

THE WORKERS' CALL.

"Workingmen of all countries unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains: you have a world to gain."

VOL. 1, NO. 3.

CHICAGO, ILL., MARCH 25, 1899.

PRICE ONE CENT.

SOCIALISM

Many Different Varieties of Alleged Socialists.

SCIENCE VS. DREAMER'S FANCIES

Truth the Only Standard of Judgement—Vagaries of Many So-called Socialists—Unanimity of the International Socialist Labor Party At All Points of Importance.

It is a very common thing to hear the remark made that there are so many different kinds of socialists. Sometimes the remark is one of derision, again of scorn, and not infrequently of genuine perplexity by someone who really wishes an explanation. If one were to judge the principles of socialism by all those who claim the name it is true that there would be considerable confusion. Let us see if we can determine the reason for this state of affairs.

Now to begin with such a condition is ridiculous upon its face. Socialism is a science. Its positions are true or false. They are not to be judged on any other basis. No matter whether the principles put forward are handsome or ugly, "ethical" or criminal, Christian or heathen, "foreign" or "American," the only question to be considered is are they in accordance with the facts.

Viewed from this point of view there is only one school of socialism. That is the body of thought that has grown up around the writings of Marx and Engels, and elaborated by La Salle, Kautsky, Liebknecht, Jaurès, Lafargue, Hyndman, Bax, and a great mass of other writers embracing some of the mightiest thinkers of this age. These men are all practically united in their doctrines and constitute some of the leaders around which nearly thirty million socialists in every land of the earth are gathered.

The statement of the truths for which this great body stands finds its clearest expressions in the Communist Manifesto issued by Marx and Engels in 1847, and it is worthy of note that while the other so-called socialists all admit when cornered, the fundamental positions of this Manifesto, and do not attempt to deny that the philosophy which has grown up around it is a true one, yet they very quickly turn the conversation from it or complain of the "narrowness" of those deductions.

The fundamental positions of that document as they are held by the socialists of the world are as follows:

1. That in any given society the social institutions there existing depend upon and arise from the economic organization.
2. That the manner in which the economic organization determines these social institutions is by determining what body of persons shall constitute the ruling social class.
3. That social advance has been through the overthrow of successive ruling classes, when they had stamped society with the features peculiar to them and necessary to further advance, by the uprising of an hitherto subject class.
4. That in our present society the ruling class is the capitalist class that has well-nigh completed the performance of its function and is to be overthrown by the laboring class.
5. That owing to the features introduced into society by the capitalist class, the stage of society which must follow from the victory of the laborers, will be without economic classes with a form of production based upon common ownership of the instruments of production and distribution.

So far as I have yet been able to find not one of these principles has ever been attacked as to its truth and an effort made to disprove it from citation of facts. All of them have been merely denounced, or carefully overlooked, accordingly as the occasion demanded by the whole mass of pseudo socialists, but of even attempts to answer them by argument I have yet to see the first. Therefore have we, who believe in these principles, who have tested them by countless applications in history and existing society, and gathered around them the vast hosts of labor in every nation on earth, not a right to say that until they shall be disproved, or at least attacked; they shall be considered as constituting the fundamental principles of socialism, and those holding them are entitled to what honor or dishonor attaches to the name of socialists.

This is not a question of "narrowness" or "bigotry." It is question of

fact. It would not be of so much importance were it not that from these principles flow certain courses of action which we defend, and the worst and most contemptible opposition met in carrying out those courses of action arises from this same misunderstanding of which mention was made in the beginning.

Let us now see into what positions some so-called socialists are led who do not abide by these principles. One of the largest bodies of those who gudge the issues here presented while claiming the name of socialists are the so-called Fabians. At some future time I shall hope to go further into their vagaries but here I wish to simply point out that their greatest leader, Sidney Webb, who was heralded throughout this country on his recent visit as a leader of the English socialists, gives in his principle work, "Industrial Democracy," as the reasons why the slums of England should be abolished that the country would thereby be rendered so much pleasanter for the capitalists. (Vol. II, p. 871.) Do you wonder that those who have worked for years to lay the foundation of a scientific movement of the laborers for liberty should object to the title of their work being stolen by one who betrays its fundamental principles?

Do you wonder also that this is the kind of socialism that pleases the labor-fakir and the capitalist reformer, and that we find W. R. Hearst, in a recent number of the Metal Polisher's Journal saying, "I heartily approve of them." You may be very sure that anything approved by W. R. Hearst should be carefully "shaken before being taken" by the laborers of this country.

In America we have developed a still more insipid mixture under the title of socialism. For while the English Fabianism at least had many members who made some pretense to founding their doctrines upon a critical examination of facts and many of whom have done valuable work in collation of economic phenomena, the American article has been but a compilation of the dreams of dilettante enthusiasts. In a recent article in the Coming Nation by its editor, Herbert N. Casson, himself one of the chiefs of the cult, a description is given of what he designates as "American socialism." In the first place the use of this phrase betokens an ignorance of the fundamental principles of socialism that is simply appalling. I could conceivably (by a hard stretch of the imagination) of an American astronomer, a German biologist, or an English chemist, but socialism is based on internationalism; finds one of its chief reasons for existence in the cosmopolitanism of modern capitalism and makes one of its main points of attack the narrow nationalism of capitalist society. But he stumbles still deeper when he says of this "American socialism," "It knows little about the literature of revolution. Louis Blanc, Proudhon, La Salle, Marx and Robert Owen are little known. Bellamy and Henry George have done more to develop American socialism than all the European masters of economics."

In the first place Proudhon was an anarchist, and Louis Blanc and Robert Owen lived before the principles of modern scientific socialism, which began with Marx, were even formulated, and it would be as sensible, and exactly analogous, to say that Drummond and Kidd did more for evolution than Agassiz, Humboldt and Cuvier. Henry George was an avowed opponent of socialism and Bellamy but a dreamer who made the most ridiculous errors as to reasoning. It is such sentences that when read by foreign students make of American economics a laughing stock. When Shaeffle, an opponent of socialism, said it took him twelve years to master its principles, think you he was speaking of "Looking Backward"? Do you imagine that Sombart and Wagner, both also opponents, would spend years in a study of "Equality" and "Social Problems"?

This same article enumerates as "American socialists," Pingree, Altgeld, Mayor Jones, and B. Fay Mills, and speaks of that contemptible exponent of "yellow journalism," the New York Journal, as being "socialistic." Do you wonder that the S. L. P. that has so long labored under such tremendous odds to teach the truths of scientific socialism sometimes grows fierce in its attacks upon those who are doing far more to undo its work than any avowed capitalist worker? Is it "narrow and bigoted" in us to insist that such a body should not bear the name that has meant so much to suffering laborers of the world and for whom some of the greatest thinkers of this age have toiled to make its conclusions accurate, its principles certain, and its terms clear?

PARIS 1900

Call for Conference Preparatory to International Congress.

THE STANDARD OF ADMISSION

Trade Unions Must be Socialist—Economic Struggle Not Ignored—Class Struggle for Social Control the Central Doctrine Upon Which Emphasis is Laid.

"Comrades—As the International Congress cannot be held in Germany, our German comrades have appealed to the French socialists, in accordance with the decision of the London Congress, to organize it in Paris in 1900. Upon the French socialists, therefore, falls the duty of proposing to their comrades of all countries the measures of organization. We therefore invite you to a preliminary conference to decide the conditions under which the International Congress shall be held. It is in the name of the whole French Socialist Party that we send this invitation. The five great national organizations which compose the party—the Confederation of Independent Socialists of France, the Federation of Socialist Workers of France, the French 'Parti Ouvrier,' the Revolutionary Socialist 'Parti Ouvrier,' the Revolutionary Socialist Party—are grouped in a joint committee to fraternally deliberate on common interests. In this committee are represented, therefore, all the socialist forces of France.

This committee is constituted on the basis of the essential principles of socialism: socialization of the means of production and exchange, international combination and action of the workers, conquest of political power by the proletariat organized in a class-conscious party. The Congress is to be a political socialist congress, it is on the basis of the essential principles of the party adopted by our joint committee as well as by the socialists of all countries that we propose to constitute it. We wish to thus prevent the disputes which have interfered with the proceedings of international congresses.

It seems to us that we shall thus conform to the true spirit of the London Congress. It is true that that appeared to adopt the principle of a mixed congress, part political, part trade unionist. But in appealing to the trade unionist groups the London Congress asks that they should agree to political action. The intervention of trade union groups in the coming congress, therefore, will be a mark of their acceptance of political action.

But it seems to us evident that this political action must be exercised in the socialist sense. To demand from the trade union groups the acceptance of political action and not to ask them to agree to the socialization of the means and instruments of production and the international combination of the workers would be to admit reactionary working class organizations, such as are enrolled in Catholic bodies, or are permeated with a spirit of retrogressive nationalism. This would be to deprive the working class represented at the congress of its class character, since it can assert itself only in opposing to bourgeois property social property, and to bourgeois cosmopolitanism, or to reactionary Chauvinism, working class internationalism.

"Doubtless, as the London Congress wisely decided, it could scarcely be asked of the trade union groups to commit themselves to a constant and habitual political action; but it is necessary to ask that their delegates to the International Socialist Congress should accept as the general basis of their mandate the essential principles of socialism.

"It is quite clear that in thus defining its vital principles socialism obeys the law of all organisms which can live only in determining themselves. But, so far as we are concerned, we do not desire by any arbitrary or sectarian interpretations to reduce the field of the congress or to narrow the entry thereto. What we speak of the socialist conquest of political power, we do not mean either to disdain or to put in a second place the economic organization of the proletariat. Without this co-operative basis, without this trade-grouping, the political action of socialism would lose itself in the void, and on the day of victory the proletarian class would not be able to seize the administration of the transformed property; it would remain in a state of tutelage.

"Also, having been advised that

some trade union groups of different countries, and in particular one from the Trade Union Congress of France, assembled at Rennes, had taken the initiative in convoking at Paris an International Trade Union Congress, we could no less than encourage this work and assure them of our most hearty sympathy. We are certain that in manifesting itself under the double form, economic and political, the universal proletariat will give to the world the impression of a complete force. The two aspects of working class action can thus manifest themselves without any conflict being apprehended.

"But at the same time it is very desirable that trade union organizations should be represented directly at the political Socialist Congress under the single condition of giving to their delegates a political socialist mandate. Access to the political congress will be thus made as wide as possible, while at the same time all danger of confusion will be avoided. The International Socialist Congress at Paris will consecrate once more the principles affirmed in all countries for thirty years, by the national and international congresses of our party.

"We may add that, in speaking of the socialist conquest of power by the proletariat organized as a class-conscious party, we do not determine the manner of this political conquest. We cannot, nor can we reduce it to parliamentary action alone.

"Even in our own country there have been revolutionary events which have determined or marked the social or political movement; and the existing conditions in which socialism has to act in the different countries of the world are too varied for us to enclose in narrow formula the march of the proletariat towards power.

"But what it is essential to affirm is that the proletariat will never be emancipated by the good will of the governing classes; it is that it will enter into possession of its rights, that is to say, its property, only when it is strong. But it will not be strong until it seizes by collective and concerted action the power which is held today by the bourgeois.

"While not disdaining reforms and palliatives the Socialist Party does not set before it as its supreme end the control of the political, judicial and military machinery of today. In acquiring power the socialist proletariat will transform its mechanism as well as its objects. It is the organizations of the workers federated for production in common which will exercise this new power.

"It is not a question of substituting one governmental personnel for another, but of destroying the political power of the bourgeois, the fortress of its social power, in order to transform society. The state, the means of exploitation by the exploiting class, will be destroyed as soon as it is conquered and replaced by the community of labor.

"This definition of the political action of socialism in determining our end, has the effect of dissipating all equivocation regarding the diversity of conceptions as to ways and means. Socialists have always affirmed that a true moral solidarity of the proletariat can result only from the free co-operation of intelligences within the limit of the essential principles defined in this circular.

"It is in this broad sense that we interpret the essential principles of socialism as our joint committee has adopted them, and as they are understood, if we are not mistaken, by international socialism.

"We are assured beforehand that it is a noble sentiment of union in the struggle which will animate all the delegates of socialism and of the proletariat, and we ask you to appoint, as early as possible, the delegates to the preliminary conference, which we now suggest to you should be held at Brussels between the 20th and 30th of next May."

"Where is the profit? The whole thousand islands are not worth breaking an American mother's heart for; they are not worth the life of one American boy. When your ships come home from Manila laden with the remains of our boys and you take the coffin to the mother's door she will know he died in obedience to orders, but you will never dry her tears; you will never soothe her heart by telling her you have extended your commerce at the cost of her dead boy." From Senator Mason's speech on expansion at Central Music Hall.

The Chicago Record has a cartoon in a recent issue depicting the returned soldiers of the 8th Regiment as the "Biggest Man in Town," but when he begins to look for a job, oh! that is a different story.

FARCE

COMEDY

Grand Opening of the Comic Opera Season of 1899.

RIVAL TROOPS IN THE FIELD

Fine Stage Mechanism, and Harmony of Interests—Plot Has Many Laughable Situations But Is Extremely Old—Grand Stand Plays for the Benefit of the Workers.

The Democratic Comic Opera Troop has just started on its regular season's run with the same old cast of players, under the same old management, in the same old farce, "How to Fool the Laborers." They are somewhat handicapped as a drawing card by the fact that the Altgeld and the Republican troops in the same play are billing the town for a rival engagement. However, since the three companies are combined in a perfect trust which provides for a division of gate receipts there is no great uneasiness among them as to the result, although there is some personal jealousy among the different troops as to who shall take charge of the final performance.

The published draft of the proposed Democratic play differs in no essential way from that presented by the Republican troop, which was reviewed last week. Nor is there any great difference in the features of the opening performance.

In both instances there is to be found the same magnificent mechanical effects in the stage setting and the same perfect agreement as to the assignment of parts. The able and efficient stage manager Bobby Burke with his skillful assistant Hinky Dink, deserve great praise for their careful and painstaking work. At some points they have even excelled their Republican competitors Billy Lorimer and John M. Smythe. In this respect the Altgeld troop is somewhat defective owing to the fact that its star actor is also doing the work of stage manager and carpenter.

The details of the three performances are much alike. There were a number of bouquets thrown at the leading actors when the curtain was first raised. It is understood that these did not come from the audience but were a part of the mechanical stage effects of which mention was previously made.

The curtain-raiser was a mock description of the weaknesses of the other troops which was extremely amusing although somewhat hackneyed, having been presented a number of times before. Then followed a long and dull act glorifying the previous stand of the same troop in this city.

The main feature of the play consisted of a roaring farce entitled "The Municipal Ownership Gold Brick."

There is considerable jealousy between the different troops regarding the originality of this act and much rivalry in presenting it, but it is understood that it was pirated from an early edition of the Socialists, although it has been distorted until it bears little resemblance to the original.

Considered as a whole the play is very laughable, and it is quite a taking comedy having taken in a considerable number of our citizens. But it is now so extremely old that one cannot but feel that the time has come when it should be relegated to the lumber room.

Report of State Organizer.

When I reached Spring Valley, about 50 miners boarded the train. I asked them why and how it came that they were not at work. The answer was that they must go to the next station in order to get their pay. At 3 p. m. Peoria was reached. Comr. Lichtsain and Schlag awaited me. Without much delay we went to work to distribute the handbills for the meetings. Lichtsain and myself stationed ourselves at the Sugar Distillery at Sanger street. This is the largest establishment in Peoria. 800 men are employed therein. We had not long to wait and they came out in groups. It must have been pay-day, for some of the men had some greenbacks in their hands. The appearance of the men without any exception showed plainly the signs of overwork. It is known as the "Zuchthaus" (penitentiary). There is only 2 "gangs"—a day and a night gang—each work 12 hours. In the evening I delivered an address at the Corinne celebration on

Oliver street. The affair was a great success in every way, there being a large and interested crowd present. Next Sunday morning we went over to Blank Road, about 4 miles from Peoria. It was a very tiresome walk the ways being muddy and we had to climb the Dutch Hill. The meeting was not very large. At 3 o'clock I spoke to a large and enthusiastic audience at 733 Lincoln avenue. At 8 p. m. the Trade Assembly Hall cor. Fulton and Adams was filled. This was the largest meeting we had. Men of all walks in life had assembled to hear something about Socialism. A good many members of the Social and Political Science Club were present, also the Sec'y and his assistant of the Y. M. C. A., and leading lights of the Trades Unions. Intelligent questions were satisfactorily answered according to their own statement. I sold 40 party buttons, 1 Almanac, some pamphlets secured 31 subscribers for the W. Call. Comr. W. E. Miller, 1412 Monroe street, who was the chairman of the meeting, took the names of those who were willing to become members. There is as yet no English Section in the Center of Peoria and it is to be hoped that all readers of the W. Call, in that city, will communicate with Comr. Miller who is authorized to form a section as soon as sufficient members can be had. If all Comr. in Peoria will work like the newly organized Soc. Women Club, success will be assured.

Peter Damm, State Organizer.

Activity of California Comrades.

"At last the van is complete and we start on our campaign tomorrow. I was sick for three weeks with pneumonia and was accordingly delayed.

"The outfit is as good as was ever sent out under the auspices of the socialists in this or any other country. The wagon is 18 feet long, 7 feet wide and 7 feet high. The door is in the rear. On the left as you enter there are a series of boxes for literature in which I can carry 3,000 pamphlets; and 10,000 circulars for free distribution are in 15 of them and the rest are stored with pamphlets.

"On the right, as you enter is an upholstered seat with a high back, similar to a car seat, but much longer, which when laid flat furnishes a bed for four people. In front is a well equipped little kitchen, but not so well stored as we hope to have it later on.

"We have two larger departments in front, just beneath the seat; one of which is stored with hay and grain and the other with a complete stereopticon apparatus. In about ten days I will have fine Edison projectoscope costing \$165. It has been paid for and I will operate it as soon as I can get films. The machine combines the stereopticon with moving pictures and will add greatly to my work. I should by all means have five or six films immediately and if any reader knows of any they will confer a great favor by informing me, and an infinitely greater one by purchasing them and forwarding them to me. Only those will do with which I can make some point to our advantage. Films are absolutely useless to me which do not bear on our topic.

"The doors which open to the hay and stereopticon, one on one side and one on the other of the wagon, hinge at the bottom instead of at the side of the door. When they are let down horizontally with the bed of the wagon two chains hold them from going further and they serve as a platform from which to speak. Irons are arranged at each end of the wagon for holding poles on which is hung a curtain. Upon this curtain we throw our views when we speak out doors.

"My team is first class. One horse is a dapple gray and one is a bay. Both are handsome animals and a credit to the party. They weigh over 1600 pounds each, and can pull our load easily.

"A report of the work done will be made each week through The Class Struggle. Our opportunity is at hand, and if we will all pull together for two years we will so establish our party in this state that even the pessimist will be hopeful for our success.

Fraternally, Job Harriman.

The Class Struggle.

The burning of the Windsor Hotel in New York with its accompanying horrors is one more awful chapter in the history of capitalism. So long as profit is the moving force in our society such traps will be built and such holocausts will take place.

The Workers' Call desires an energetic agent in every section in the state. Will you not see to it that you section appoints one immediately and sends his name to 38 St. Clair St., Chicago, Ill.

THE WORKERS' CALL.

Entered every Saturday, at 36 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill. Entered at the postoffice at Chicago, Ill., as mail matter of the second class.

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Special rates if ordered by the hundred. Orders for current issue should reach the office by Tuesday evening.

Advertisements.

A limited number of acceptable advertisements will be inserted. Rates will be made known upon application.

Editorial Announcements.

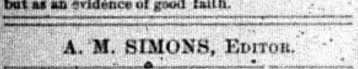
To secure the return of unused manuscripts postage should be enclosed.

Contributions must reach the office by Monday evening preceding the issue in which they are to appear.

The fact that a signed article is published does not commit The Workers' Call to all opinions expressed therein.

Contributions and items of news concerning the labor movement are requested from our readers. Every contribution must be accompanied by the name of the writer, not necessarily for publication, but as an evidence of good faith.

A. M. SIMONS, EDITOR.



The Socialist Vote.

UNITED STATES.

Table showing the number of Socialist votes in the United States from 1890 to 1898, with a total of 82,204 in 1898.

Believing that the circulation of the party papers is a test of party strength and a sign of progress we shall print from week to week the number of copies actually sold.

Copies sold last week 2,095.

THE UNEMPLOYED.

We wonder if the laborers of this city realize that the Socialist Labor Party is the only party in the city in this election that dares to say a word about the great army of men who are going about begging for masters?

It may be that the one who reads this will say, "Well that does not affect me, I have a job and am in no danger of losing it." As to that latter part, do not be too sure.

Supposing that the firm for which you work is crushed in the grasp of a trust, or decides to close down to restrict output. Suppose that the process at which you work is supplanted by a machine, or transferred to some other locality.

Even if you are in business for yourself the time is not far away when the progress of concentration and combination will send you out upon the streets to look for an opportunity to use your strength to preserve your life and the lives of those dear to you.

More important than all, even if you keep your own job, the power that prevents you from obtaining even a respectable share of your product is that little knot of men which now stands around the gate when you walk in and which grows to an army in dollar years (which are never far away) all of whom are urged on by the strongest of motives, hunger, to seek your position and who will perform your work for just enough to keep the flame of life now flickering within the body from going completely out.

How long do you think your boss will continue to pay you more than the wages for which he can get them?

Here is a question in which every working man has a vital interest—one which is a question of life and death to many of them, yet the Socialist Labor Party is the only party that even dares to mention its existence.

Not only is the issue stated but a remedy is boldly proposed whose efficiency has been tested by the socialists of other lands. No one who has ever been within a great factory and seen the marvels of productive force there, controlled by the workers will deny that any laborer, if allowed access to the instruments with which to work, can produce much more than he can consume. Why then should he not be allowed to produce? Why should he not be given access to the instruments of production? Because, says the capitalist, his product cannot be disposed of. But are there no hungry to be fed, no naked to be clothed, no homeless to be housed? To be sure, but they have no money with which to buy, and to supply them without making a profit on what they were sold would demoralize the market. Good, that is the very thing we want to demoralize.

If the unemployed were set to work in this city tomorrow and kept at work in productive establishments for one year what think you would happen to capitalism. What would be the effect on strikes if there were no idle workers to take the strikers' places? Do you not see that it would be but a short time until the laborer could demand all he produced and leave the capitalist to run his machine himself? Not that we are building any Utopian picture of this being the way that the Co-operative Commonwealth will be inaugurated. We realize that the first step toward that is the capture of the powers of government by the proletariat, but short of this the heaviest blow that could be struck against capitalism would be to employ the idle laborers. Therefore while the so-called reform parties in the performance of their functions of stool pigeons for capitalism have adopted in distorted form almost all the demands of the S. L. P., this is one from which they keep carefully away. Somebody might ask them to do something.

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MUNICIPALIZATION AND THE S. L. P.

There is a possibility that some misunderstanding might arise as to the attitude of the S. L. P. on municipalization from the fact of its opposition to Altgeld. It may be thought that its attitude is at variance with its platform at this point.

Perhaps our position on this point can best be understood by comparing our position to an exactly analogous movement—that of trustification. Now while the socialist holds that the formation of trusts is a step toward socialism and is an absolutely necessary one, he does not form parties to pass laws compelling business men to unite in trusts. And this notwithstanding the fact that the step from competition to trustification is an infinitely longer one toward socialism than is the one from monopolization to municipalization, since the latter step, as was shown in a previous issue, has many features that render it distinctly opposed to socialism and tend to entrench capitalism stronger.

There is not one reason that can be offered to laborers for the formation of a party of municipalization that does not apply with far more strength to the formation of a party of trustification. Yet we would denounce as a fraud upon the workers any party that should attempt to secure their votes for such an issue because it would be such a criminal waste of energy.

The socialist declares that all these steps in economic development proceed as fast unaided as the conditions require, and that the only voluntary step for the worker to take is to seize the reins of political power. Once this is done it will be a short process to carry out any administrative changes necessary to hasten the course of economic development and prepare the way for the inauguration of the co-operative commonwealth.

We feel that an explanation is due concerning the numerous typographical errors in the translation of Liebknecht's article last week. The article was sent out of the office to be set on a linotype, and as the copy had been carefully read it was supposed that copy would be followed, especially as it was agreed that the proofs should be read and corrected before being returned. The matter was returned but a short time before going to press and in the hurry the proof was not carefully read in this office. We can assure our readers that we shall be more careful in the future, and trust that the article was not rendered unintelligible at any point.

The Social Democratic Herald prints the following item without comment, thus giving it its endorsement:

"Sheffield has made a profit out of its street railways since their municipalization in July, 1896, of \$155,000. The committee is now contemplating one cent fares."

We commend the whole matter as an excellent illustration of the aim of municipalization under a capitalist, "business administration" and of the muddled socialism of the S. D.

We would call the attention of the Chicago laborers to it to show them that exploitation is not abolished by changing masters.

All comrades who desire to become members of the Publishing Association can do so by buying one or more shares of stock at \$5.00 each, payable 20 per cent monthly. Meeting of the Socialist Publishing Association every Tuesday, at 48 W. Randolph street at 7 p. m.

Notice: The second payment on stock is due before April 1.

Within a few months seventy socialist clubs have been organized in Southern Roumania. The country is a seething caldron of socialist agitation, and the government is becoming alarmed and troops are being concentrated about Bucharest to suppress any labor troubles that may arise.

The socialists of France, have won another important victory. Dr. Ferroul has been elected to parliament in the department of Aude by 1,250 majority over his republican opponent.

The next number of The Workers' Call will be a campaign number. It will be of especial value for the coming election and each branch should arrange to distribute several hundred copies in their neighborhoods. You will increase your own membership, add to the vote of the party and gain new subscribers for the paper.

City Ticket.

Mayor, A. Klenke. City Treasurer, J. Wanhope. City Attorney, E. Pement. City Clerk, J. Smith.

Aldermanic Nominations.

- 5th Ward, H. C. Dreisvovgt. 7th Ward, Mose Weisfeld. 8th Ward, John Baumel. 9th Ward, K. Kosturski. 10th Ward, H. Sale. 12th Ward, D. H. Daly. 13th Ward, John Collins. 14th Ward, Chas. Smith. 15th Ward, J. Macyowski. 16th Ward, M. Goneski. 19th Ward, J. M. Jacobson. 22nd Ward, Robert Bauer. 23rd Ward, Andrew B. Gulberg. 24th Ward, James Bain. 28th Ward, Gus Larson. 30th Ward, Henry Glaser. 31st Ward, Charles Fritz. 33rd Ward, W. Postuszny. 34th Ward, Jas. Osterling.

North Town Ticket.

Assessor, Aug. Lange. Supervisory, C. E. Kroulof. Collector, Barnet Saxe. Clerk, H. W. Stoltenberg.

West Town Ticket.

Assessor, S. Williams. Collector, Jno. Benda. Supervisor, Sigmund Odalki. Clerk, M. H. Touvin.

Hyde Park Ticket.

Collector, H. Van Gelder. Supervisor, Lee Haas. Assessor, Chas. Stillhof. Clerk, Chas. Meunch.

Town of Lake Ticket.

Assessor, B. Berlyn. Collector, Louis Daigaard. Supervisor, R. Waddell. Clerk, John Glambeck.

Altgeld and the Workers.

(COMMUNICATED)

Have you heard the reform municipal ownership candidate for mayor's speeches? Well now, did he mention the unemployed? No! He does not. I say wage workers—do you care if the city becomes a capitalist? You will have no better master than now. Whom do you want for a master—the long or the short robber? How about civil service? Keep this in mind. The larger part of the children of the working class are compelled to leave school at twelve years of age to go into the factory to help support the family often including an idle father whom their work has helped to drive into the army of the unemployed. Think of your chances in an educational contest even if fairly conducted when you left school at 12 years of age? The children of the middle class have had these advantages, hence they are calling for honest civil service examination.

Frozen hydrants! Oh, my, what an issue for a campaign. Your rented homes might be burned and thus you would have a job.

But how to furnish work for the unemployed—not a word. Only the Socialist Labor Party has anything to say on that point. See our platform.

A New Branch.

A large and interesting meeting was held at the corner of Wallace and 118th streets Sunday, March 19th, under the auspices of the Roseland Branch (34th Ward). The hall was filled with the workers of West Pullman. Comrade James Osterling, candidate for alderman of the 34th Ward, presided. Comrades Glambeck and Berlyn made it plain where the working class interest was centered in the present campaign. Interesting questions were put to the speakers and satisfactory answers given. An organization was formed with sixteen members (not a bad start). One hundred copies of the "Worker's Call" were sold, and the promise of a number of regular subscribers on the next pay day. Keep the ball a'rolling.

Campaign Notes.

Petitions for city ticket have been filed and according to law we are entitled to third place on the official ballot, having polled more votes at the last election than any of the other parties except the Republican and Democratic.

The Fourteenth and Fifteenth ward branches of the Socialist Labor Party have public mass meetings every Sunday until election at 2:30 p. m., at Wicker Park Hall, 501 W. North Ave.

Fifty thousand copies of the municipal platform have been distributed thus far in the campaign.

A final monster rally will be held in the downtown district on the Sunday evening previous to election.

Next meeting of Campaign committee will be held next Tuesday eve at 48 W. Randolph Street.

Hickey's Meetings.

Saturday, March 25th, 8:00 P. M. Wicker Park Hall, 501 West North Ave. Sunday, March 26th, 2:30 P. M. Book Hall, 115th and Michigan Ave., Roseland.

Sunday, March 26th, 8:00 P. M. Workman's Hall, 12th and Waller Street.

THE BALLOT.

What do you think a vote is for? Something to sell for a dollar or more? Something to cast as you're told to do? Something to give to the wealthy few That are only as one to ten of you?

Don't rail at the rich; let your whining cease! The cause of your woes lies at Labor's door; For the rich have only a vote apiece Till the poor man sells them more.

Who sells his vote is both fool and knave! Worse—he is coward and thief and slave, (Content as a slave to live and die). Deserter, traitor and thrice-damned spy; Fool: since he sells his right to think For the price of a few days' meat or drink; Whereas, did he cast his vote aright, He and his wife victors in the fight— Knave: since he's false to the nation's trust; Coward: because he's afraid to trust With the ballot's knife for labor's cause, But helps with his vote to make the laws That bind his fellows in closer thrall— This fiend, since he steals from the general Of labor, its best and keenest steel, Deserts the ranks of the commonweal, And fawns—the cur—at the dollar's heel. Traitor to duty and honor's call, Spy to the spoiler in Labor's hall. Brand him with shame till he's under ground, Black-hearted dastard and craven hound.

What do you think a vote is for? To demand, to command, not to implore, Something to use in your manhood's might; Something to cast for the cause of right! Something to handle with clean, strong hands! Something to emphasize your demands!

Don't rail at the rich; let your whining cease! The cause of your woes lies at Labor's door; For the rich have only a vote apiece Till the poor man sells them more.

Then use the ballot and end your woes; Vote for your friends, and not your foes, Grapple your bright fist to your goals, Victory's yours when you guard the polls, To see that the count be fairly made, To see that the laws shall be obeyed, Victory's yours when you're not afraid To stand by justice, To strike for right, To change the proverb, The Right makes Might.

Victory's yours when you learn, at last, For what and for whom your vote to cast; Yours when the lesson you've mastered well That a ballot's to use and not to sell; Yours when you finally understand "Divided, we fall; united, we stand"; Then put together—no longer wait— And make the will of the people Fate!

Don't rail at the rich; let your whining cease! The cause of your woes lies at Labor's door; For the rich have only a vote apiece Till the poor man sells them more.

—W. E. FRENCH, in Railway Times.

Peoria.

Section Peoria meets 3123 S. Washington street every Tuesday evening.

Municipalization.

All three old parties declare for municipalization of the street railways. Some of them have done so in the past but when elected they forget their promise. You have nothing as workers particularly to gain by such action, as we have pointed out before. But if you insist that you want it the surest way to get it is to vote the Socialist ticket. In every nation on earth as soon as the socialist vote grew large enough to threaten capitalism, the capitalist parties "fell over one another" to enact reforms. Bismarck, when he saw socialism growing set to work along this line and nationalized the railways, municipalized local industries, and enacted old age pensions and workmen's insurance. This did not particularly help the laborer so long as wage slavery remained only that he was saved the trouble of chasing after a dozen different "reform" parties for several years like his more foolish American brother.

The same results have followed the rise of the socialist vote in France, Belgium and Switzerland, and if you cannot get the idea out of your head that what you want is municipal ownership just vote the Socialist Labor Party ticket and you will do more to secure it than by helping to elect any of the others. A ten thousand socialist vote will give you all the reform you can carry in the next year, no matter what party has been elected.

There is another point that is worth your attention in this matter and that is that although all the parties call for municipal ownership not one says anything about municipal operation. They seek to have the city as capitalist take the first pickings from the laborers and then would turn him over to the private capitalist to finish the job. The contractor would then be in the position of the sweater in the clothing trade—or of the subcontractor in any line of business. He will have to depend for his profits on what he can squeeze from his employees, below what they are squeezed by the ordinary employers, since the has had the customary profits taken from him by the owner.

The Spanish workers are now feeling the full effects of the recent war with the United States. In the southern provinces the number of unemployed is enormous. At Malaga it is reported there are over 20,000 without work. The Spanish journals state that acts of pillage are daily committed on shops which retail any kind of foodstuffs.

If this is a sample copy that you are reading, see that you receive the next number as the first of your regular subscription.

The Economic and Political Struggle.

The last copy of the Journal is before me and I search in vain for a reply to my communication in the December Journal. . . Having stripped for action I find that the editorial by one international president needs especial attention. He shows up the two old parties in good shape; he also believes that the eight hour question is of no value. Then comes compulsory education, and last but not least, our esteemed president rides his latest and most favorite horse, the initiative and referendum. Now let's take them up separately. I agree with him in the way he nailed the two old parties, but what do you, think of a man who says to you, "Why, my friend you are not going in the right direction." Asking him which is the right direction, he says follow that road and you will get there. After awhile the man comes back. Can't find it, he says. Brother Lynch suggests another road with the same results and so on and so on. Now when a man criticizes our competitive system he must have a remedy and not jump from one petty scheme to another, for this is exactly the light that our international president places himself in when he peddles the good man one day and the initiative and referendum another, and the revolutionary theory another day. I coincide with him in regard to the eight hour question. This question ought to have been brought into effect ten or fifteen years ago; then it would have done some good; and there was at that time an organization in this city known as the Eight-hour league, in which my father was a member. It was to make the eight-hour question a popular idea with the working class; two years of existence and it went down, having utterly failed to accomplish its purpose. A few years ago the American Federation of Labor (who is, and always will be behind the times) labelled it a new idea and placed it on sale. The time is here to agitate for a five or six hour day, for it is all you can do, only agitate for it, because as long as the present system lasts, men, women and children will work as long as his or her kindly (?) master will allow them, the longer the better; the few hours over time will leave them a few pennies for a rainy day. Now one would think everything is lovely when we read what President Lynch has to say about compulsory education. While it is true labor organizations did do all in their power to make it a law but that is as far as it got, and and it is nothing but a dead letter upon the statute books today. I can take you through scores of factories right here in the city of Cleveland and show you what compulsory education means, under the ironclad hoofs of capitalism. No the factory inspectors and deputies are not doing their duty; they are another kind of ducks who have ridden into office on the good man theory, and proudly we may say look what we have accomplished.

Under proper conditions I could have remained at school, because father could have earned enough to keep his family. Do you now see what compulsory education means under this damnable, cursed system of capitalism? Now the placing of the initiative and referendum vote into the hands of the workingman would mean the placing of a weapon in the hands of a fool who would do nobody any harm except himself. Why, just look at them; are they not voting one or the other of the two old parties into power election after election. How can you expect them to vote intelligently when they do not understand their interests? I refer you to a western state where the voters had a chance to vote on some amendments to the constitution, and out of 75,000 voters 45,000 entirely ignored this most important part of the election, notwithstanding the tremendous efforts of the reformers who showed the necessity of these reforms.

When you point to degenerate Italy and say one-half of the inhabitants are illiterate, I want to say that the average Italian workman receives 27 per cent of the product he produces, while the freeborn American sovereign receives but 17 per cent. Is it because we have a compulsory education here that our standard is much lower? No, it is the greedy capitalist who has hold of us and will not let go until every drop of blood is out of our body, then throws us out to starve in some dark alley or fill the grave of a suicide.

And how many know how to make use of this right in the country of Switzerland? You will agree with me when I say that the worse the condition gets that surrounds us the lower will the working class sink, and all sorts of crime will increase; statistics prove this without fail, and it is not due to the fact that man wants to do wrong, but because he is forced in crime by these conditions over which he has no control. Therefore it will be seen that capital punishment is a crime under this system; it first makes the criminal and then executes him, and when the question came up in Switzerland whether or

not the state had a right to take a man's life, they voted that it did have a right to do so, thereby proving conclusively that they are going backwards, not forwards. Having disposed of it in the past they again bring it forward to put a stop to the increasing crimes. They also voted down the proposition of the legislature to the right of work, which means that the state provide them with work if they are unable to obtain it of various manufacturers. Also the proposition that all banks be run by the government, not only run, but owned, and but recently did they carry the proposition of the legislature that all railroads shall be the property of the government. Out of a total of 800,000 votes not 500,000 votes were cast for the proposition, and in all cases political shysters were at work to give these reforms the death blow. These were hired by the capitalists to show the producers of all that wealth that it was to the detriment of the nation to have it belong to the ones that produced it.

Now while the industry of that nation is nothing in comparison to ours, yet they have combinations and trusts just as well; not on such a large scale as ours, as the natural resources are not in such an abundant form as here, as these things can only reign supreme where there is an overflow of natural wealth. Now in conclusion I wish to say, overboard with this reform, it is only a waste of time to meddle with it under the present regime. Join hands with the Socialist Labor party, be class-conscious, overthrow the whole capitalist system with all its rottenness, and then you will not be hoodwinked or tripped by all these schemes but march along a solid, compact and uncompromising body of wage-earners who understand their interests, paying no heed to capitalistic tricks, and step up to the ballot box and deposit your protest against the present conditions by voting her straight for the S. L. P., then I will say you know and when you will not be hoodwinked can safely launch the initiative and the referendum. And I further suggest that you get into line with the S. L. P. men and clarify the brains of the toilers, then the shots from these guns will penetrate the heart of capitalism.

Fraternally yours, AGG. E. BUELKE.

—From Metal Polisher's Journal.

If every comrade will make it a point to send all items of interest, clippings, etc. to the editor it will be possible to make the paper of much more value and interest to our readers. Do not be disappointed if every thing you send is not used. If we could receive twice as much matter each week as could be used it would mean much for the success of the paper. Often material that cannot be immediately or directly printed can serve as the basis of a future leading article. Its knowledge will at least enable the editor to make a better paper and that is the whole object in view. Try to send something every week. To be of value it should get to the office not later than Monday night of the week in which it is to appear.

Do not forget that you can get the first four numbers of THE WORKERS' CALL, containing Liebknecht's pamphlet on Socialism for five cents in stamps or currency. The first part is a valuable contribution to the historical side of the movement of Socialism as held in Germany over twenty years ago. The last half is one of the best presentations of present day tactics of the same party in existence. Special rates to sections and other orders in quantities. Send us the names of a dozen of your friends with five cents for each and you will make converts to Socialism.

Let every branch in Chicago appoint an agent for The Workers' Call immediately and have him secure subscription blanks and get to work.

Comrades.

To get down to a systematic method of securing subscribers let every branch elect five or more solicitors to make a house-to-house canvass; let each solicitor take ten copies of the Workers' Call each week and leave the papers with as many people as will agree to read it, letting them know that you will call again the next Sunday to secure their subscription. With nearly 400,000 workers in this city it will be an easy matter if all branches take an active interest in this to secure at least 10,000 subscribers in Chicago at the end of this year. Get to work at once and send in the names of your solicitors who can get their sample copies at the office, 36 N. Clark St.

An address issued by the socialists of Sweden states that in half a year the party gained 5,700 members, making a total of 32,822. The party publishes two weekly and two daily papers.

Many sample copies of this issue have been sent out. To those receiving such numbers we invite a careful examination of the paper, and believe that you will find it of interest to you and of assistance in helping you and all others to secure justice to themselves and the welfare of humanity. Will you not do your share in helping on this cause by sending us your subscription?

The Labor World, of Tokio, Japan, last month, says: "Socialism is studied very much more eagerly than before in Japan. Japanese Commonwealthers' News advocates socialism."

SOCIALISM

What It Is and What It Seeks to Accomplish.

Translated From the German of William Liebknecht by Mrs. May Wood Simons.

Continued from last week.
The Erfurter Convention of Oct. 20, 1891, formulated the principles of our party into the following strong scientific form:

The economic development of industrial society tends inevitably to the ruin of small industries, which are based upon the workman's private ownership of the means of production. It separates him from this means of production, and converts him into a destitute member of the proletariat, whilst a comparatively small number of capitalists and great landowners obtain a monopoly of the means of production.

Hand in hand with this growing monopoly goes the crushing out of existence of these shattered small industries by industrial growth, the development of the tool into the machine, and a gigantic increase in the productivity of human labor. But all the advantages of this revolution are monopolized by the capitalist and great landowners. To the proletariat and the rapidly-sinking middle classes, the small tradesmen of the towns, and the peasant proprietors (Bauern), it brings an increasing uncertainty of existence, increasing misery, oppression, servitude, degradation and exploitation (Ausbeutung).

Ever greater grows the mass of the unemployed, ever sharper the contrast between oppressors and oppressed, ever fiercer that war of classes between bourgeoisie and proletariat, which modern society, in its most hostile camps, and is the common characteristic of every industrial country. The gulf between the propertied classes and the destitute is widened by the crisis arising from capitalist production, which becomes daily more comprehensive and omnipotent, which makes universal uncertainty the normal condition of society, and which furnishes the ground for the present production have outgrown the existing social order, and that private ownership of the means of production has become incompatible with their full development and application.

Private ownership of the means of production, formerly the means of securing his product to the producer, has now become the means of expropriating the peasant proprietor, the artisan, the small tradesman, and placing the non-producers, the capitalists and large landowners in possession of the products of labor. Nothing but the conversion of capitalist production into social production—production—the earth and its fruits, mines and quarries, raw material, tools and machines, means of exchange—into social ownership, and the substitution of socialist production, carried on by and for society in the place of the present production of commodities for exchange, can effect such a revolution that, instead of the large industries and the steadily growing mass of common production being, as hitherto, a source of misery and oppression to the classes whom they have despoiled, and they being and of the most perfect and comprehensive harmony.

This social revolution involves the emancipation, not merely of the proletariat, but of the whole human race, which is still under existing conditions. But this emancipation can be achieved by the working class alone, because all other classes, in spite of their mutual struggles, are united in their standing upon the principle of private ownership of the means of production, and have a common interest in maintaining the existing social order.

The struggle of the working classes against capitalist exploitation must of necessity be a political struggle. The working classes can neither carry on their economic struggle nor develop their economic organization without political rights. They cannot effect the transfer of the means of production to the community without being first invested with political power.

It must be the aim of socialism to give conscious unanimity to this struggle of the working classes, and to indicate the inevitable goal.

The interests of the working classes are identical in all lands governed by capitalist methods of production. The extension of the world's commerce and production for the world's markets make the position of the workers in any one country daily more dependent upon that of the workman in other countries.

Therefore, the emancipation of labor is a task in which the workmen of all civilized lands must unite. Recognizing this, the Social Democrats of Germany, feel and desire themselves at one with the working men of every land, who are conscious of the destinies of their class.

The German Social Democrats are not therefore, fighting for new class privileges and rights, but for the abolition of class government, and even of classes themselves, and for universal equality in rights and duties, without distinction of sex or rank. Holding these views, they are not merely fighting against the exploitation and oppression of the wage-earners in the existing social order, but against every kind of exploitation and oppression, whether directed against class, party, sex or race.

Starting from these principles, the German Social Democrats demand, to begin with:

- I. Universal, equal and direct suffrage by ballot in all elections for all subjects of the empire over twenty years of age, without distinction of sex. Proportional representation, and, until this system has been introduced, fresh division of electoral districts by law after each census. Two years' duration of the legislature. Holding of elections on a legal day of rest. Payment of the representatives elected. Removal of all restrictions upon political rights, except in the case of persons under age.

- II. Direct legislation by the people by means of the right of initiative and of veto. Self-government by the people in the empire, state, province and commune. Election of magistrates by the people, with the right of holding them responsible. Annual vote of the taxes.
- III. Universal military education. Substitution of militia for a standing army. Decision by the people of questions of peace and war. Decision of all international disputes by arbitration.

- IV. Abolition of all laws which restrict or suppress free expression of opinion and the right of meeting or association.
- V. Abolition of all laws which place the woman, whether in a private or a public capacity, at a disadvantage as compared with the man.
- VI. Declaration that religion is a private matter. Abolition of all expenditure from public funds upon ecclesiastical and religious objects. Ecclesiastical and religious bodies are to be regarded as private associations which order their affairs independently.

- VII. Secularization of education. Compulsory attendance at public national schools. Free education, free supply of educational apparatus, and free maintenance to children in schools and to such pupils, male and female, in higher educational institutions as are judged to be fitted for further education.
- VIII. Free administration of the law and free legal assistance. Administration of the law by judges elected by the people. Appeal in criminal cases. Compulsion to persons accused, imprisoned or condemned unjustly. Abolition of capital punishment.
- IX. Free, medical assistance, and free supply of remedies. Free burial of the dead.
- X. Graduated income and property tax to meet all public expenses, which are to be met by taxation.

other economic measures, which sacrifice the interests of the community to the interests of a privileged minority.

For the protection of labor the German Social Democrats also demand to begin with:

- I. An effective national and international system of protective legislation on the following principles: (a) The fixing of a normal working day, which shall not exceed eight hours.
- (b) Prohibition of the employment of children under fourteen years of age.
- (c) Prohibition of night work, except in those branches of industry which, from their nature and for technical reasons or for reasons of public welfare, require night work.
- (d) An unbroken rest of at least thirty-six (36) hours for every working man every week.

- II. Supervision of all industrial establishments, together with the investigations and regulation of the conditions of labor in the town and country by an imperial labor department, district labor bureaus, and chambers of labor. A thorough system of industrial sanitary regulation.
- III. Legal equality of agricultural laborers and domestic servants with industrial laborers; repeal of the laws concerning masters and servants.
- IV. Confirmation of the rights of association.

- V. The taking over by the imperial government of the whole system of workmen's insurance, though giving the workmen a certain share in its administration.

As an introduction to this programme, which was unanimously adopted, Liebknecht said, according to the official minutes:

The party principles were formulated until the present time in a platform which was no longer up-to-date, and in its propositions and demands, was in many ways defective; however, the party, in its further evolution, has kept to the true spirit, filling the old forms with new meaning.

A revision of the platform, which before the Anti-Socialist legislation was already necessary, could no longer be delayed, and on October 16th, 1890, the party drew up at Halle the following resolution:

"In consideration of the fact, that the party platform agreed upon by the unanimous Congress at Gotha in 1875, has so excellently stood the test in the conflict of the last fifteen years, especially under the Anti-Socialist legislation, but notwithstanding which, as formulated by the early party congress, is no longer in all points equal to the demands of the times, the Convention resolves that: The Board of Directors of the party be instructed to submit at the next convention, a draft of a revision of the party platform, and to make this draft public at least three months before the meeting of the next convention, in order that the party have sufficient time for examination."

I shall not again refer to the debate at Halle. The review which I gave of the old programme in my exposition of it in former years found no opposition; it is proven by universal agreement, however, that the old platform, which was a compromise platform, must be replaced by a new and better one. An old platform could not be plucked to pieces and criticised, and the foundation of the new one laid, in a more thorough manner than has happened to this in the last year and especially in the last three and a half months since the draft of the Board of Directors has been made public.

The letter from Marx of March 5th, 1875, published by Engels, in an essential manner gave a stimulation, and lent an important contribution to this critique. I presume the contents of the letter to be known to you all; it is to be found in the "Neuen Zeit" and in the remaining party papers as well as being discussed by the opposition press, and it has been debated in the most thorough manner and considered with all due regard, since the draft of the new programme has been perfected.

Concerning this letter I have personally one observation to make,—not in reference to its contents. The reproach has been raised by those of the opposition, that the few to whom the letter was directed, have conducted themselves dishonorably, in a measure, toward the party comrades, since they did not communicate the contents of the letter to the Congress in 1875. Had we done so the object of that congress would have been put in danger. And the letter was a strictly confidential one, not intended for publicity.

We have already in the "Vorwärts" expressed ourselves concerning our position in regard to the letter of Marx relating to the platform,—in an explanation which coming from the faction, clearly sets forth our opinion, after mature consideration of the contents. At the time of the letter affairs were in this condition: the two factions of the social democracy, the Eisenacher and the Lassallian had for years been involved in a struggle with each other. In the beginning, indeed, we believed on each side that the ends were different, that fundamental questions divided us. In the course of the fight, however, we arrived at the conclusion, that for the mass of the members of both factions such questions did not exist, that even if the watchword were different, still the object, the demands and the efforts on both sides were entirely the same. So gradually all were brought to the conviction, that it was necessary to unite the two divided streams into one. Instead of warring strength in this strife that warring brothers, they must act together, and be directed against the common enemy,—this is what every one said.

And this thought stood out so strongly, that on both sides, even if the leading had put themselves in opposition

to it, the body of men were not to be hindered from agreement.

A few days ago, our oldest comrade, the senior if the party, Tolcke, spoke here: he recalled to mind the grievous times of the conflict. I would bring back to his memory a more-pleasant event. As I sat in the editor's office one beautiful morning in Leipzig, not long after I came from imprisonment in the fortress of Hubertsburg, a man, came in, who appeared not wholly unknown to me, though I could not immediately say who he was. I worked on, whereupon the man said to me, "Tolcke is here and wishes to speak to you." I arose immediately. Tolcke met me with his outstretched hand, in which I at once placed mine. It required no previous conclusion of peace. We betook ourselves to an adjoining room. "We must have peace," said Tolcke, and I answered, "Yes, we must have peace."

From that moment, for me, peace was concluded; and as about this time similar steps were taken in the North, in Hamburg, in Altona and in other places, it became evident to all of my friends in Germany, that now we must unite ourselves, let come what would. A hotspur on one side or the other sought to hinder the work of peace, but the union had to be, it was necessary for the interests of the party.

We met in conference for the purpose of acquainting ourselves with a programme for union; on this side and that concessions were made and at last after long, long deliberation, they agreed upon the draft known to you, which almost unchanged was accepted by the Gotha congress.

When Marx received information of the plan, he wrote this letter, which was intended for a few of us Eisenachers. We went through the letter carefully, I myself, who had lived with Marx, a comrade in struggle, his pupil, who in London had tasted the cup of exile with him, always proud to call myself his pupil and friend,—I was obliged to meet the question: is it for the interest of the party that we should go on in the manner Marx wishes? I knew at that time, as well as to-day, that what he said theoretically against the plan was correct to the last letter. Theory and practice are, however, two very different things. So, though unconditionally, I relied on the judgment of Marx as to theory, in practice I went my own way. I asked myself: is it possible to carry out now such a programme as Marx demands? After mature examination I came to this conviction, that it was not possible, and at the peril of being, for a time, at variance with Marx,—whatever happened not for long,—I declared: it cannot be. Marx is dear to me, but dearer to me is the party.

Thus we accomplished the union, and all of my friends, Auer, Bracke, Gelfi, and the others—Rebel was in imprisonment and could take no part in the proceedings,—we all, had we today the same alternative, would today do the same.

And I for myself can say: I believe never in my life to have rendered the party a greater service than at that time, when I rejected the advice of my friend and teacher Marx, and consented to the platform of union. Soon Marx also perceived that his fears were ungrounded, and until his death looked with pride on the united German Social Democracy.

The Gotha programme brought true union; it has been impossible since then to split the German Social Democracy. Sectarianism has not existed, since nor can it exist. A few immature and suspicious individuals have fallen off but the Labor Party has remained one, and while the fears of Marx have not been fulfilled, all that we foresaw, hoped for and prophesied has been fulfilled.

We Eisenachers, since with our programme we were more scientific at first, reached the hand to the brothers who had climbed the mountain with us but were somewhat behind, and drew them up to us. But it was not for long, soon the Lassallians stood on the same plane with us and shared in our views. The old demands of the Lassallians, for productive associations with state assistance, etc., were recognized as outgrown, through the development of the movement and of circumstances, even by the former Lassallians themselves without the respect for Lassalle being destroyed; and before long every difference between the aim of the Eisenachers and the former Lassallians as done away with. And if the spiritual, centrifugal force and the life strength of the party, which are accounted for, purely through its need for culture, ever appeared great, they did during the supremacy of the Anti-Socialist Legislation. I do not mean the conflict that for twelve years, day by day, night by night, we were obliged to fight,—that struggle explains itself, we had been destroyed if we had not fought and won, for it was a matter of life,—I do not mean that but the spiritual, the intellectual activity of the party during the conflict. Throughout the incessant struggle the party along with it developed mentally. Theory must, by all means, subside behind the requirements of rough practice, and the theoretical education was frequently made to suffer in the practical conflict, but through the elite of the party, that is to say the best pre-

pared combatants,—immaterial in what position, and wholly the same whether a former Lassallian or Eisenacher,—its scientific development, and its education in scientific socialism, alike under the period of Anti-Socialist Legislation, and under the most severe conflict, has not ceased for a moment, but has made encouraging advance.

The unity of the theoretical views was demonstrated at Halle. It was a great moment when at the convention there, after it had been explained, that we must break with the last remainder of Lassallianism and must elaborate a new platform adequate to present knowledge; all the delegates enthusiastically agreed, and not the slightest opposition was audible.

All were at one in this, that whatever was not in keeping with the spirit of the age, and whatever was opposed to science must be done away with.

I have now to speak on the principles that have guided us in this platform that lies before you. Before all things it must not be lost sight of, that a platform should be written in clear, and universally understood language, it must be short and correct, it must not be scientifically disputable. All of these properties: clear language, conciseness and logic, it is extremely difficult to unite. One is inclined to say more in a platform than belongs there. We must not confuse a platform with a manifesto, the latter a bill of indictment reflects present society, as though a mirror were held before it, as did the Communist Manifesto forty-three years ago. This Manifesto should, moreover, be rewritten, or rather a new one must be written, and fitted to the old one, which is an historical masterpiece of imperishable worth. And he will make himself of service to the party who after we have obtained a new platform, will write also a new manifesto,—a manifesto of 1891,—while the old one bears the date of 1848. What belongs in a manifesto does not belong in a platform.

And though a platform is to be clear, it cannot at the same time be a commentary. The agitators, the journalists, and the learned of the party must give the principles with the demands arising therefrom. However, it must comprise no explanations,—it should say merely so much as is absolutely essential in the interest of clearness.

Proceeding from this point of view, we in the commission, saw ourselves compelled, from the beginning, to put aside a great number of demands, because according to our opinion they belonged in a manifesto or in a commentary but not in a platform.

It is impossible to make a party platform so plain, that from the first all propositions and demands shall be clear to every one, who has not yet been educated in party science. The comrades must learn and be taught. The schooling is certainly a matter of propaganda, of agitation, of explaining, of educational institutions, and of party literature.

I have one more general observation to make before taking up the different parts of the platform. It is understood, from the manner in which the will of the party was brought to bear at Halle, that the so-called "Lassallian demands" are done away with. And further, in accordance with the views expressed, the "iron law of wages" has been set aside. It is true, the effort is yet being made on one side, to retain the expression, provided with an explanatory sentence, but it has only created confusion. The great majority of the party have reached the conviction, that which constitutes the essential part of the "iron law of wages": the necessary proletarianization, and the expropriation of the wealth of the producing laborer by the possessors of the instruments of production, is clearly and correctly expressed throughout the whole principle part of the platform.

The idea that those who possess the instruments of production have in these the means for enslaving, exploiting, and expropriating their fellow men who are found not in possession of these things, run like a red thread through the new platform.

Further, the watchword of "a reactionary mass," has been dropped. One or the other side would have been glad to retain it. It is true that all opponents in a class conflict are to us in the relation of "a reactionary mass," and that the expression was often pertinent and has done good service. It may stand in a manifesto, or it may be spoken of in a commentary, but it does not belong in a platform. First, it is not true that all other parties are "a reactionary mass"; and, second, the expression is so unscientific, that it must be avoided in a platform that lays claim to being scientific. It is a truth which is stated in the platform, that all other parties stand on the principle of capitalism, and therefore are in enmity with us, who would destroy capitalism.

Further, you will not find in the draft the word "labor-product," which had become very dear to the former Lassallians, and through Lassalle's writings to the Eisenachers also. The sentence that "to the laborer belongs his product" was long ago discarded, yet many have retained the expression "labor product." It is under

all circumstances, however, unscientific and therefore does not belong in our platform.

By one side it was proposed to say "private capitalistic," in place of "capitalistic." That is not practicable. It is perfectly correct to speak of private capitalistic production, but the expression comprehends only a part of capitalistic production. We have to do with the whole of capitalistic production, which may not necessarily be private, but as we have already seen may also be carried on by the state. The state when it assumes control in place of the private entrepreneur carried on the capitalistic exploitation exactly as the private entrepreneur. It can, in fact, exercise yet greater oppression. As we expressed it our first draft—in the present one the passage is lacking—state capitalism is a form of capitalism, since it concentrates the economic and the political power in one hand, and can exercise the power of exploitation and oppression more sharply and intensely than can private capital.

Another motion was made to say, "great capitalistic" instead of "capitalistic," since we are not obliged to consider small capital. Now, capitalism is capitalism. Marx wrote "Capital," he did not call his book "Great Capital." Capitalistic exploitation is one and the same thing; and that it will become the more intense the more capital is concentrated lies in the nature of capitalistic production, which according to its nature must exploit and without exploitation is not conceivable. Therefore we retain the word "capitalistic."

Further, one will observe that the word "state" is not to be found in the draft. It does not occur in the draft of the committee or in other outline, neither is it in the Magdeburger, which contains many good formulations. I will not expand here upon the question of the state, that is, the question, whether the socialistic society would be a state or not. I know that concerning this point I have different views from many of my colleagues, but so far as I am in the affair the difference is a pure strife of words. That the state corresponds to the form of society, that the industrial society utilizes every form of state for the purpose of exploitation, that the industrial state under all circumstances must be a class state, and that so long as industrial society remains the state will be a class state, that is to say, politically organized exploitation,—these are truths that as a matter of course are evident to every thinking Social Democrat. For me the question is merely this, whether the form and organization, which society will take after the class state, together with industrial society and capitalistic production has been abolished, can be called a state or not. I have not been able to find, and herein I deviate from my various friends,—that the idea of oppression and exploitation necessarily lie in the word and idea "state."

The word state has a very wide meaning. It signifies generally organized society. One speaks of the "bee-state," of the "ant-state" and of the "learned state," in connection with which, exploitation and slavery are not thought of, but only the conception of a closed, organized community is expressed. As it is, however, we cannot use the word state in the new Social Democratic platform, first, because the idea is questionable, second, because we now have to deal with the state only so far as it stands hostilely opposed to us.

What we wish to make clear, is, that the state now represents, and must represent, the ruling classes, so long as class rule remains; it must be a class state, and this state we are obliged to struggle against in a political conflict, and to utilize all the weapons that we have, in order to acquire political power, and free ourselves from it. We have nothing to do with the state in any other manner.

And now I will enter on the main principles of the platform. It is not to be expected, of course, that at present I will explain all points of view; I must confine myself to setting forth fully only the general parts. The thought that guided us, and that gradually became evident to the congress was, to show clearly the cause, out of which the present critical social conditions arise, to set forth the economic development, which has divided the capitalist world and present society into two hostile camps, to explain the necessity of the class strife in a capitalistic society,—and to show, how it is an absolute necessity that, so long as industrial society remains, so long also the system of exploitation and oppression must remain.

As the cause for the separation of society into two hostile camps it must be stated, that is the land, the raw products, tools, machines, mines and the currency have been changed from the possession of the whole, the general society, and have become the private property of individuals. If we think of a condition in which the necessary means of production are in the possession of every one, so that each can work independently, then it is evident there can be no production for exchange, each produces for himself, there is no dependence of one on another, no ex-

ploitation or slavery. It is the business of the commentator to amplify, whether and how far such a condition has existed. It is possible and imaginable only in that form of society,—where the means of production, at least the most necessary of the same,—the mother earth,—is the possession of the real producers, the laborers.

From the moment that private possession in the means of production arose, exploitation (and the division of society into two hostile classes, standing opposed to each other through their interest, also began. This process has not been accomplished suddenly but goes steadily forward; it is to be traced back through the Middle Ages, even into remote antiquity. In the industrial society, with which we have to deal and with which the platform is concerned, it proceeds with additional speed according to the degree in which the means of production have become concentrated, and the monopoly or property of a small minority; and according as the productivity of the means of production has become steadily more perfect. A simple tool has grown into a machine, the machine becomes more and more perfect, capital, and with it the intensification of production, continually increases, out of the small business develops the great business, which marks the beginning of great industry from which arose the modern giant industry, and this is not sufficient,—the giant industry itself into trusts and agreements, etc.

And with this concentration of capital, the means of production take on in equal manner, on one side the intensification of production, that rises to unending height, and on the other side, the intensification of exploitation, of expropriation of the middle classes, the uncertainty of existence of the proletariat, the lower grade of misery, of oppression, of slavery.

Continued next week

Justification.

"Yes, it is true that the leading bicycle makers propose to form a combination to protect their own interests," said J. W. Eiser, president of the Monarch Cycle Manufacturing company of Chicago, this morning. "The deal has been on foot for some time and has progressed enough to enable me to say something about it. It is not the idea of the combine to force up prices but to put out better wheels at less expense to themselves. A syndicate has been formed which proposes to buy out the plants of the leading makers of the country, which will all be conducted under one head, although each company will continue to operate its own plant under its own name, the only difference being that the syndicate will market the wheels itself."

"In this way a vast amount of money is sent for traveling men advertising and other expenses will be saved. All of our material will be bought by the syndicate, so that prices on these commodities will be greatly lowered, which will enable the makers to turn out better work without radically changing prices. Thus both the maker and the rider will benefit."

"Another idea of the combine is to control the patents on bicycles and also to force out of business those small makers who start in at the beginning of the season with a great flourish of trumpets and end up in bankruptcy to the detriment of the bicycle business. It is not the idea to boom any particular style of bicycle but to give the public the best bicycle for its money."

"I am not at liberty to state who are interested in the syndicate, but on a rough guess I should say that it will take at least \$25,000,000 to buy out the plants and as much more to capitalize the company. I have placed a price on my plant and so have all the others."

—Danby News

Attention is called to this particular trust to show a method of controlling the trade where direct purchase of all the concerns is impossible. So little capital is required to start an "assembling" shop, that it would simply be impossible to kill them by ordinary methods of competition. But a chain is no stronger than its weakest link. So instead of trying to control the stream of traffic along its entire course they seek a point where the banks are close together, knowing that if they control the vital point all else is subject to them. So they simply get control of certain essential patents and then restrict the sale of the parts thus covered to the dealers in the trust, and several thousand more men are hunting a job and trying to find out what hit them! Wonder if they will find out? We suggest that they ask the socialists.

The clothing combine illustrates another phase of concentration that is progressing rapidly. Concerning this organization the Democrat of this city says:

"The concern is to be known as the Clothing Manufacturing Company, and it is proposed to purchase cloth directly from the mills thus doing away with the middle men and traveling salesmen will also be dispensed with. The concern will rearrange the credit system and shut out the fraudulent dealer. It is proposed in this way to save \$31,750,000 a year."

Thus the work of crowding men out of employment goes merrily on. The saving of nearly \$32,000,000 represents just that much money taken out of the pockets of middle men and agents and thrown a large class of men out of employment.

This calamity to the middle class and traveling salesman causes the Democrat to bewail the formation of the trust, but the intelligent worker and socialist sees in this a social saving and better organization that is a smooth way to socialism.

See that your neighbor is not the Hickey man.

The Right to Work.

The February number of the Arena has an article by Prof. John R. Commons on "The Right to Work," that for one whose specialty is economic analysis and who is noted for his fine distinctions in economic factors, is about as inapt and muddled a piece of work as could well be written.

He gives as the three causes of the lack of employment, arbitrary discharge, displacement by improved machinery, and frictions, and through depression of trade. How even a novice, to say nothing of a professor of political economy, could imagine such a classification to be exhaustive passes understanding, when it leaves out the basic cause, giving rise to the actual "problem of the unemployed"—the restricted market caused by underpaid labor. We shall discuss this point further in another issue, but would refer Professor Commons to Hobson's "Problem of the Unemployed," and also his "Problems of Poverty," where this cause is touched upon.

But if his analysis is muddled, his attempt at constructive action is laughable. His only suggestions are "compulsory arbitration," "workmen's insurance," "employment bureaus," "labor colonies," and "public emergency works." What earthly effect on unemployment could any of these, save the last two, have? Would they create a single day's work for anybody?

Regarding the labor colonies and emergency work, both of them are for peculiar classes and have no relation to the great mass of unemployed. So that he has omitted all efficient causes in his analysis and all efficient remedies in his conclusions.

Perhaps the reason for this is that he writes wholly from the point of view of the maintenance of capitalism and capitalism rests upon the existence of the unemployed, as one of its cornerstones. Without the army of the unemployed to keep the workers docile capitalism could not exist twenty-four hours.

Perhaps the key to Professor Commons' position is seen in his statement that "the right to work must be clearly distinguished from the socialists' theory of labor's right to the entire product." Perfectly correct my bourgeois philosopher, and so long as it is distinguished the capitalist need never fear its achievement. So long as the "right to work" for the laborer includes the "right of the product" for the capitalist there is no danger of the latter objecting.

But excuse us if we, as laborers, are foolish enough to cling to the idea that to the producer belongs the product in spite of the psychological researches of Boehm-Bawerk, Von Wieser, Menger, et al., and to really believe that the way to solve the problem of the unemployed is to put the laborer in productive establishments to produce what they and their fellows need even if it does disturb the profits of the capitalists.

To quote from another work of Professor Commons which gave us many a headache when in college, "The Distribution of Wealth."—"The right to work, for every man that is willing, is the next great human right to be defined and enforced by law." But when it is defined and enforced it will be by a government of laborers, and they will see that the entire product goes to those who do the producing—the capitalist function of ownership being performed by them collectively.

Woman and the Labor Problem.

A letter was recently sent out by Mrs. Rebecca D. Lowe, president of the Women's Federation of Clubs, to the presidents of the 525 clubs in that organization which was intended to draw attention to woman's part in the great social struggle. In the course of the letter she says:

"In the light of recent events, noticeably the discharging of all women employees in the service of a great railway system in the west and the attitude of labor unions toward wage-earning women—we must plainly see that the time has come for united action among women for women."

"A great struggle is going on in the labor world and the workingwoman must play her part in all its phases and bear the burden of the result equally with the man."

"As an organization the general federation is a powerful weapon to be wielded in behalf of this helpless and dependant class, but in order to work effectively we must study conditions, seek to know what is needed, and then strive to become helpful in discovering and applying the remedy for its wrong."

If women are to act intelligently in their struggle for freedom she must move as a laborer and not as a woman. Since she "bears the burden of the result" of social conditions equally with man she must work with him for a common emancipation. She must take her place in the ranks of those who are seeking to free the laboring class as a whole and not confuse the issue with sex questions.

By McClary's "Anti Tramp Bill" the legislature of North Dakota has endowed the employees of the railroads in that state with police power and authorized them to arrest anyone found riding on freight trains. The penalty for this terrible crime is fixed at from thirty days to three months in prison, or a fine of from \$25 to \$75.

The full irony of this bit of agrarianism is seen when the fact is recalled that until a few years ago the farmers of that region were absolutely dependent upon these same tramps to get their harvesting done. Without this fluctuating body of unfortunate laborers the great wheat farms would have been an impossibility. But now the improved self-harvesters have enabled the farmers to use the labor of their young children and to dispense with the use of the men. Competition now compels him to regard as a vagabond and punish as a criminal the very class that once made his existence possible and to whom he owes all that he has.

Socialist Labor Party

OF THE

United States.

PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in Convention assembled, re-asserts the inalienable rights of all men to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty and of happiness.

With the founders of this republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of Democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule. Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children. Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming when, in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

Hickey's Tour in Illinois.

Comrade Hickey will be in this state for a tour of thirty days, beginning with March 25th. This tour should mean a great deal for the movement in this city. But its influence will depend as much on the efforts of the comrades in the different localities where he is to speak. If they will see to it that the meetings are well advertised, that public interest is aroused and people generally prepared for his coming the party will benefit greatly by his work. The more that is done beforehand the more Com. Hickey can do when he comes.

- Chicago, March 25-26.
Waukegan, March 27.
Joliet, March 28.
La Salle, March 29.
Peru, March 30.
Spring Valley, March 31.
Peoria, April 1, 2, 3.
Pekin, April 4.
Rock Island, April 5.
Moline, April 6.
Galesburg, April 7.
Quincy, April 8.
Jacksonville, April 9.
Springfield, April 10.
Pana, April 11.
Du Quoin, April 12.
Murphysborough, April 13.
New Athens, April 14.
Freeburg, April 15.
Belleville, April 16-17-18.
Leiz Station, April 19.
O'Fallon, April 20.
East St. Louis, April 21.
Alton, April 22.
Collinsville, April 23.
Glen Carbon, April 24.

Sections will please arrange for meetings and notify me immediately what has been done. The above dates are correct and will not be changed any more.

Comrades will please send in names of any of the above towns where we have no section so I can communicate with them. Yours fraternally, Peter Damm.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands:

- 1. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.
2. The United States shall obtain possession of the railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephons, and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under the control of the Federal government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.
3. The municipalities shall obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under the control of the municipal administration and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.
4. The public lands declared inalienable. Revocation of all and grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with.
5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.
6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.
7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation.
8. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes to be exempt.
9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.
10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy and sumptuary laws. Unabridged right of combination.
11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict labor system.
12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county, city, state and nation).
13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of woman's wages with those of men where equal service is performed.
14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law.
15. The people to have the right to propose laws and vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle.
16. Abolition of the veto power of the executive (national, state and municipal) wherever it exists.
17. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative chambers.
18. Municipal self-government.
19. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representation to be introduced.
20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.
21. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

Platform of Socialist Labor Party.

Chicago Municipal Campaign of 1899.

The Socialist Labor Party of Chicago, by its delegates in convention assembled, declares its adherence to the principles set forth in the national party platform.

We hold that the present miserable condition of the working class of Chicago, as well as of the rest of the capitalist world, with compulsory idleness, uncertainty of employment, and small portion of his product received by the laborers when permitted by the capitalists to work, is caused by the private ownership of the means of production and distribution by the capitalist class.

We, therefore, pledge our nominees, if elected, to immediately comply with the following demands:

(On Preamble).—The worker cannot produce unless he can get the tools—the machines, mines, land and factories. He cannot live, unless he does so produce. But all such instruments are owned by the capitalist class, who buy labor power to operate them. Labor-saving machinery, constantly throwing men out of work, makes a body of unemployed who will work for just enough to keep them alive. But the capitalist will pay no laborer more than he is obliged to. Therefore, the tendency is to pay just enough to keep the laborer alive, and then to send him to the capitalist as profit.

Plank I.—The city shall furnish employment to all unemployed citizens by the establishment of public works to be operated co-operatively under the control of the municipality.

On First Demand.—The unemployed are created by capitalism and are necessary to its life. So long as the laborer is paid but a small part of what he produces he cannot buy back the whole product, so there is always an over-production. The continual progress of invention forces an army of men to seek work which cannot be supplied them under capitalism. But this army is already recruited to the existence of our present society. If there were no unemployed to take their places the laborers could easily demand and obtain by a strike the whole produce of their labor. The "army of the unemployed" is far more effectual than the strike of the United States troops to keep the workers in subjection. No capitalist party dares to advocate its abolition. Therefore, we may rest assured that the Socialist Labor Party will be copied by so-called "reform" parties to catch votes, they will let this portion severally alone. That we are making no Utopian demand, or holding out impossible hopes to the laborer, is shown by the fact that in over one hundred cities in France the Socialists are in power, one prominent feature of their work is the operation of municipal undertakings for the benefit of the unemployed.

Plank 2.—We demand the municipalization of all public means of transportation, lighting and communication, the same to be operated co-operatively under the control of the municipality, the services to be furnished at cost to all, with wages of all employes as high as are paid for similar services by any private employers, and eight hours to constitute a day's work, save in the most laborious and disagreeable forms, where the hours shall be still further proportionally shortened.

Second Demand.—Municipalization.—The Socialist sees in all middle class reform movements toward municipalization only a shifting of exploitation from the capitalist corporation to the capitalist municipality. He sees in such action only an attempt on the part of capitalism to hide its nefarious operations under the cloak of the state. So long as the government directs the operations of the industries and owning the instruments of production is composed of a different class from those who must use and operate them, such ownership will be used to exploit the workers. Could this movement be carried on "step by step" as some so-called "socialists" would wish, until all industry was merged in our present class government, it would simply mean that all political and all economic power would be united in one class and completely unified for action, and would constitute the mightiest engine for exploitation of the workers ever devised. Municipalization under the Socialist Labor Party means that the workers have first through the election of their party gained control of the powers of government and that therefore owners and users of tools are the same.

Plank 3.—We demand that no pains be spared in giving a thorough, free and universal education to all children in the public schools; that sufficient school buildings be immediately erected to afford adequate accommodation for all children of school age;

that the laws against child-labor be strictly enforced; and that provision be made for feeding and clothing school children where necessary, and that all school books be furnished free to all.

(Third Demand—School Accommodation).—At present the children of the workers are left without proper accommodation in our public schools, notwithstanding that they need such preparation to fit them for the struggle of life more than any other class and are not able to procure it at any other place. Yet, whenever there is a "retrenchment" in the building of schools it is always made in the working neighborhoods. Not only should there be sufficient schools, but those pupils whose parents are prevented by the social condition into which they were born from providing them with proper food and clothing should be so provided for at public expense that they may be prepared for their duties as citizens. As Socialists, we would especially call the attention of the workers to the fact that only through their ignorance can their exploitation be maintained and only through education can their freedom be secured.

Plank 4.—We demand that the medical and sanitary service of the city shall be so organized as to secure to all good medical care free of cost.

(Fourth Demand—Free Medical Care).—Modern medical science has shown that the public health is no longer to be considered a matter for individual concern, and we hold that it is time for this fact to be recognized by society and action taken in accordance therewith.

Plank 5.—We demand that the city provide free and commodious public baths and gymnasia; small parks to be located in the densely populated workingmen's quarters of the city, and free public drinking fountains for both man and beast in each ward.

(Fifth Demand—Public Parks, etc.).—Capitalist production has made the worker a slave to a machine during his working hours, and deprived him of all enjoyment and recreation convenient to his home, as his meager wages and limited leisure preclude the use of those at a distance.

Plank 6.—We demand the abolition of the veto power of the mayor and the adoption of the initiative and referendum.

Sixth Demand—Mayor's Veto, Initiative and Referendum.—In this we enter our protest against the concentration of power as being a check on popular will and a surrender to one man of the people's rights and duties. We recognize that the voice of the people be given an opportunity to be heard. We recognize that this voice will be of small efficacy so long as the powers of government are all in capitalist hands, but we advocate it as a means to making audible the demands of labor, rather than to secure the passage of laws that without proper education the referendum and initiative, like the present ballot, may but prove a means to further deception and enslavement.

Plank 7.—We demand that in all cases where workers are obliged to resort to strike, the city government shall furnish every possible assistance to the strikers.

(Seventh Demand—Assistance to Strikers).—Here again, as in our first demand, is an essentially working class demand and one which no reform party will dare to borrow. We hold that at present the power that makes the strike useless is the government of the whole capitalist class, which stands behind each individual capitalist whenever he is engaged in a struggle with the workers. We propose to place the power of the government behind the producers, not the idlers; the exploited, not the exploiters. That this is no impossible dream is seen by the recent action of the Socialists in the Paris municipal council, who voted the striking workmen a 25,000 franc loan for the benefit of their families and then actively gave them sympathy and encouragement at all points. Workers, if you believe that the government ought to be on your side when you are fighting for your right to live and to enjoy the fruits of your labor, vote the Socialist Labor Party ticket. It is the only party that believes in that position. Vote the Socialist Labor Party ticket by putting a cross (X) in the circle opposite the head of the ticket, thus:

(X) SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

In presenting these demands we again call the attention of the working class to the fact that no permanent improvement can take place in their condition so long as capitalism exists, and we emphasize the fact that the Socialist Labor Party stands for the complete overthrow of the competitive system and the substitution therefor of the co-operative commonwealth.

A DEBATE!

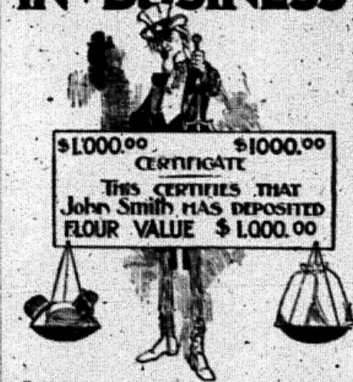
WHICH IS OF Interest to the Working Class.

SENATOR T. T. ALLAIN, Republican, vs. A. M. SIDONS, Socialist.

SUBJECT: "Which Ticket Should the Wageworker Vote The Republican or the Socialist Labor Party."

SUNDAY, MARCH 26, AT 3 P. M. 173 Wells Street.

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