

THE WORKERS' CALL.

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

SECOND YEAR.—WHOLE NO. 59.

CHICAGO, ILL., APRIL 21, 1900.

PRICE TWO CENTS

SOCIALIST UNITY

Social Democrats of Haverhill Take Decided Stand.

ADDRESS TO ALL COMRADES.

Urge Prompt and Decisive Action to Be Taken Looking to the Union of Socialist Forces.

To the members of the S. D. P. and the U. L. P.:

Comrade Socialists—The manifesto issued by the National Executive Board of the Social Democratic party and published in the Social Democratic Herald of April 7, 1900, justifies an expression of opinion on our part as well as on the part of all other organized socialists, and because of that we feel it to be our duty as a portion of the Social Democratic party to issue this circular.

We have read this manifesto with unforgotten regret and surprise. It was our hope that the plans inaugurated by the Rochester and Indianapolis conventions and practically consummated at the conference on socialist union held at New York, would have reached completion harmoniously and satisfactorily. It was apparent to everyone that the time had come for the union of socialist forces and necessity demanded that such a union should be accomplished, in order that the cause of socialism should be advanced and accelerated. In view of existing conditions we therefore hold:

First. That union is a necessity. Second. That the overwhelming sentiment among socialists for union demanded that such union be accomplished as speedily and equitably as possible.

Third. That the negotiation for union should be conducted regardless of the acts and wishes of any individuals.

The action of the National Executive Board of the Social Democratic party has presented a new phase in the situation and it is our purpose to outline what in our opinion is the best course for all socialists interested, to pursue in the premises.

The manifesto in question charges that the Social Democratic committee on union violated their instructions in failing to preserve the right of a concurrent vote on the question of party name, and also that certain members of Socialist Labor party committee on union failed to fulfill pledges said to have been given at an informal meeting of certain delegates held at Indianapolis during the convention.

In answer to the first charge we call attention to the fact that the members of both parties, in case of a failure to decide upon one of the two names by concurrent vote, have the choice of declaring whether or not they will accept the name which receives a majority of the votes cast on the question of name. This proposition also requires a concurrent vote, thus leaving the entire matter in the hands of the membership of both parties.

Consequently the first charge falls to the ground. In reply to the second charge we insist that the failure of individuals to fulfill pledges, even if made, is not sufficient reason to prevent a union of those wishing for the inauguration of socialism.

It will be plain that if any conference was held as reported, such conference was entirely unofficial, and for the National Executive Board to base their action against union upon the results of that conference is unjustifiable, because any action taken by the conference was an usurpation of power and not binding upon either party, and while we deny the right of the National Executive Board to submit such a proposition as embodied in their manifesto, yet taking all the circumstances apparent at this time into account and also realizing our inability to fully state our position, we urge and call upon all the members of the Social Democratic party, not in our name, but in the name of the working class movement for socialism, to vote "yes" upon the proposition submitted by the National Executive Board in their manifesto, believing this action will best avert the destruction of a unified movement.

Further, we call upon the members of the Social Democratic party to vote for the name "Social Democratic" as the name of the united party, and also in favor of the other propositions submitted by the joint committees on union, to the end that unity may be effected. Believing it to be the purpose of the present National Executive Board to maintain a separate organization, we therefore urge upon the members of both parties the distinct necessity of voting for the name "Social Democratic" as the name of the united party, so that such purpose of the Board if attempted in case the name "Social Democratic" is not adopted, be prevented. By voting for the name "Social Democratic" you will prevent the use of the name unduly, and thus facilitate the transfer of the control of the Social Democratic party into the

hands of the provisional committee of the united party.

Prompt and decisive action is necessary at this critical time, and we trust every socialist will act with but the best interests of the great cause of socialism as their guide.

C. A. Frazer,
Chairman.
George A. Keene,
Secretary.

Massachusetts Branch 16, Social Democratic party.

Haverhill, Mass., April 11, 1900.

THE WORKING DAY.

Sentimentalists Condemn the Action of the Chicago City Railway Co. in the Twelve-hour Matter.

The determination of the directors of the Chicago City Railway company to exploit the labor power of its wage slaves for a period of twelve hours instead of eight, has evolved the usual intermixture of "denunciation" of such action, "sympathy" with the victims, doubt as to the reality of our "freedom," and vague threats as to the displeasure of the "people" and its possible effects upon the company. All of which is not only a mere waste of ink and paper which might be put to far better use, but serves also a generator of confusion in the minds of those whose righteous indignation upon this subject appears from day to day in the public press. The following portion of a letter which appeared in one of our daily papers completely bears out the above remarks:

It is the happy privilege of every American to speak of his country as the land of the free and the brave. But is it the land of the free? Is it freedom for men to be compelled to work twelve hours a day before the terrible heat of those furnaces? In the old slavery days it was not so bad as that, but at the present time machinery is of more value than human lives, and to save the wear and tear of the machinery a man must ruin his health and cut short life by twelve hours a day of the hardest labor.

To all this an objector might answer that this is the "land of the free," that these men are not compelled to work twelve hours per day, they can refuse to do so if they wish. And such retort is unanswerable by those who hold that freedom and the present economic system can exist side by side. It may be true that the new slavery is more irksome than the old, that machinery is more valuable than human lives, but when all this is conceded the writer has said nothing, made no point whatever. It never occurs to him to ask himself why these things are so. He has no suspicion whatever that the freedom he speaks of is but an empty form, that can never become a reality while capitalist conditions remain. In conclusion he brings forward a remedy which harmonizes admirably in its abstract emptiness with the rest of his meaningless paragraphs. Here it is. In the face of such a terrible threat as this the directors of the Chicago City Railway company will surely hasten to comply with this request:

We have always considered the Chicago City Railway a reasonable company, but this act has shown it to be a tyrant. Do the directors of the company uphold this action? If not, let them call a meeting and rescind it, and the public will be with them as of yore.

Here the same old bogey which is always employed in similar cases is again exhibited. If the directors do not rescind their action, "we," "the people," "the public," will withdraw our approval from them. Nobody knows better than the group of capitalist exploiters referred to, the value of such a threat as this. The "people," "the public," man in the abstract, man who belongs to no class, has no existence so far as they are concerned, they knowing well that such designation does not imply the expression of any distinct material interest and is therefore a matter of indifference to them. They have no fear of the "public" not being with them as of yore. They own and control a social utility, transportation, and they need have no fear that the "public" who cannot help themselves, will withdraw their patronage. "As of yore" the "public" will do business with them at the rate of 5 cents a slave, "as of yore." The twelve hour wage slaves have only their CLASS to look to for relief, a relief which can only arrive through the medium of socialism.

Referring to the strike of the telegraph operators on the Southern Railway, a correspondent from Macon, Ga., sends us the following:

Notes the two circumstances in this strike that would "strike" a third-class idiot as peculiar. (1) The train dispatchers do not appear to have struck, but are still(?) at their keys. (2) One of the demands of the strikers is "or advance of the salaries of train dispatchers. Could anything be more insane? The train dispatchers either don't belong to C. R. T. or else they are not called upon to engage in the strike. A lot of babes and sucklings could have managed better.

This opinion is confirmed by the division superintendent who is quoted as follows by the "Macon Telegraph":

The fellows who struck will be simply out of a job, and somebody else will get in their places. That will be the end of it.

That's all. The solution of the trouble is as "simple" as the strikers have shown themselves to be.

ST. LOUIS FOR UNION NOT TO BALK UNION

Declares Private Caucus Has No Binding Force.

DIS-UNION MEANS DISASTER.

St. Louis Branches Pledge Themselves to Unity With Other Socialists Without Delay.

Resolutions adopted by the St. Louis branches of the Social Democratic party in joint meeting, April 19th, 1900:

Whereas, The socialists of America, having striven for many weeks to bring about a union of the two socialist parties, are about to see their hopes fully realized through the work of the joint conference committee appointed by the Rochester and Indianapolis conventions, and

Whereas, Four members of the National Executive Board of the Social Democratic party have issued an unjustifiable and malicious manifesto calling upon the members to vote against union; be it

Resolved, That the Social Democrats of St. Louis vigorously protest against the manifesto and call the attention of the comrades throughout the country to the following facts:

1. That the private caucus to which the manifesto refers was unauthorized by the convention, had no binding force, and was held in secret only seven delegates being invited; that no mention of this caucus (the agreements of which the N. E. B. now attempts to foist upon us), was ever made in the Herald's report of the convention; and that the N. E. B. is virtually trying to place the agreements of a private caucus above the instructions of the convention.

2. That the Committee of Nine was acting within the instructions of the convention when it agreed to submit to a referendum, a recommendation that the name receiving a majority of the total vote cast be adopted; and that for the N. E. B. to object to the members voting upon this proposition themselves is decidedly suspicious.

3. That the manifesto was issued before the majority report of the Joint Committee reached the Board; that it was evidently issued without careful consideration; that it was issued without even hearing from four of the members present at the caucus.

4. That the National Executive Board is manifestly opposed to union upon any terms, except such as may redound to the glory of the four signers of the manifesto; that the Board seems afraid to allow the membership to vote on the questions submitted by the Joint Committee; that Victor L. Berger did not attend the meetings of the Joint Committee, and failed to notify the delegate entitled to act as his alternate, (Chas. R. Martin of Ohio, who is enthusiastic for union); that Jesse Cox declared himself against the union, in private conversation, at Indianapolis; that Berger is using abusive language in his paper, the "Wahrheit," against Comrade Carey, whom all good socialists respect and admire, referring to him as "the ward politician, Jim Carey of Haverhill."

5. That to refuse to unite now, (even under another name), means disaster to the socialist movement during the coming campaign and will afford the capitalist press the very opportunity it is seeking to discourage the supporters of our candidate, Eugene V. Debs; and be it further,

Resolved, That the Social Democrats of St. Louis hereby pledge themselves to use every effort to bring about a unification of the socialist forces of America; and that we extend fraternal greetings to our comrades of the Socialist Labor party, and assure them that, in our opinion, the action of the National Executive Board will be repudiated by the members of our party; and be it further,

Resolved, That the St. Louis branches of the Social Democratic party stand ready to unite with the other socialists of Missouri without further delay, and that a committee be elected to communicate with the other branches of both parties in Missouri and call a joint state convention for the purpose of effecting a union, so far as Missouri is concerned, without further ceremony.

Val. Putnam,
Sec'y City Central Committee.

In the "Painters and Paperhangers' Journal" for the present month appears an article by Daniel Lynch on "Socialism and Trades Unionism" which is full of the most valuable information for the craftsmen who receive that journal. The position of socialism towards the trade union is ably portrayed and many misunderstandings and prejudices as regards socialism cleared up. The readers of the "Journal" cannot do better than study carefully the exposition given by their fellow workman Daniel Lynch. It will be to their material interests as workmen to do so. The article will be concluded in next month's issue.

Don't forget it. In clubs of ten three months ten cents each.

NOT TO BALK UNION

Seattle Socialists Repudiate the "Manifesto."

REASONS GIVEN IN DETAIL.

Condemned as Premature, Undemocratic, Unauthorized, Impertinent, Unfair, and Petty.

Resolutions of Branch No. 1, S. D. P., Seattle, Wash.

Whereas, We have watched the recent progress among American socialists toward organic union with the greatest gratification and hope, and

Whereas, We have read with astonishment and grief the manifesto published in the S. D. Herald of April 7th, by four members of our National Executive Board, declaring their purpose to prevent said union.

Therefore, Be it resolved by Branch No. 1, S. D. P., State of Washington, City of Seattle, that we disapprove and condemn the said manifesto.

First, as Premature: The report of the Joint Conference committee was not yet received when the manifesto was issued. The manifesto is therefore calculated to prejudice the comrades in advance against the Conference committee's report.

Second, as Undemocratic: It is obviously an attempt by four members of the National Executive Board to influence and control the entire party, by means of the national organ, not allowing the comrades to decide for themselves in an unprejudiced manner.

Third, as Unfair: Only one side is given. We do not know what defense Messrs. Harriman and Hillquit may make. The fair way would have been to give these gentlemen an opportunity to print their statements, together with the charges, for the benefit of the comrades, who are called upon to vote on the referendum.

Fourth, as Impertinent and Unauthorized: This whole matter of a referendum for the purposes of union was placed by a national convention of the S. D. P. in the hands of a special committee of nine. This committee was to confer with a like committee of the Rochester convention and then submit certain questions of names, etc., to a referendum vote. Now before this national committee of nine, having special authority for a special purpose, has had a change to complete its work, the Executive Board steps in and proposes a referendum calculated to defeat the whole national movement toward unification. This action is certainly uncalled for and discourteous, if not a technical usurpation of authority by the Board.

Fifth, as Based on a Petty Reason: The only reason given for defeating a national union of socialists is that two men pledged themselves in a private conference at Indianapolis to support the S. D. P. name, and afterwards failed in the New York conference to do so. We have not yet heard from their side, but, even if the charge be true, is that fact an adequate reason that harmonious relations and co-operative action for the great cause of socialism in the United States should be defeated? If two men have erred, is that any reason why thousands of others should refuse to work together? The alleged reason appears so pitifully absurd that we think our comrades on the Executive Board at Chicago must have lost their heads temporarily.

Resolved, also, That we therefore most heartily commend the wisdom and moderation of Comrade Eugene V. Debs in withholding his signature from the manifesto until he could read the report of the New York committee, and that we urge all comrades everywhere to cast their full vote in favor of union in the referendum submitted by said manifesto of April 7th, to the end that the purpose of the manifesto to defeat union may be thwarted at the start.

Resolved, finally, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the socialist press and to all branches of the S. D. P., whose addresses can be obtained. Adopted, with only one negative vote, in the largest meeting ever held, April 12th, 1900.

Alonso G. Seibert,
Chairman,
Jas. D. Curtis,
Secretary.

STANDS FOR UNITED PARTY.

"Public Ownership" of Erie, Pa., Speaks With No Uncertain Sound.

That the determination of the rank and file of the socialist workmen in this country for unity, is not likely to be thwarted by the machinations of those who see in its accomplishment a diminution of their individual influence, is ably emphasized in the columns of "Public Ownership," an organ published in Erie, Pa., which strongly supports the cause of socialism through the medium of the Social Democratic party. The whole front page of the paper in question is given up to a consideration of the suspicious manifesto which appears in the Social

Democratic Herald of April 7th, signed by four members of the National Executive Board of the S. D. P. This nefarious attempt at disruption is handled in a masterly style, its fallacies and charges being fully exposed and refuted. We much regret that space forbids us reproducing the argument in full in these columns, but the concluding paragraphs will give our readers some idea of how clearly and decisively the organ in question repudiates this extraordinary manifesto:

"The executive board is in contempt of the national convention. It has undertaken, in an unwarranted and treasonable manner to forestall the action of our supreme authority. It demands a vote on the question of union, while that matter is in the hands of a committee of the whole party. It accompanies the demand for such vote with a series of charges and insinuations calculated to prejudice the judgment of all members unacquainted with all the facts and secure a vote adverse to our interests and desires. It drags the name of our leader into the mire of squabble that the selfish purpose of its members may be accomplished. It impugns the integrity and besmirches the honor of our candidate for vice president, than whom no one is nearer and dearer to every loyal socialist. It stultifies the leaders of the Socialist Labor party, our comrades in everything but name. It maligns our comrades to whom was entrusted the negotiation of terms of union. It has made the official organ of the party a personal circular letter and has disseminated at the expense of the party the most infamous and treasonable utterances against it and its candidates, against its welfare and its aspirations. For all of which reasons we demand its immediate recall and urge every branch to forthwith formulate charges incorporating the foregoing specifications of malfeasance preferred against the members signing the 'manifesto,' sign and forward them to the chairman of the executive board in such an overwhelming flood as will sweep the offending members out without the formality of a count and establish a precedent for the future conduct of that body that will be as lasting as the party.

"Socialists, stand firm for union! Let no self-seeking politicians thwart your purpose! Never mind the 'historical associations' of a name, unite and we will make historical associations for any name!

"Unite for socialism in our time! Unite! Unite! Unite!"

Public Ownership also speaks with the same decided tone in its editorial upon this subject, which we here reprint:

"Nothing has happened in the history of the Social Democratic party more fraught with portent of disaster than the recent action of the National Executive Board in issuing its pronouncement against union with the Socialist Labor party. The late national convention, the sovereign authority of the party, delegated the negotiation of union to a committee of nine and that committee has all but discharged its trust. Its work requires only the clerical services of systematically arranging the propositions to be submitted to the referendum, and while substantially all that was done is known, there has been as yet, no official report.

"The National Executive Board, however, being represented at the conference, has had advance reports of its action and finding that its representatives were unable in the conference, as they were in the convention, to prevent the much-desired union, has undertaken, in a most unwarranted manner, to forestall it by an appeal to prejudice and passion, trusting to compass its purpose before the membership shall be in possession of the facts. To this end the Executive Board has impressed the official organ of the party into its personal service and promulgated its manifesto.

"The manifesto comes as a thunderbolt out of a clear sky and recalls the situation which preceded the split of the Social Democracy and placed the life of Eugene V. Debs in despair. That this action will place that life beyond all possibility of hope is the fear of many comrades, and the prayers of the loyal members will be offered that it may not be.

"So infamous is the act of the board in riding rough shod over the sovereign authority of the party that words fail to properly characterize it. Nothing of its like has been known in the history of political parties and if the Social Democratic party can weather it no storm hereafter will have terror.

"The sinister charge that Comrade Debs is a party to it and the atrocious charges against our candidate, Job Harriman, ought to bring down about the ears of this treasonable clique its house of cards and forever stifle the spirit of self-aggrandizement."

There is much stir in the city about the fact that some of the worst wrecks of buildings are being torn down on account of their unsanitary condition. There seems to be something at the bottom of it all. On the west side where the sweating system is in full bloom there are hundreds of houses just as bad as those condemned, but with this difference: there the tenants pay rent; in those condemned it was different, from the statements in the press.

SOCIALIST POINTERS

Does a name amount to more than principles?

One short and decisive strike at the ballot box would settle it all.

Increased circulation of the party press means an increased vote.

A half loaf may be better than no bread but it is not as good as a square meal.

The drummers got class-conscious mighty suddenly when the trusts threatened their jobs.

Some people only want the earth, but socialists want the tools and the means of distribution as well.

Municipal ownership fellows may be going our way but they are not traveling a swift enough gait.

A socialist formally opened the Paris exposition, which is good enough for a party without votes or influence.

The latest talk is of a trust of the farmers to raise the price of wheat. Will Bryan smash that trust also?

Perhaps free silver is too socialist for the eastern democrats. That is about their conception of socialism.

This is a free country; a man can vote for whoever he pleases, but he cannot always do it and hold his job.

Charity begins at home, and while agonizing over the wrongs to the Philippines let us not forget our own troubles.

The difference between the democrats and the republicans consists in the fact that one is in and the other is out.

It must be fun living in a town where the socialists capture one or two of the offices just to watch the capitalists squirm.

Every man who goes to the Paris exposition leaves behind a hundred men working for starvation wages that he may have a good time.

Doubling the vote at each election will bring socialism in our day. If each socialist makes it his business to bring in one convert the job is done.

Senators who talked against the Porto Rican tariff and voted for it are fair samples of the kind of statesmen the capitalist system produces.

Will the advance agent of prosperity have the nerve to go before the people this year and claim that his show came up to the advertisement?

How does it happen that the contractors who produce nothing, find it easier to live through a strike than the laborers who produce everything?

Capitalists are never afraid they will make the dose of taffy on election day too strong for the laboring men to stand. They know what the latter want.

No system can be said to be a highly civilized one in which the majority of men must work nearly every hour they are awake for the sole purpose of existence.

The Porto Ricans will probably be given more self-government after foreign corporations have secured all of the vested rights they want in the way of franchises.

Under socialism steel mills would shut down when no more steel was needed, and not when a few stock jobbers wanted to make a few millions speculating in stock.

The socialists of the world expect great things from the people of the United States this year and there has been some handwriting on the wall this spring that justifies them in doing so.

Admiral Dewey may be wrong when he says the presidency is an easy position to fill, still there is hardly anyone who would not agree that it was easier than trying to raise and educate a family on \$1.25 a day.

American Steel and Wire company have shut down twelve mills, three in Joliet, Ill., thereby throwing 4,000 workmen out of employment. What's the reason of this move on their part? Let Col. Lambert, second chief official of the company, answer. Listen to him: "Our company is running this business, without any need of explaining. We shut down and open our mills when we see fit." The four thousand workmen whose means of livelihood are thus taken away from them, can console themselves with this lucid explanation. Capitalism "saw fit" that they should go hungry and behold it is even so. Capitalism is supplanting "Providence" in the "saw fit" business. It's a good explanation no doubt but if the displaced workmen want an explanation of the explanation, we would direct their attention to socialism.

THE WORKERS' CALL.

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

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

UNITED STATES 1900 13,704 1901 16,652 1902 21,512 1903 25,680 1904 30,050 1905 34,869 1906 39,275 1907 43,550 1908 47,804 1909 52,004

AN EXPLANATION.

Owing to the fact that it is deemed of the utmost importance that the peculiar nature of the matter which has arisen regarding the contemplated unity of socialist forces, should be laid before our readers, and as such decision requires that a large amount of space be devoted to this subject, The Workers' Call of this issue necessarily takes on a form somewhat different from its usual typographical appearance.

THE UNITY QUESTION.

That there is a sincere desire for a unity of socialist forces throughout this country amongst the bulk of the members comprising the converging parties, we confidently believe that the events of the next few weeks will demonstrate. That there are still some who yet place the importance of the social revolution secondary to other objects, whether these be the results of personal ambition or a mere talent for mischief-making, we are also reluctantly forced to believe, judging by the efforts that are now being made to destroy that unity to which thousands of socialists have been eagerly looking forward, and which seemed almost on the point of completion.

Admiral Dewey has been asked to explain his position on trusts by the "Commercial Travelers and Hotel Mene Anti-Trust League," to which the former replied that he would make a statement to the public in a few days. The Admiral is no doubt a great fighter, but he will make a mistake if he gives the answer that his questioners desire. The modern trust battleship bears no analogy to the antiquated collection of scrap iron which Dewey disposed of in the Philippines, and if the Admiral consents to be used by the questionaries, to play the part of Spang in a political sense, in fighting against the improved machine of production, he will find that on the political battlefield the conditions of Manila bay have been reversed.

tempt to overthrow what has been laboriously accomplished by the united efforts of the party. But we do not apprehend that the work of socialism which has been done in the past has only succeeded in producing an unclear and confused multitude who can be thrown off their mental balance by the antics of a handful of mischievous malcontents. On the contrary we have good reason for believing that the strength of the movement lies in the hands of a majority of men to whom socialism does not appear as a plaything for personal ambition, but as a powerful weapon for the emancipation of their class, which must be deliberately used for that purpose alone.

Work therefore, gentlemen, while it is yet day, for the night cometh in which no man can work—the other fellow. There is no reason why the industrial exploiter should not become the temporary prey of the legal exploiter, upon whose ability to prop up the tottering edifice of capitalist property, the life of the robber system depends.

SNAP SHOTS BY THE WAYSIDE.

Mr. Carl Schurz the apostle of aimless discontent, and divinely appointed critic on all matters pertaining to these United States, hopes that for the coming political battle a third party will be placed in the field, which will be the cornerstone of a new independent party.

But it is useless to conceal the fact that this party is not the object of Mr. Schurz's solicitude at present. The party he wants is one that "will make the outcome of the Boer-war a factor," that is, one that will divert the attention of its dupes from the present struggle between capitalist and working class, by concentrating their gaze upon battles fought in another land many thousand miles away. But there is no need of a third party to do this. Either of the old capitalist parties will work this matter for all it is worth if they find it to their interest to do so.

If Mr. Schurz were only sufficiently awake to perceive that his hopes have been anticipated to the full in this respect he would probably not have wasted a telegram to inform the Milwaukee "Germania" of his wishes. There is a third party in the field already, and Mr. Schurz may probably find out that it is perhaps more "independent" than is agreeable to him. After the presidential election is over Mr. Schurz will perhaps be willing to admit that its existence is undeniable, as the Socialist party will make that fact evident to many besides Mr. Schurz.

In connection with the lockout it is interesting to see the post-office building standing idle, when at least 1,000 men ought to be at work on it. But Brother McKinley, of the Bricklayers' Union, seems to be on the side of the contractors.

With the present labor troubles in Chicago the workers can receive valuable instruction in the matter of class interest. To hear the "little possessors" denounce the struggling workers for daring to resist the bosses is interesting, and we hope the workers will remember on election day that they have class interests of their own, distinct from the middle class.

the whole product of his labor, but he must not be discouraged if prevented from appropriating that of other people.

Mr. Levy Mayer, the legal gentleman, who before the late industrial commission advocated the formation of boards of arbitration which should be placed outside the influence of the workingman's vote, has just received a fee of half a million dollars for his services in welding together two great capitalist corporations into one gigantic exploding machine. This may seem an extraordinary fee, but it is only a trifle compared with what the capitalists are prepared to part with, for an effective scheme whereby to neutralize the votes of the workers, in order to maintain the present regime of capitalist robbery.

Work therefore, gentlemen, while it is yet day, for the night cometh in which no man can work—the other fellow. There is no reason why the industrial exploiter should not become the temporary prey of the legal exploiter, upon whose ability to prop up the tottering edifice of capitalist property, the life of the robber system depends.

A new machine in the shape of a mechanical ore unloader has been installed by the Carnegie company at Conneaut, Ohio. A gigantic "clamshell" of steel descends into the hold of the vessel and scoops up the ore at the rate of ten tons per scoop. It can be operated by five hands, two on the machine, and three in the hold, and performs the same work for which fifty men were formerly required. This machinery will be a source of temporary profit to the Carnegie company, and a permanent exponent of the necessity of socialism to each group of forty-five wage earners displaced by it.

It will be comforting information to the thousands of poverty-stricken workmen in this city and the millions throughout the country, that "we" are well in the lead of all the foreign exhibitors at the Paris exposition. Our masters in exhibiting the products of our labor for the admiration and envy of foreign capitalist plunderers, are in reality making an exhibition of the folly and stupidity of the wageslaves whom they exploit. Their praise of the productive ability of the American workmen, literally translated would read something as follows: "Behold, we are in possession of millions of the most tractable, easily duped, tireless, and industrious slaves the world has ever known. Slaves who can and do produce in a given time greater amounts of commodities than any other, and who receive as wages, relatively to their productive capacity, less than any people on earth. The wealth which they produce and which is here exhibited belongs to us, and is in itself a testimonial to their industrial skill and economic folly, and to our plundering ingenuity, and political class-consciousness."

In countries where the workers are not so "practical" as in the United States, (for instance Germany, France, Belgium, Italy), where the workers are so foolish as to send their own representatives into the legislative bodies, they would ask why the work was not proceeded with.

With the present labor troubles in Chicago the workers can receive valuable instruction in the matter of class interest. To hear the "little possessors" denounce the struggling workers for daring to resist the bosses is interesting, and we hope the workers will remember on election day that they have class interests of their own, distinct from the middle class.

LETTER BOX.

To the Editor of The Workers' Call: The socialist parties of the United States have been drawing together and a union seems almost at hand.

Whether it shall be effected rests now upon the members of the Board of Executive Committee. The Socialist Labor party affirms heartily the declaration of its national convention and stands ready for union on the terms arranged for by the joint committee of the two parties. It is unfortunate that the Executive Board of the Social Democratic party has made an effort to defeat the plans of union by preventing the taking of the referendum vote.

Work therefore, gentlemen, while it is yet day, for the night cometh in which no man can work—the other fellow. There is no reason why the industrial exploiter should not become the temporary prey of the legal exploiter, upon whose ability to prop up the tottering edifice of capitalist property, the life of the robber system depends.

It will be comforting information to the thousands of poverty-stricken workmen in this city and the millions throughout the country, that "we" are well in the lead of all the foreign exhibitors at the Paris exposition. Our masters in exhibiting the products of our labor for the admiration and envy of foreign capitalist plunderers, are in reality making an exhibition of the folly and stupidity of the wageslaves whom they exploit.

With the present labor troubles in Chicago the workers can receive valuable instruction in the matter of class interest. To hear the "little possessors" denounce the struggling workers for daring to resist the bosses is interesting, and we hope the workers will remember on election day that they have class interests of their own, distinct from the middle class.

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the matter fairly and squarely is not every vote so cast a breach of faith with all the S. L. P. comrades? Is it not simply a repudiation of all the promises and pledges that their previous position has implied? Can they afford to commit their whole party to such a colossal broken pledge? I have not the slightest doubt as to their position if the whole question is once put fairly before them and they understand the positions involved. I believe that they are men enough and socialist enough to vote down with overwhelming emphasis the proposition to dissolve and break faith with the whole rank and file of the S. L. P. membership, which is practically what the question put to them by the N. E. B. amounts to. Yours fraternally, A. M. Simons.

FOREIGN NEWS.

Glimpses of the World-wide Struggle of the Proletarian Army for Its Liberty.

FRANCE. The president has pardoned Baron Christiani. This is the "gentleman" who, on June 31st last, struck M. Loubet, who was the guest of a club to which his aggressor belonged, and was sentenced to four years' imprisonment. If he deserved to be let out it would be well if the president exercised his prerogative of mercy in favor of those young people who were imprisoned for the alleged pillaging of a church. It is not at all clear that they were guilty, and in any case the sentences were very severe.

GERMANY. The Upper House in Bavaria have struck out the clause in the Mines Regulation bill which granted an eight hour day; the bill has been returned to the laudtag, which it is to be hoped will be firm.

HOLLAND. "Het Volk," the new socialist daily, has appeared. It is published at Amsterdam, the editor being P. J. Troelstra. The newspaper is well printed, full of varied and interesting matter; there is not only news, but a feuilleton, a woman's column and many features which should make it a success.

ITALY. Gabriele d'Annunzio, the Italian novelist, who is a deputy, has announced his intention of voting in future with the socialists. Affairs are not flourishing in the peninsula. Italy is really a very poor country, and the insane attempt of her rulers to follow the bad examples of other great powers by having a large army and navy is simply ruining the country. "United" Italy has not been a success. I do not mean to say that it was a good thing when Austrians ruled over part of the country, but it has been a mistake to have the south ruled by the north. What is wanted is a "federated" Italy; there are almost necessary antagonisms between Sicily and Piedmont, and if there were several small states in the peninsula instead of one, things would go on better.

POLAND. The daily published at Cracow, by the Polish Socialist party in Galicia, appeared on April 1st, and is called "Naprzod" (Forward). The chief editor of this first socialist daily, in the polish language, is Daszynski, the deputy-London "Justice."

WHY IS THIS THUS?

A Capitalist Pointer Upon What the Law decides. Whose Law Is It? "Employees working more than eight hours per day in violation of a statute are held, in Short vs. Bullion, Beck & Co. Mining company (Utah), 45 L. R. A. 693, to have no right of action for the extra services, either on the contract or on a quantum meruit."

This is one of the pointers given in the Daily News as to "what the law decides," and it is now up to the workman who believes in an eight-hour day, to decide why the law decides after this fashion. This is the situation: A statute making eight hours a legal day's work, has been passed. If a workman's labor power is used for a longer space of time in the same day, he, the workman, has no claim for remuneration for extra service. Why is this thus?

It is because the law wishes to punish the workman for violation of the statute? Hardly. If the workman presented no claim for remuneration for extra time, such violation would pass unnoticed. It is because such laws and statutes are well-understood beforehand to be valueless, meaningless, and absurd. The only reason for their passage is that such apparent efforts to "safeguard" the worker, earn a reputation for capitalist politicians as "friends of labor" and help to keep the working class ignorant of the fact that their true interests lie utterly outside of the present economic system.

The judges declare such laws are "unconstitutional," whenever any attempt is made to use them as what they purport to be. The judges are quite right. Such laws are "unconstitutional." Why? Because the constitution rests upon so-called "freedom of contract," upon the ground that labor is a commodity to be sold by the "free" individuals who own nothing else besides, and that such transaction concerns only the two parties engaged in it—the buyer and seller of the commodity—labor power. The constitution is framed to suit the demands of capitalist society, the judges are the mouthpieces of capitalist interests and the deluded workers are at the same time the victims and upholders of these interests. "Freedom of contract" is one of the cornerstones

of capitalist supremacy, and while working classes remain convinced that it is a genuine instead of a spurious freedom, so long will their economic slavery endure. The "freedom of contract" simply means the sacred right of the employer to an unlimited exploitation of the labor power of the employe.

A new economic society, with a new constitution framed to subserve the interests of the workers is an absolute necessity. It can be obtained only by united intelligent action upon the part of those workers. It can be attained only by the abolition of the capitalist system, and the "freedom of contract" which goes with it. It can be attained only by the establishment of socialist industrial society, the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Remember that you can get The Class Struggle with The Workers' Call for 50 cents a year.

DIVISION OF LABOR.

"Specialization" in the Learned Professions Leaves "No Future for the Multitude."

That the so-called "learned professions" have been no more able to escape the minute division of labor which is always a feature of capitalist society, than the handicrafts which have been subjected to the same process, is amply attested by the statements made recently at the Sunset club in this city by respective representatives of law, medicine and the ministry. Each speaker agreed that the profession of which he was a member tended more and more to subdivision of its various parts, and that no professional might hope to achieve success unless as a specialist, devoting his time and ability to some one particular phase of the profession. The theological representative declared that the old type of minister is passing away and is being supplanted by workers who undertake as a specialty some one of the pastoral duties which had formerly been considered as forming but one part of the functions of a clergyman of the old type. The medical representative assured his hearers that, "the day of the general practitioner had gone," and had given way to the era of the specialist in certain diseases, while the legal representative advised young men entering the profession "to specialize," as there-in lay their sole chance of success. This testimony is significant, as showing that the same forces which reduced the handicraftsman, proud of his complete ability to produce some finished commodity from the raw material, to a mere link in a long series of processes, by which the same end was attained quicker and more cheaply, is also at work in occupations which to the superficial observer might seem to be outside their influence. That this process tends to minimize the importance of the individual, render the competition still more keen, the prizes fewer, and the failures more numerous, just as it does amongst the manual workers, was not overlooked by the different speakers, the lawyer specially emphasizing this in his concluding remarks. He said:

"For a great part of the multitude which is flocking to the law I see no future, but for the few who have this ability and can learn the fundamental principles of the law and select and absorb all that belongs to their specialties under it I see a great future."

The same economic processes which deprive the masses of the workers of any hope of the future, are evidently at work in the "professions." In the latter as in the industrial pursuits, "success" is measured by the individual accumulation of wealth, which involves in its turn the same unscrupulous competition between individuals, and it will be readily seen that the creation of an "intellectual proletariat" consisting of the "multitude" for whom there is no future, is a necessary result of the changes wrought by commercialism within these professions. This element, which is already a most potent factor in the socialist movement in Germany and France, is being created here on a still larger scale numerically, and may be depended upon to make its existence felt in the near future. The fact that, seen through the spectacles of capitalism, there is no future for the "multitude" will assuredly result in an investigation by the most intellectual members of said "multitude" of a system of society in which a few alone can realize the object for which all have been carefully trained and educated. Such phrases as the "survival of the fittest" and the "reward of special ability," etc., and other capitalist sophistries of similar nature, cannot be relied upon to convince the multitude that their future is hopeless and that this condition must be accepted with resignation upon their part. And the growth of revolt amongst the intellectual proletariat, will bring to their notice that there is at present in existence a similar revolt proceeding amongst the industrial proletariat against the same conditions, which will ultimately result in a recognition of the common interests of both, and the necessity of united action. Even now our universities and colleges are turning out thousands upon thousands of young men and women, equipped and educated for professions by which they hope at the very least to obtain a comfortable subsistence. A short period spent in the competitive capitalist world outside of the walls of these institutions will quickly dispel these illusions, and form the basis for a political union with the exploited industrial proletariat for whom the future under capitalism is equally dark. And from these united efforts will spring the socialist form of society, the only hopeful future for the masses of the human race.

Work of the Conference.

Basis of Amalgamation of Socialist Forces to Be Submitted to Referendum Vote of Both Parties.

To the Members of the S. L. P. and S. D. P.:-

Comrades: The respective national conventions of our parties having instructed us to devise a basis for the union of our parties, we herewith submit for your approval the result of our deliberations:

In doing this we are well aware of the fact that the treaties submitted by us are not perfect in all respects and that many provisions of the same could be improved upon. We beg the comrades to bear in mind how difficult it is to satisfy every member of both parties on all details in preparing a plan of organization and action involving so many propositions as the one before you.

The provisions, moreover, are but temporary in nature, and our parties, once united, will have ample opportunity to modify the same at the next national convention, or in the manner provided by the proposed constitution if a modification should at any time seem advisable.

The desire uppermost in the minds of your committees during their joint deliberations was to devise a plan in its principal features satisfactory to both parties, and one by which we could, once formally united, start on the great work of propaganda and organization involved in the approaching national campaign, without further loss of time.

With this end in view we have proposed a provisional party administration, to be elected while the vote is being taken on this treaty, and to be constituted as soon as the result of the vote is ascertained.

The only point on which two propositions have been submitted to the voters is that of the party name. We have no recommendations to make on the subject, but leave this important matter entirely in the hands of the membership for such decision as they may think best.

The committee has submitted to you the question as to whether you will abide by the decision of the majority of both parties or a joint count with respect to the name, if such procedure becomes necessary. An affirmative vote on this question will secure union, a negative may become fatal to union. With these few explanations we leave the matter to the wisdom and good sense of the comrades in both parties, trusting that they will successfully accomplish the great work to which we have contributed to the best of our abilities.

Respectfully submitted,
For the Conference on Unity:
N. I. Stone,
Wm. Butcher.

Question I: Are you in favor of the following constitution? Vote yes or no.

CONSTITUTION.

The Social Democratic party of the United States and the Socialist Labor party of the United States hereby cease their separate existence and consolidate and merge in one party.

I.—NAME.

This party shall be known as the party.

II.—ORGANIZATION.

The affairs of the party are conducted by the National Council, the National Executive Committee, the State Committees, the Locals, the National Conventions and by the general vote.

III.—NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION.

1. The National Council is composed of members elected from the various states, each state electing one member; such election to take place in the month of January of each year.

2. The National Council shall nominate from the membership of the party residing in three states within the vicinity of the party's headquarters, not less than fifteen members; seven of whom receiving the highest number of votes cast by the party membership shall constitute the Executive Committee of said council, to be known as the National Executive Committee.

3. The National Council shall meet at least once a year.

4. Members of the N. E. C. may be recalled by the general vote of the party and members of the National Council may be recalled by the respective states electing them.

5. It shall be the duty of the National Executive Committee:

(a) To receive and submit to a general vote, without change or comment, propositions sent from any local, if endorsed by at least five others located in at least three different states.

(b) To canvass all general votes and publish the results within a week in tabulated form, indicating locals and votes cast in each.

(c) To be represented in the National Convention by one of its members, who shall have no vote, but merely an advisory voice in the proceedings, and shall bear no other credentials.

(d) To carry out the resolutions of the National Convention and those adopted by general vote.

(e) To supervise the agitation throughout the country.

(f) To establish proper relations and communicate with the socialist parties of other countries.

(g) To make all necessary preparations for the National Convention, and make a full report to such convention on all party matters.

(h) To issue to the locals semi-annually and to the State Committees upon application, and in a sufficient number of copies, a report of the party's finances, lists of locals and names and addresses of the corresponding secretaries.

(i) The National Executive Committee may make its own order of business.

(j) The National Executive Committee may compensate its officers according to the labors performed by them, from the treasury of the party.

(k) The National Executive Committee shall issue application cards to state committees, or, in the absence of such, to the locals bearing a plain exposition of the principles of the party, and also of the duties required from the application for membership.

6. All vacancies on the N. E. C. however occurring, shall be filled from the remaining nominees made by the National Council, who have received the next highest vote cast by the party membership.

7. The expenses of the members of the N. E. C. shall be borne by the party. The expenses of the members of the National Council shall be borne by their respective states.

8. The National Secretary shall be elected by the referendum vote from among the candidates nominated by the N. E. C. No members of the N. E. C. shall hold office of National Secretary.

(b) The National Secretary may be recalled by the N. E. C. subject to a referendum or at the initiation of the party membership.

IV.—THE STATE COMMITTEE.

1. Whenever there are five locals in any one state, they shall form a State organization, to be known as the State Committee, which shall be governed in accordance with the laws of that state.

2. The State Committee shall send regular semi-annual reports to the National Executive Committee and submit monthly a financial report showing receipts and expenditures.

3. The State organizations shall have power to make regulations governing their form of organization in accordance with the laws of their respective states, provided such regulations do not conflict with the party's national constitution and platform.

4. The State Committee shall receive and pass upon all applications for charters from locals and submit same to the National Executive Committee. Only the National Executive Committee to have the right to issue charters.

V.—LOCALS.

1. The local shall be the unit of organization.

2. Any number of persons may form a local provided they subscribe to the Platform and principles of the party, and belong to no other political party.

3. They shall report their organization as a local, giving a list of members, and send dues for the current month to the State Committee, or, in the absence of such, to the National Executive Committee.

4. Each local shall send every six months a report of its numerical and financial condition, also its progress and prospects, and shall report the names and addresses of members in good standing and otherwise to the State Committee, or, in the absence of such, to the National Executive Committee. The National Executive Committee shall send out every six months printed blanks calling for information desired.

5. Locals shall adopt by-laws to govern their actions; but such by-laws shall not be in conflict with the National Constitution.

6. Every local shall elect from its members such officers as it deems proper.

7. Should a protest be entered against the admission to a local, of any applicant for membership, a two-thirds vote by referendum of the members of the local shall be necessary to admit him or her.

8. Locals shall have jurisdiction over their own members.

9. Any person violating the laws and principles of the organization may be suspended or expelled by a two-thirds vote of the members in good standing of the local of which he is a member; provided that any charges against such member shall be preferred in writing, and the accused shall be entitled to a fair trial. The person so accused, if dissatisfied with the decision of the local branch, may appeal to the National Executive Committee. The action of the National Executive Committee shall be final, unless appeal is made by the accused to referendum vote.

10. Each local shall hold a regular business meeting at least once a month.

11. In any local which is divided into two or more branches, all business of the local and dealings with the party's National and State committees shall be carried on by a Central Committee, unless otherwise provided in its by-laws.

12. Not more than one charter shall be granted to any city or town.

13. Members who have withheld payment of their dues for more than three months shall be suspended from all rights until they have fulfilled their obligations.

14. On application for their local sick or unemployed members will be excused from payment of dues.

VI.—CONVENTIONS.

1. A national convention of the party shall be held every two years; but if five locals in three different states so demand, a general vote shall be taken as to holding a special convention. A general vote shall decide as to the place, but the date of the convention shall be fixed by the National Executive Committee.

2. The local shall be the basis of representation.

3. A local shall be entitled to one delegate for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof. Two or more locals may combine to send a delegate. Each local shall be entitled to at least one delegate.

Delegates must be members of the local or one of the locals electing them. Each delegate shall have only one vote.

4. The expenses of delegates shall be borne by the locals sending them. The expenses of the national convention shall be paid by the party.

5. The national convention shall frame the national platform, decide the form of organization, investigate and decide all difficulties within the party, and provide a mode of election of the National Executive Committee and the National Secretary.

6. All actions of the convention shall be submitted to the locals for general vote.

locals shall immediately notify the National and State Committee, giving the names and addresses of said officers.

15. Under no circumstances shall any local or state organization co-operate with a capitalist political party and with no other political party without the consent of the National Executive Committee.

VII.—DUES.

1. The locals shall levy upon each of their members a monthly tax of ten cents, to be paid monthly to the State Committee, or, in the absence of such, to the National Executive Committee.

2. The dues shall be received for by stamps to be furnished by the National Executive Committee to the State Committees at the rate of five cents each, and in the absence of such to the locals at the rate of ten cents each.

3. In addition to the monthly stamps each member shall be required to pay for a quarterly stamp of the value of ten cents in the months of January, April, July, and October; the money derived from this source to be applied to the payment of the member's subscription to a party paper.

4. Every state committee or local shall receive a first quota of stamps on credit, to be measured by the size of membership; such quota to remain standing indebtedness. All stamps received subsequently must be paid for in cash, and the Secretary of the National Executive Committee, as well as secretaries of State Committees, shall send out any stamps other than in compliance with this rule.

VIII.—PARTY PRESS.

1. Members may select one of the following papers which they may receive in consideration of the quarterly dues provided for in Article VII, Sec. 3: The People, The Social Democratic Herald, The Class Struggle, The Workers' Call, Haverhill Social Democrat, Milwaukee Socialist, The Proletarian. The National Council may from time to time alter the above list.

IX.—MISCELLANEOUS REGULATIONS.

1. This Constitution may be amended by the national convention or by a general vote. Within five weeks after the issuance of a call for a general vote relative to changing the constitution, amendments may be proposed by any local to any proposition so laid before the party, and such amendments shall then also be submitted to be voted on together by the National Executive Committee within ten weeks after the first call was issued.

2. The National Executive Committee shall forthwith transmit to the locals a tabulated statement of the vote cast by each local.

3. All officers, boards or committees of the party shall be subjected to removal by their constituents at pleasure.

4. A member in good standing of one local shall have the right to attend and speak at any meeting of another local, but shall not be allowed to vote.

5. No person shall be nominated as a candidate for any public office unless he has been a member of the party for at least six months, and has identified himself with the party by active participation in its work.

6. No candidate of this party for any office shall be permitted to accept any nomination or endorsement from any other political party.

7. All powers not expressly delegated by this constitution are reserved by the party membership.

8. The National Council shall have the power to fix the per capita dues to be paid by members residing in the American colonies.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That the socialist policy and tactics toward the trade union movement as agreed upon at the National Convention at Rochester and Indianapolis is hereby reaffirmed and adopted as the policy of the united party.

PLATFORM.

The party of the United States, in convention assembled, reaffirms its allegiance to the revolutionary principles of International socialism and declares the supreme political issues in America today to be the contest between the working class and the capitalist class for the possession of the power of government. The party affirms its steadfast purpose to use those powers, once

achieved, to destroy wage slavery, abolish the institution of private property in the means of production, and establish the Co-operative Commonwealth.

In the United States, as in all other civilized countries, the natural order of economic development has separated society into two antagonistic classes—the capitalist, a comparatively small class, the possessors of all modern means of production and distribution (land, mines, machinery and means of transportation and communication), and the large and ever increasing class of wage workers possessing no means of production.

This economic supremacy has secured to the dominant class the full control of the government, the pulpit, the schools and the public press, thereby making them the arbiters of the fate of the working class, while it is reducing it to a condition of dependence, economically exploited and oppressed, and degraded, and its political equality rendered a bitter mockery; and the contest between these two classes grows ever sharper. Hand in hand with the growth of monopolies goes the annihilation of small industries and the middle class depending upon them; ever larger grows the multitude of destitute wage workers and of the unemployed, and ever fiercer the struggle between the class of the exploiter and the exploited, the capitalists and the wage workers.

The evil effects of capitalist production are intensified by the recurring industrial crises continually rendering the existence of the greater part of the population more precarious and uncertain, which amply proves that the modern means of production have outgrown the existing social order based on production for profit.

Human energy and natural resources are wasted for individual gain. Ignorance is fostered that wage slavery may be perpetuated. Science and invention are perverted to the exploitation of men, women and children.

The lives and the liberties of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit.

Wars are fomented between nations; indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged; the destruction of whole races is sanctioned in order that the capitalist class may extend its commercial dominion abroad and enhance its supremacy at home.

The introduction of a new and higher order of society is the historic mission of the working class. All other classes despite their apparent or actual conflicts are interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the means of production. We therefore charge that in this country the Democratic, Republican and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production are alike the tools of the capitalist class.

The working class cannot, however, act as a class in its struggle against the collective power of the capitalist class except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, without distinction of color, race or sex, and upon all citizens in sympathy with the historic mission of the working class to organize under the banner of the party, as a party truly representing the interests of the toiling masses and uncompromisingly waging war upon the exploiting class, until the system of wage slavery shall be abolished and the Co-operative Commonwealth shall be established.

Pending the accomplishment of this our ultimate purpose, we pledge every effort of the party for the immediate improvement of the condition of labor, and also for the securing of its progressive demands.

"Workingmen of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, and a world to gain!"

As steps in that direction, we make the following demands:

First—Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex.

Second—The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Third—The public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation and communication; all waterworks, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Fourth—The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Fifth—The reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

Sixth—The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

Seventh—Useful inventions to be free, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

Eighth—Labor legislation to be national, instead of local, and international when possible.

Ninth—National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

Tenth—Equal civic and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

Eleventh—The adoption of the initiative and referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

Twelfth—Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

QUESTION III.

Whereas, The Subscription to The So-

cial Democratic Herald has heretofore been paid almost exclusively from the membership dues of the S. D. P.

Whereas, A change in the basis of subscription involved in this treaty will result in a considerable decrease of the income of the said paper.

Resolved, That during the six months following the ratification of this treaty the management of The Social Democratic Herald may continue sending the said paper to all the present members of the S. D. P. and the expenses of its publication not exceeding sixty dollars per week be paid by the National Executive Committee.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION IV.

Resolved, That the Provisional National Executive Committee at its first meeting call upon the members of the united party in the city of Chicago to elect a National Campaign Committee, with headquarters in that city, for the purpose of conducting the campaign of 1900 in conjunction with our candidates on the national ticket. The funds of the said committee shall be furnished by the National Executive Committee, and be raised by subscription.

On or before January 1, 1901, the Campaign Committee shall account for all its income and expense to the N. E. C. and deliver to the latter its funds, books, and other property, and its function shall cease.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION V.

Resolved, That Comrade Eugene V. Dietzen, now sojourning in Europe, shall represent the united party at the International Socialist Congress in Paris to be held this year.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION VI.

Are you in favor of the name Social Democratic party?

Are you in favor of the name United Socialist party?

Vote for either one.

QUESTION VII.

In case the party name voted for by you fails to obtain the concurrent majority of both parties, shall the name receiving the majority of the total vote of both parties be adopted?

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION VIII.

Shall the affairs of the united party be managed by a Provisional National Executive Committee of ten to serve from the day this treaty of union shall go into effect until the first day of February, 1901. Said committee to consist of five members from each party to be elected as follows: Two from the state of New York and one from the state of Connecticut?

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION IX.

The following ten comrades have been nominated by your Committee on Unity from the membership of the S. L. P., Massachusetts:-

- 1. Charles F. Fenner, []
- 2. Morris Kaplan, []
- 3. Leon S. Oliver, []
- 4. George H. Wrenn, []

New York:-

- 1. Morris Hillquit, []
- 2. Frank Silverman, []
- 3. Henry Slobodin, []
- 4. N. I. Stone, []

Connecticut:-

- 1. William Bartels, []
- 2. Harry White, []

Vote for two names for the state of Massachusetts, two from the state of New York and one from Connecticut. Put a cross opposite the name you wish to vote for.

QUESTION X.

Resolved, That the Provisional National Executive Committee shall have the power to fill its own vacancies.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION XI.

In addition to said ten members of the Provisional National Executive Committee each state shall be entitled to elect one additional representative to said committee, the expense of such additional representative to be borne by the respective states.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION XII.

The Provisional National Executive Committee is instructed to publish the proceedings of the Rochester and Indianapolis conventions; also the proceedings of the conference on unity held in New York.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION XIII.

Resolved, That Eugene V. Debs serve as candidate of the united parties for the office of president of the United States, and Job Harriman as candidate of the united parties for the office of vice-president of the United States.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION XIV.

The Provisional National Executive Committee is authorized to fill any vacancies on the national ticket.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION XV.

Resolved, That the seat of the National Executive Committee be located in the city of Springfield, Mass., until the next national convention.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION XVI.

Resolved, That the National Secretaries of both parties tabulate the results of this vote and transmit the same with the original returns to the members of the committee elected for that purpose at the conference in New York, to-wit: N. I. Stone of the S. L.

P., and Wm. Butcher of the S. D. P. Vote yes or no.

QUESTION XVII.

Resolved, That the said committee of two after verifying the vote, in case this treaty is adopted, call upon the Provisional N. E. C. elected thereby to assemble in the city of Springfield, Mass., on the Saturday of the week following.

Vote yes or no.

QUESTION XVIII.

The result of this vote shall be published in detail in the official organs of both parties.

Vote yes or no.

This vote must reach the National Secretary, Henry Slobodin, 184 William street, New York, on or before May 20, 1900. All votes received after that day will not be counted.

Respectfully submitted,
N. I. Stone, for the Committee of the S. L. P.,
Wm. Butcher, for the Committee of the S. D. P.

LABOR ITEMS.

Notes From Trades Union Journals and Exchanges, Throughout the United States.

(For further Labor Items see 'Foreign News'.)

Social Democrats of Saginaw, Mich., polled over 600 votes, treble the number of last election.

Social Democrats of Cincinnati polled an average of 1,625 votes. S. L. P. combined with them. A splendid beginning for the new movement.

Ex-Attorney-General Griggs is to be appointed to the United States supreme court bench. Griggs is controlled by the Standard Oil company.

In Walthamstown, England, the Social Democrats carried the day in school board election, polling 2,533 votes against 925 three years ago.

Alderman Perry, Social Democrat, of Brockton, Mass., who voted in favor of granting a telephone company a franchise, was fired out of the party.

The granite cutters' strike in the east is not yet settled, though many firms have granted the eight-hour day. Both sides are standing firm at present.

Joint meeting between S. L. P. and S. D. P. members are held in many sections of the country to ratify amalgamation and the nomination of Debs and Harriman.

Cigarmakers are still on strike against the Kerbs, Werthim concern in New York, and nearly all employes in the Lancaster, Pa., branch factory have also gone out. The firm is now buying up sweatshop goods, which are palmed off on the trade.

The Enterprise, populist paper of Stoddard county, Mo., says the People's party belongs to the past and is sinking into its grave, and that it is the duty of all progressive reformers to go forward into the new socialist party if they are really in favor of doing something for the people.

The Freeman's Labor Journal, of Spokane, Wash., an independent paper, says that when Debs comes to that state this summer he will draw larger crowds than either Bryan or McKinley could. It is also stated that there are now seven papers in the state that support Debs and Harriman; and a ticket will be put up in every county.—Cleveland Citizen.

The Texas Republic, published at Paris, Tex., by Sim R. Carothers, and old-time populist agitator, has hoisted the flag of Debs and Harriman. The Republic says: "Socialism is the rising sun that is to warm liberty into life. No backward step now. We have all to gain, nothing to lose but the galling chains of slavery riveted on us by the old parties. No modification of existing conditions, but a complete revolution of the iniquities. The mention of Debs' name at Waco (state conference) renewed the '163' enthusiasm of '94'."

The eminently "practical" trades unionists are receiving a lesson through the "logic of events" which will compel them to adopt the "impracticable" policy advocated by the socialists. They are learning that a fight against the bosses with the public powers on the side of the latter is a losing game.

The lockout of the workers in the building trades by the united contractors, which has been enforced for the avowed purpose of breaking up the Building Trades Council, but with an ultimate object of breaking up all the unions, illustrates some startling phases. That demagogue and corrupt politician occupying the mayoral chair, Carter H. Harrison, pretends friendliness to the strikers. See how it is done.

On the 11th inst. he is conveniently absent from his office. Corporation Counsel Walker is acting mayor in his absence. He gives Kiple instructions in regards to dealing with pickets, which are all against the strikers. Then on the 12th the political fakir returns and unobscures himself as in sympathy with the strikers, and declares the contractors are to blame for all the trouble.

But mark you the instructions of the Acting-Mayor Walker to Chief of Police Kiple are not canceled. Oh no! the contractors will be assisted by Harrison's police, but he will sympathize with the strikers. "What fools ye workers be!"

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AS TO THE "MANIFESTO."

Comrade Max Hayes Refutes the Charges of Broken Pledges.

A thunderclap from a clear sky could not have surprised me more than did the issue of The Herald of this date. I am not only astounded, but pained and chagrined at the "manifesto" promulgated by the Social Democratic party executive board.

Your board accuses me, among others, in so many words, of double dealing and trickery. I plead not guilty, and as a socialist and an American citizen I demand the right to be heard in my own defense, as well as in defense of my colleagues and comrades.

The "manifesto" says: "Mr. Max Hayes, on the floor of the convention, Thursday afternoon, announced his personal choice of the name Social Democratic, and in strong terms pledged himself and his paper, the Cleveland Citizen, to the name."

Correct. Again, in reporting action of New York conference: "It must be noted also that while Mr. Max Hayes, as heretofore described, had pledged himself to work for the name, nevertheless he evaded the responsibility by absenting himself from the conference while the question of name was under discussion."

This implies trickery, cowardice and a breaking of pledges on my part. It is a jumble of half-truths. When I returned to Cleveland and reported the action of the Indianapolis convention at a large meeting of local socialists, as Social Democratic party comrades will testify, I declared in favor of accepting the Social Democratic name.

"The Social Democratic party will urge that its name, be accepted by the united movement rather than that a new name be selected, and thus increase the confusion. It is pointed out that no stigma is attached to the title, that it is international in scope, and that it expresses perfectly what the labor movement stands for."

As regards the various meetings and conferences, I did not dodge anything. When the so-called "peace conference" took place in the Indianapolis hotel, I was addressing a Social Democratic mass meeting in the criminal court room.

But I did not believe, and do not believe now, in making of the name a greater issue than of principles, platform, ticket, tactics, justification and everything else combined, as a few of our hysterical and excited friends are attempting to do.

It is gross unfairness to charge our people with duplicity, and to harbor all sorts of senseless suspicion. I believe that Comrades Harriman, Hillquit and the others, who have sacrificed so nobly and have worked so hard in overthrowing bossism, are deserving of great credit for what they have done.

There are some people in this world who were bound to have their own way in even the most inflexible particulars. They will rule or rule, being incapable of real leadership.

They will rule or rule, being incapable of real leadership. A welding together of homogeneous elements. Such a man is Daniel De Leon. There are others. Nevertheless hurrah for socialism in our time!

The Manifesto Against Unity. To the Editor of The Workers' Call:

The Social Democratic Herald of April 7 contains a "Manifesto" in which four of the S. D. P. National Executive Committee arraign all the S. L. P. delegates (from the Rochester Convention to the Indianapolis Convention) as men who in the conference committee broke pledges made in Indianapolis.

The manifesto is biased, illogical and untrue; it bears evidence in almost every line that all information that was furnished as its base, came not from the majority of the S. D. P. committee, or from anyone who wished to make known facts, but from a minority, who went to the conference with cut and dried plans (perhaps instructions), to practically absorb the S. L. P. or to do what has been attempted by this manifesto—to tear down the reputation of all who were foremost or active in the movement for unity.

Many weeks ago I pointed out in the Class Struggle, that the opposition to unity would come only from those individuals holding high or salaried positions. The unexpected has not occurred. But that the method should be that of De Leon—ruthless and reckless character assassination—no one could well expect from those who profess the high principles of socialism.

I shall not attempt (nor could I, in twice the space occupied by the manifesto), to call attention to all the errors and untruths in the manifesto. It is one huge black dab, hurled with but one intent, to besmirch the reputation of those who have served the socialist cause honorably, faithfully and to the best of their ability.

No. 1. That the Herald was open to discussion regarding unity. It was not "open." It was closed to many that I know of.

No. 2. That Benham broke any pledge. No. 3. That Benham ever agreed to "aggressively" support the name S. D. P. I was known to be opposed to the name S. D. P., but said I would withdraw opposition if Harriman and Hayes were nominated.

No. 4. That the Indianapolis Convention was essentially a mass convention. It was nothing of the kind. It was a convention in which one-fourth of the delegates had a majority of the voting power in their pockets.

No. 5. That Harriman has ever agreed to support the name S. D. P. without reservation, is untrue. When Harriman and Hillquit (with so much mystery) were charged by Heath in the Conference Committee, the matter was shown to be so absurd that no one except Heath showed any signs of believing a word of it.

No. 6. That Benham ever used the word "acceptable" in connection with the words Social Democratic. No such word as acceptable was ever used, intimated or implied.

No. 7. That Harriman and Hillquit ever obligated themselves in any manner to support the name S. D. P. in the conference, except with the proviso, that such course was necessary to enable Berger to "use his influence for two hours." Berger did not even see Debs before the latter's acceptance was made public.

No. 8. That Max Hayes ever by word or act in New York or elsewhere, either attacked or declined to support the name S. D. P.

exactly four hours, from 2 to 6 p. m., Sunday, March 25.

No. 10. That the Committee on Conference voted for or proposed to submit two names until the S. D. P. delegation through Chase, made the proposition on Monday morning.

No. 11. Stedman did not state at the conference that Harriman had no conditions upon his statement regarding name. Stedman said "he did not remember anything of that kind in that conversation on the street."

No. 12. It is false that the Indianapolis Convention did (or could) "instruct" the Joint Committee. It might instruct the S. D. P. delegates, but not the Joint Committee.

No. 13. That the S. L. P. has studiously avoided giving information regarding its membership. Information has never been asked for, except once, and that was in the Conference Committee, at New York.

There is no doubt in the mind of all who are acquainted with the facts regarding the Wednesday night conference in Indianapolis, that Berger knew Debs was to accept. The fact that Berger insisted and argued and took up so much time in order to get a qualified pledge from some of the S. L. P. delegates, and that he at first refused to go and see Debs, unless Benham would also yield, shows, with the other circumstances, that it was a hold-up behind closed doors to make the S. L. P. delegates personally pledge themselves to the name S. D. P. Hayes was not there; they did not care for him.

BROKEN PLEDGES. On Monday Berger pledged himself to Benham to "use his great personal influence with Debs" previous to the presentation of Mr. Debs' name for nomination.

On Thursday morning Berger promised Harriman and Hillquit that he would not present the name of Harriman for vice-president. Berger went directly from the hotel (where he left Harriman and Hillquit) to the convention and placed Harriman in nomination.

Another victim sought. In the Conference Committee when the S. L. P. brought in the list of four names for candidates from New York, Hillquit's name was not there.

As for the purport of the manifesto, it is in keeping with the facts above stated. I may yet be obliged to acknowledge that in my zeal for union and in the hope of its accomplishment, I have overestimated both the wisdom and sincerity of the Social Democratic party.

There are some other matters of interest in connection with the unity matter, and I shall in the future be pleased to make some comments upon the idiosyncrasies and weaknesses of some of the "giants" of today.

I see that Edwards and Gordon, conscious of how lightly their ordinary statements are regarded by their party membership, have sought to make impressive their statements in this case by appearing before a notary and swearing.

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reason—they are true. The speaker continued: "Had there been no war with Spain, had the new and glorious May morn of American liberty never shed its lustre over the Bay of Manila, had no victory at Santiago brought a brilliant triumph of peace charged with great responsibilities, we should still have been compelled to look beyond our continental bounds."

"Territorial expansion has not been and is not now the object of American ambition. What we have done has been the inescapable, overmastering logic of events, and not the deliberate aim of any policy. It has been enough to give us such a position and the opportunity in the east as 100 years of ordinary history would not have brought, and there is no need of more. But even had there been no such glittering chapter, our continued material advancement would have required us to extend the arms of our commerce across the sea, and commerce means a navy and outposts and defense."

Comment upon the above is entirely unnecessary. It is a well-known saying that "extremes meet," and at this point, capitalism and socialism touch and agree. It is only necessary to say that the sense and meaning of the above are in thorough accord with the socialist conception.

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When Capitalists Speak Truth, They Endorse the Socialist Position.

The events, which within the last two years have launched the United States into the full tide of international capitalism, to stand side by side with other capitalist national groups, who previously were denounced by the public press as grabbers and plunderers of other people's territory, these events, their causes and significance, have been constantly insisted upon by the socialist press to be the natural and logical outcome of the system of capitalist production.

Below we give some extracts from the speech of Postmaster General Charles Emory Smith before the Commercial Club of St. Louis, which, agreeing as it does exactly with the socialist view of the subject will perhaps be of interest to those for whom the name "socialist" causes distrust and alarm.

"Our pathway is determined by our requirements. The country has grown up to this step, and its growth cannot be stopped. Commercial development is the inevitable necessity of our agricultural and manufacturing supremacy. The demands of our industrial position compel us to enter upon commercial expansion."

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