the capitalist class to the hands of the working class.

For that reason the Socialist Party endeavors to constitute a working class political party separate and distinct from all parties of the capitalist class, finally getting complete control of the political power of the State and nation. "The irrepressible conflict of interests between the capitalist and the worker is rapidly culminating in a struggle for possession of the reins of government—the capitalist to hold, the worker to secure it by political action. This is the class struggle.

The plane of power for working class organization is in the political field, and every extension of the franchise to the members of the working class assists them in the class struggle. Hence, the recent general strike in Belgium for the extension of the working class suffrage.

The workers go into the bowels of the earth and bring out the precious metals, but leave them all at the mine; they go into shoe factories and produce shoes, but do not take any of the shoes home with them; they go into watch factories and make watches, but do not take away a single watch with them.

In fact, the workers produce all wealth, but do not own any part of their production. This is because the capitalists are organized not only industrially but politically, and this political organization and political power of the capitalist class enables them to maintain their ownership of the means of production, and the consequent power to appropriate the entire product of labor. If the workers at a mill, shop, mine or factory should start home with the production of their labor, they would be met with the political power of the capitalist class in the form of police, constabulary, militia, or the standing army. Knowing this, the working class quietly submits to its exploitation at the point of production, and knowing this, the working class has already begun the process of shifting the political power from the hands of the capitalist class to its own hands.

I was one time riding horse-back on a lonely and uninhabited trail through a prairie in western Texas. After riding all day long without seeing a living

soul, late in the afternoon I sighted a horseman in the distance coming from the opposite direction. I decided that as soon as we met I would stop him, rest awhile, and have a little social chat. We finally met, but no sooner had we dismounted than he drew two six-shooters, and covering me said: "Throw up your hands." I looked at him and then at his six-shooters, and proceeded to throw up my hands, not because he had a wife and family at home dependent upon him, or for any other benevolent reason, but because his six-shooters were loaded and he meant business. He proceeded to take what I had that he wanted and rode leisurely off. There was no blood spilled, no ground torn up, nor was any wordy argument necessary. The argument was all on his side. The separation took place just as quietly as a funeral or a wedding ceremony might take place. Why was there no resistance on my part during the whole proceeding, so peaceful and quiet? Because that fellow was thoroughly organized, and counting his two six-shooters there were three of him to one of me. He was not only thoroughly organized, but organized on the plane of power.

When the working class has shifted the political power now in the hands of the economic masters into its own hands, the transformation of capitalist property into collective wealth can be legally and peaceably accomplished.

We have already pointed out that the political method is, by the very nature of things, the only method compatible with the intellectual development of modern times, for the very good reason that class antagonism in present society can only be ended when the material and intellectual development has prepared the way for the appearance of the higher social relations of a social democratic society, and the intellectual development necessary to make possible these higher social relations, in its process of preparation has produced the political method as the means to be used in social transformation.

To enter, then, into the concrete class struggle, organize on the basis of political class action—organize every precinct; that is the only way you can organize a city, a state, a province or a nation. As soon as the working class learns how to organize an efficient and powerful working class political party, based upon the fundamental tenets of social democracy, just so soon will it discover and travel the way to power.

Price List of Literature

ISSUED BY THE
DOMINION
EXECUTIVE

TEN CENTS PER COPY
(To Locals \$6.00 per 100; 75c per doz.)

“Manifesto of the S. P. of C.”
“What Is Socialism?”

(To Locals \$2.75 per 100; 35c per doz.)
Express Pre-paid

*“Socialism and the Survival of
the Fittest”*
“The Way to Power”
“Value, Price and Profit” (Marx)

TO LOCALS \$1.00 PER 100

“State and Government”
“The Struggle for Existence”

