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A PRIMER OF SOCIALISM

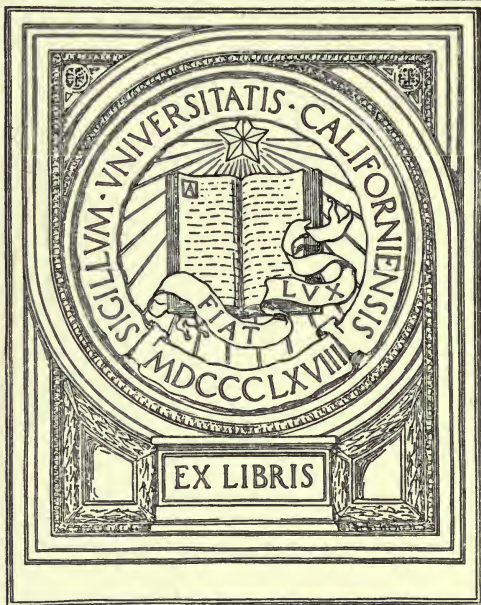
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THOMAS KIRKUP

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IN MEMORIAM



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A PRIMER
OF
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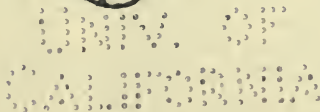
BY
THOMAS KIRKUP

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AND THE FISCAL PROBLEM," ETC.

THIRD EDITION

REVISED AND PARTLY RE-WRITTEN

BY EDWARD R. PEASE



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IN MEMORIAM

JESSICA PEIXOTTO

TO THE
ASSOCIATION

PREFATORY NOTE

THE first nine chapters of this book are reprinted from the second edition without material alteration. The remainder has been rewritten, and the greater part of it is new.

Whilst the book was in the printer's hands General Elections took place in France, in Belgium, and in Italy. In France the Socialist Party lost about 40 seats, and only 65 were elected. This defeat may be attributed to the pacifist attitude of the Party, or to peculiarities in the electoral system. In Belgium 70 Socialists were elected—a gain of 40 seats; the Catholics are 71, and all others 45. In Italy 156 Socialists have been elected in a house of 496—an increase of 102.

Another addition to the text may be of interest. In August 1919 an important meeting of the 'Permanent Commission of the International' was held at Lucerne. Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Austria, and twelve other nationalities, old, new, and future, were represented. A majority and a minority resolution on the general political situation were adopted, and joint resolution on a number of questions arising out of the war. Lastly, a 'Revised Provisional Constitution' was drafted which will be operative, subject to confirmation, at the International Congress fixed for February 1920, but now probably to be held in August of that year.

The text of the resolutions and the constitution in English have been published as a 24-page pamphlet by the Labour Party in London.

E. R. P.

Christmas 1919.

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A PRIMER OF SOCIALISM

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

NOT long ago Socialism was a theory of a few adventurous thinkers. Now it has millions of earnest and ardent adherents in the most advanced countries of the world. With many fluctuations in its apparent growth, it has been making vast progress during recent years. It is still spreading and exciting attention in all quarters.

A most surprising feature of a remarkable movement is the too obvious fact that, while all men are talking about it, so few understand it. Might we not reasonably expect that a subject which has raised so much hope and enthusiasm among the most advanced of the working classes of the world should receive very careful examination? Such a movement may be misguided; but it is hardly a fit theme for passion and prejudice, for epigram, paradox, or pedantry. It is a matter for the most serious study.

The purpose of this little book is to give a clear and impartial account of Socialism. It is intended to supply, in brief and simple form, the information on the subject which I have given in the article 'Socialism' contributed to the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1887), in my *Inquiry into Socialism*, and in my *History of Socialism*, which is an expansion of the article in the *Encyclopædia*.

A book like the present must mainly be historical and expository. I have tried to present the subject in its true perspective as a great historical movement, leaving the reader to form his own conclusions or to pursue his inquiries as he may see fit.

But we must remember that, if we are fully to profit by the study of a great movement, fair and sympathetic interpretation is far more important than a mere record of facts and theories. Those readers who desire to know my criticism and interpretation of Socialism are referred to the two books I have mentioned. The concluding portion of the book consists of an analysis of the important manifesto of the Labour Party, 'Labour and the New Social Order,' which is in fact a full and authoritative statement of the aims and policy of the whole Socialist movement in England in the year 1918.

Although there is little agreement as to the character and efficacy of the remedy which Socialism proposes, most men will admit that the present social

system is imperfect) and (should be improved.) On every hand we see the too painful contrast of squalid poverty and misery and of irresponsible wealth and luxury. We see the children uncared for, men in the prime of life anxious and depressed for want of employment, men and women enfeebled and broken down before their time by overwork. Life for the rural workers is hard, impoverished, and monotonous. Our large towns are for the most part mean and dreary wildernesses, in which the conditions of life do not promote health or hope, human kindness, or the building up of character and civic virtue.

The causes of such an unhappy condition of things are wide and complex, deep-rooted in our history and in human nature. There can be no doubt that they are to a large degree economic. To some of the earliest inquirers the modern social problem was simply a question how machinery could be made serviceable to man. (The question remains substantially the same—How can the vast industrial mechanism, which has been brought to such perfection by generations of inventors and workers, be best used for the promotion of human well-being, in its deepest and widest sense? It is this question, which is essentially industrial or economic, that Socialism has undertaken to solve. The chief aim of Socialism is to produce a great economic change.

CHAPTER II

OLD ECONOMIC CHANGES

WE have seen that the essence of Socialism is an economic change. We shall be better able to see our subject in its proper perspective if we take a brief review of some of the great economic changes that have occurred in past times.

The economic needs of mankind may be summed up under three heads—food, clothing, and shelter. The science of economics is simply the comprehensive study of these three human interests.

In very early times we must regard mankind as living together in bands of kinsmen. Each clan or tribe had its own domain, in which it gained a living by the chase, by fishing, by gathering wild fruits or digging up roots. What clothing they had consisted of the skins of wild animals. Their shelter was a cave or a rude hut. The land was the common property of the tribe.

By the domesticating of animals like the dog, the

cow, and the horse a great advance was made, and mankind entered the pastoral stage. Some of the nations that have taken a most active part in history have belonged to the pastoral stage. The Arabs and kindred races have offered the most interesting examples of people in this condition. Far greater, however, was the change to the agricultural stage. The pastoral stage is generally nomadic, but is not inconsistent with a rude tilling of the soil. Agriculture sooner or later means a sedentary life.

Early agriculture is usually associated with a settled life in village communities. That is to say, men settled down in a suitable place where they found a good water-supply and good arable land surrounded by pasture-land and forest. Mutual defence, social intercourse, the supply of their economic needs in the shape of food, clothing, housing and fuel within a convenient area—these were the essential points that had to be considered in forming such a community. Land still for a long time continued to be common property, but there was a tendency towards the formation and growth of private rights.

In such a condition of society it was found that certain places had special advantages for defence and intercourse, especially trade. They were therefore fitted to be the centres of a whole region, and population gathered on a wider scale than the ordinary

village community. At these favoured points the settlements grew and were consolidated into the cities which are so famous in history.

We now know that a comparatively advanced civilisation had grown up in the valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile five thousand years before the Christian era. In this old civilisation private property, farming, industry, trade, and even banking developed as time went on. But the most serious and important feature was the rise of slavery.

Even pastoral life has its unpleasant incidents, which the strong man or lord would rather have no concern with. He therefore consigns the baser part of the care of cattle and horses to his dependents. In the early stages of society most of the hard work falls to the women. The vanquished men in early warfare were slain and even eaten. But it was in time found better to spare them and to employ them in all sorts of hard, mean, and unpleasant labour.

This policy became particularly advantageous after mankind had passed into the agricultural stage. The strong man, the warrior and lord naturally had no liking for the hard work connected with agriculture. He desired slaves to till his land and do all manner of menial service. Or a band of warriors would find it better still to fall upon the territory of a people who had already entered the agricultural stage and had attained to a considerable degree of

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wealth; they would defeat them in battle, and by one and the same act of conquest acquire lands, wealth, and slaves.

Such an event was the more frequent because all the ancient seats of civilisation lay near to mountains and deserts, and were exposed to attack from the fierce and hardy races that inhabited them. Babylon and Nineveh in the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris, Memphis and Thebes in the valley of the Nile, were cities that grew to be the seats of great empires. Their civilisation rested on slavery and other forms of forced labour. But the ruling classes of these states were themselves continually menaced with overthrow and subjection. The ancient Persians were a conspicuous example of a hardy race from the highlands of Asia who reduced to subjection all the old civilised states in Western Asia and in the valley of the Nile. Among the ancient Greeks the Spartans in a similar way made conquest of the lands they possessed. Throughout their history the Spartans were simply a military force encamped in the midst of subject people. The most striking instance, however, is to be found in the Turks, a warrior race, originally from Central Asia, who overran all the old seats of civilisation as far as Hungary, and have for centuries subjected them to a system of exploiting economics.

All the ancient states had servile labour mainly—

as their economic basis. The famous trading cities of Tyre and Carthage attained to greatness in this way. The economy of Athens had a like foundation. Her freehold farmers were a chief element of the strength of Rome in her best days; but in the later times of the Republic they were displaced by the slaves on the large estates.

Many of the wars in ancient times were really slave-hunts. It was not seldom the doom of the people of captured cities to be sold into slavery. In all ancient wars the enslavement of the vanquished was an important incident. Even during the Gallic war, which was waged by the clement Cæsar mainly for political reasons, two whole clans were sold into captivity. After his second invasion of Britain Cæsar tells us that, owing to the great number of captives and the loss of some of his ships in a storm, he decided to take his army back in two voyages. On the surrender of Alesia, which practically ended the Gallic war, each Roman soldier received a Gallic slave as a share of the booty.

In the later days of the Roman Republic Western Asia was the chief hunting-ground for slaves. The island of Delos was the mart for this hideous traffic and it is said that as many as ten thousand slaves were there landed and sold in a single day. Mommsen, the great Roman historian, says: 'It is very possible that, compared with the sufferings of

the Roman slaves, the sum of all negro suffering is but a drop.' We must remember that those white slaves were often superior to their masters in character and refinement.

After the Roman Empire was established the slave-trade continued to be the most important branch of commerce; but the field for slave-hunting was greatly restricted. That they might ensure a supply of labour, the masters were obliged to treat their slaves more humanely, and especially to respect their family life. A softening of manners, joined to a more just and kindly morality, worked in the same direction. One result of this was that the *coloni* or tillers of the soil were placed in a semi-servile status, like what we call serfdom.

soft
note

The change from slavery to serfdom had thus already begun in the Roman world. When the barbarous Germanic tribes overthrew the Roman Empire, they found this arrangement convenient. The tillers of the soil rendered dues in labour and in kind to their new masters, who took to themselves the functions of government, of war, and the chase.

Not long after the Romans had departed from Britain the English came from Germany in bands of kinsmen, and settled here in village communities. The settlements grew, were consolidated into various kingdoms, and at last one kingdom of England began to emerge out of the confusion. But the

village community continued to be the basis and real unit of the life of the people.

In his wars with the Danes, King Alfred found it best to leave half of his able-bodied men at home to till the soil, while he led the other half to battle. This arrangement pointed to the need of a special class of warriors. Long before the Norman Conquest a special fighting and ruling class had been growing up round the king. This class naturally drew their subsistence from the cultivators who formed the village communities.

The Normans landed in 1066, overthrew the English at the battle of Hastings, and displaced the native ruling class. William the Conqueror set up a strong central government, established internal order, and made the country safe against invasion. He divided the lands of England among his followers. The village community was transformed into the manor. The feudal system, by which land was held on condition of performing military service, was thus established.

CHAPTER III

RISE OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM

THE mariner's compass, which came into use during the twelfth century, enabled sailors to venture out into the wide ocean. The development of gunpowder and of firearms gave the people of Europe a vast superiority over other races. The invention of printing and the revival of learning led to greater activity and freedom of thought.

In 1492 Columbus discovered America. Vasco da Gama reached India in 1498, by sailing round the Cape of Good Hope. With these two events began modern colonisation and a system of trade which gradually affected the whole world.

Stronger governments, which were better able to enforce order, were established in the leading countries of Western Europe towards the end of the fifteenth century. In 1517 the Reformation had its rise in Germany. The mediæval order of society, which rested on feudalism and the Catholic Church, began to make way for a new state of things.

These movements had a general and widespread influence. It will be better now that we turn our attention chiefly to what happened in England. At the beginning of the fourteenth century money-rents had in England been taking the place of the dues in labour and in kind which had been rendered to the lord by the tillers of the soil. Serfdom practically died out during the fourteenth century. The old feudal nobility perished during the Wars of the Roses from 1455 to 1485.

Under the stern rule of the Tudors, nobles dependent on the Court took the place of the old feudal lords. The power of the feudal lord was determined by the number and efficiency of the fighting men he could bring into the field. For the Court noble the important matter was the income he could draw from his lands.

Owing to the rise in the price of wool, sheep-farming, which requires far less labour than tillage, came into vogue. The old tillers of the soil were by force and fraud driven from their holdings.

Then came the separation from Rome and the abolition of the monasteries. Like the castles of the feudal lords, the religious houses had been busy centres of local life, giving employment and subsistence to great numbers of people. The result of the downfall of feudalism, of the abolition of the monasteries, and of the commercial use of land, was a

vast increase of vagabondage. Laws of various kinds were passed to end it, but with little effect.

An old order of society had passed away. A large proportion of the people had lost that interest in the soil which they formerly possessed. An eminent authority, Thorold Rogers, estimates that by the middle of the seventeenth century half the people of England were dependent on weekly wages.

Beyond the seas events of the utmost importance in their relation to our history occurred during the seventeenth century. Virginia, the first English colony in America, was founded in 1607. The foundation of our New England colonies was laid by the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620. The first English factory or trading settlement in India was established at Surat in 1612. But the importance of these events was not apparent till the eighteenth century.

For a century and a half we were merely traders in India. The foundation of our Empire there was laid by Clive at the battle of Plassey in 1757. In 1759 the conquest of Quebec by Wolfe made Britain supreme in North America. Thus we had established a great empire, and we had also opened up a large trade, which were secured by our command of the seas.

We lost our old American colonies in the War of Independence in 1776--83; but we made up for the loss by colonising Australia, by further conquests in India, and by the acquisition of Cape Colony.

It will be seen that the development of our Empire abroad, of our command of the seas, and of our trade, has been a gradual and consistent process. All three were parts of the same process of expansion; and all three were based on a corresponding expansion at home. It meant in particular that a world-market had now been opened up for British goods.

Sub
Rev.
The old methods of manufacturing had become too slow and altogether inadequate for the needs of a new time. A powerful stimulus was accordingly given to invention. The methods of spinning first underwent a complete change. Machinery for spinning superseded the old spinning-wheel. The steam-engine, which had been at first most useful in pumping water out of the tin mines in Cornwall, was now used to move the new machinery. It was next applied to the newly invented power-loom, to shipping, and to railways. The development of the electric telegraph followed; and an industrial revolution, which transformed manufacturing, mining, inland communication, and shipping, was accomplished.

It will be obvious that such a time of expansion offered special opportunities both at home and abroad to enterprising men, whose chief motive was the desire of gain. For the success of their enterprises labour was necessary. They forced the natives of

the various countries to work for them; and when native labour failed them, they brought negro slaves from Africa.

We have already seen how at home on the down-fall of the mediæval society, great numbers of people were driven from their holdings. They were forced into vagrancy, beggary, and crime; and those who survived became dependent on wage labour. When the machine industry arose, the small producers, such as the hand-loom weavers, were not able to compete with it. The small distributor or shopkeeper also found it hard to compete against the large system of distribution or big stores. All these influences tended to the vast increase of people who were divorced from land and capital and dependent on wages. Thus the capitalist had a large supply of labour, which he organised in factories and other great establishments.

The following is a summary of what we have to say here regarding the present system:—

(1) The influence of capital. In former times the mass of the people lived directly from the land. They had little capital. In the country districts the capital consisted of rude buildings and farm implements, of seed corn for sowing, and of horses, cattle, and sheep, which would now be regarded as extremely poor. In the towns, which were at first small and few in number, capital began to accumulate. But till the middle of the eighteenth century

it was comparatively insignificant even in towns. As the Industrial Revolution proceeded, capital grew in factories, warehouses, railways, shipping, docks, banks, etc., till the possessors of it became the supreme power in the country.

(2) We have seen how a working class, without capital and dependent on wages, multiplied, as capital grew and afforded opportunity for labour.

(3) The rise of the factory system.

(4) The growth of the world-market.

(5) Production for exchange in a world-market. In former times men produced for their own needs and for a local market. This was true alike of the farmer, the smith, the carpenter, the tanner, the shoemaker, the weaver. All this was changed by the Industrial Revolution.

(6) The invention and incessant improvement of machinery moved by steam and electric power.

(7) Enormous production of cheap goods, supplied by machinery to meet the demands of a continually widening market.

(8) Enormous development of means of transport and communication both by land and sea.

(9) Vast growth of the towns, as compared with the rural population.

(10) Marvellous supply of new products in the world-market, such as tea, coffee, potatoes, maize, tobacco, rubber, etc. Vast increase of old products.

CHAPTER IV

THE ORIGIN OF SOCIALISM

IN the foregoing chapters we have given a very brief sketch of social and economic history. Our readers will see that it is a history of struggle, of clan against clan, of city against city, and of nation against nation. man +

At first it was a struggle for mere existence. Those who were defeated were slain; whole tribes were exterminated and disappeared.

Later on it became a struggle for a privileged existence, in which the victors reduced the vanquished to subjection as slaves or serfs. It was a struggle which was accompanied by unspeakable misery and moral degradation. The privileged position which the victors claimed for themselves led to sloth, insolence, vice, and corruption in their own ranks. Among the servile class it was attended by the vices and defects which naturally belong to the servile condition. Alike in its origin and

development slavery meant cruelty, vice, and moral and physical degradation.

It may be said in favour of slavery that it gave the privileged classes leisure for the higher work of government and of culture. But the cost was terrible. Both in the governing and industrial classes it led to vices and defects which in time must prove ruinous to every community of which it is the basis. Every state dependent on servile labour contains within itself the seeds of decay and dissolution.

In our chapter on the rise of the present system we have seen how serfdom disappeared. Serfdom may be described as a semi-servile condition, under which the tillers of the soil were constrained to support a military class. The negro slavery which arose in the colonies has also disappeared in more recent times. Negro slavery was a phase of the struggle for existence in which the superior white races forced the blacks to labour for them.

The effect of the rise of strong central governments in England, France, and Spain was to restrict the struggle for existence among their subjects. Private wars came to an end; a more regular system of justice and a stronger police enforced peace and order.

Yet the struggle for existence still goes on in very hard and disastrous forms under the existing system. The characteristic feature of the present system is

that industry is carried on by private competing capitalists served by wage-labour. We saw that, as a result of the Industrial Revolution in England, two new classes were established : a small class, who own the means of production ; and a very large class who, having neither land nor capital, are obliged to earn a living by labour in the service of the capitalist.

Such, then, is the position at which we have arrived. We have two great classes, the capitalists and the workmen, and their relations to each other are regulated by competition. Not only so, but capitalist competes against capitalist for business ; workmen compete against workmen for opportunity to work. Workmen also compete against machinery. Worst of all, the workmen have to compete against women and children.

In other words, we have the struggle for existence still going on, though in milder forms. It is carried on in states which have governments strong enough to enforce laws that serve to check and moderate the struggle.

It has been a distinguishing feature of the present system that competition has to such a degree taken an individual form. In all phases of society the individual has been a prominent figure in the struggle for existence. The strength and cunning of the individual were decisive factors in primitive societies. King David among the Israelites, Cyrus

the founder of the ancient Persian Empire, are familiar examples of what could be accomplished by individual energy and capacity in later times.

The careers of Julius Cæsar and of Augustus show what decisive changes can be accomplished when the needs and tendencies of the time give scope for individual action in certain directions. Charlemagne, on the other hand, had only a very moderate success in moulding the intractable forces of the times in which he lived. The individual can accomplish great things only when circumstances are favourable.

The present system has given wide scope for the individual alike in industry and commerce. The restrictions and regulations which used to be prevalent were removed or evaded. Through the opening up of a world-market with new and apparently unlimited opportunities for gain, a wonderful stimulus was given, as we have seen, to invention and to new methods of organising labour. Till 1824 the workmen had not the right of combination, and were therefore obliged to treat individually with their employers.

Inventors like James Watt, the improver of the steam-engine, like George Stephenson, the maker of railways, had a marvellous opportunity. Arkwright was both inventor and the founder of the factory system. Josiah Wedgwood made great improvements in pottery. In every department individual

energy and capacity had scope for showing itself. Many who came to the front were men of the highest character; many were driven by love of gain to hard, cruel, and unscrupulous action.

Socialism had its origin in two historical changes. One was the Industrial Revolution, which we have already described; the other was the great movement for freedom which had its climax in the French Revolution.

While the Industrial Revolution brought with it many benefits, it led also to many evils. Children of five or six years of age and even younger were taken into the mills and were worked for twelve or fifteen hours a day. Many of them were brought from the workhouses and charities of the large towns, and had therefore no parents to care for them. They were sadly neglected, and often cruelly beaten by the overseers of the factories. Women and men were also frightfully overworked. They had no control of the conditions in which they worked.

Round the factories towns grew up, in which the laws of health were disregarded. There was no proper sanitation. Thousands of families lived in cellars, which were damp, unwholesome, and sometimes flooded after a heavy rainfall. The main object of the worker was to find employment; he could exercise little choice or care as to the dwelling in which he lived.

The workers had no security. The men might lose their employment, because the work could be more cheaply done by machines tended by women and children. A time of feverish overwork might be followed by a period of stagnation, during which work could not be obtained.

They had little or no education; there was no national system of education till 1870. At the time when the factory system was being established there were very few schools of any kind at which the children of workmen could be taught.

The workmen had no vote, no voice or influence either in national or local government.

The workers had little time for rest or recreation; and they were so exhausted and worn out by hard work, that they too often had no taste or inclination for any but coarse and degrading pleasures.

When people worked and lived under such conditions as we have described, we need not wonder that they suffered greatly in physique, intelligence, and character. During a great part of the time which saw the rise of our factory system our rulers were engaged in war with our American Colonies and with France. Factory legislation, which began in 1802, tended to check the evils of the new industrial system; but the mischief was done before it came into effective operation. We suffer still from the evil effects of the Industrial Revolution.

The great change which came to a head at the French Revolution may be described as a rising of reason and of freedom against authority. A spirit of freedom had long been growing in England and Holland. It spread more or less over most countries of Europe during the eighteenth century. It was notably powerful in France, where the governing classes, the king and his court, the nobles, the clergy, and the legal class, had laid the burdens of industry and of taxation on the mass of the people.

The meeting of the States-General at Paris in 1789 was the beginning of a mighty change, in which the king and the privileged orders were overthrown. In a few years a new France rose to take the place of the old. But the change was attended with terrible confusion, violence, and bloodshed. France had grievous civil wars within her own borders, and on her frontiers she waged war with nearly all the countries of Europe.

This season of war and anarchy ended in the supremacy of a military chief, Napoleon Bonaparte. The cause of freedom was discredited for a time; men found order a necessity, and order meant military despotism.

Thus both revolutions, the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution, which were fitted to bring incalculable blessings material and moral, social and political, had wrought much evil.

The problem before Socialism, briefly stated, was therefore twofold: (1) how to make the machines subordinate to human well-being, and (2) how to secure and extend human freedom. But this double problem is really one, how to render the mechanism of the Industrial Revolution helpful to a better and freer life for mankind. In other words, was man to be the slave of the machine, or was the machine to be made serviceable to man? How could a well-ordered freedom and a good and happy life for mankind be won from the two revolutions, the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution?

We are now to see what answers Socialism has given to these weighty questions. But it will help us to understand such answers if we keep three points clearly in view. Socialism means:—

(1) That the working people aim at gaining, by combination or association, the control of land and capital which they lost in the individual struggle.

(2) That order, economy, and prevision should remedy the confusion, waste, and demoralisation caused by competition.

(3) That industry should be carried on not for private gain, but for the common good.

CHAPTER V

EARLY SOCIALISM

SAINT-SIMON and Fourier in France and Robert Owen in England may be regarded as the founders of Socialism. The two French writers lived through the disorders of the Revolution, indeed both narrowly escaped being its victims ; and both were impressed with the need of a new social order. Owen was at a very early age the foremost cotton-spinner in England. He knew from experience the evils caused by the Industrial Revolution in England. The spirit of enlightenment and humanity of the eighteenth century was the motive power in his career, and he knew what services for human well-being could be rendered by machinery if it were made subservient to man.

Those early socialists were not revolutionary in the ordinary sense ; they made appeal to rulers and capitalists to carry their schemes into effect. Fourier published his first book in 1808, but he had no

influence for many years. The real beginning of Socialism may be dated from 1817, the year when the theories of Saint-Simon and Owen began definitely to take a socialistic direction.

SAINT-SIMON (1760-1825)

Saint-Simon belonged to a very ancient and eminent noble family of France, and was born in Paris in 1760. He had an adventurous career. At the age of nineteen he, like other French nobles, went to America to help the Colonies in their War of Independence.

During the French Revolution he made a little fortune by land speculation, and ran some risk of the guillotine in the Reign of Terror. He had no vulgar love of money, but wished to have leisure to live a life of original inquiry. From his youth he had felt called to great tasks. His ancestor Charlemagne in a dream promised him a great future. His valet had orders to awake him every morning with the reminder that he had great things to do.

In 1801 Saint-Simon made an unhappy marriage, during which, though it lasted only a year, he spent all his means. He lived in poverty and distress for many years. He had to accept help for a time from a former valet. In 1813 he wrote an appeal for help to the Emperor and other leading personages,

stating that he had nothing but bread and water to live on, and that he was obliged to work without a fire. During his later years his chief support was a modest pension which he received from his family. In 1823 he attempted suicide in despair. He died in 1825, leaving only a very few disciples.

The aim of Saint-Simon was to found a new social order based on industry and science. He held that the order which had prevailed during the Middle Ages was no longer suitable. The desire for freedom, which had found expression in the French Revolution, was good so far; but it was mainly negative and therefore temporary.

There was need for a new and positive order, an industrial order guided by science. Saint-Simon himself has only given general views as to what the new order should be. It was more definitely explained by his followers, especially Bazard. We shall now set forth the main points of this Socialism as worked out in the school of Saint-Simon.

The keynote of the social development of the future is the principle of association. In the past we have seen the exploitation of man by man in the three stages, slavery, serfdom, and the proletariat. In the future our aim must be 'the exploitation of the globe by man associated to man.'

Under the present system the workers, who form the mass of the people, are free in name; but in

reality they must accept the terms offered them by the owners of capital, or they must starve. Capital, which is only another name for the instruments of labour, is the hereditary property of a class. One class thus inherits the advantages of capital without regard to merit. The most numerous class inherits all the disadvantages of poverty without having done anything to deserve such a penalty.

For such a state of things there is only one remedy—to make capital social property. The State being the sole owner of the instruments of labour, will manage them, or see that they are managed, for the general good. The State will perform for industry the same functions as it has already performed for education, justice, and war.

In order to do so effectually, the State will be organised on the principle of merit. The motto of the Saint-Simon school was: 'To each according to his capacity; to each capacity according to its works.' That is, each would be placed according to his capacity, and rewarded according to his deserts. And it should be added that women should be on an equal footing with men. The 'social individual' is not man alone, or woman alone, but man and woman. Man and woman should be associated in a lifelong union for the exercise of the threefold function of religion, the State, and the family.

FOURIER (1772-1837)

Fourier was born at Besançon, in Eastern France, in 1772. His father, a prosperous draper, gave him a good education at the academy of his native town. The son visited Holland and Germany as a commercial traveller, and afterwards set up in business at Lyons, where he narrowly escaped the guillotine during the Revolution.

In his earliest years Fourier had his mind drawn to the abuses of the competitive system. At five years of age he had been punished for speaking the truth about some goods in his father's shop, and at twenty-seven it was his duty to destroy a large quantity of rice which had been held back for higher prices, till it became unfit for use.

He felt that it was the task of his life to find a cure for such a state of things. The first book in which he expounded his method was published in 1808, but he did not find a hearing for many years afterwards. Indeed, he gained a few adherents only after the decline of the Saint-Simon movement, and even then the vogue of his system did not last long. He died in 1837.

Fourier held that God had done all things well, but that men have failed to understand and carry out the purposes of the Creator. He believed that a law of attraction pervades all the world, from the

starry heavens to the puniest insect, and that it would reign also in human society if we but followed the divine order. Our chief error lies in the fact that we have regarded passions as bad which are simply natural. We must give our passions their free and natural course.

For this we must have new social arrangements, which Fourier provided in an institution which he called the *phalange*. It was to consist of about eighteen hundred persons settled on a square league of land, and dwelling in a large, beautiful, and convenient building called a *phalanstère*. Here they were to live and work together in agriculture or industry according to their liking. There would be opportunity for frequent change of occupation. If some preferred a solitary life, they could have it. But as there would be no reason or excuse for jealousy or suspicion, a social life would naturally be preferred.

There would be officials who would be elected. Labour would be scientific and attractive. Hard work would be best paid; the unpleasant work would, however, as far as possible, be done by machinery.

Private capital would be allowed, and would receive a fixed rate of interest. Out of the produce of the *phalange* a very comfortable minimum would be assured to each person. The remainder would be divided between labour, capital, and talent in certain fixed proportions.

The *phalange*, it will be seen, was an institution on a local scale. Once established, it would be widely imitated by others, which would grow and form federal groups till they spread over the entire world.

ROBERT OWEN (1771 - 1858)

Robert Owen, the founder of English Socialism, was born at Newtown, in the county of Montgomery, North Wales, in 1771. His father had a little business as saddler and ironmonger in Newtown. Robert's education ended at the age of ten.

After some experience as a shop-boy in London, Owen settled in Lancashire, where at a very early age he won a position as the first cotton-spinner in England. Then he and his partners bought the mills at New Lanark, near the Falls of Clyde, and Owen went there after his marriage in 1800, with the resolve to conduct them on the most enlightened principles.

His success both in business and philanthropy was marvellous. The workpeople, who numbered two thousand, learned to trust him. He introduced shorter hours; supplied them with better food and clothing at a store which he opened; placed the sale of drink under strict control, and taught the people better moral habits. But his greatest success was among the young. He was the first to establish an infant school in Great Britain. The training he gave

to the children was genial, kindly, and humane. It was observed with wonder and delight how frank, graceful, and happy their manners were.

The fame of New Lanark as a scene of the most successful experiments in the improvement of the workpeople and in the education of the young spread throughout the world. It became a favourite place of pilgrimage for social reformers, statesmen, and royal personages, among whom was Nicholas, afterwards Emperor of Russia, and the bulwark of absolutism in Europe.

It was in 1817 that his views began to take a definitely socialistic direction. The want of employment which prevailed after the cessation of the wars against Napoleon, and the misery that ensued owing to the dislocation of industry, gave occasion to great anxiety in Great Britain. In a report which he laid before the Committee of the House of Commons on the Poor Law, he showed that the root of the evil was to be found in the competition of human labour with machinery, and that the only effectual remedy was the subordination of machinery to human welfare. The desirable subordination of machinery to human welfare could be accomplished only by the united action of men.

For the cure of the prevailing distress and for the reconstruction of society on right principles he proposed that communities of from five hundred to

three thousand persons should be formed on a suitable area of land. Work and the enjoyment of its products should be in common. They should have the best machinery to assist their efforts. Agriculture and industry would be carried on in the same community, so as to ensure the greatest and freest variety of occupation. They would thus not only possess the best machinery, but would combine the advantages of town and country life, the fresh air and the fresh products of the country with the social amenities of the town. Owen believed that these communities would multiply, and being united in federations, would cover the whole world.

His plans were at first well received by the country. Leading men like the Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria, befriended him, and even the leading newspapers, such as the *Times* and the *Morning Post*, supported him. But he gave great offence by declaring his disbelief in all the accepted forms of religion at a large meeting in London. The attempts which he made to found communities all ended in failure.

After 1828 he no longer had any connection with New Lanark. He lost his means in his various experiments. In 1858 he died in his native town at the advanced age of eighty-seven, having to all appearance accomplished little in comparison with the brilliant promise of his early career.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIALISM OF 1848

THE year 1848 was a season of revolution, during which there were serious troubles in France, Italy, Germany, Austria, and Hungary. We have now to give an account of the Socialism which came to a head in 1848.

The Revolution of 1830 had brought the middle class into power in France, and the Reform Bill of 1832 had the same effect in England. Owing to the restricted franchise which was adopted, the working classes were left out in the cold. Political discontent was greatly aggravated by social misery, by lack of employment, and the want of food. This unrest found expression in Chartism in England and in a new form of Socialism in France.

LOUIS BLANC

The founder of this new form of Socialism was Louis Blanc. Louis Blanc was born in 1811 at

Madrid, where his father held the post of inspector-general of finance under Joseph, at that time King of Spain. Louis rose to eminence at Paris as a journalist and author. His book, *The Organisation of Labour*, captivated the workmen of France by the brilliancy of its style, by the simplicity of its schemes for the reconstruction of society, and by the moral fervour with which it advocated them.

Social reform, he held, could not be won without political reform. The first need was a democratic State based on universal suffrage; and the first duty of such a State was the emancipation of labour.

For the emancipation of labour one thing was lacking, that the workers should be provided with the instruments of labour—capital. He proposed therefore that *social workshops* should be established with capital provided by the State. Once established, they would be free to govern themselves, and he hoped they would increase till they had absorbed all the industry of France.

During the Revolution of 1848 the schemes of Louis Blanc received great attention. He was a member of the Provisional Government, in which also a workman had a seat. But he had not influence enough to secure the adoption of his plans. The *national workshops* started in that year were only a makeshift to find employment for a crowd of men out of work, and were totally different from the

social workshops recommended by Louis Blanc. After 1848 he lived in exile in England for many years, but returned to France on the fall of the Second Empire. He died in 1882.

PROUDHON (1809-1865)

A very different form of Socialism was favoured by Proudhon, who, like Fourier, was born at Besançon (1809). His father was a brewer's cooper, but he received a tolerable education, and after trying a great variety of occupations, finally settled in Paris. He was very active as a journalist and as a Member of Assembly during the troubled year 1848. He ended a stormy career in 1865.

Proudhon was the author of a treatise with the title, *What is Property?* and he is most famous for his reply to the question, which was, *Property is Theft*. He held that as slavery is assassination because it destroys all that is valuable in human personality, so property is theft because it enables one man to appropriate the results of another's labour in the form of rent or interest without giving an equivalent. He believed that we can pay work only by work, service by service.

Proudhon did not profess to have a ready-made scheme of social reform. He went back to the first principles of liberty, justice, and equality. He

desired to see a society based on these principles, in which no man would have the right to live on the labour of others, in which all men would have free access to the instruments of labour, and would freely associate in using them.

So strongly did he believe in freedom, that he regarded all government of man by man as oppression; all things should be done by the free consent of those concerned. Here we have the fundamental principle of anarchism, of which Proudhon was the founder.

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

The year 1848 saw the publication of a pamphlet called *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*, which was written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. It calls upon the working classes of all lands to unite in a struggle against the capitalists. But we shall find it more convenient to explain the principles and the aims of the manifesto when we come to set forth the views of Marx.

CHARTISM

Chartism was a demand for manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, and other political reforms. But the real aim of the Chartist movement was to gain for the working class a share of political power with a view to improving their social condition. As one of

its leaders said, it was a 'knife-and-fork question.' It was caused by the want of food and work. The remedies were to some degree socialistic in tendency. Yet they were too vague to be truly called Socialism.

For the student of Socialism the chief interest of the movement is found in the statement that, while the worker produces all the wealth of the country, he must content himself with the very small share necessary to keep him in life. The surplus goes to the capitalist, who, with the king, the priests, lords, esquires, and gentlemen, lives upon the labour of the working man (*Poor Man's Guardian*, 1835). It was this view which was afterwards worked into the theory of 'surplus value' by Karl Marx.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND

The contemplation of the misery of the poor called forth the Christian Socialist movement of 1848. Its leaders were two eminent clergymen of the Church of England, Maurice and Kingsley; and their views were set forth with great literary power in *Politics for the People* and in the *Christian Socialist*, as also in Kingsley's novels *Yeast* and *Alton Locke*. The economics of the movement were supplied by Mr Ludlow, who had in Paris learned to see the good side of the theories of Fourier.

They held that the Liberal theories, being mainly

negative, could not offer a positive and solid basis for society: the real bonds of society were moral and spiritual. Selfishness, the principle of every man for himself, tends to the dissolution of society.

Socialism, rightly understood, was Christianity applied to social reform. All who recognise the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man must see that we are meant to be each other's keepers. From this it followed that the only form of industry suitable to Christian principles must rest on co-operative or associated labour.

Their great practical aim, therefore, was to found co-operative productive societies, that is, groups of workmen who owned the capital and divided the profit amongst themselves. The Christian Socialist movement enlisted on its side many young men of the highest promise, but its practical results in promoting co-operation were limited.

CHAPTER VII

GERMAN SOCIALISM

LASSALLE (1825 - 1864)

FERDINAND LASSALLE, the founder of the German Social Democracy, was born of Jewish parents at Breslau in 1825. His father was a prosperous merchant in that town, and intended his son also for a business career. But he preferred to go to the university, first to Breslau and then to Berlin, where he studied philology and philosophy.

He visited Paris, and there made the acquaintance of the famous German poet Heine, who, like himself, was a Jew, and who conceived the highest admiration for his talents and energy. On his return to Berlin he made the acquaintance of the Countess Hatzfeldt, whose cause in her dispute with her husband he adopted; and after bringing it before thirty-six tribunals, he succeeded in asserting her rights.

In 1848 he took an active part in the revolution

in the Rhine country, where he resided for many years. He had adopted the most advanced opinions. But he had no further opportunity of advocating them till 1862, when he was again resident in Berlin.

Bismarck, who was now chief minister of Prussia, was engaged in controversy with the German Liberals on matters connected with the organising of the army. Lassalle came forward as the spokesman and champion of the working class. Many of the working men of Germany were discontented with the Liberals because they would not adopt universal suffrage as part of their policy. They applied to Lassalle, who provided them with a clear and able statement of policy. His success in agitation encouraged him to found the Universal German Working Men's Association at Leipsic on 23rd May 1863. Its programme was a simple one, containing only a single article : in a peaceful and legal way, especially by winning over public opinion, to work for the establishment of universal suffrage.

Lassalle knew how to move the German working men by his impassioned eloquence, yet the numbers of his association did not grow rapidly during the short time his agitation continued. He made a great effort to gain a firm footing in Berlin in the winter of 1863-4. His labours as an author, as the head of a working-class organisation, and in defend-

ing himself before the law-courts of Prussia, greatly impaired his health.

In May 1864 he held a 'glorious review of his army' in the Rhine country. This was a kind of triumphal procession through some of the towns, making speeches amid the acclamations of his followers. Then he went to Switzerland to recruit his health, and events occurred which were to prove fatal to him.

Lassalle was unquestionably one of the most notable figures of his age. He was a philosopher and man of learning. It was his just boast that he was equipped with all the knowledge of the nineteenth century. In Berlin he was noted also as a man of the world and of fashion. Though man of learning, he had the gift of a vivid and passionate eloquence which exercised an irresistible fascination on the working classes. He had the most brilliant endowments, fitting him for both speculation and action.

But he was not free from vanity, self-will, and a love of pleasure which were not becoming in a spokesman of the working men. In Berlin he had been attracted by a German lady whom he met again in Switzerland in the summer of 1864. They resolved to marry, but her father refused his consent. Under pressure from her parents, the lady agreed to accept another admirer, a Wallachian count, Von Racowitza. Lassalle in his anger sent a challenge to

both her father and her lover. It was accepted by the latter, and in a duel which took place at Geneva, Lassalle was mortally wounded. He died on 31st August 1864.

Lassalle held that the working class are destined to be the makers and rulers of a new era in the history of the world. During the Middle Ages the owners of land had ruled in their own interest. In more recent times the capitalist classes had gradually risen to supremacy. The French Revolution, which led to the rule of the middle class, was merely the proclamation of a mighty fact which was already established in the most advanced countries of Europe. But the strength of the position of the capitalist classes was due at first to their appearing as the champions of humanity in the struggle for freedom.

Now they followed a selfish policy in the interests of their own class. The workers, who include all who are willing to do useful service to society and are therefore identical with the human race, will bring in a new era. Their cause was proclaimed at the Revolution of 1848, when a government founded on universal suffrage was for the first time established.

But under present conditions the working class cannot fulfil its great mission. It has no capital. The workman must work under the capitalist for a wage, which means only the customary subsistence for himself and his family. And here we have to

deal with the Iron Law of Wages, about which Lassalle has much to say. What does it mean?

It was a principle of Ricardo and other economists that the average wage of the workman provided him only with the customary subsistence necessary for himself and his family. If the wage for a time rose above this level, it led to an increase in marriages and births and therefore to an increase in the supply of labour. Increase in the supply of labour as compared with the demand lowered the wage. A lower wage tended to discourage marriage and so to lessen the supply of labour, and this again had the effect of raising the wage. Thus the wage continually oscillated about the customary point of subsistence, never rising long above it and never sinking long below it. The actual wage moves up and down in accordance with the law of supply and demand.

Living under such conditions, the workers are not fit for their great mission. The State must help them. Lassalle held that the State is bound to assist in the great movements of human progress. Its mission is, with all the resources at its command, to lead mankind in the path of freedom, culture, and morality.

How can the State help the workers? Lassalle's plan was that the workmen should form themselves into associations for production with capital provided by the State. The great need of the workmen was

capital; it was the duty of the State to provide it.
It was not necessary that the money should be actually paid by the State. The State's guarantee for loans to the associations would be sufficient. Productive association with State credit, therefore, was the plan recommended by Lassalle.

Lassalle had no faith in co-operative stores as a method of improving the lot of the working men. He maintained that they should be helped as producers, so that they might benefit by the increasing productivity of their own labour. The founding of productive associations would be a starting-point for the solution of the social question. It would be no panacea. It would be the beginning of a long course of improvement by which the solution of the social question would be ultimately effected.

In such a way the present era, in which the possessors of capital are the ruling power, would make way for a better time in which an industrial democracy, guided by science and inspired by the highest moral ideals, would be supreme.

RODBERTUS

A notable type of Socialism was advocated by Rodbertus, who was born at Greifswald, in North Germany, in 1805. His father was professor in the university there, and he was himself trained to the

legal profession. But he bought an estate, where he settled down to a life of study in 1836.

Except during the revolutionary period of 1848, he hardly took any part in public affairs. He was a quiet and cultured student, who by temperament and conviction was entirely opposed to revolution and even agitation. His general position was 'social, monarchical, and national.' He held the same economic creed as Lassalle, that is, he regarded labour as the source and measure of value, and he accepted the 'iron law of wages.' But he did not approve of the productive associations with State help which Lassalle contended for.

Rodbertus was a thorough-going State socialist. He was a patriot, who was glad that Germany had recovered her fitting place among the nations, and he hoped that the German Emperor might take upon himself the mission of social emperor. His scheme was that the State should gradually assume the management of production and distribution, till a complete and universal Socialism should be attained.

Landlords and capitalists should be left in possession of their present share of the national income. But the benefit of the increasing production should go entirely to the workers, who in return for a normal day's labour would receive a legal wage, and the wage would be periodically revised and increased

according to the increase of production, the better workman getting a better wage.

These arrangements would be carried out by State officials. The complete transformation of society from the existing competitive system to a universal socialism or communism, in which income would be according to service or merit, could be effected only after a long period of effort. It would depend on the ethical progress of mankind, and would require five centuries for its realisation. Thus Rodbertus advocated a systematic State socialism, in which income would depend on the work or service which each would render to society.

As we have said, Rodbertus deprecated agitation. He warned the working men of Germany against connecting themselves with any political party, and advised them to be a social party pure and simple. He thought at one time of forming such a party himself, but nothing came of this. He died in 1875. His writings have had a great influence on Adolf Wagner and other leading economists of Germany, and we may reasonably believe have through them also had a real influence on German legislation.

CHAPTER VIII

KARL MARX (1818-1883)

THE man who has had by far the greatest influence in the development of Socialism, both on its scientific and practical side, was Karl Marx. Like Lassalle he was of Jewish race, and was born at Trèves, in Western Germany, in 1818. His father belonged to the legal profession, and held office under the Prussian government.

Regarding his father, it was one of the earliest memories of young Marx that he was, under the threat of losing his post, obliged to adopt the profession of the Christian faith. In due time Karl went to the universities of Bonn and Berlin. He meant to settle at the former as a teacher of philosophy. But he had already begun to see that a young man of his temperament and opinions had little prospect of a career in the Prussian State.

He accordingly joined the staff of the *Rhenish Gazette*, a revolutionary paper published at Cologne.

He left it in 1843, and after marrying went to Paris. Here he met Proudhon, with whom he spent whole nights in the discussion of economic questions. He also met Heine, and, above all, he met Friedrich Engels, who became his lifelong friend and comrade in the elucidation and propagation of Socialism.

In 1843 he was expelled from France and settled in Brussels. He and Engels wrote the famous manifesto of the Communist party, which was published in 1848. The same year he had a stormy experience on the Rhine during the time of revolution. In 1849 he finally settled in London.

His settling in England was a decisive event in the life of Marx. In London, the foremost city in the world, and at the British Museum, with its unequalled collection of books, he had the material and the opportunities for studying the economic development of the modern world. But for many years after coming to London he and his family suffered bitter privation. They were often in want of food. Marx, when weak with cold and hunger, was, like his fellow-exiles, grateful for the friendly warmth of the reading-room at the British Museum. At the time of their bitterest poverty, in 1852, a little daughter died. There was no money to buy her a cradle when she entered the world. Her mother had to borrow two pounds from a French exile to buy the coffin.

For some years they lived in only two rooms. On one occasion Marx, being obliged to pawn some of his wife's heirlooms, among them being heavy old silver spoons with the Argyll crest and motto on them, was in danger of being arrested for theft! His wife was on her mother's side descended from the family of the Duke of Argyll. It is understood that his lifelong friend, Friedrich Engels, who had plenty of money, provided Marx for many years with a sufficient income to enable him to live in reasonable comfort.

The first and most important volume of his great work on Capital, which has sometimes been called the Bible of Socialism, was published in 1867. He died in 1883. Marx is regarded by many as the founder of *scientific* Socialism. He claims for his theories that they are only general expressions of actual conditions operating in history past and present, and are thus gained by scientific insight into the real process of evolution. But his Socialism is also revolutionary, inasmuch as it points to a great transformation in human society. 'Its aims can be reached only through the violent overthrow of all hitherto existing social order.' And it is international, inasmuch as the conditions which cause and influence it, as well as the effects which it will produce, are, or will be, operative in every country of the world.

We have to consider Karl Marx under a double aspect, as the scientific expounder of Socialism, and as an agitator whose aim was to rouse the working men of the civilised world to a sense of their mission and destiny. They are really only two sides of the same career. As man of learning and as a man of rare practical energy he was equally fitted for both kinds of activity.

Marx' great book, which he called *Kapital*, may be described as a historical account of the era in which the possessors of capital are the ruling power. It is the aim of Marx to reveal the economic law which moves modern society. As capital is the dominating power in modern society, we must explain the rise and progress of capital, if we are to explain modern society.

But the secret of the rise and progress of capital is found in surplus value. We must therefore first understand surplus value. To do so we must begin by understanding value.

Following the great economists, Adam Smith and Ricardo, Marx held that labour is the source of value. The wealth of modern societies appears as an enormous assemblage of wares or commodities, which are exchanged one for another in the most different proportions. But all have one thing in common: they are the products of human labour. Thus far we can see what Marx means.

But to understand *surplus value* we must clearly perceive the conditions under which capital acts. These conditions are threefold; we must have (1) a class who have a virtual monopoly of the means of production; (2) a class of labourers, who are free, but destitute of the means of production; (3) a system of exchange in a world-market.

In our third chapter we have already seen how these conditions originated. We shall now see how Marx makes use of them to work out his theory of *surplus value* as the explanation of the rise and progress of capitalism.

The labourer being destitute of the instruments of labour, must hire himself to the possessor of capital. He exchanges his labour-force for a wage which gives him the customary means of subsistence. But this labour-force, when utilised by the capitalist in his factory, yields a product greater than the wage. The value of the product over and above the wage paid to the workman is surplus value.

This surplus value is pure gain. It is this gain which interests the capitalist in all his industrial and commercial enterprises. He has it in view during all his labours and anxieties. Surplus value is the motive and starting-point of the capitalist. It is the goal towards which he is continually striving. Surplus value is the beginning and end of capitalism.

We have seen how capitalism has been established

and how it operates. Its development has proceeded and will proceed according to its own inherent laws. Capitalism means above all the antagonism of two great classes, the capitalist class and the working class. In this antagonism we find the key to modern history, and the pivot on which the social evolution of the future will turn.

One most important feature of capitalism is the organisation of industry and of labour in the factory. This brings with it, as a natural result, the organising and disciplining of the workers as a special class. But outside the factory we have the anarchy and all the other evils of competition. We have commercial crises in which over-production is followed by panic ruin, depression, and stagnation, with all their baneful consequences to the workers and to society.

In the development of industry we see an increasing tendency to concentration, the small business being devoured by the larger, till a decreasing number of mammoth capitalists become supreme. On the other hand, we see a continual growth of wretchedness, oppression, slavery, degeneracy, and exploitation among the working class.

This process will go on till it becomes an intolerable burden to society. It will become apparent that the capitalist class is no longer able to control the industrial world. The enormous class of workers who have been drilled and organised by a long and

bitter experience under capitalism, will seize political power and will take over the instruments of labour. Production, which has already become a social operation, will be recognised as such, and will be carried on by the workers for their own benefit, that is, for the benefit of society as a whole. Socialism will thus be realised as a necessary outcome of the development of capitalism.

CHAPTER IX

THE INTERNATIONAL

As we have seen, the early forms of Socialism were worked out by theorists in France or England, who had little or no connection with each other. And they founded schools, which, after exercising some influence for a time, passed away. Men soon discovered, however, that the cause of labour, which Socialism claims to represent, has vital interests that are not confined to a single country, but are international.

In 1836 a group of German exiled workmen who were living in Paris formed a secret society called the 'League of the Just.' They were concerned in a rising in Paris in 1839 and removed to London. There they met with workmen from various countries in Northern Europe to whom German is a common tongue, and the league naturally began to assume an international character.

Other changes followed. They saw that in their circumstances secret conspiracy and revolutionary

risings were of no avail. Their real work was propaganda; but to make their propaganda effectual they must understand the history, position, and prospects of the class to which they belonged. They accordingly applied for guidance to Marx and his friend Engels.

At a Congress held in London in 1847, they were addressed by Marx and Engels, who were commissioned to draw up a theoretical and practical programme for them. The league also now took the name of the Communist League. The programme was published early in 1848 as the Manifesto of the Communist League.

This manifesto is a revolutionary document giving, in a violent and exaggerated form, the views which Marx afterwards elaborated in his large work on Capital. During the year 1848 many members of the league took an active part in the troubles in Germany, but with little result. The manifesto, however, has had a great influence as the earliest and most notable expression of the revolutionary side of Socialism. The international character of the movement is very strongly emphasised. It concludes with the words: 'The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Proletarians of all lands, unite!'

In 1852 the Communist League came to an end. The revolutionary efforts of 1848 appeared to have

been an utter failure. But the movement for improved political and social conditions soon resumed its course.

The events which gave occasion for the rise of the association usually called the International date from the International Exhibition at London in 1862. With the approval of Napoleon III., a deputation of French workmen visited the Exhibition. They naturally fraternised with their English brethren. The result after a time was an important public meeting of workmen of all nations, held in St Martin's Hall, London, 28th September 1864, when a provisional committee of fifty was appointed to draft the constitution of an international association.

Mazzini, the famous Italian patriot, first undertook this task, but he did not give satisfaction, and Marx was chosen. Marx performed the duty with great skill, and with a moderation of tone which contrasted strongly with the fiery energy of the Communist manifesto.

Marx maintained that the workers had not benefited by the enormous growth of industry and of wealth since 1848. He held also that the success of co-operative societies had proved that the workmen could manage their own affairs. As the economic subjection of the workers to those who had appropriated the instruments of labour was the cause of servitude, degradation, and misery in every form, the

economic emancipation of the working class is the grand aim to which all political action must be made subordinate. This problem is an international one, to be solved only by the combined efforts of the most advanced nations. For these reasons the International Association of Working Men has been founded.

The International was intended to be a centre of union and of systematic co-operation between the working men's societies of different countries. It was recommended that the societies of each country should form a national union. The bond of union for the whole was a General Council, having its seat in London. Each country was to be represented in the General Council by a corresponding secretary.

Marx and his friends took the leading part not only in founding but in conducting the International, and in their hands it became a powerful instrument for the formulating and propagating of socialistic views. At the first Congress held at Geneva in 1866, the constitution of the Association as drawn up by Marx was approved. In the Congress held at Lausanne in 1867, and particularly at that held at Brussels in 1868, the Socialism of the International was explicitly stated.

At Brussels it was resolved that mines, forests, and the land, as well as the means of transport and communication, should become the common property of

society or of the democratic State, to be worked by co-operative societies; and that the same societies should control and use the machines for the common good. The reduction of the hours of labour would make a better system of training possible for the workmen. All appropriation by capital in the form of rent, interest, or profit should cease.

At the Congress of 1869, held at Basel, a proposal to abolish the law of inheritance failed to find a majority. The Franco-German War prevented the Congress of 1870 being held at Paris, as was intended. In the originating of the rising of the Commune, the International had no direct share, but it energetically expressed its approval of it afterwards. It was not a socialistic rising. Its interest for Socialism lies chiefly in the fact that it was a working-class government, which for two months ruled in Paris. Its failure, as Marx himself said, proved that 'the working class cannot simply take possession of the ready state machine and set it in motion for its own purposes.'

The International had, during its brief career, made a great stir in the world. Many workmen in France, Germany, England, Italy, and America had joined it. The press of Europe had given much attention to it. But its real power and means of action, and especially its financial resources, were small compared with the alarm it excited through-

out the world. Henceforward it began to decline.

Its last important Congress was held at the Hague in 1872. Here the struggle between the Marx party and the anarchist following of Bakunin, who had joined the International in 1869, came to a head. The anarchists were expelled. At the same Congress the seat of the General Council was removed to New York, a step which, under the circumstances, meant the end of the movement. It may be said to have ended in 1873.

CHAPTER X

THE PROGRESS OF SOCIALISM ABROAD UP TO 1914

WHEN Lassalle died in 1864 the association which he had founded numbered only 4610 members. It had a troubled and precarious career for some years.

There was a great stirring of new life among the German workmen at this period. One of its results was the formation of a Social Democratic Working Men's Party at Eisenach in 1869. Under the influence of the two eminent leaders Liebknecht and Bebel, this party adopted the views of Marx and joined the International, sending representatives to the Basel Congress.

In the meantime Bismarck was succeeding in making a united Germany, and universal suffrage was introduced into the new state. At first the Socialist parties met with little success at the polls. In the elections of 1874 they gave proof of their growing

strength by polling 340,000 votes and returning nine members.

There was really very little practical difference between the Lassalle and the Eisenach parties, and they effected a union at the Congress of Gotha in 1875. At the general election of 1877 the united party counted nearly half a million of votes. This success, joined to the energy and daring with which they urged their propaganda, excited great alarm in Germany. In the following year two attempts were made on the Emperor's life. The Socialists were not concerned in them, but they gave Bismarck a pretext for passing special laws to suppress the movement.

These special laws, which were passed in 1878, did for a time arrest the apparent progress of the cause. But only for a time. In a very few years their voting strength began again to show marked signs of increase. In 1890 it rose to 1,427,000. The young Emperor, who had come to the throne in 1888, declined to support the legislation against the Social Democrats. Bismarck resigned, and the special laws lapsed in 1890. The Social Democrats had come out of the struggle with a voting power threefold that with which they entered it, and they had given proof of a conviction, discipline, and organisation which had a high promise for the future.

Since 1890 the Social Democratic party of Germany

has continued to grow. At the election of 1898 its vote increased to 2,100,000. In 1903 it rose to 3,010,000, with 81 members in the Reichstag out of a total of 397. Even in 1907, when they returned only 43 members, their voting strength had increased to 3,260,000. In 1912 the vote was 4,250,329, and 110 members were elected to the Reichstag. In 1914 the party had 1,085,905 members, including 174,754 women, and an income at the central office of £100,000. Ninety-one newspapers and journals, with a total circulation of two and a half millions, belonged to it officially. It was organised with an annual congress, an executive committee, and officials on the usual lines.

Such was the party at the outbreak of the war. How its powerful and efficient organisation enabled it to take command of the country on the abdication of the Kaiser will be told in a later chapter.

Socialism in France was quiescent for some years after the fall of the Commune. It began to move again about 1879. It was disturbed by debate and division till in 1899 the various parties found it expedient to draw together and to support the Republic in connection with the Dreyfus case. A definite union of the chief Socialist parties was formed in 1906. In the election of 1910 the party won 76 seats and polled 1,125,877 votes.

The neighbouring country of Belgium might have

claimed before the war, in respect of its methods and policy, the foremost place in the Socialist movement of the world. It adopted a most enlightened political policy; it worked in harmony with trade unions and with a most successful co-operative movement. The Belgian Socialist party in 1912 held 39 out of the 186 seats in the Chambers.

An Italian Socialist party was definitely formed at a congress in Genoa in 1892. It has had a very chequered career. It has been concerned in many strikes and disturbances. Its success in organising the peasantry has been one of its notable features. The Government has been sometimes hostile; at other times sympathetic and even dependent on it for support. In 1909 40 Socialists were elected in a Chamber of 508.

Organised Socialism is not strong in Spain. In 1910 Señor Iglesias, the veteran leader of the party and President of the General Workers' Union, was elected to the Cortes. Anarchism and Syndicalism have a considerable following in the southern towns, where the population are impatient with the slow and apparently not very hopeful methods of parliamentary action.

Austria, with its many races, had a very active international Socialism in miniature. It was organised in national groups—German, Czech, Polish, Italian, etc.—each of which had perfect

autonomy. The party had a great success at the general election of 1907, the first held in Austria on the basis of universal suffrage, when they polled 1,050,000 votes and returned 87 members to the Reichsrath. In 1911 they lost 4 seats on balance, but captured 20 out of 33 in Vienna. The party, after a period of unity, was latterly split into hostile racial groups. In Hungary political associations were unlawful, and the party organisation was necessarily slight.

Since 1894 there has been an active and growing Socialist party in Holland, and it is noteworthy that it has found a sympathetic reception among the cultured and artistic classes. In 1913 the Socialists won 19 seats out of 100. Denmark has had since 1871 a Social Democratic party that has exercised considerable influence in national and municipal affairs. In 1913 the Socialists obtained the largest vote of any party, and elected 32 members of the Folkething out of 114.

In Norway the Labour party was founded in 1887, and in 1912 it elected 23 out of 123 members. It had then 8 daily papers. In Sweden the Social Democratic party was formed in 1880, and in 1902 H. Branting, now the leader of the party, was the first elected to the Diet. In 1914 87 Social Democrats were returned in a chamber of 230.

About the year 1870 innovation in Russia began

to take the form of revolutionary Socialism. The most eminent names in this movement were Bakunin and Prince Kropotkin. Both men sprang from the highest Russian aristocracy, and both were adherents of Anarchism—a theory which rejects all government or compulsion by an external authority, and advocates free association, with free access to land and capital, as the social economic arrangement of the future.

As the free associations which the Anarchists contemplate can be established only by the overthrow of existing institutions, they naturally came into conflict with the Russian Government. Thus began a bitter struggle, which resulted in the assassination of the Emperor Alexander II. in 1881. Under his successor, Alexander III., the movement was suppressed.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the Socialist movement revived, mainly under the influence of Marx's teaching. After the failure of the war against Japan it took a more active and aggressive form. At one time it seemed as if the revolutionary forces might overthrow the Czarism; but the Government, which made the concession of reviving the Duma, the almost traditional representative assembly, retained power until the revolution of 1917.

Australia has an influential Labour party, which

in its principles and methods is to a large extent socialistic, and has held office in the Commonwealth Government and in most of the States. Perhaps the most significant indication of the state of public opinion in Australia is the publication in 1918 by the Queensland Government of a report on the 'Results of the Working of Various State Enterprises established by the Queensland Ryan Government,' under the title *Socialism at Work*. In measures of constitutional Socialism New Zealand may well be regarded as foremost among the nations of the world. Socialism has taken root also in South Africa.

Before the war no country in the world had witnessed such social transformations as the United States of America. Apart from negro slavery it formerly had no poverty and no division of classes. It was the promised land of the most enterprising spirits of Europe, a country where individual initiative, energy, and capacity were sure to meet with a fitting reward. The rise and development of the great industries has, however, brought the usual consequences—enormous wealth and growing poverty, class divisions, and gigantic trusts which have won a monopoly in industry and commerce.

Great numbers of the American people have therefore come to recognise that Individualism is not the final word in social development, and are

lending an open ear to the theories of Socialism. This is not the place for speculation as to what the ultimate outcome of so much change of feeling and opinion may be. All that we can justly say here is that the trend of events in America has led many people to doubt regarding old national ideals, to hesitation, and to a spirit of inquiry into the fundamental principles of social order. Both as regards theory and practice the great republic has come to a most important turning-point in its history.

Even in the republics of South America Socialism has gained a footing. There is a Socialist party in Japan. We may conclude that in every country where the modern forms of industry are introduced, there Socialism appears, as a natural result, to stir up a spirit of unrest and inquiry. The history of all civilised countries up to the war showed that the development of Capitalism sooner or later meant also the development of Socialism.

CHAPTER XI

SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND BEFORE THE WAR

FOR a generation after the decline of the movement of 1848, Socialism had no serious influence in England, being both discredited and misunderstood. The year 1883 may be regarded as the starting-point of a new movement, due to various causes, among which we may mention the agitation of Henry George, the agrarian trouble in Ireland, and the misery in our large towns. Doubt regarding the prevalent social economic theories was entertained by many, and doubt soon began to harden into active opposition. The Democratic Federation, founded by Mr H. M. Hyndman in 1881, became in 1884 the Social Democratic Federation, adopted the theories of Marx, and for many years continued to advocate them with consistency, courage, and resolution. It was similar, both in principle and action, to the Continental type of Socialism. But we may reasonably conclude that this loyalty to

Marx and the Continental type has made it less suited for gaining ground in Great Britain. Its numbers and its experiences at elections did not correspond to the activity it showed, and do not point to the success of this form of Socialism in English-speaking lands. It became the British Socialist Party in 1911. In 1885 the Socialist League was founded by William Morris and others who had seceded from the Social Democratic Federation, but it did not long survive.

It has been the aim of the Fabian Society, which was also founded early in 1884, to work out for itself a progressive and evolutionary type of Socialism and to permeate English politics with it. Whilst a very tiny body, it was joined by a number of young men of exceptional ability, amongst whom may be named Bernard Shaw, Sidney Webb, Sir Sydney Olivier, and Professor Graham Wallas. Mrs Besant also became a member, and the Society in 1889 published *Fabian Essays in Socialism*, a book which laid the foundations of English Socialism. The movement spread rapidly throughout England, but outside London was superseded by the Independent Labour Party, founded in 1893.

The Fabian Society remained a relatively small body, mainly centred in London. Its members, by constant lectures to working men's clubs, and by its well-known 'tracts,' virtually created the Pro-

gressive Party which controlled the London County Council from 1889 till 1906, and it exercised much influence on the policy of the Liberal Party, and sometimes of the Conservative Party too. In the Universities the Society has had many members, and its ideas have been popularised by the writings of the members already named as well as those of Mr H. G. Wells, who joined it for a few years, and Mrs Sidney Webb.*

The Independent Labour Party was formed in 1892, mainly by J. Keir Hardie, who had just been elected M.P. for South-West Ham. It was in fact a Socialist society, non-Marxian, quite tolerant of Christianity, and in the main constitutional in its methods. It formed branches at first chiefly in Yorkshire, and later on in all the industrial districts of Great Britain, including London, and rapidly acquired influence amongst the younger and more thoughtful trade unionists. It had many successes in local elections, and fought in vain a good many parliamentary seats.

Its chief object was to persuade the Trade Union Congress to cut itself adrift from the Liberal Party and to form a party of its own. This was achieved in 1899.

The Labour Party was founded early in 1900 at

* See *The History of the Fabian Society*. By Edward R. Pease. (A. C. Fifield. 1916. 5s.)

a conference called by the Trade Union Congress Parliamentary Committee and the three Socialist societies just named. It was named at first the Labour Representation Committee, and it did not adopt the principle of complete political independence until 1903. It won 2 seats at the election of 1900, and 3 more at bye-elections. In 1906 it captured 29 seats and became a factor in British politics. It had no official programme, but in practice was always Socialist in its policy, and its representatives in Parliament showed their opinions by electing J. Keir Hardie as their first chairman. Two years later he was followed by Arthur Henderson, who was succeeded in 1910 by George N. Barnes, in 1912 by J. Ramsay MacDonald—he had been secretary of the party from its foundation until, also in 1912, Arthur Henderson took his place.

In 1910 the Miners' Federation joined the party, which elected 40 members at the General Election in January, and 42 at the General Election in December. From 1906 to 1910 the Liberal Party had a large majority of the whole House of Commons, and the Labour Party could fight for its own hand without affecting the government of the country. During this period it succeeded in passing through Parliament a number of useful measures mainly on industrial matters. From 1910 to 1914 the Liberal Government was virtually dependent on

the Labour Party for a working majority, and, in view of the character of the questions at issue—the control of the Commons over finance, the powers of the House of Lords, and Home Rule for Ireland,—the party resolved to take no action which would imperil these measures, and perhaps lead to reaction. Its power of independent action was therefore severely limited.

Socialism in England at the outbreak of war was thus represented by the Labour Party, which was Socialist in policy but not in name; by the Independent Labour Party (the I.L.P.), and the Fabian Society, propagandist societies, forming part of the Labour Party, and working in politics through that party; and by the British Socialist Party, which was not affiliated to the Labour Party (the Social Democratic Federation had left the party in 1901), and which was still Marxian in its ideas and methods.

CHAPTER XII

ANARCHISM, SYNDICALISM, GUILD SOCIALISM, AND BOLSHEVISM

ALTHOUGH Anarchism has been always, both in fact and in popular imagination, closely associated with Socialism, its theory is the antithesis of that adopted by Socialists. They hold that the salvation of society is to be sought in the collective ownership of capital and land. Anarchists believe in the abolition of the State, and in the ownership of the means of production, capital and land, by the occupier and producer. Their theory was formulated chiefly by Russians. Michael Bakunin (1814 to 1876), who played a prominent part in the first International and carried on an unceasing struggle with Karl Marx, the apostle of Collectivism, in which he was finally worsted, was its first and foremost exponent; and in later years, Prince Peter Kropotkin, aristocrat, explorer, scientist, and the most charming of conversationalists, has been its best-known leader.

A Russian village is, or at any rate was, an almost self-contained community, producing within its own area all that it requires. The Government of the Czar was an outside malignant force which demanded taxes, carried off recruits for its army, repressed freedom of thought, and in return afforded the villagers no benefits at all. Russian theorists wanted a world of village communities, no rich, no poor, all working for themselves, and owning the instruments of production only so long as they were themselves able to use them. How railways and cotton mills and the complex life of industrial cities could be so organised they could not and did not explain.

Communist Anarchism, as it is called, flourished chiefly in Russia, in Spain, in Italy, and in Eastern Europe, where peasant cultivation is dominant, and the Government was, or had recently been, both inefficient and tyrannical. The intellectual revolt against Government itself naturally led to personal revolt against the governing class, especially against kings and presidents. Hence fanatic Anarchists, often perhaps of a criminal type, and more or less mentally deficient, assassinated royal and official persons, and alarmed society by dynamite explosions. There is, however, no necessary connection between the Anarchist theory of society, depicted, for example, in William Morris's charm-

ing romance, *News from Nowhere*, and crimes of violence.

The Anarchist movement never made much headway in England, and has long been, for all practical purposes, extinct.

On the Continent, especially in France, it has given birth to a new theory called Syndicalism. Trade Unions, which originated in England, were unlawful in France until 1884. After that year they sprung up in considerable numbers and furnished an answer to the problem of Anarchism—how to find some organisation which could conduct railways and factories without either capitalist employers or the State. Syndicalism is the French word for Trade Unionism, and Syndicalism is the proposal that the government of the future should be based on occupation instead of locality, that all occupations should be organised into Trade Unions, and that government, central and local, as well as industry, should be managed by Trade Unions federated in a Trade Union Congress for national purposes and in Trade Councils for each locality. It was argued that the occupation in which a man spends the best part of his adult life is more to him than the street or village he lives in; that an engineer or cotton operative is in a more vital relation with other engineers or cotton operatives than with his neighbours by residence; that as all

will be workers in the future, the population should sort itself out according to occupations, own and control the machinery of its occupation, and arrange with other occupations the amount and character of the goods to be produced, and all the other affairs of the community. A difficulty never adequately met is that most women during the best part of their lives are occupied in the bearing and rearing of children, and a *syndicat* of mothers as such is scarcely a working project.

In France, where Syndicalism was first formulated, the group system of party government tends to turn politics into personal intrigue and fosters corruption. The consequent distrust of politicians led working-class leaders to decry politics and to advocate the direct action of the proletariat, who were to attain their ends by strikes, with or without adequate cause, and by sabotage—that is, the destruction of machinery and the wilful damaging of goods in course of manufacture. From the middle-class point of view, the theories of Bergson, whose philosophy places instinct above reason, were used to fortify the idea that progress would result from the direct action of the workers in striking back at their employers by the means readiest at hand, rather than from carefully devised plans of political reconstruction.

The Confédération Général du Travail (that is,

the French Trade Union Congress) was constituted under that name in 1895 and adopted the Syndicalist faith. From that date till 1914 several general and other strikes were organised, with varying success, and the movement became on the whole the most conspicuous factor in French Labour politics.

In Italy and Spain, where Anarchist Communism always flourished, Syndicalist doctrines were widely held, although Trade Unionism had made no great progress.

In America the Syndicalist movement takes the form of an organisation, entitled the Independent Workers of the World (the I.W.W.), which in the main devotes itself to promoting strikes. It is said to have attained considerable power during the war, to which it was vehemently opposed.

In Great Britain the ideas of Syndicalism have had substantial influence amongst Trade Unionists, although the direct propaganda, carried on chiefly by Mr Tom Mann from 1910 to 1913, made but little impression. In September 1913 an International Syndicalist Congress, attended by about 40 delegates, was held in London; since when little has been heard of the movement.

This is perhaps in the main due to the fact that — it has been superseded here by Guild Socialism, a doctrine which bears much the same relation to

Syndicalism as Fabian Socialism does to Marxism. It originated amongst middle-class men who were or had been Fabians, and is an attempt to harmonise Collectivism and Syndicalism. The political state is not to be destroyed, but is to share authority with a co-ordinate industrial state. The Guildsmen recognise that a community based exclusively on organisations of producers is impracticable, and that the political state, as an organisation representing consumers, must participate, and must be ultimate owners of the instruments of production, especially of such things as railways and coal-mines. Guildsmen propose to give equal authority to the political territorial parliament and the central guilds organisation, a glorified Trade Union Congress. Each industry would be wholly managed by the workers in it, who would elect their managers, from bottom to top. The Guild would pay rent to the community for the capital it used, and the quantity and quality of the products would be determined by the central authority.

Guild Socialism has hitherto been for the most part a middle-class movement, whose chief adherents have come from the older universities. It was started by the editor of and contributors to the *New Age*, and its chief exponent is Mr G. D. H. Cole, Fellow of Oriel, and secretary of the Labour Research Department of the Labour Party, a body

started by the Fabian Society but latterly dissociated from it. The organisation of the Guildsmen is called the National Guilds League.

A brief explanation must be given of the new word Bolshevism, which since the war has come into general use. It is a Russian word meaning majority, and was the name of a party which resulted from a split in a Russian Social Democratic organisation. Before the war, in Russia the Socialist movement was divided into the Marxist Social Democrats, who believed that the Russian people must evolve into capitalists and proletarians, as anticipated by Marx, before a social revolution was possible, and the Social Revolutionists, who thought that in Russia the future lay in an evolution from the already communist organisation of the peasant landowners.

The Bolshevist section of the Marxists succeeded in 1917 in driving from power the other Socialist parties then under the leadership of Kerensky, and adopted certain measures which have since been called Bolshevism. They insisted that the Revolution must be controlled exclusively by the working class (including such leaders as Lenin, who is by birth a landowner), and that not only must the participation of other classes be rejected, but also the fate of the Revolution must not be risked by an appeal to democracy. Hence they dismissed the

Constituent Assembly—in the All-Russia Conference of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates of June 1917 there were only 105 Bolsheviks out of 775 Socialists, besides 315 members not elected on a party basis,—and they reject democracy on the plea that the Revolution must be maintained and secured by a class-conscious minority on behalf of the ignorant and passive majority.

Bolshevism, then, is Marxist Socialism with stress laid on one theorem of doubtful doctrinal authority, and with an infusion of Syndicalism and much else due rather to practical exigences than to the theories of the leaders.

The alleged outrages and cruelties of the Bolsheviks, the murder of hostages, torture of prisoners, and the like, are in some cases no doubt true, but for the most part probably newspaper exaggerations. In any case they are the concomitants of a revolution in the midst of famine and following a world war, and they have no more to do with the doctrines of Socialism than have the horrors of the French Revolution to do with parliamentary democracy or the marauding and massacring of recent years in Mexico with Republicanism. Very few nations, unfortunately, have the political capacity to conduct revolutions without unnecessary bloodshed and cruelty.

The Soviet constitution is merely a crude and

elementary method of democracy, according to which each small area elects a governing committee, like a parish council; groups of parish councils send delegates to form district councils; their delegates form county councils; and county council delegates form the parliament. This primitive system may possibly suit Russia, a country where representative government is a novelty, but it has no advantages which any other country could beneficially copy. The peculiarities of the Russian constitution are that the manual labourers' class alone has votes, and that it is understood that the urban Soviets send to the Central Soviet more delegates than the rural. The constitution does not provide for representation by factory, but it is said that in practice there is trade representation on Syndicalist lines.*

* See 'Constitution of the Russian Federal Soviet Republic,' adopted at the Fifth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, 10th July 1918.

CHAPTER XIII

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

WE have read how Socialism has been spreading in all the countries of the civilised world. We have now to trace the movement towards the union of these national groups into a new International.

The old International died about 1873. But the tendency towards international union and the desire for it had not ceased. New efforts towards it were soon made. International congresses were held at Paris in 1889, the centenary of the great Revolution; at Brussels in 1891; at Zurich in 1893; at London in 1896; again at Paris in 1900; at Amsterdam in 1904; and at Stuttgart in 1907; at Copenhagen in 1910; and the war prevented a further congress which was to have been held in Vienna in August 1914. At the congresses of Brussels and London disorder prevailed to such a degree that even a sympathetic observer might have had reasonable doubt as to the practicability of a new International. After the experiences at the London

Congress steps were taken for a better ordering of business.

All associations are admitted which adhere to the essential principles of Socialism: socialisation of the means of production and exchange; international union and action of the workers; Socialist conquest of political power by the proletariat organised as a class party. Also all the trade organisations which place themselves on the basis of the class struggle and recognise the necessity of political action, legislative and parliamentary. Anarchists are therefore excluded.

At the Paris Congress of 1900 steps were taken to form an International Socialist Bureau at Brussels. Its duty is to arrange the order of business of the congresses, to obtain reports from the national groups, and to draw up a record of the resolutions adopted.

The Copenhagen Congress of 1910 was attended by 896 delegates, representing 23 nationalities, the delegations varying from 189 Germans to one representative of the Argentine. The method of voting had been reformed. Previously each nation had two votes, with the result that the handful of delegates representing Australia, Servia, Greece, and other countries internationally unimportant or politically non-existent, and often speaking for obscure groups of agitators with no political standing, could outvote the English, French, and Germans with their millions of Socialists and Trade Unionists, and their long ex-

perience of political responsibility. The Stuttgart Congress allocated to each nation its number of votes : Germany, Austria, Bohemia, France, Great Britain, the United States, and Russia having 20 each ; and the other nations a smaller number, with a minimum of 2. Each nation can send six delegates for every vote—that is, 120 for the first-class powers, and 12 for the smallest nations.

The Copenhagen Congress divided itself into five commissions for the discussion of : (1) the relations between Co-operation and Socialism ; (2) Trade Unions ; (3) International Arbitration and Disarmament ; (4) Legislation on Unemployment ; (5) General Resolutions. The resolutions formulated by the commissions and adopted by the Congress recorded cordial approval of Consumers' Co-operation, and urged that friendly relations should be established between Co-operators, Trade Unionists, and Socialists. Trade Unions were also approved, and racial divisions amongst Trade Unions deprecated. State provision for unemployment, by means of insurance and public works in time of crisis, was demanded. International arbitration and general disarmament were advocated ; but an amendment by J. Keir Hardie, M.P. (England), and M. Vaillant (France), calling for a general strike in order to stop any war, was rejected by 131 votes to 51.

In November 1912 a special congress was hur-

riedly called together at Basle to protest against the participation, which then appeared imminent, of the Great Powers in the Balkan War. At a few weeks' notice 555 delegates, including 13 from Great Britain, assembled in the Town Hall, and on Sunday, November 24, held a great demonstration in the Cathedral and the square outside. One day sufficed for the unanimous adoption of a resolution calling on the working classes to pit the international solidarity of the workers against the might of capitalist imperialism. Protests in every parliament were called for, and the use of all possible means to prevent war. It is impossible to calculate the effect of this imposing demonstration, but in fact peace was preserved.

In the years preceding the war the activities of the Brussels Bureau rapidly increased. The indefatigable secretary, M. Camille Huysmans, was constantly in communication with the affiliated organisations in the subscribing countries. Every few months the Bureau met under the presidency of M. Emile Vandervelde, who during the war was well known in England because he joined the Belgian Coalition Government and acted as its representative in this country. The Bureau represented 28 countries, each of which was entitled to send three delegates.

The British Committee has its headquarters at the Labour Party Offices, and its Secretary is the

Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, Secretary of the Labour Party. It consists of the Labour Party with 10 votes, the British Socialist Party with 4, the Independent Labour Party with 4, and the Fabian Society with 2. This body contributes to the upkeep of the Bureau, appoints delegates to it, and deals with its communications.

The International made a considerable figure during the war, but it is impossible in the limits of space to record the extremely complicated transactions and controversies which centred around it. The Bureau was of course broken up by the German occupation of Belgium, and direct communications between Socialists and Trade Unionists in hostile countries were impossible. The leaders of the Bureau were for the most part in London, but neutral countries, Sweden and Switzerland, were the chief centres of activity.

A number of more or less informal conferences of allied international delegates were held both in London and abroad, and other conferences were projected, whilst in neutral countries, especially at Stockholm, delegates of the German Socialists and their allies conferred with neutrals. But the difficulties were very great. Nobody could travel without passports, which were sometimes granted and sometimes refused by the Governments concerned; and in certain cases when passports had

been obtained the sailors, acting under the orders of Mr Havelock Wilson, President of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union, refused to convey the appointed delegates—an example of direct action not generally approved by the advocates of that method. This action of the Sailors' Union is an example of another class of difficulty. The Labour and Socialist movement in most countries was split by the war into two sections, or rather into three: the whole-hearted opponents of the Governments carrying on the war, the supporters of the Governments in their prosecution of the war, and a central section which sometimes supported one side and sometimes the other.

In England the matter was further complicated by the fact that the international regulations gave the numerically insignificant Socialist section (who were the promoters of the International and more concerned in it than the others) an equal vote with the Trade Unionists of the Labour party. Moreover, the Socialist societies were already represented through the Labour Party, and thus had a double delegation. As the Socialists, except the Fabian Society, were extremely pacifist, and for the moment unpopular, a resolution was carried at the Labour Party Conference authorising their delegates to attend a proposed international conference provided that they were the only British delegates.

When the Kerensky Government was in power

in Russia, it was desirous of holding an International Congress at Stockholm. Mr Lloyd George at first favoured the project, and sent Mr Arthur Henderson to Petrograd. Mr Henderson had been opposed to the Congress, but his visit to Kerensky convinced him that it was desirable, if for nothing else, in order to confirm Kerensky in power. When he returned, the Prime Minister had changed his mind, passports were refused, Mr Henderson dismissed, and Kerensky, failing in this and other ways, was displaced by Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

After the antagonisms and antipathies of the war have passed away, the International movement will revive, and will be far stronger than before. Socialism at the time of writing is in power in Russia, in Germany, in Austria, and will probably be so in several of the newly constituted states of Central Europe. The Labour and Socialist International of the future will represent Governments as well as Trade Unions and Socialist societies. And indeed the time cannot be far distant when Governments in all civilised countries will be largely or altogether under the control of Labour and inspired by the principles, perhaps even guided by the theories, of Socialism.

It should be added that a regular International Congress has been called to meet at Geneva in August 1920. It is understood that a new basis of representation for England will be in operation.

CHAPTER XIV

SOCIALISM DURING THE WAR

THE first days of the war inflicted an irreparable loss on Socialism in France and throughout the world. Jean Jaurès, the leader of the French party, the finest orator, and perhaps the foremost statesman in France, was assassinated, presumably by a madman. No one was left who held so indisputable a position in the Socialist movement of the whole world, and his death at that critical moment was an international disaster.

During the few days when war was still in doubt the German Social Democrats held big meetings all over the country to protest against it. But their action was in vain. Similar efforts on a smaller scale were made by Socialists in England and elsewhere. But when the war had begun the prevalent opinion in every country was that the war was defensive, or at any rate in defence of justice. The Germans were persuaded by their rulers that France

and Russia had combined to attack them, and that England had joined in on account of her jealousy of German prosperity. The French and Belgians had no grounds for regarding their countries as aggressors, and the greater part of the British Labour Party recognised that England could not stand aside.

International Socialism had always denounced war and attributed militarism to the avarice of capitalism, which hoped for enormous profits regardless of the sufferings and slaughter of the proletariat. Many had imagined that war would be vetoed by a general strike, or the refusal of the people to mobilise. Others had recognised that patriotism, whether false or true, is stronger in times of excitement than international sentiment, and that few have power to withstand the stupendous forces of governmental organisation backed up by a reckless press and overwhelming public opinion.

Anyway, Internationalism broke down. The working classes as a whole and most of their leaders ranged themselves behind their Governments on both sides, and Labour and Socialist parties which had always been in opposition decided to give their support to the Governments of their countries.

Few will deny that patriotism, within proper limits, is a virtue. The world is best ordered when

each does his duty, first to his family, next to his locality and his occupation, and finally to his country. Some, who often make light of patriotism, would go so far as to say that no person and no nation should take any concern in any other nation! However this may be, a certain prejudice in favour of one's country is not a fault which need be condemned, and the fact that in a time of extreme crisis Socialists as a rule everywhere sided with their country is on the whole to their credit. Those who are most confident in the justice of the cause for which they were fighting could scarcely in calm moments expect any large masses of people in hostile countries to see the case in the same light as themselves.

In England the Labour Party supported the Government in the prosecution of the war from first to last. Mr Arthur Henderson, the Secretary of the party, joined the Coalition Government and was a member of the War Cabinet; later on he was replaced by Mr G. N. Barnes, who is an ex-Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers; and a number of other Trade Union leaders occupied important ministerial posts. After the armistice the party decided to resume its normal position in opposition.

The General Election at the close of 1918 had most remarkable results. The Labour Party as a

whole fought it in opposition to the Government. The pacifist leaders of the I.L.P. were all defeated, and so was Mr Arthur Henderson, who was not a pacifist, and has since won a seat at a bye-election. Mr G. N. Barnes and Mr G. H. Roberts, two of the best-known Labour men, for local reasons dropped out of the party, and were elected by the Government vote. Including a few who were supporters of the Coalition, no less than 57 Labour candidates were returned, and the party was not only larger than the Opposition Liberals, but in three-cornered contests in numerous cases polled far higher votes than the previously sitting Liberal members. Bye-elections during 1919 and local elections in London and elsewhere have shown like results, and the coming triumph of the Labour Party is as certain as anything in the future of politics can be.

The general effect of the war was to strengthen enormously the position of Labour. For the first time since the Black Death of 1349, in nearly every trade there were not enough men to do the work required. The public at last began to realise that it is not the capitalist who provides work for the labourer, but the labourer who produces goods and profits for the capitalist. For the successful prosecution of the war—that is, for the provision of food and munitions—the question of the wages for which, and terms on which, men would work became of the first im-

portance. The Prime Minister and his colleagues had to secure the consent of the Trade Union leaders before they could settle the difficult problems of 'dilution' and women's work, and innumerable points connected with conscription and the conditions of military service. Labour support was essential to the Government, and without that support the prosecution of the war would have been rendered almost impracticable.

On the whole this support was freely given, but an influential minority adopted a policy which was called Pacifism. The Independent Labour Party and its chief leaders were supported in this respect by the rank and file of the British Socialist Party, whilst the leaders of that party who warmly approved of the war formed a new society called the National Socialist Party.

It is almost impossible to state in a few words what the doctrines of Mr J. Ramsay MacDonald, Mr Snowden, and their followers were. The former, who resigned his chairmanship of the Labour Party at the outbreak of war, has stated that he did not desire peace till German militarism was destroyed, and unless Belgium was compensated for the invasion of its territory. But the pacifist members of Parliament offered a steady opposition to the plans of the Government for carrying on the war, and lost no opportunity of advocating peace at

times when German militarism appeared to be at the summit of its power.

The Labour Party itself acted with complete toleration. The ardent supporters of the war and the pacifist leaders sat together in the councils of the party and co-operated in its activities; and the loyalty of the rank and file to those who have served them well is finely indicated by the unanimous re-election of Mr MacDonald as Treasurer of the party, in spite of the fact that the press had singled him out as the chief exponent of the unpopular doctrine of Pacifism.

Meanwhile, on the Continent, events of the first rank in the history of Socialism were taking place. Russia led the way. When, in the spring of 1917, the Czar abdicated, it was immediately apparent that the Socialist Party was the sole remaining organised force. Only a few years ago Socialists, as such, were often banished to Siberia, and now there was nobody but the Socialist leaders able to govern the country. For some months Kerensky, a Socialist barrister, was almost dictator, and his government, so far as could be judged from the few reports received, was well-meaning, humane, and intelligent. He was overthrown by the extreme Social Democratic (Marxist) leaders, Lenin and Trotsky, whose peculiar dogmas have already been described under their well-known appellation, Bolshevism. The

Russian peasantry are not Bolsheviks or Socialists of any sort, so far as can be judged; but it is clear that the majority of the town-dwellers, certainly of the artisans, and probably of all classes, are Socialists.

The terrible disasters which have afflicted the people of Russia since the Revolution, are perhaps in the main more the misfortune than the fault of the governing clique. They have ruthlessly applied their principles in circumstances where what was chiefly needed was the earliest possible resumption of production on any terms whatsoever. They have executed many political opponents, though probably not so many as the newspapers have reported, nor so many as have been executed in Finland and elsewhere by their opponents. Probably the greatest of their difficulties has been the depreciation of the currency, caused by their practice, which they inherited from their predecessors, of paying their way by the printing of paper money. War on all fronts, famine in all the towns, and isolation from the rest of the world are the worst possible circumstances for attempting to embody in legislation a set of theories which had nowhere been tested by practice. The extent of the failure or success of the Socialist leaders of Russia is at the time of writing a matter of controversy, on which it is impossible to speak with any certainty.

Even more startling was the course of events

in Germany, where the political strength of the Socialist party had always been accurately known. When the Kaiser fled, the Chancellor invited the leader of the Socialists to carry on the government, and since then the history of Germany has consisted of the dissensions of the various groups of Socialists, and the other parties which had large followings up to the revolution have apparently dropped into the background. We can only in this short volume say a few words about the internal disputes of the German Socialists. Karl Liebknecht, the son of the old Socialist leader, had always opposed the war, and, with Rosa Luxemburg, who had long been a prominent figure in the party, he led a group of Pacifists which steadily grew in numbers and influence. Finally, the new group broke away from the old party and formed a society of Independents. This new organisation again divided into two sections, the Moderate Pacifists and the Spartacists, named after a *nom de plume* of Karl Liebknecht, who had written a series of articles signed Spartacus, the name of the leader of the revolted slaves in ancient Rome. The Spartacists were Socialists in a great hurry, and adopted the policy of the Bolshevists, which was then dominant in Russia. Their attempts to set up "Soviet" institutions by force ended in failure after a good deal of fighting, and the two leaders

were killed after capture, probably by their guards, in circumstances which cannot yet be described with certainty. The Majority Socialists have since remained in power, and appear to have carried on the government with moderation and good sense, wisely deferring any changes in the economic structure of industry until the urgent problems of famine in food and fuel are solved.

In Finland, in Hungary, in Austria, and, as far as can be gathered, in other parts of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire the break-up of the old order has resulted either in a Socialist Government or in a state of affairs in which the Socialists seem to be the chief factor. Unless, therefore, the course of events takes altogether a fresh turn—and anything *may* come out of the witches' cauldron of East European politics,—a few years hence will see the Socialist parties in control of stable Governments ruling some of the largest and most highly developed countries of the world.

CHAPTER XV

LABOUR AND THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER

THE Trade Unionists of Great Britain, of France, and of America cannot be expected to regard with indifference the triumphs of their class on the continent of Europe. It is true that the attempt to combine a social with a political revolution has brought disasters of the most appalling character to Russia, and that Germany is at the time of writing, the autumn of 1919, half-starved and far from settled. Still, in both countries the Government purports to be acting in the interests of the working masses, and such legislation as takes place is intended for their benefit. If such is the lot of the defeated, what ought not the victors to expect? A new social order is the least which can be offered to the people who have freed the world from the incubus of militarism.

Hence industrial unrest is inevitable, and will grow greater rather than less until our social polity

is profoundly altered and the inequality which at present determines the distribution of the benefits of civilisation is removed.

The Trade Unionists demand more than mere mitigations of their lot. Better wages and shorter hours are all to the good, but are not enough. The miners and the railway workers are both determined to put an end to the system which makes them wage-slaves of wealthy employers. They will work for the community, but are no longer willing to work for private capitalists. The Government granted the miners a Royal Commission on Mines as a price of their consent to continue at work, and that Commission, after obtaining evidence of the mismanagement and waste of the present system which astonished the public, reported by a majority in favour of the nationalisation of the coal mines. The nationalisation of the railways has been foreshadowed, and it may be anticipated that the Government will either undertake it spontaneously or else under pressure from the National Union of Railwaymen, who will be content with nothing less. Moreover, both the miners and the railway workers demand a far larger share in the management of their industries than they at present possess.

These are the first steps towards a new social order, in which industry will be carried on by the

community, largely under the control of the workers, for the benefit of the community. What more is projected will appear later.

In the last year of the war the Labour Party remodelled its constitution. Hitherto it had been a federation of Trade Unions and Socialist societies, and membership in the party could be obtained only through membership in an affiliated society. In order to adapt it to take its place as a national party, it was reconstituted on a territorial basis so as to include anybody, on the same lines as the other parties, although a concurrent basis of national organisations, Trade Union and Socialist, was retained. But an even more important change was the adoption of a programme.

Formed in 1900 as the Labour Representation Committee, it had hitherto declined to formulate any other policy than that of increasing the number of representatives of Labour, who were either Trade Unionists or Socialists. It held views on particular issues, but refused to commit itself to general principles. But by 1918 the time for a change had come. Its new constitution states that its object is to secure for the producers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible upon the basis of common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular

administration and control of each industry and service.

Mr Sidney Webb had been elected to the Labour Party Executive at the end of 1915, and it is no secret that he drafted the important manifesto—'Labour and the New Social Order,' a report on the 'general policy of the party'—which was adopted at a Labour Party Conference in June 1918. It is significant that the author of this programme, who had recently distinguished himself by the active part he took as a representative of the miners on the Royal Commission on Coal, was returned at the top of the poll with votes representing 2,316,000 members in the election to the Labour Party Executive Committee in June 1919.

'Labour and the New Social Order' is therefore the most recent and the most authoritative programme of British Labour and British Socialism, and we may well conclude this volume with a full analysis of its contents. It is the document on which in all probability the Labour Party will fight the next General Election, and it stands for the moment as the policy to which the united forces of Socialism and Trade Unionism in Great Britain are pledged.

It begins by stating that the Labour Party wishes to construct, and its proposals proceed from definitely held principles: construction must not be patch-

work ; what has to be reconstructed after the war is society itself. The present world catastrophe is the culmination and collapse of a distinctive industrial civilisation which the workers will not seek to reconstruct. 'The individualist system of capitalist production based on the private ownership and competitive administration of land and capital—which has in the past couple of centuries become the dominant form, with its reckless "profiteering" and wage slavery; with its glorification of the unhampered struggle for the means of life, and its hypocritical pretence of "the survival of the fittest"; with the monstrous inequality of circumstances which it produces, and the degradation and brutalisation, both moral and spiritual, resulting therefrom—may, we hope, indeed have received a death-blow. With it must go the political system and ideas in which it naturally found expression.'

If national decay is to be escaped, 'what is presently to be built up is a new social order based not on fighting, but on fraternity—not on the competitive struggle for the means of bare life, but on a deliberately planned co-operation in production and distribution for the benefit of all who participate by hand or by brain,' on a healthy equality of material circumstances, on that equal freedom in industry as well as in government, that general consciousness of consent, and that widest possible participation in

power, both economic and political, which is characteristic of a true democracy.

The Labour Party recognises the vital necessity of increased production of commodities and services, which is to be sought neither by reducing wages nor by increasing the working day, but in the socialisation of industry in order to eliminate waste, and in the application of science, intelligence, and organisation to production.

The four pillars of the proposed reconstruction are:—

- (a) The Universal Enforcement of National Minimum.
- (b) The Democratic Control of Industry.
- (c) The Revolution in National Finance.
- (d) The Surplus Wealth for the Common Good.

The first is the securing to every member of the community in good times and bad alike of all the requisites of healthy life and worthy citizenship. The method is the strengthening, extending, and improving of the Factory Acts, Education Acts, Housing Acts, Minimum Wage Acts, and Public Health Acts. Women should be completely emancipated from the remaining legal restrictions on their freedom, and the principle of Equal Pay for Equal Work adopted.

The next subject dealt with is demobilisation—a matter in the future when the report was adopted,

but now for the most part ancient history; and it goes on to demand adequate maintenance for the unemployed.

The paragraphs on the Democratic Control of Industry begin by demanding the earliest possible repeal of the Military Service Acts and of all other war-time restrictions on the freedom of speech, of the press, of travel, and so on. Recognising the value of the Representation of the People Act, the report asks for complete electoral equality for women, for some unspecified form of alternative vote or proportional representation, for the abolition of the House of Lords, and for Ireland 'self-determination in all exclusively Irish affairs.' It suggests Home Rule all round, and for the Empire a Britannic Commonwealth.

'The Labour Party refuses absolutely to believe that the British people will permanently tolerate any reconstruction or perpetuation of the disorganisation, waste, and inefficiency involved in the abandonment of British industry to a jostling crowd of separate private employers, with their minds bent not on the service of the community but—by the very law of their being—only on the utmost possible profiteering.' The party stands for Land Nationalisation, and the immediate Nationalisation of Railways and Mines, 'with a steadily increasing participation in the management, both central and

local, of the various grades of the persons employed.' Super-power stations must be erected by the State in order to supply electricity cheaply. Industrial Insurance must be nationalised in order to facilitate the Public Health service, and Life Insurance of all kinds should be similarly treated. The manufacture and sale of intoxicants must be undertaken by the Government in order to promote temperance, and localities must have full power to deal with licensing.

The extension of municipal activities to the supply of coal and milk, the improvement of education, and better housing, occupy several paragraphs, and these are followed by a rural programme which includes Land Nationalisation, 'national farms,' small holdings, 'municipal enterprises in agriculture,' and farming by co-operative (distributive) societies. The distribution of agricultural produce should be undertaken by consumers, through co-operative or municipal organisations.

The report advocates as a part of the democratic control of industry the maintenance of the war-time centralisation of the purchase of raw materials, and especially the protection of small consumers from profiteering by the fixing of maximum prices for standardised products at the factory, the warehouse, and the retail shop.

Turning to finance, the Labour Party 'definitely

repudiates all proposals for a Protective Tariff,' and is opposed to all taxation of food and the necessaries of life. In order to pay off the war debt, it looks to 'direct taxation of private fortunes both during life and at death.' Income tax should be assessed by families in place of individuals, and the present low limit of exemption should be raised. The excess profits tax should be maintained, and the whole of unearned increment of urban and mineral-bearing land should go the State.

By these and other means 'the surplus above the standard of life' must be secured for the common good, to be used as capital for new enterprises, for scientific research, for provision for the sick, infirm and aged, for education, and public improvements of all kinds. Class poverty and all widespread destitution must be abolished, and the lives of the toilers must be brightened by a great development of the means of recreation. It is this vision of the appropriation of every surplus for the Common Good which most distinctively marks off the Labour Party from the older political parties which still stand for the maintenance of the perpetual private mortgage upon the produce of the land and capital of the nation.

The manifesto next defines the attitude of the party towards the Empire and the Commonwealth of Nations. It repudiates 'selfish and insular non-

interventionism,' and stands for the maintenance of the Empire and its progressive development on the lines of local autonomy and 'Home Rule All Round' under a 'Britannic Alliance.' It objects to Imperial Federation, if that proposal involves a common Imperial Legislature wielding coercive power over the component parts of the Empire. Economic war with any other nation is denounced; nations are in no way damaged by each other's economic prosperity or commercial progress, but are actually enriched thereby.

A final paragraph explains that the party stands for the Advancement of Social Science. Its purpose will be unchanged, but its policy and programme will undergo perpetual development as knowledge grows and new phases of the social problem present themselves. If Law is the Mother of Freedom, science to the Labour Party must be the Parent of Law.

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