



The Worker. AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY (Known in New York State as the Social Democratic Party.) PUBLISHED WEEKLY AT 184 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK.

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THE SOCIALIST VOTE. The Socialist Party of the United States has passed through its third general election in the history of the United States.

Next week's issue of The Worker will appear one day late, going to press Thursday night instead of Wednesday night.

THE EVOLUTION OF SOCIALIST PARTY TACTICS. II.

Last week, commenting upon certain articles in the Salt Lake City "Crisis" under this title, we tried to show that, contrary to the opinion of the "Crisis," the growth of our vote, bringing us under the operations of the primary laws in the various states, does not by any means render our present party organization superfluous.

ing in touch with each other, would be able generally to "swing" the primaries, "pack" the conventions, and fill the committees with its own members or agents.

But, it may be said, there are the legal committees provided for by law; why cannot they serve all the purposes mentioned, without any machine? We answer: In that case these committees would themselves be a machine, and not a very good one—especially not a good one for our party.

The political machine, then, is a good thing in itself. It may serve a good or a bad purpose. But a purpose, good or bad, will be better served by a party with a strong machine than by one with a weak machine or none.

Primary meets but once a year; in some states but once in two years. They elect delegates to conventions which sit for a few hours or a few days. During the interim, the committees are uncontrolled, so far as the law goes.

This organization can and will continue to do the actual work of supporting and controlling the political movement for Socialism. If we should be foolish enough to abandon it or to limit it to educational as distinguished from political work (separating the two, as the "Crisis" proposes), then we should soon find a machine growing up in the legally recognized party, a machine of the old-party type which would not be suitable to Socialist purposes and would be a source of trouble if not of disaster.

It is of course possible that, when we are under the primary laws, we may sometimes have delegates, committees, or even candidates who are not members. It is not desirable, for a man who does not care enough about Socialism to join the organization is not fit for such a place.

Through the legal primaries, conventions, and committees, by preconcerted action, the organized party will draw the platforms and choose the candidates and the campaign managers.

Such, to our way of thinking, is the relation of the present party organization to the legal machinery that the law imposes on us at a certain stage in our growth. It may need some adaptations that we do not foresee; experience will show. The chief needs are: First, to make it larger—

Second, to develop more thorough knowledge of Socialist theory and history, stronger fraternal feeling, and a better capacity and habit of united action within its ranks, especially in those quarters where its members are still too much under the influence of former old-party experiences.

NOTE, COMMENT AND ANSWER.

It goes without saying, in view of our often expressed approval of the courses pursued by Comrade Mally as National Secretary and by Comrade Titus as editor of the "Socialist" at Seattle, that The Worker extends its hearty good wishes to them in their joint enterprise, the enlargement of the paper and its establishment on a new and firmer basis in Toledo.

A correspondent asks us about graphophone or phonograph records of speeches by Debs, Hanford, and other working class leaders.

COMMERCIALISM AND ART.

Mr. Charles Frohman, Mr. Daniel Frohman, and Mr. Marc Klaw are all gone into the "art" business, which they represent. We are pleased with Mr. Klaw's style. Here is some of it: "The theater is governed by the rules and observances of all other commercial enterprises. It is not out to dictate to public taste. It is out to satisfy the public demand."

TO THE TSAR.

By Elsa Barker.

Lord of the knot, of terror and of tears! Thou whose wide borders on this terrace star Enclose a sea of blood, as viewed afar! By those on neighboring and kinder spheres! The hour is near when all the ancient sorrow Of all thy dead, and all thy living shame, Shall under thy to-day from thy to-morrow By rivers of unmitigated flame. Before thy fear-dilated eyes A starting spectre shall arise. Upon its lips the foam of madness, Around its limbs the rotting robes of death, WI.. in its eyes the exile sadness, And issuing from its mouth a pestilential breath. Between the dawn and thee that form shall stand With lifted arm and menacing intent. Its ragged shadow darkening all the land. And it shall cry out of its awful jaws Vengeance on thee, by everlasting laws, For all the innocent souls thy crimes have sent To plead with Destiny a people's cause.

\*After the massacre of January 22.

Current Literature

OUT OF WORK: A Study of Employment Agencies. By Frances A. Keller. Published for the Inter-Municipal Committee of Household Research, by G. P. Putnam's Sons, London and New York, 1904. Cloth, 322 pp., indexed. Price, \$1.25.

While the Socialist movement goes on, in the United States and elsewhere, demonstrating the soundness of its economic basis and its political form by steadily attracting and organizing larger and larger masses of workmen and working women, the power of its ideal is simultaneously attested by the effectiveness of its appeal to men who have made a name in literature in the more restricted sense of that word.

A rather striking portrait of Laurence Gronlund forms the front cover-piece of the "Comrade" for February, and Eugene Y. Debs writes a heartfelt appreciation of the man. The first place in the magazine is fittingly held by Franklin H. Wentworth's ably-written department, "The Times and Their Tendencies."

THE RESULTS OF CAPITALISM.

The Bureau of Charities in presenting its annual report states that there are over 50,000 widows and orphans depending on charity and over 25,000 homeless men in Chicago every night.

AN ELEMENTARY COURSE IN ECONOMICS AND POLITICS.

X.—The Difference Between the Rate of Interest and the Rate of Exploitation—The Latter Rising, Though the Former is Falling—What Becomes of the Surplus?

[The writer of these articles must beg the indulgence of their readers for his failure to present this article last week. Many other duties pressed upon him and, besides, his brain refused to work with just the mental clarity regularly desirable in the brain of a newspaperman.]

X.—The Rate of Exploitation.

It is a commonplace of bourgeois political economy that, as the development of industry goes on, the rate of profit or rate of interest tends to decrease. This is a generally observed fact and it can, if necessary, be demonstrated theoretically.

Very often the apologists of capitalism appeal to this well established law of diminishing returns to disprove the Socialists' assertion that, with the development of capitalist industry, the exploitation of labor tends ever to become more intense, that the rate of exploitation increases or, in other words, that the capitalist retains ever a larger share and the wage-worker receives ever a smaller share of the value produced by labor.

The rate of interest or rate of profit, in the sense in which we commonly speak of it, is quite a different thing from the rate of exploitation.

Suppose an establishment with a total capital, constant and variable, of \$100,000; suppose 100 wage-workers employed; suppose their net product in a year (gross product minus cost of materials, depreciation of plant, etc.), to be \$80,000 a year—\$800 per employee; suppose their wages to be \$45,000 a year—an average of \$450 each; the surplus-value remaining to the capitalist, then, will be \$35,000 a year.

The rate of interest and the rate of exploitation are, then, two quite different rates—the ratios of one thing (surplus-value) to two quite different things (capital and net profit). All three of these things vary from time to time; both of these ratios vary; but they do not necessarily nor commonly vary at the same rate or in the same direction.

Suppose, in the course of ten years, important inventions of labor-saving machinery are made, which enable two workmen in some branches of the industry we are considering to do the work of three, increasing the army of the unemployed, and which make it possible for women and children to do the work that only men could do before, with a consequent reduction of wages.

Capital, \$600,000; number of wage-workers, 100; yearly product, \$85,000—or \$850 each; yearly wages, \$45,000—or \$450 each; the surplus-value, then, will be \$40,000 a year.

an increment of about three and one-quarter billions. This would indicate a reinvestment of about one-fifth of the capitalists' share of the product.

The actual amount of reinvestment was no doubt considerably more than this, for, besides investing for the purpose of expanding their own industries, these capitalists also spent large sums in redeeming American securities previously held abroad (transferring ownership of American capital from foreign to American capitalists) and in buying foreign securities or acquiring properties in foreign countries for future exploitation.

Two important subjects remain to be considered in this sketch of Socialist economies, after which we must go on to the discussion of Socialist politics. These two subjects are: The Concentration of Capitalist Ownership and The Cause and Effects of Industrial Crises.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT.

Circulation Statement Shows a Slight Loss This Time, Instead of the Usual Gain—Time to Get Busy.

The progress of The Worker's subscription list toward the 25,000 mark received a check last week. Instead of a gain, as usual, we have to report a loss, both in total circulation and in the number of individual subscribers.

Table with 2 columns: Item and Amount. Includes Week Ending Feb. 5, 1905 and Feb. 12, 1905. Total circulation 17,623; loss for week 81.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The following table, made by W. J. Ghent, may be taken as a final and authoritative showing of the progress of Socialism at the polls in the United States from 1900 to 1904, as officially reported.

Table showing the percentage of the Socialist vote in various states from 1900 to 1904. States include Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

The fact remains that some portion of the capitalists' share of the product of labor is turned into means of production for the expansion of industry. The fact remains that, under Socialism, the workers collectively owning the means of production and disposing of the product, they would be obliged to set aside some portion of it for this same purpose—at least enough to provide for the expansion of the means of production proportionately to the growth of population.



