

**AMERICANIZED
SOCIALISM; A YANKEE
VIEW OF CAPITALISM**

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Americanized socialism; a Yankee view of capitalism by James MacKaye

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JAMES MACKAYE

**AMERICANIZED
SOCIALISM; A YANKEE
VIEW OF CAPITALISM**

AMERICANIZED SOCIALISM

*A Yankee View
of Capitalism*

BY

JAMES MACKAYE

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"THE HAPPINESS OF NATIONS," ETC.



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CALIFORNIA

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PREFACE

Socialists differ about the philosophy and the tactics of socialism, but they agree about its program. Adherence to the program therefore is the test of a socialist. Morris Hillquit, probably the best authority on orthodox socialism in America, is fully in agreement with this position, as shown by the following quotation from an article in the *Metropolitan Magazine* for July, 1912:

"Stated in . . . concrete terms, the Socialist program requires the public or collective ownership and operation of the principal instruments and agencies for the production and distribution of wealth. The land, mines, railroads, steamboats, telegraph and telephone lines, mills, factories, and modern machinery. This is the main program, and the ultimate aim of the whole Socialist movement, the political creed of all Socialists. It is the unflinching test of Socialist adherence, and admits of no limitation, extension, or variation. Whoever accepts this program is a Socialist; whoever does not, is not."

On the basis of this definition, no doubt many persons who did not suspect themselves to be socialists will discover that they are. They will see that socialism and common sense have a closer connection than some reports have led them to believe.

The program of socialism rests both on a material and a moral foundation. The material foundation of socialism as expounded in the philosophy of Karl Marx is not the theme of the following chapters. They are concerned more particularly with the moral foundation, which deserves greater attention than it has heretofore received because the justification of any pro-

posed program must, in the final analysis, be a moral one. The moral foundation of socialism is to be found in the philosophy of utility, which tests all acts or courses of action by their presumable power to promote the happiness of mankind; and if socialism cannot be justified by its usefulness it cannot be justified at all.

Reasons for claiming that a socialism grounded in the philosophy of utility embodies the best traditions of Americanism will be found in the pages to follow. These reasons have not been generally recognized heretofore because the Americanism of the men who founded, and those who saved, this Republic has in the last generation or so been superseded by a Toryism identical in spirit with that against which they contended. Indeed, the proportion of Tories in America to-day is greater than in the time of our Revolution.

But true Americanism during the last generation has not been dead; it has merely been sleeping. With the entrance of this country into a war for democracy it has once more revived, and already is beginning to rebuild our Tory economic institutions on the old American principles. Such a revival of Americanism should not only be everywhere encouraged to the utmost, but should be recognized for what it really is; and it is the main object of the following exposition therefore to point out how the original principles of Yankee democracy, applied to modern industrial conditions, not only justify the program of socialism, but supply a practical American tactic for bringing it to pass.

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A M E R I C A N I Z E D
S O C I A L I S M

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

AMERICANIZED SOCIALISM

INTRODUCTION

Applying Old Principles to New Issues. That land is fortunate which can appeal to tradition and reason at the same time. So far as the principal domestic issue now before its people is concerned, our land is thus fortunate. The problem presented by the issue of capitalism vs. socialism in this country is an old problem in a new form, and the main purpose of this book is to suggest how the solutions found practical in the past may be applied in the present.

What America Needs to Learn. The practice of democracy in this country has revealed both the strength and the weakness of the principle. It has proven to be, not an assurance, but only a condition, of national well being, a necessary, but not a sufficient, guarantee of the success of nations. The test of the value of a means is the achievement of its end, and democracy can only meet this test by adopting the practice of efficiency, for both democracy and efficiency are essential to the happiness of peoples.

A hundred and forty years ago America learned the lesson of democracy from hard experience with the principle of European monarchy. To-day from a similar source of instruction she is given the opportunity to learn the lesson of efficiency.

What European Experience can Teach. The wisdom of nations as of men may be measured by their

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ability to learn from the experience of others, and the present workings of the principle of monarchy in Europe, if the lessons they are adapted to teach are learned, may be turned from a curse into a blessing.

Modern war is fought by machinery; it is but industrialism applied to destructive instead of constructive ends, and only a vast preponderance of other favorable factors will enable an industrially inefficient nation to prevail over an efficient one.

The war in Europe has plainly proved that the key note of industrial efficiency is collectivism. Germany with her inferior resources prevailed over her enemies so long, because through the more perfect centralization and co-ordination of her powers she was better able to focus the whole effort of the nation on a single object. Individualism against collectivism in modern war, or in any other branch of modern industry, is a bow and arrow against a repeating rifle; a lesson which all the nations of Europe are now rapidly learning, some of them much against their theories and therefore against their will.

Although Germany's industrialism is highly collectivist it is not democratic, and therefore does not seek a democratic goal. It employs modern means to medieval ends. Germany is combining efficiency with autocracy, and that means efficiency for the benefit of autocracy. Her victory, had she achieved it, would only have glorified her king at the expense of her own as well as other peoples, just as all wars urged and won by kings have always done. This is as true of Austria and Turkey as of Germany. Their rulers all seek autocratic ends, even if less efficiently than Germany. If this war benefits the cause of democracy it is only because kings have rashly loosed educational forces too strong for them to control.