

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

BY
GORDON HOSKING



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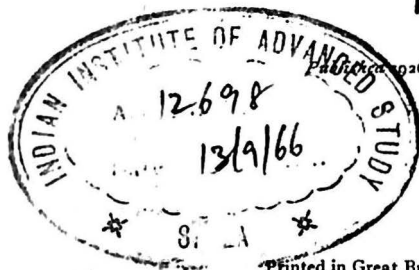
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

READERS desiring a more elaborate statement of Socialism should read *New Worlds for Old*, by H. G. Wells; *The Triumph of Nationalisation*, by Sir L. Chiozza Money, and *The People's Marx*, by Julian Borchardt. Many useful books containing facts and figures in support of Socialism are published by The Labour Party, The I.L.P., The Fabian Society, and The Labour Publishing Co. Ltd.

Those wishing to keep in touch with the Socialist Movement from day to day should read *The Daily Herald*, *The New Leader*, Lansbury's *Labour Weekly*, *The Labour Magazine*, *The Socialist Review*, *Forward*, and other periodicals issued by the movement.

Most of the following articles may be made the basis of a speech or lecture.

They should be used in conjunction with the *Speaker's Notes* issued by the Labour Research Department, 33 Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1, and by the I.L.P. Information Committee, 14 Great George Street, London, S.W.1.



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INTRODUCTION

SOCIALISM is one of the oldest ideas in the world. Primitive humanity lived under a system of communism, and many ancient states, such as Peru and Mexico, had Socialistic forms of government. In ancient Greece there were many men who wished to establish Socialist utopias. Primitive communism and these early attempts at Socialism were mostly destroyed by tribal warfare, monarchy, the growth of slavery and the failure of man to adapt his primitive organisation to a higher state of civilisation. The tragedy of history is that man's social development has not kept pace with the development of human knowledge. Science has opened to us the gates to universal wealth and happiness; and we continue to tolerate a social system based on the slavery and poverty of the masses. Socialism is the effort of man to make up for this loss in social development. Human knowledge has now reached a stage when the coming of Socialism may well be regarded as the final step towards the highest civilisation.

It is a great mistake to think that the approach towards Socialism is *inevitably gradual*. To bring about Socialism requires, first, a great propaganda effort, and second, a great constructive effort. The work of the pioneers of Socialism has already created the materials necessary for the first; the thinkers and leaders of Socialism are already making detailed plans for the second. Once the propaganda effort has placed the Socialists in a position of power they will proceed to construct the fabric of a Socialist State with the same vigour and vision that enabled Henry Ford to build up the Ford Motor Company. The development of such modern industries as the Ford Motor Company, or the moving-picture industry, may have taken time, particularly in the early stages, but no one could correctly describe it as *gradual*.

INTRODUCTION

In opposition to this ordered development are arrayed the vested interests of capitalism preying upon the prejudices and ignorance of the masses. Socialists are convinced that they have only to make the people fully conversant with the meaning of Socialism to gain their support ; but the power of the capitalists is so great that any sudden attempt at expropriation would undoubtedly necessitate a violent upheaval. A revolution, like a war, is bad business, and Socialists believe that just as it would have been cheaper in the long run for the United States of America to have compensated the slave-owners, than to have involved the country in a civil war, so it will be cheaper to buy out the capitalists. Socialism is not so much a policy of expropriation as a policy of social reconstruction. It will be necessary eventually to eliminate the rich, but this *can be done gradually*, over a period of time, by means of taxation. The main thing is to get the industry of the country out of private hands and to ensure that the resources of the nation are put to social uses. This cannot be done too soon.

The following summary is primarily a propaganda work, intended for those unfamiliar with Socialist teachings. It is necessarily incomplete, but it will, I hope, give the beginner a comprehensive view of Socialism and at the same time stimulate him to further inquiry. I have endeavoured to state the case in a way that will meet with the approval of all modern Socialists, but I have not forgotten that in such a work it is essential to be perfectly definite and straightforward and to avoid ambiguity. Where, on account of the divergence of opinion amongst Socialists, it has been impossible to be impartial without being vague, I have ventured to give my own view of the question in dispute.

GORDON HOSKING.

October, 1925.

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SOCIALISM DEFINED

SOcialism has three aspects—the religious, the economic and the political—and may be defined accordingly. As a religion, it fills men with the hope of a Kingdom of Heaven upon earth and inspires them to serve their fellows. It aims at the practical application of Christ's teaching.

As an economic policy, it aims at placing land, capital, industry and commerce under the control and ownership of governments representing the people. By this means it will ensure (1) that the production and distribution of wealth are carried on efficiently; (2) that the wealth-producers are justly rewarded, and (3) that every capable person is a worker. Poverty will then disappear.

The Socialist Party is a democratic movement seeking to overthrow undemocratic institutions and to establish Socialism—by organising the workers industrially and politically, and by mobilising in a political party all those who place the public welfare before their private interests.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Socialism and Democracy

Whatever may be its faults, democratic government is the only possible safeguard against tyranny and exploitation; but hitherto, like many other good things, it has not been given a chance. Socialism interprets *government of the people, for the people, by the people*, in the widest possible sense; it wishes to apply the principle to every sphere of national life—to democratise industry, foreign policy, government, commerce, etc., and to give every minority and branch of society a fair and equal hearing. The present democracy leaves untouched some of the most important aspects of social life. Innumerable petty tyrannies are allowed to continue unchecked. Henry Ford says that "in far too many manufacturing institutions it is really not possible for a workman to get a square deal." This will always be while industry is run *by capitalists, for capitalists*. Capitalism results in government, not of the people, but of the capitalists.

SOCIALISM DEFINED

Socialism and Trade Unionism

Trade unionism aims at defending the interests of the producer by combating long hours, low wages and bad conditions ; but it will never obtain for the producer the full fruits of his labour or even abolish sweating in the least skilled trades while the capitalist system continues. So long as the employers retain control of capital and the right to refuse employment they will always have the last word on industrial matters. Socialists propose to alter this by handing over the control of industrial capital to the Trade Unions ; subject to the ultimate control of the central government — representing the consumers and other sections of the public. Socialists support Trade Union action because it weakens the power of the capitalists and gives the workers an opportunity to think and act for themselves—Trade Unionists, in their turn, should realise that it is to their interest to support Socialism.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Socialism and Consumers' Co-operation

The theory of consumers' co-operation is that the consumers, as such, have particular interests to defend, and that unless they are backed up by a special organisation they are liable to be overcharged and to be sold inferior articles ; therefore, the exchange and distribution of commodities should be conducted by organisations representative, in part at least, of the consuming public. From the Socialist standpoint, the present-day co-operative societies, while useful—particularly from an educative standpoint—are far from perfect ; they do not represent all the consumers ; they are inclined to neglect the interests of their employees ; they are often badly managed ; and their members are usually more interested in dividends than in the cause ; but Socialists have no objection to the general theory of consumers' co-operation, and consumers' co-operative societies will form an important part of the coming Socialist Commonwealth.

SOCIALISM DEFINED

Municipal Socialism

The municipality under Socialism will probably be the most important unit of government. People will become home-loving and will lose their interest in central governments. At present, local authorities have very limited powers. They often have to receive the sanction of a special Act of Parliament before embarking upon any new venture. They have scarcely any powers over the landlords who are often the actual governors of the district, and such powerful financial interests as the railway companies are able to flout them with impunity. Despite these difficulties, many municipalities have engaged in undertakings of a Socialist character. They have usually been confined to such non-profit-bearing businesses as road-making, dust-collecting and sewage-farming ; where, however, they have undertaken such business as gas and electricity they have almost invariably provided a cheaper commodity than similar private companies, and have made higher profits, that have been used to reduce the rates.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Socialism and Religion

From the Socialist standpoint the function of a religion is to form and maintain the moral character of the race. At present most religions function badly, as when they teach that to kill men in battle for the sake of national honour is a highly moral action. Socialists look forward to the day when the religious organisations of the world will more consistently carry out the teachings of their respective founders.

All Socialists are religious. Socialism may be regarded, either as a religion in itself, or as the practical interpretation of existing religions. Those Socialists who call themselves anti-religious, or anti-Christian, only mean that Socialism by itself is religion enough for them.

Socialism stands for religious freedom, and is opposed to any form of established church. A Socialist State will not interfere with anyone's choice of worship, and will permit the free expression of opinion on religious subjects.

SOCIALISM DEFINED

Socialism and Science

Broadly speaking, science comprises the sum total of human knowledge. Scientists are those men and women who have acquired an understanding of a greater part or of some particular branch of this knowledge, and are able to make use of it in developing new inventions, ideas and discoveries, or in the conduct of industry, commerce and government. At present scientists work under great difficulties. Their research work is often hampered by lack of funds ; their freedom of action is often restricted by the conservatism and vested interests of their capitalist employers ; the competitive system wastes and renders useless some of their best ideas ; and many fine inventions are kept out of use by monopolies. Unhampered by these restrictions the scientists could practically abolish disease and poverty, and vastly increase the health and happiness of the people. Socialism will set the scientists free and make them the leaders of the race.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Socialism and Art

Art makes life worth living. It may be music, literature or painting, or merely the design of one's clothing and the beautifying of one's home. Everyone takes pleasure either in the production or the contemplation of things of beauty. At present art is commercialised. Those who rely upon art for their livelihood have to work under such high pressure that they often produce mere travesties of art, which have a saleable but not a permanent value. Most people are never given an opportunity to give full expression to their love of beauty, but the few artistic geniuses make huge fortunes. Under Socialism there will be sufficient leisure for all men and women to develop their art to its highest degree of perfection, and they will create things of beauty, not to gain money and applause, but in order to make life happier for themselves and their fellows.

SOCIALISM DEFINED

Socialism and Marriage

Monogamy is undoubtedly the only natural marriage system for the human species. The number of male and female babies born is about equal; but, at present, the men are killed off more quickly by wars and the competitive system—which places a greater strain upon the male food-provider. Under Socialism, women will probably not outnumber the men at all; consequently no man will be able to have more than one wife.

Socialists do not want to alter the present marriage system, but they deny that a man has any private property rights in his wife. Marriage should be a sacred legal contract—entered into principally for the security of the coming generation—which can be broken only by the misconduct of either party, by mutual agreement, or when one party becomes a lunatic, a criminal or diseased. No one should be allowed to marry unless mentally, morally and physically fit.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Socialism and Women's Rights

For the continuance of the human race women are as essential as men, therefore they have equal rights with men. They only differ in their needs and in their adaptability. They require special assistance at certain periods, and they are not so well able to stand heavy physical strain. In the field of manual labour they are best adapted to household and other crafts requiring deftness of touch, but at intellectual work they are often the equal or superior of men. Given equal opportunities they would render equal services. As human beings they have an equal interest in the public welfare, therefore they are entitled to a voice in the government of the country on the same terms as men. At present women are usually economically dependent on men. This prevents them from fully exercising their rights. Socialism will make women economically independent and able to defend their own particular interests.

SOCIALISM DEFINED

Socialism and Personal Possessions

Socialists only desire to nationalise those forms of property which can be used by men to enslave other men. The individual therefore will not be debarred from having personal possessions. Everyone will, of necessity, own their own clothes, and men and women will still own such things as fountain pens, powder puffs, motor cars, furniture and books. Such personal possessions are the reward of labour, and Socialism will vastly increase the amount owned by the great mass of individuals ; but, as payment for labour will be placed upon an honest and reasonable basis, no one will possess more than they can earn or use. Dwelling-houses and land—which are sometimes regarded as forms of personal property—will, however, become the property of the State, and will be leased out to tenants so as to ensure absolute security of tenure. Any other course would lead to a return of private landlordism.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

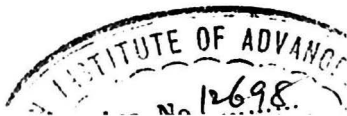
Socialism and the Small Capitalist

The small shopkeeper, shareholder or business man, everyone, in fact, who owns capital, is a capitalist. Small capitalists should realise that Socialism is not against the capitalists, as individuals, but against the capitalist system. Even if they were to lose all their capital, the vast majority of small capitalists would be better off under Socialism. They would have a higher standard of living, more security, and they would be saved the anxiety which the ownership of property always involves, caused by the constant fluctuations in the value of stocks and shares and the market prices of goods. But Socialism would not rob the small capitalist of his wealth; the worst that would happen to him, during his present lifetime, is that he would be bought out by the government and given, in payment, redeemable government bonds, bearing a guaranteed yearly interest, to the value of his property.

SOCIALISM DEFINED

Socialism and the Dread of Change

Many people are opposed to Socialism because it involves change, and they lack sufficient imagination, or knowledge of the subject, to see where the change will lead them. This conservatism is most pronounced amongst those who feel that they have something to lose. The plutocrat fears losing his money ; the middle-class man, his imagined security ; the able business man, his position of authority. The workers have nothing to lose but their chains. Socialists have few words of comfort for the plutocrat, except that he need not fear starvation. The middle classes are reminded that their positions are not so secure ; the life of the average journalist, publicity man or public performer is as insecure as a dock labourer's. If the able business men accept the changed social order with good grace they will find plenty of means to express themselves and obtain recognition for their ability.



SOCIALISM AND THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

UNDER the system of unrestricted competition fortune favours the few. Wealth accumulates in the hands of the capitalists—giving them almost unlimited powers over the dispossessed. By withholding the right to use the instruments and materials of wealth production, they compel the workers to accept low wages and live in unhealthy slums. The children of the workers also are given inadequate educations so that they grow up stunted in mind as well as in body and unable to compete with their “betters.” Socialists, however, do not hate the capitalists as individuals—most people placed in a similar position would act in a similar manner—they only hate the system which places power in the hands of the few, and propose to substitute the Socialist system, under which that great instrument of power—wealth—would be democratically owned and controlled by the people.

SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM

Socialism and the Profit System

Profit is the capitalist's share of the products of industry. Profits are defended on the ground that they reward the capitalist for his risks and for his business ability. Individuals, however, should not be required to take such risks, and most capitalists are mere shareholders who take no part in the administration of industry.

The profit system does not even ensure that the capitalist himself receives an equitable reward. The profits made by small business men are sometimes less than the wages they have to pay to their workers.

Profits are regulated by such arbitrary factors as the law of supply and demand. If there be a large demand for his goods the capitalist makes large profits ; if the supply be greater than the demand his profits decrease. By deliberately making the supply less than the demand capitalists are able to increase their profits at the expense of the community.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Socialism and the Competitive System

Since people can usually make more money as private employers than as employees, everyone possessing sufficient capital generally prefers to set up in business privately as a producer, middleman or shopkeeper. This results in wealth production and distribution being carried on by innumerable private businesses—many of them engaged in the same industry or commerce. In their endeavour to find a ready sale for their goods they enter into *competition* with each other. Expensive marketing methods and a vast expenditure on advertising are the result. The only advantage of the competitive system is that it sometimes tends to keep prices down, but this is far outbalanced by its wastefulness. For instance, if a dozen bakers compete for the custom of one street they must try to sell their bread cheaply, but they have to include in the price the cost of keeping twelve barrows going where probably one would serve.

SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM

Why Competition is not always "Healthy"

Socialism will not abolish "healthy" competition. The desire of men to excel or emulate each other is a great incentive towards improvement and progress, and should be encouraged. But men should only compete as rivals in the same team—striving to do better for the good of all. Competition, to be "healthy," must be subject to the rules of the game, and each competitor must have fair play and equal opportunities, otherwise the best man will not win. Sport is a "healthy" form of competition, but if sportsmen were to direct their energies towards crippling and maiming rival sportsmen it would be a tragedy. Commercial competition has long since ceased to be "healthy." Those favoured by wealth and heredity have unfair advantages, while various capitalists spend too much time in endeavouring to undercut and squeeze out competitors, when they should be endeavouring to improve the quality of their output.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Why Work is often regarded as an Evil

Useful constructive work should be the greatest pleasure and interest in life, but at present it is often regarded as an evil to be avoided. There are several outstanding reasons for this : (1) The capitalists, who determine the conditions of labour, seldom realise that it is in their interests to make work pleasurable for their workers ; (2) Most capitalists overwork their workers and take from them an unjust share of the produce of their labour ; (3) Under the capitalist system men work for personal gain rather than for the joy of work well done in the public service ; (4) Labour is usually unfairly rewarded. The least important and least strenuous work is often paid better than the most important and strenuous ; (5) Human tastes differ considerably. Some people like certain forms of work which others detest. At present economic pressure often drives men to take up work for which they are entirely unadapted.

SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM

Socialism and Class

At present one's social position depends largely upon the amount of money one possesses. The middle classes have just sufficient to live upon ; the upper classes have more than they need, and the lower classes need more than they have. The method whereby one obtains the money is immaterial. Some people improve their social position by means of burglary ; others manage to force themselves into the class above them by assuming a false appearance of wealth. Poor but well-dressed clerks usually pass for middle class. The class system breeds snobbery, poverty and tyranny, and divides the nation against itself. The classes remain ignorant and negligent of each other's interests and politics are dominated by a social clique. Socialism will abolish the present class system. The great inequalities of wealth will disappear, and a person's position in society will depend alone upon his personal qualities and the respect he inspires amongst his fellows.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Socialism and Business Ability

At present, thousands of people obtain positions of responsibility in the business world who lack the necessary ability. Possessors of hereditary titles are given seats on boards of directors, mediocre sons of successful business men inherit their father's positions, and many incompetent persons, possessing capital, set up in business for themselves. Many of these come to grief, as the reports of the bankruptcy courts show, but still more just manage to scrape along—acting as a permanent drag on the wheels of efficiency. The number of really able business men who are given full scope is comparatively small. Most of the business of industry is carried on by paid directors and managers, whose freedom of action is hampered by their capitalist employers. Socialism would make sure that the really able men were given proper opportunities, and also that they only were given responsible positions.

SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM

Private Enterprise is not enterprising

Private enterprise has lost innumerable opportunities to improve the commercial and industrial efficiency of the nation. It has wasted the human material. Inventors have been allowed to suffer in poverty—lacking the necessary capital to bring their inventions to perfection—while other men of genius have had a bitter struggle to gain the rudiments of education. Epoch-making inventions, even when completed, have been allowed to remain unused and neglected for years. Combines have been known to suppress a new invention which threatened to supersede an article for which they were finding a ready sale. British industry is being largely carried on by old and dilapidated machinery. The installation of new and improved machinery and the resultant scrapping of old plants is a very expensive process ; and because he lacks the ready money, or the initiative, the private business man too often prefers to stick to the more primitive methods of production.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Private Enterprise and the Public Interests

Many private business men honestly endeavour to serve the public interests, but it does not always pay them to do so. More often private enterprise prospers at the expense of the public interests. Every private business man is tempted to charge more for his goods than they are actually worth, and situations often arise that enable him to do so with impunity. Profits may be made by the sale of inferior articles, by adulterating food, and by the sale of goods—such as quack medicines and trashy literature—which are either harmful or useless. Sometimes, when capitalists are compelled to sell at an economic price by keen competition, they form combines to eliminate competitors, and to keep up prices by the restriction of output.

A public service doing such things would be as inconceivable as the British Navy committing piracy against British merchantmen.

SOCIALISM AND WEALTH

THE wealth of a nation depends, primarily, not upon *the riches* owned by a few people, but upon the total wealth owned by all the people. A nation is not *wealthy* unless this total wealth is sufficient to provide each citizen with the necessities and comforts of life.

A nation's wealth comprises the stores of wealth—ships, railways, buildings, manufacturing plants, etc.—accumulated by the labours of past and present generations, and its fund of ideas; but resides primarily in its almost inexhaustible natural resources—land, minerals, fisheries, natural products, water-power, etc. These natural resources, however, only become of value when there is an adequate supply of labour-power to render them available for human use.

The wealth of a nation therefore depends ultimately upon the number, efficiency and intelligence of its workers, whether by hand or by brain. This is why Socialists say that "Labour produces all wealth."

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Ideas—The Greatest Form of Wealth

Labour-power in itself would never have raised man above a state of primitive savagery. It was only when the mind of man began to conceive ideas for improving and economising his labour-power that civilisation began to develop. Science, education and organisation are the three principal divisions of wealth-producing ideas. Men of science invent machines, such as the steam engine, which multiply the productivity of the individual labourer. Education teaches the labourer how to make the best use of his skill. Organisation brings labourers together for the performance of tasks beyond the scope of the individual and prevents wastage. At present, science has produced so many wealth-producing ideas that man could live in boundless wealth were it not for bad organisation and the general lack of education. Because its principal aim is to improve organisation, and increase education, *Socialism is the greatest of all wealth-producing ideas.*

SOCIALISM AND WEALTH

Socialism and Capital

Capital is that part of wealth, excluding land, that is used for the production of further wealth. It includes the machinery, tools, factories and materials used in the direct production of wealth ; ships, goods trains, banks, etc., that aid in the exchange and distribution of wealth ; dwelling-houses, trams, passenger trains, theatres and all things that help to make the lives of the wealth-producers possible and enjoyable ; and the money that is used to pay wages and salaries. Much so-called capital at the present time consists solely of entries made on pieces of paper entitling the holder to interest on wealth that is non-existent. The capitalists, by their ownership of capital, are enabled to make profits and charge interest. Socialists say that the profits and interest of the capitalists are an unnecessary charge on wealth production, and that while we cannot do without capital we *can* do without the capitalist.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Capital and Social Economy

The prosperity of a nation depends largely upon the use its capital is put to. Social economy demands that it be used to finance socially useful enterprises only ; but the ownership of capital by private individuals leads to its general misuse. The owners usually prefer to invest their capital in concerns that pay the highest dividends. These may or may not be socially useful. A patent-medicine company selling coloured water in bottles may pay higher dividends and attract capital more readily than such a socially necessary concern as a coal-mine. Many socially necessary enterprises are entirely neglected by capitalists. Afforestation is socially necessary, but has been neglected because it offers no immediate return for outlay, and government intervention alone will save the world from a timber famine. These and similar abuses are a permanent feature of capitalism. When capital is socially owned it will be socially used.

SOCIALISM AND WEALTH

Socialism and the Land

The land is the original source of all wealth. There is not a single item of property in the possession of man that did not come originally and entirely from the land. Capital consists of accumulated products taken and wrought from the land by labour. Over a century ago much English land was stolen from the people by Act of Parliament. Many landlords are the descendants or successors of feudal lords and their title to the land has often been challenged. Landlords are as unnecessary as capitalists. They charge excessive rents, wayleaves and royalties and put the land to unsocial uses. Landlordism breeds slums. Many people believe that it is only necessary to dispossess the landlords in order to secure economic justice. The nationalisation of the land would certainly undermine the power of the capitalists and, for this reason, Socialists give it the first place in their programme.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

The Iniquity of Landlordism

The value of land and houses, like that of other commodities, increases with demand ; consequently, the great influx of people into the towns during the last century has led to a vast increase in the prices and rents of town property. This vast increase in value, created by the community, has gone into the pockets of the landlords, who have continued to reap a harvest even when, as is so often the case, they have allowed their property to deteriorate in actual value, and fall into a state of disrepair.

The shortage of houses not only enables the landlords to become rich, it also enables them to wield illegitimate political power. In many country districts agricultural labourers are terrorised into voting for their landlord's political party by the fear of eviction. Even in large towns, to-day, a similar fear of the landlord is to be found amongst the working-class population.

SOCIALISM AND WEALTH

Socialism and Money

Money is a medium of exchange, it is the only possible alternative to a primitive state of barter, and is essential in every civilised community. It would be absurd to give a modern industrial worker the actual produce of his labour, the only thing to do is to give him its equivalent value in money.

At present anything — gold, silver, copper, jewellery, notes, bills, cheques, deeds, bonds, share certificates, etc.— that can be used as negotiable security in a business transaction is made to serve the purpose of currency. This renders possible much harmful gambling and speculation in money.

Under Socialism, all men, women and children will keep all their money at the government bank, and all purchases and transactions will probably be carried through by cheques or similar currency issued and guaranteed by the bank. This will make it practically impossible for people to hoard or steal money.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Socialism and Value

All useful commodities have value.

The *value* of a commodity is primarily created by the necessary mental and manual labour expended in its production. Capital is, of course, an important factor in the creation of values, but only because it represents so much past labour.

Exchange value is the value which commodities assume when exchanged in the open market. At present, on the average, *exchange value* represents the costs of production and distribution plus capitalist profits. Sometimes commodities lose their value owing to a glut of the market, or increase in value owing to a scarcity.

Under Socialism, values will not be subject to these fluctuations and will not include profits. Commodities will be priced to the consumer strictly according to the amount of socially necessary labour expended in their production and distribution. Supply will be intelligently regulated to meet demands, and if an accidental shortage occurs the available supplies will be rationed.

SOCIALISM AND INTEREST

INTEREST is a tax levied on the community by owners of capital. Some hard-working people are receivers of interest and sometimes—as when the principal shareholder and managing director of a joint stock company are one and the same person—their interest is either partly or wholly the reward of labour; but in the majority of cases those who receive interest have not earned it, they are the recipients of the produce of other men's labour; they invest their capital with no thought of the social well-being in view—they merely desire to “make money” for themselves—and they serve no useful purpose to the community. This applies to the majority of people—even to Socialists—who own capital. Socialists do not condemn the interest receivers, they only contend that a system that enables vast numbers of people to “earn a living without working for it” must be wrong.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

The Burden of Usury

The investment of money at interest is merely a legalised form of money-lending. One of the worst features of the system is that it places upon the industry and resources of the nation an increasing burden of indebtedness.

For instance : (1) Money is borrowed to start a railway company. A large proportion of it is spent in parliamentary costs, while the original plant laid down deteriorates and vanishes year by year ; (2) Money is borrowed to run a war. The wealth it represents is destroyed at once.

In each case the public has to go on paying interest upon this vanished capital for an indefinite period.

The most prosperous nation cannot stand this burden of indebtedness beyond certain limits. Some investors have to lose ; only the luckiest and cleverest gain any permanent advantage. Many go bankrupt, others lose large sums of money, and the average value of shares is constantly declining.

SOCIALISM AND INTEREST

How Fortunes are made

No man can, by his own labour, produce enough wealth to become excessively rich. Men can only make fortunes by placing the labour of others under contribution. They can only enforce such a contribution when they possess something which the workers want or must have.

The novelist or public entertainer becomes rich when the workers desire his entertainment; the landlord, because the workers need his land and houses; the capitalist, because the workers want work and he possesses the necessary tools and implements; the wholesaler or retailer, because the workers need his goods; the inventor or clever business man, when he possesses a monopoly of ideas; and the financier, because he controls money and credit.

Men often force themselves into one or other of the above positions dishonestly or by gambling—*e.g.* a lucky gold prospector, racing man, company promoter or burglar may invest his gains and so become a capitalist.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

The Theory of Surplus Value

In a primitive state of society no man would expend more labour in productive activity than was necessary to provide him and his dependents with the means of life, but under capitalism each worker is compelled to create more wealth than he can, or is allowed to, consume. The surplus is confiscated by the capitalist. It is by the accumulation of these surplus values that the capitalist becomes rich. Many capitalists endeavour to increase surplus values by lengthening the working day, by introducing machinery and organisation for increasing the productivity of labour, and by lowering the workers' standard of living. More enlightened capitalists however are opposed to the lengthening of the working day because it leads to inferior workmanship ; while of late years they have favoured a policy of high wages, because high wages increase the purchasing power of the working-class consumers, thereby stimulating trade.

SOCIALISM AND INTEREST

A Riddle of the Future

Wealth is of value to the capitalist, after he has provided for his own needs, only so long as he can reinvest it *at a profit*. It is becoming increasingly difficult for the capitalist to find suitable fields of investment. If the capitalists were to invest all their surplus wealth in legitimate industry in their own country unemployment would vanish, wages would go up, and the market would be flooded with goods that would have to be sold at cost price. This would mean prosperity for the masses and bankruptcy for the capitalists.

For this reason capitalists are always willing to finance a war (*i.e.* to throw the money away and compel the people to pay interest on it) or to send their capital abroad for the development of backward countries.

What would happen should all the fields of profitable investment become suddenly closed to new capital?

SOCIALISM AND UNEMPLOYMENT

UNEMPLOYMENT crises are caused by : (1) The production of more commodities than can be consumed—over-production. This may be due to the lack of business foresight on the part of the directors of production or to the poverty of the consumers—under-consumption ; (2) Trade fluctuations, which are either seasonal or are caused by wars, panics and the bad regulation of industry ; (3) The denial of free access to and the misuse of the means of wealth production.

Socialism will prevent over-production by the intelligent direction of production and by increasing the consuming power of the community. By bringing peace and order into national and international affairs it will stabilise trade and prevent all avoidable fluctuations ; and by dispossessing the landlords and capitalists it will place the instruments and materials of wealth production at the disposal of those who desire and are able to make the best use of them.

SOCIALISM AND UNEMPLOYMENT

The Tragedy of Unemployment

Unemployment, in itself, is not a very tragic thing. Quite a lot of people—dukes, lords and rich people of various kinds—are unemployed and are quite happy about it. They work off their superfluous energy by hunting, dancing and anti-Labour politics. Those who prefer intellectual pursuits take to art, music and literature. To be totally devoid of any occupation, however, is very demoralising—breeding vicious habits and causing mental and physical decay. This is especially the case when unemployment is accompanied by poverty, thus robbing the victim of a means of self-expression. If the loungers around the street corners could afford to take up horse-riding or golf, as do the other unemployed, their condition would not be the tragedy it is.

Socialists say that if the State cannot abolish unemployment it should at least do something to prevent the general mental, moral and physical deterioration of the unemployed.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

The Folly of Unemployment

There is plenty of work to be done.

The slums should be cleared away, the canal system should be reconditioned and enlarged, the railway system should be electrified, a million houses should be built, etc. The children of the poor need better clothes, food and education. The workers who have work are overworked.

There are plenty of men to do it.

There are over a million registered unemployed workers, hundreds of thousands of unregistered unemployed, and hundreds of thousands of upper- and middle-class slackers.

There is plenty of land for the men to work on and capital to enable them to work.

The farms are under-cultivated, and thousands of acres of private pleasure parks and deer forests, and much ground at present unused, could be brought under cultivation. Millions of pounds of capital are sent abroad yearly or are squandered in providing luxury and pleasures for the rich.

SOCIALISM AND UNEMPLOYMENT

How Capitalism causes Unemployment

To maintain men in employment requires a continual expenditure of capital. The capitalists are only prepared to authorise this expenditure so long as there is a possibility of making profit, and profits cannot be made unless the goods produced find a ready sale. As they are paid such low wages the workers are not able to purchase all the goods they produce ; consequently, the warehouses soon become filled with unsaleable goods.

During a boom unemployment diminishes and wages go up, but never enough to enable the workers to buy up the surplus stocks. In time, what with increased wages and the glut of the market, the margin of profit becomes so small that the capitalists become alarmed. The banks restrict credit and stop the expenditure of more capital. An unemployment crisis is thus artificially created and is maintained until wages go down again and the stocks are exhausted.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Capitalism and the Reserve of Unemployed

While probably every capitalist is sincere in his professions of sympathy for the unemployed, the fact remains that a certain reserve of unemployed men is a constant and essential feature of the capitalist system.

If unemployment were abolished capitalism would collapse.

The capitalist system remains stable only so long as the individual capitalists are able to make profits, and profits can only be made so long as the workers can be persuaded to accept in wages less than the value of the goods they produce. It is only possible for the capitalists to enforce this scale of wages so long as there is keen competition for jobs amongst the workers, caused by the existence of the unemployed.

During the recent war, when unemployment practically vanished, the capitalists were only able to retain their power by military tyranny—D.O.R.A.—and preying upon the war fears and passions of the populace.

SOCIALISM AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Prosperity and the Consumers

The prosperity of home industry depends ultimately upon the purchasing power of the home consumers. This is true even when, as in Britain, a nation's industry is devoted largely to providing the needs of foreign markets. Foreign markets are only of value so long as the home consumer is able to purchase the goods which the foreigner sends over in payment for the home products. The loss of a foreign market causes distress only because industry, under capitalism, is not able to adapt itself quickly enough to the needs of the home consumer.

Socialism will raise the consuming power of the home consumer to its maximum. Everyone will be well off and will be able to live in a nice house, have beautiful furniture and clothing, eat good food, and possess their own motor cars and aeroplanes; and industry will be intelligently organised to meet the demands of the consumers.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Socialism and Luxury Spending

Rich people excuse themselves for spending so much money on personal luxury by saying that it helps to create work for the unemployed. This argument is only partly true. While a certain sum of money spent on luxury may create work for a few, the same sum spent on necessities will create work for many. The labour of the world is used up primarily in supplying the needs of the vast masses of poor and middle-class people. Many of these live in a state of semi-starvation half their time, never having enough money to spend on decent food, decent clothing and decent living generally. If the money squandered on luxury by the rich were used instead to provide necessities for the poor, the rich would live better and more useful lives, the amount of unemployment would be decreased and the vast mass of the people would be healthier and happier.

SOCIALISM AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Socialism and the Unemployed

If a man is unemployed he is not necessarily a failure at his work ; he is only a failure in the struggle for jobs. However weak and inefficient he may be, he is yet a potential wealth-producing factor. Only a small proportion of the unemployed are unemployables. Unemployment is caused by circumstances over which the unemployed themselves have scarcely any control ; therefore they have every moral right to full industrial maintenance from the community which is unable to provide them with work. Socialists say, however, that from everyone's standpoint it is better that the money paid in " doles " should be used instead in providing useful work for the unemployed.

A bold Socialist Government, given plenary powers, would be able to abolish unemployment almost immediately. It would achieve this by reducing the hours of labour to a minimum and embarking upon vast national schemes for slum clearance, etc.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Socialism and the Exchange of Labour

Most trades are subject to slight and seasonal fluctuations. Such workers as builders, having completed one job, often have to wait some time before other constructional works commence. Many workers have to be constantly changing over from one job, and from one industry, to another. This results, at present, in much temporary unemployment. Labour Exchanges are designed to minimise such unemployment by keeping employers and workers in constant touch with each other. They are, at present, ineffective, principally because the employers are not obliged to patronise the Exchanges. They prefer to advertise and have men coming begging for jobs.

Under Socialism the State will be the principal, if not the only, employer, and all work will be obtained through the Labour Exchanges. An up-to-date record will be kept of all the jobs available, and no man need remain unemployed longer than is necessary to travel from one job to another.

SOCIALISM AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Socialism and the Search for Work

A worker, under capitalism, wastes hours, and sometimes years, in searching for work. When he finds it, it is generally felt that the employer has conferred a privilege upon him. More often exactly the contrary is the case. The worker renders a double service. He enables the employer to make profits, and the community to maintain essential services.

It is absurd that men should have to search for work when there is so much to do. Many men, with justice, regard it as an indignity to have to go round begging for jobs.

Under Socialism a young man anxious to work will be as much a popular hero as a young man in 1914 who was anxious to enlist in his country's defence. He will only have to notify the community, through the Labour Exchanges, that he wishes to serve it, and suitable work will be found for him.

SOCIALISM AND THE DIVISION OF WEALTH

TO-DAY, so many people live in such poverty, while others possess such riches, that the vast majority would be happier and better off if wealth were equally divided ; but the total wealth of the country is so comparatively small that no one would be rich. Under Socialism production would be increased and there would be less waste ; consequently there would be more wealth to divide.

The absolutely equal division of wealth, however, would be absurd, because individual needs are not equal. Babies do not require as much sustenance as grown-ups, and people in responsible positions have greater demands made upon their resources.

Socialism does not demand the equal division of wealth ; it only demands the equitable division of wealth. Wealth-producers should be paid according to their needs and rewarded according to their deeds, while those who can and will not work should not eat.

THE DIVISION OF WEALTH

Socialism and Equality

Although individuals are not and never will be equal in capacity, they are all equal in the sense that they are all human beings. They all have similar desires and appetites. The amount of food, clothing and comfort they each require does not vary greatly, and most men, given the opportunity, are able to produce, by themselves or in co-operation with their fellows, sufficient to supply the needs of themselves and their dependents.

Socialism does not want to make all individuals equal, but it recognises that they all have equal rights to certain things.

All children and adults are entitled to equal opportunities for education and social advancement.

All human beings, including mothers, children and invalids, are entitled to an adequate share of the necessities of life.

All people who serve society to the best of their ability have an equal right to be happy.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Socialism and the Reward of Efficiency

Socialism will tend to eliminate the unfit and to equalise human capacity by making everyone efficient; but some men will always possess greater capacity, and will be able to produce more wealth, than others. They will be rewarded by the respect and trust of their fellow-craftsmen, but it doesn't necessarily follow that they will receive a larger share of wealth. No one is able to consume more than a certain amount of the necessities of life, and any excess of wealth leads to an excess of luxury. Under Socialism excessive luxury for the few will not be allowed, partly because it involves the employment of large staffs of domestics, and partly because everyone, particularly those who produce most wealth, will be too busily engaged in the important matters of life to wish to waste their time in such a life as is now lived by the idle rich.

THE DIVISION OF WEALTH

Socialism and the Reward of Genius

During the progress of the human race statesmen, discoverers and prophets arise, who render exceptional services to their fellows. Many of them receive great rewards in the form of wealth, while others, particularly prophets, meet with great disasters, and only receive recognition after death. This method of rewarding genius makes life a gamble. Inventors are often robbed of their rewards by astute business men, while others receive far more than they can possibly be entitled to. Socialism says that no man is so much greater than other men that he is entitled to such excessive rewards, and that no man is entitled to the whole of the credit for any particular new idea. His success is often accidental and is made possible by the researches of other men, or by the favourable circumstances of his life. Given adequate opportunities to express itself, genius is its own reward.

SOCIALISM AND HUMAN NATURE

SOCIALISTS do not deny that human beings are subject to evil passions, but they refuse to believe that there is no good in human nature. Deeds of charity and self-sacrifice fill the annals of history and everyday life, and are the most popular subjects with novelists and dramatists. A man may become good or evil according to his circumstances. To-day many men become embittered by circumstances—such as poverty—which would not occur under Socialism. Few men are dominated entirely by evil passions, but these few may do a lot of mischief if given the opportunities. Under Socialism many opportunities which the present system offers will be denied to them. They will not be permitted to accumulate unlimited wealth, and everyone will be a public servant, accountable for his actions to the people as a whole. Socialism will restrain the bad and encourage the good tendencies in human nature.

HUMAN NATURE

Socialism and the Social Instincts

A people who are honest, lovable, charitable, kindly and dutiful are a great national asset. They inspire confidence, stability and that happy environment that makes for good workmanship. Socialists do not believe that everyone is naturally honest, lovable, charitable, kind and dutiful, but they are convinced that the social instincts may be cultivated in almost every human being by right education and environment. The present competitive system provides the worst possible education and environment for this purpose. The grim law of find a job, keep it or starve, has turned modern business life into a veritable hell, in which the most sociable people have to fight bitterly in order to hold their positions or attain one of security. Socialism, which will ensure for a start that everyone willing to work shall receive the means of life and a modicum of comfort, will give the social instincts a chance to develop.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Thrift and Saving

Socialists regard thrift as a valuable social asset, and will do everything possible to encourage it, but they are not prepared to admit that the mere saving of money is a virtue in itself ; if it were, misers would be saints. At present men save money to tide them over bad times and provide for old age, but they often lose their savings in bad investments or are unable to save enough. Under Socialism the State will maintain stocks against times of scarcity — as Joseph did in the land of Pharaoh—and the maintenance of the aged and infirm in comfort will also be a national responsibility. It will be unnecessary for the individual to pile up savings. He will receive a minimum wage sufficient for his maintenance, and if he is thrifty and wise he will spend it judiciously as he earns it, avoiding gambling, needless luxury and vice.

HUMAN NATURE

Socialism and the Greed of Gain

It is often contended that Socialism will fail because men are only prepared to work efficiently and well for the greed of gain. This is demonstrably untrue even at the present time. Public bodies ; religious organisations ; charitable and scientific societies ; sports, benefit and social clubs ; choral, dramatic and literature societies ; trade union branches ; co-operative societies ; Socialist parties, etc., are all largely run by men and women who receive either no payment at all, or only sufficient to provide them with the necessities of life. Sometimes they are efficient, sometimes inefficient ; but the same may also be said of business men in general. Some of the most able men have worked ardently for the race without any thought of personal gain. The great mass of working people also work for no other selfish motive than the desire to earn a sufficient livelihood for themselves and their dependents.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Socialism and Slackers

At present some people, mostly rich, refuse to do any work, while others, who have work, deliberately slack. Under Socialism, according to Shaw, the former will be shot, but it is doubtful if such extreme measures will be necessary. A normal man should no more think of refusing to work than he should of refusing to eat.

To-day men and women are hindered from slacking at their work by factory and office discipline, enforced by fear of the "sack." There is nothing to prevent the same discipline from being maintained under Socialism, but, as everyone will be assured of some kind of work, it will be enforced principally by public opinion. Men will realise that if any man slacks at his work the others will have to work harder to make up for it. Slackers will be treated in much the same way as the conscientious objectors during the war.

HUMAN NATURE

Who will do the Unpleasant Work under Socialism?

Under Socialism all useful work will be regarded as a service to the community ; consequently, those who do exceptionally unpleasant work — such as sewer-cleaning—will not be regarded as social pariahs, as at present, but will be treated with the respect due to all people to whom the community is particularly indebted. Everything possible will be done to make unpleasant work endurable. The conditions of labour will be improved and the hours reduced. There need be very few jobs that are entirely distasteful to everybody. Innumerable inventions have been made for eliminating or improving such work as dust-collecting and coal-mining, but have never been put into use because the capitalists are not prepared to go to the extra expense while they can obtain so much cheap casual labour. Under Socialism people will simply refuse to do work unless everything possible is done to make it attractive.

SOCIALISM AND INTER- NATIONALISM

THE nations are becoming so inter-dependent and involved in each other's economic systems that it will be much easier for particular nations to become Socialised if the other nations are already Socialised, or are in a similar stage of development. It is possible that a capitalist nation might have reasons for objecting to another nation becoming Socialised. For instance, America might object to Britain becoming Socialised on the grounds that millions of American capital invested in this country would be involved ; and since America controls a large proportion of Britain's food supplies she would be in a position to give emphasis to her objections. These economic entanglements, besides being obstacles in the way of Socialisation, are also a fruitful source of war. For these reasons Socialists work hand in hand with the Socialists of all other nations—aiming to make the world an International Union of Socialist Republics.

SOCIALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

Why Socialism is opposed to War

War is the most cruel and most costly folly in which mankind indulges. It is doubtful if it has ever achieved any useful purpose. Its cost in terms of money and human life is usually so heavy that it cannot be repaid by the most wonderful of victories. The aftermath of war, in poverty, unemployment and disease, is a worse evil than any it may have sought to remove.

In the early days of colonial expansion it was sometimes possible for a nation to enrich itself at the expense of another by war. Nowadays, however, the nations are so dependent upon each other's trade that anything—such as a war—which upsets the commercial balance causes distress all round. A nation at war is like a tradesman trying to kill off his best customers. It is practically impossible for a nation to injure another without injuring itself.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

How Capitalism profits by War

Unless it leads to revolution, war invariably strengthens the position of the capitalists and weakens the power of the workers. The victorious nations use their victory to enforce a reduction in the standard of living in the defeated nations. The fact that they live on less enables the conquered people to produce more cheaply and so undercut their competitors in the world market. This intensifies unemployment in the other countries and the capitalists are enabled to enforce an all-round reduction of wages.

The only people who permanently benefit from war are such capitalists as concessionnaires, profiteers or financiers, who take advantage of the war to make excessive profits and obtain concessions in conquered territories for themselves. Armament manufacturers always stand to profit from war, whether their country wins or loses. *Socialism will put those capitalists who are so particularly interested in the promotion of wars out of business.*

SOCIALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

How the Capitalist System produces War

Many factors contribute to the outbreak of war, but the primary one is undoubtedly the commercial rivalry of nations. Under capitalism this conflict is always going on and is caused by the buccaneering methods which capitalists adopt in their efforts to increase their sales and profits.

A group of capitalists situated in a particular nation, engaged in a particular industry and wishing to increase their fortunes, will endeavour to monopolise the world's trade in the goods they produce. They will aim at cornering the supplies of raw materials and of gaining access to the best markets and trade routes. When they are worsted in the struggle, or find themselves up against powerful rivals, they will call in the aid of their Government. Tariff barriers will be raised, navies built, armies equipped and colonies annexed. These things are in themselves fruitful causes of war. Their mere existence often precipitates a crisis.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

How Socialism will lead to Peace

Socialist nations will engage in commerce, but not in commercial warfare. They will become increasingly self-supporting and will learn to mind their own business. They will learn that the national energies, which capitalists waste in their efforts to capture foreign markets and trade routes, can be more profitably directed towards developing home industries. No effort will be made to force other nations to buy goods they don't want. Goods will be manufactured for export only when, owing to their excellence or rarity, there is a demand for them abroad, or in order to pay for necessary imports. Honest and necessary commerce makes for peace rather than for war, and the existence of a single Socialist nation trading on these lines will help to breed good will amongst the nations ; but owing to the buccaneering commercial methods of modern capitalist nations it will be impossible to establish permanent peace until Socialism becomes international.

GUILD SOCIALISM AND STATE SOCIALISM

MOST of the early Socialists believed that the State should take over industry and run it on the lines of an ordinary government department, only, of course, on a larger scale. Many sympathisers with the Labour Movement felt, however, that this would be an inadequate method of dealing with the problem. Many government departments are notoriously inefficient and the transformation might only mean that the workers would change bosses for bureaucrats. Guild Socialism would evade this danger by giving the workers a direct control and share in the management of their particular industry. This, it is believed, would revive the pride of craft and desire for good workmanship seen in the mediæval guilds. To-day most Socialists acknowledge the need for some degree of workers' control, but they are prepared to argue that State Socialism by itself would be an improvement upon the existing methods of running industry.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Socialism and Bureaucracy

Upon the service rendered by officials the welfare of the nation largely depends. At present, official positions are usually sinecures given to those who pass examinations or are hereditary members of the official classes. So long as they give normal satisfaction their jobs are secure. This causes uninspired bureaucracy, red tape and stereotyped methods. Also, exceptionally clever men are not attracted to the Civil Service ; they can usually make more money in ordinary business.

Under Socialism, the Civil Service will attract all those who wish to take a responsible part in the conduct of industry and commerce. The official ranks will be closed to no class, but only those who prove themselves to be trustworthy and demonstrate exceptional ability will become officials, and they will be answerable for their conduct to the public as a whole. This will encourage them to put all their energy and imagination into their work.

GUILD AND STATE SOCIALISM

Socialism and the Vast Army of Officials

Socialism will incorporate in the government service many administrative staffs now in the employ of private companies ; this will increase the number of government officials, but will actually lead to a vast administrative economy. At present, each private concern has an administrative staff of its own. Many such concerns are engaged in socially useless activity, while others are merely duplicates of rival concerns. It will be possible to dispense with many of the administrative staffs entirely.

Socialism also will remarkably simplify the whole process of many administrative professions—such as banking, law and insurance. Many such professions have arisen and continue to exist almost solely because of the present methods of exchange, distribution and organisation. When capitalism is abolished society will be saved the cost of their upkeep. This will not cause unemployment. It will only mean that those concerned will be transferred to more useful spheres of activity.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

The Three Phases

Production, distribution and consumption are three separate functions. Sometimes they are performed by one and the same person—as when a man produces vegetables on an allotment, carries them home and consumes them himself. More often the functions are performed by three different individuals—*e.g.* the farmer produces apples which are distributed by railwaymen and consumed by children. Each of these holds a slightly different point of view towards the transaction. The producer wants a good price and a ready sale for his products, the distributor wants high freightage, and the consumer wants low prices. At present the various claims are settled arbitrarily, according to the wishes of the strongest, with the result that one at least of the three, usually the consumer, gets the worst of the bargain. For this reason Socialists insist that a democratic and just social administration must be equally representative of all three.

GUILD AND STATE SOCIALISM

Socialism and Distribution

At the present time much waste occurs as a result of faulty methods of distribution. Towns often obtain their supplies of milk from long distances, while milk-producers living in, or adjacent to, the towns have to send their supplies away. This sort of thing occurs continually in connection with practically every kind of produce, and is a natural result of allowing distribution to be carried on by multitudes of independent middlemen who dispose of the goods that pass through their hands in any way that will bring them a profit. Under Socialism each locality will have a public body which will have entire control of the local marketing arrangements. It will use all available local products before going outside for supplies, and will eliminate the middleman. Similar bodies will regulate the flow of trade—nationally and internationally—directing produce to the nearest markets so as to lessen transport costs.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Socialism and Political Parties

In theory a political party is an organisation of citizens who believe in a certain principle of government ; in practice, it usually represents some particular class interests. Before the rise of the Labour Party, the decline of the Liberal Party and the tendency to form anti-Labour coalitions, the Conservative Party represented the landowners and the drink trade ; and the Liberal Party, the modern manufacturing capitalist class. The Labour Party primarily represents the working-class, and is financed by them.

Socialism will not necessarily abolish political parties, but it will drive the spirit of class antagonism from politics. The political parties will strictly fulfil their functions as organisations seeking to give practical expression to their respective theories of government. They will be financed by the personal subscriptions of their supporters, but no man will be able to influence the policy of his party by the weight of his money alone, as often happens to-day.

GUILD AND STATE SOCIALISM

Payment of the Non-Productive Worker

Under Socialism, no man will be able to take from another any share of the produce of his labour. Then, since all wealth is produced by those workers directly engaged in production, how will the three great classes of non-productive workers be maintained? (1) The administrative workers will be maintained out of the national revenues like the present Civil Service; (2) The priests, politicians, propagandists, etc., will be maintained by their respective religious, political and propaganda organisations, as at present; (3) The arts will be patronised by the municipalities. It doesn't follow that the artists will receive any payment at all. All men will be artists, and will have sufficient spare time for their purposes. The municipalities may grant honorariums to exceptional merit, or employ professional artists. Such great *litterateurs* as Tolstoy and Plutarch regarded it as a duty for an artist to engage in some other or public activity.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Socialism and Publishing

At present the success of a published work depends considerably upon the influence, skill and advertising ability of the publisher. Some big publishing firms have such a powerful selling organisation that they are able to sell almost anything they print. The result of this system is that much rubbish achieves notoriety, while works of real merit are often overlooked.³

Under Socialism no man will publish his own works. Works of art, music and literature will be published by the municipalities, and will only receive national or international notice after they have received recognition locally. Controversial works will be published by political, religious and similar organisations, or by public subscription in the old-fashioned way. Owing to the close relationship which exists between news and politics it is a moot point whether the newspapers will be published by the governments or by the respective political and propagandist organisations.

GUILD AND STATE SOCIALISM

Socialism and Celebrity

Many people obtain fame and fortune through the possession of uncommon talent—for instance, authors, painters, sculptors, composers, cricketers, footballers, film actors, comedians, conjurers, politicians, preachers, orators, actors, singers, etc. Under Socialism, an aspirant for fame in one of the above professions will have to serve his apprenticeship in one of the administrative or productive professions: preferably, one suited to his uncommon talents. Thus an aspirant author may become a journalist; an artist, a designer or decorator; a preacher, a school-teacher, etc. Only those authors, artists, sportsmen, actors, etc., who show very exceptional talent and succeed in pleasing the public will become professionals. They will be paid by the local or national governments. None will be allowed to become excessively rich, as at present. The system of paying royalties will not be tolerated. Celebrities will receive fixed salaries not differing greatly from those of the higher grades of administrative workers.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Socialism and the Home

Ever since the days of Fourier many Socialists have believed that Socialism would eventually involve an entirely different form of domestic organisation. Something like this :

Small self-governing communities would live together in beautifully furnished palaces or hotels, or in groups of closely adjoining villas. Each family would have separate and self-contained apartments, but the meals would be served in a communal restaurant, or delivered from a communal kitchen. All the members of the community would have an equal voice in the management and would co-operate with each other to help to make their home a place worth living in. Everyone would be expected to do their share towards keeping the gardens, clubs, libraries, etc., attached to the community in good order. Such an arrangement would make possible many economies — such as central heating — and would foster sociableness without destroying the family circle.

GUILD AND STATE SOCIALISM

Socialism and the Housewife

Housework is a key industry. Without its services all other industries would collapse. At present the housewife is employed by innumerable private employers, known as husbands, many of whom shamefully exploit their workers. Most houses are unfit for the housewife to work in. The conditions under which she usually has to work make her life one ceaseless round of toil. Much housework could be done away with altogether by the introduction of modern labour-saving appliances and by co-operative organisation. Many intellectual women could be set free to take part in the business and administrative life of the community. Under Socialism the community will see to it that the housewife receives adequate remuneration for her work, and that she is given time for recreation and self-improvement. She will be provided with every appliance and condition of labour necessary to enable her to work efficiently and economically.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

What a Socialist City would be like

A Socialist City would be built where the land was unfertile, but where the atmosphere was healthy. Palatial cities would spring up on the high hills, or on the shores of seas and lakes, while the fertile tracts of land in the valleys would be given up wholly to agriculture. Social economy would demand this change. The houses would be palaces separated by extensive gardens and parks. Grassy banks and shady trees would border wide thoroughfares. The air would resound with the songs of birds and the joyful shouts of children at play. Every day the working men and women would descend into the valleys to work in the fields and factories. In the late afternoon they would return happy from their labours to enjoy for a few brief hours the social amenities provided by the municipalities.

HOW SOCIALISM WILL COME

SOCIALISTS propose nothing more revolutionary, at present, than to buy out the capitalists at valuation by presenting them with interest-bearing, redeemable government stock (similar to Consols.) to the value of their properties. The land- and mine-owners will probably be the first to go, and the other capitalists will follow, industry by industry. This will deprive the capitalists of the control of industry and reduce them to the position of government bondholders, drawing a steady and maximum rate of interest. The rich will still remain rich. During and after this process the inequalities of wealth will be steadily reduced by steeply graduated death-duties, super-tax and levies on capital.

When the organisation of the Socialist State is firmly established, and it is possible to ensure to everyone the means of life and comfort, the rich people will be finally eliminated by such measures as the abolition of interest and inheritance.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Socialism and Public Opinion

Socialism is the logical development of that democratic movement that won for us the franchise. The Chartists believed that if everyone were given a vote tyranny and economic injustice would disappear ; but they overlooked the fact that the ballot-box was useless while the organs for manufacturing and expressing public opinion were used to mislead the voters. Until quite recently both the newspapers and the political parties were controlled almost entirely by the governing classes ; consequently, the workers seldom heard a true statement of opinion from their own standpoint, and only those men who had the backing of powerful financial interests were able to stand for Parliament. Socialists, by organising the workers politically, cleared the way for many able men of the working class and made a Labour Government possible ; they have still, however, to build up a powerful Labour press and to increase their propaganda work.

HOW SOCIALISM WILL COME

Socialism and the Class War

Socialism will benefit all classes in that it will make everyone happier ; but people have become so used to regarding money as a synonym for happiness that they are usually opposed to any proposal which is likely to make them poorer. Those who, to-day, possess excessive wealth are usually opposed to Socialism because it would involve a more equitable distribution. Socialists hope to counter this opposition by arousing the dispossessed workers to an equal degree of "class consciousness." Socialists do not delight in class warfare, but they realise that justice is almost invariably on the side of the workers. Strikes and lock-outs are symptoms of the class war. There never was a strike which obtained for the workers all to which they were entitled as human beings, but there have been many lock-outs which have enabled the capitalists to increase their already swollen profits.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Socialism and Fiscal Policy

Socialism is a scheme for increasing the national wealth. If it involves the State in any extra costs they will be paid out of the profits of the nationalised industries. While compensation and interest is being paid to the dispossessed private owners, a part of these profits will have to be set aside for this purpose ; but afterwards all the profits will be used, in one way and another, to relieve the burdens of the taxpayer.

Socialism will render unnecessary the present vast expenditure on unsocial services such as armaments, but will vastly increase the expenditure on such important social services as education, housing, transport and pensions for mothers, children, the aged and the disabled—in war or industry. Some Socialists propose to make transport a *free* social service. Even so, it doesn't follow that Socialism will increase taxation, but if it does it will give the taxpayer value for money.

HOW SOCIALISM WILL COME

Socialism and Taxation

Taxes are a payment made by the community for service received from the Government.

All taxation falls ultimately either on *rent* or *income*, and it is foolish to tax anything else. The present methods of raising the national revenue are chaotic and wasteful. Indirect taxes on entertainment, food, drink, clothing, etc., are expensive to collect, cast the greatest burden upon the poor and can only be justified when they are used to discourage the consumption of unnecessary luxuries.

Socialists regard taxation as a valuable weapon of social emancipation. The fortunes of the rich should be reduced by super-taxes, death-duties and capital levies, imposed so as to fall most heavily upon the largest incomes.

Under Socialism there will be no indirect taxes or tariffs. The national revenue will probably be derived solely from income tax, collected *en masse* through the banks, and the local taxes (rates) will consist of rent.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Socialism, Tariffs and Free Trade

Socialists are not particularly interested in the Free Trade *versus* Tariff Reform controversy. Neither Tariffs nor Free Trade exclude unnecessary imports. Tariffs merely increase the price of imports and enable the home capitalist to raise his prices. Shortly afterwards, of course, wages increase and restore equilibrium, but during the transition the capitalist makes excessive profits. Most British Socialists prefer Free Trade, because Tariffs are weapons of the international commercial war, and help to fan the flames of ill-feeling that lead to war. Neither policy can hope either to defend or benefit home industries as effectively as the Socialist policy. Under Socialism all the foreign trade of a particular nation will be controlled by a special department of State. This department will only purchase goods from abroad when home industries fail to meet the demands. This will not destroy international trade ; it will only prevent such abuses of it as dumping.

HOW SOCIALISM WILL COME

Socialism and the Drink Trade

Socialism is opposed to making men drunk for profit. In order to increase the craving for, and therefore the sale of, intoxicants, the private owners of the drink trade are accused of systematically adulterating alcoholic liquors. Socialism would dispossess the private owners and would make the provision of pure liquors, under decent conditions, a national undertaking.

Socialists believe that when the lives of the workers are made worth living they will be less inclined to resort to drink.

Since, however, the nationalisation of the drink trade, in itself, is no guarantee that drunkenness will vanish, and since an increasing body of public opinion is totally opposed to the sale of intoxicants, many Socialists are prepared to support a measure of prohibition by local option, or by referendum ; but they insist that before such a measure be allowed to pass into law it should be supported by at least two-thirds of the electorate.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Socialism and Housing

A capitalist builder builds houses to sell or let at a profit. He is usually a jerry-builder. Government intervention alone prevents him from building houses totally unfit for human habitation. Comparatively few people, even when assisted by building societies, can afford to buy their own houses ; the majority have to rent houses from landlords. Once built and in the hands of a landlord a house is expected to yield its owner rent as long as it will stand up.

The net result of this system is that only the rich get decent houses to live in. The working poor live in slums and the middle classes in dingy rows of jerry-built villas.

Socialism will make housing a national undertaking. Bad housing is one of the principal causes of ill-health. The great sums at present spent in battling with disease and ill-health will be used to provide the people with healthy homes.

HOW SOCIALISM WILL COME

Socialism and Education

There are three kinds of education : (1) Technical—the training of the individual as a wealth-producer ; (2) Cultural—teaches the individual how to enjoy and make the best use of life ; and (3) Propaganda—guides the opinions of the individual on controversial and political subjects.

Socialism will enable all children to reap the full benefits of a technical and cultural education. This will be achieved by abolishing private enterprise in education, making all education free, and ensuring that all children have ample food, clothing and comfort.

Socialists object to the State making use of the schools for the propagation of religious and political ideas. The object of education is to produce cultured and self-supporting citizens, not Imperialists, Socialists, Militarists, Christians, Mohammedans, wage-slaves or cannon-fodder. The political and religious education of children should be left to the parents and to the respective political and religious organisations.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Socialism and Agriculture

Capitalism has ruined British agriculture and made us dependent on foreigners for supplies. Much of our dairy produce comes from Denmark—a country smaller and less fertile than Britain. The money that should be used to pay decent remuneration and wages to farmers and their labourers is absorbed by the middlemen and the railway companies. The average farm is too large for one man to manage and too small to be farmed scientifically.

Socialism will organise co-operative production and distribution, eliminate the middlemen and make the farms feed and clothe the entire population. Social and housing schemes will make village life enjoyable and stop the depopulation of the countryside. The land will be divided into large estates—farmed by companies employing the latest scientific methods and appliances—and into intensively cultivated smallholdings. Only the most capable men will become farmers and the agricultural labourer will have equal chances with the farmer's son.

HOW SOCIALISM WILL COME

Why Banking should be Nationalised

At present the prosperity of industry largely depends upon the honesty and capability of a few leading bankers acting on behalf of profit-seeking shareholders. Most of the country's working capital is in their hands, and by altering the bank rate and exercising their right to lend or not to lend they are able to say how and to what extent it shall be used. The restriction of credit by the banks is one of the principal causes of unemployment.

The nationalisation of banking would stabilise trade, secure every depositor against the fear of losing his money, stop unnecessary rivalry amongst the bankers and economise banking processes, make the State the master of the industrial and commercial situation, and simplify the process of socialisation. Money would be advanced, not with the idea of making profit, but in order to diminish unemployment and stimulate necessary industries, such as agriculture.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM

Foreign Policy and National Defence

Should a Socialist nation be called upon to defend itself in war, it would be better able to do so than a capitalist state of similar dimensions. A capitalist state is too wastefully organised to be able to stand the strain of a prolonged modern war. During the last war Britain, to ensure victory, was compelled to adopt large measures of socialisation.

A real Socialist state, however, would not easily become involved in a war. It would live in friendly relations with its neighbours; its negotiations would be open, honest and democratic; it would be constantly striving for international peace, and to repair the injuries which capitalist marauders had done to other—particularly to the native—races of the world; and it would take the lead in all works of international charity. Many Socialists believe that it would be quite unnecessary for a Socialist state to maintain a permanent armament.

HOW SOCIALISM WILL COME

Socialism and the King

Socialists are republicans in spirit.

Centuries ago Plato argued that "All kings should be philosophers, and all philosophers kings"—in other words, that the greatest man in the nation should be the wisest. Such an ideal is unattainable in an hereditary monarchy.

While the founder of a line of monarchs may be a wise man it doesn't follow that a single one of his successors will be. A weak or foolish man possessing power always misuses it. In history monarchies are invariably associated with tyranny and misgovernment.

A limited monarchy, such as ours, is a lesser evil than an absolute monarchy, but it is still an evil. It is the symbol of a barbaric society. It is costly and wasteful, and maintains evil traditions. Socialists, however, are prepared to tolerate it for a time, while they are using their energies in combating a worse evil—the tyranny of capitalism.

A SUMMARY OF SOCIALISM :

Socialism and the Empire

Socialists wish to make the British Empire the nucleus of a world commonwealth of nations, which all nations may enter freely and upon equal terms. This ideal can only be attained given the following conditions: (1) Each nationality within the Empire should have complete self-government and freedom to work out its own destiny; (2) All tariff barriers should be abolished; (3) Imperial expansion and exploitation for the benefit of such predatory capitalist interests as the Anglo-Persian Oil Co., at the expense of native races, should cease; (4) The supreme government of the Empire should be taken from the British Parliament and be vested in a democratically elected Imperial Parliament, comprising representatives from each nation; and (5) Each nationality should be left to solve its own problem of national defence, with the certain knowledge that it need fear no attack from any confederate nation and, in a just cause, could rely upon a large degree of Imperial support.

HOW SOCIALISM WILL COME

Socialism and the Labour Party

The Labour Party was founded largely as a result of the agitation of Socialists in the Trade Union branches. The Socialists wished the T.U.'s to come into politics because they felt that it would be impossible to overcome the powerful opposition of the capitalists without a solid working-class backing, and they foresaw that, once in politics, the Trade Unionists would tend, more and more, to adopt a Socialist programme.

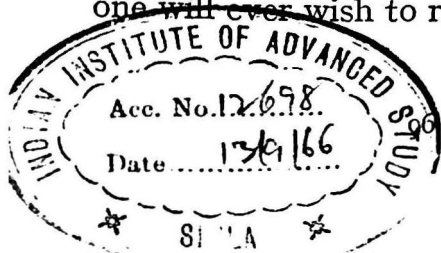
Although it was originally founded as the political expression of working-class Trade Unionism, the Labour Party opens its ranks to men and women of all classes who wish to see an improvement of the economic and social conditions of the people. It wishes to destroy the political power of the vested interests of capitalism and to nationalise such essential public services as transport, education and coal-mining. The final triumph of the Labour Party will pave the way to Socialism.

WHEN SOCIALISM WILL COME

SOCIALISM will come when the Socialists have succeeded in convincing a majority of the people of the necessity of Socialism. They will not achieve this by camouflaging their aims, nor yet by flying in the face of public opinion. Socialism is a reasonable policy, acceptable to every reasonable man; it should be presented as such. The capitalists can only retain their power so long as they are able to keep the people ignorant of the real nature of Socialism. Socialism will not be achieved either by opportunism or violence. The opportunist Socialist who is prepared to sacrifice fundamental principles for passing political victories, and the communist advocate of violence, both assist the capitalists in giving the public a false impression of Socialism.

Once the Socialist parties are victorious their victory will be permanent.

Once Socialism is firmly established no one will ever wish to revert to capitalism.



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