

THE WORKERS' CALL.

VOL. 1, NO. 1.

CHICAGO, ILL., MARCH 11, 1899.

PRICE ONE CENT.

CLASS POLITICS

Class Interests Back of Chicago Political Parties.

ECONOMIC INTERESTS AT BOTTOM

Present Political Divisions Seen to Grow Out of Economic History and Conditions, Each Representative of Some Particular Phase of Economic Development.

Chicago is, above everything else, the city of capitalism. The fame of its material wealth is world-wide. Multitudes of observers have testified that nowhere else in the civilized world have art, literature, culture and humanity been so recklessly sacrificed to greed. The things of which we are proud, to which we take our visitors—the Union Stock Yards, the skyscrapers, the Board of Trade, are simply our biggest expressions of Mammonism.

Its economic development has gone on at a tremendous rate. Transformation takes place in our industries with the facility of a "lightening change" artist. Within the memory of even our youngest voters the great lake trade was carried on by a multitude of small craft, manned by hardy sailors gathered from the four quarters of the globe. Today the Rockefeller steel steamer moves out of the harbor with a half dozen "dock-challengers" for a crew, carrying a load that would have taxed an entire fleet of those earlier times. Meanwhile the old sailor sits idly upon the wharf or roams through the lodging houses and up and down the streets seeking vainly for a purchaser of the skill and strength that once made him a valuable piece of merchandise in the labor market, but is now as useless and antiquated as the rotting hulk of the once proud schooner upon whose deck he formerly toiled.

It is little more than a decade since the first department store in Chicago was laughed at as a foolish experiment by the merchants of this city. Today long avenues of vacant stores bear witness to the power of economy of concentrated capital, while those same merchants and clerks in the great establishments they ridiculed, or more unfortunate still, have joined the great body of unbought slaves, called unemployed, and are going daily from office to office begging for a master. The unemployed are still in business are fighting a desperate energy to stave off from day to day the inevitable bankruptcy, stopping only occasionally to engage in some spasmodic expression of their class interests in idiotic efforts to check social progress and nullify laws of social development through anti-department store legislation.

Nowhere else has the separation of the classes gone on as rapidly as in this city. Within almost a single generation society has been changed from the free and easy democracy of a frontier town to a closely stratified society, with the Lake Shore Drive and the boulevards upon the one hand, and Little Hell and Goose Island upon the other.

It has, as has been sometimes said, American history is the epitome of human development from savagery to civilization expressed in a few generations, then it is still truer that Chicago has compressed that same development into still fewer decades. Such crushing together of historical epochs, such compression of centuries cannot help but cause confusion of interests. Representatives of various stages of society appear at the same time, each one trying to secure its own interests, and to maintain the stage of society to which it belongs.

We see the single taxer, still living in the early pioneer stage, when land was the dominant factor in production, seeking to correct the evils that belong to that time, forgetting that the complex tools, the great machines and factories, and the social organization of labor, have made the land of comparative unimportance.

The owners of the little stores and shops still thinking themselves in the competitive era, are blind to the conditions that have created the department store and the trust, and seek to further their interests and perpetuate the bygone social stage to which they belong, by anti-trust and department store legislation. They forget that competition as the ruling social force is as much a thing of the past as the mastodon and the mammoth, and that to attempt to

improve present society by improving competition is as logical as to offer proposed improvements in the vegetation of the carboniferous age as valuable suggestions for the modern farmer.

Closely allied to this last class is the body of small property owners, who though not engaged in any form of business still have a house and lot, a savings bank account or a few acres of ground in some suburb. They feel themselves being crushed to death by the burden of taxation that the large capitalist class succeed in avoiding. They groan beneath the pressure of the great railroad telegraph, telephone, street-car, gas and electric light company's exactions, and imagine that if only these industries could be made to bear a portion of the burden of taxation, while the rest of service would be reduced to them, their little properties might remain to them for a few years longer. So they cry out for municipal and national ownership. They are now rallying around Altgeld in the hope that they may somehow enact their class interests into law and preserve themselves and their class from immediate destruction.

Recently capitalism has itself been divided. Trusts and combinations have made the actual ruling class a plutocracy composed of but few members comparatively speaking but all powerful because of their great wealth. They have thrown off as useless the great mass of small capitalists and are rapidly crushing them out of existence. This latter class looks with envy upon the great incomes received by the owners of the industries just enumerated. But they still cling to the capitalist fetish of "private ownership" and "individual initiative." They demand "short term franchises and high compensation" that shall "check extortion" and "bear public burdens." In this city they are at present rallying around Harrison for Mayor and shouting "anti-Allen Bill" in the legislature. They too, are seeking to maintain themselves and their class from certain destruction. They too, belong to a past stage of society—to the stage when the great corporation first entered industry. But the trust has abolished that stage and we have no time to correct the faults of history, especially as it is always difficult to change events that are past.

At times combinations and transformations will take place in these class divisions and new lines will be drawn and new arrangements made. At all times there are many individuals in each party belonging to classes whose interests are not in accord with the party in which they find themselves. They may have been drawn in through personal relations, custom, impulses, prejudices or local associations, or even direct deception as to what their interests really are. The existence and actions of these persons does not concern us. We are now seeking to determine what is the dominant class interest in each party. Once this is determined, we have the key-note to the party's tactics and policy and can know what its actions will be when elected.

The situation is still further complicated by the presence of a body of ideologists and sentimentalists—professional reformers and well-doers. They are numerically insignificant, but since talking and "reforming" is their profession, and often their means of existence, such agitation becomes the natural expression of their class interests, and they manage to make a stir out of all proportion to their numbers. Let this point not be misunderstood. There is nothing wrong in being a professional reformer or in seeking class interests. The socialists, as we shall see later, would be the just to criticize such action. What he complains of is blind and ignorant reformers, who become simply the tools and advocates of reactionary class interests.

The reader must have noticed by this time that there is one class of our population numerically larger than all those named combined, whose interests we have not seen expressed by any party: This is the laboring class—the class whose toil made possible the marvelous development we have noticed in our city. Have they then no claims to advance no complaint to make, no wrongs to right, no interests to seek? Let us spend a moment in looking at their present condition. What has been the effect upon them of the wonderful growth in wealth and power and social progress of which we are so proud? What of the great body of workers? What of the 20,000, and more men in the Union Stock Yards and packing houses? Does the man

DEPEW.

His Speech to the Railroad Workers.

SOME CHAFF FOR THE WORKERS.

An Effort to Organize the Laborers Politically for the Benefit of Their Employers. A Shrewd Move of Capitalism, but as Usual Only Prepares the Way to Socialism.

We wish that it might be possible to place in the hands of every laborer in Chicago a copy of the speech of Chauncey M. Depew to the railroad and telegraph operators of this city a few weeks ago. There are texts in it for a dozen socialist sermons and I have faith enough in the general intelligence of the workmen to believe that some of the lessons it contains would be seen. Let me quote you from the Tribune report:

"It is time that the men who are dependent on the railroads for a living should look after their interests, not only as they are affected by the operation of the several companies where they are employed, but as they may be harmed or benefited by legislation. In being political but not partisan you have entered on the right course. The moment a laborer, a trade, or a charitable organization becomes identified with one party, or the other and can be used to promote the interests of party managers and party candidates its usefulness has ceased. But when people who are united in the same general cause are in politics only so far as to inform legislators, governors, congressmen, and Presidents of their situation, of their rights, of their business, and of contemplated wrongs and injuries to them, they are able to protect themselves."

Let us look a little closer at some of these statements. What does he mean by saying that railroad laborers should be political, not partisan? A little further on he explains this when he says:

"In states where the railway prejudice exists they expect a railroad president or manager to be unscrupulous and place little confidence in his statements, but a committee of employees intelligently understanding the question would be listened to at once. They would be listened to, especially if the politicians know that the same cause is being pushed to take the same course of their interests; that farmers, bankers and manufacturers do of their interests."

Do you see the point now? The railroad employees are to be intelligently trained until they can be made to act as cats-paws to fight the rebellious agrarian interests that are making trouble for some of Chauncey's stock-holding friends. They are to enter into politics only under the guidance of their employers, and are to constitute a solid body for the defense of corporate interests. They are to unite with no political body but are to hold themselves in military discipline to be sent to the party most favorable to their masters. They are to endeavor to fight the battles, not of their class—the laborers—but of their trade.

Both of these positions are legitimate deductions from pure and simple trade unionism and it speaks wonders for training of Arthur, Sovereign, et al that Depew was not hissed from the hall for uttering such sentiments.

Just note the fact that "the moment a laborer, a trade, or a charitable organization becomes identified with one party or the other its usefulness has ceased." Its usefulness to whom, pray? Why, to Chauncey and his class to be sure. This is the point the worker should bear well in mind, that Mr. Depew is speaking as a railroad attorney and it is the interest of the owners that he is seeking.

But hold on; according to the editorial comment of the Inter Ocean upon this same speech, it is the first duty of the laborer to "stand by their employers," and it concludes that:

"When workmen generally arrive at the conclusion that their employer's welfare is identical with their own, they will find that the relationship between capital and labor will not only become much closer but much pleasanter."

Again we ask "pleasanter for whom?" If we are not mistaken the above is almost what the wolf said to the lamb before he caught him, and he was certainly right. As soon as the lamb was compelled to realize that fact his relationship to the wolf became "closer and much pleasanter"—for the wolf. Let the workingman be sure for whom it is going to be much pleasanter before he seeks closer relations with the capitalist.

But mark one thing in this last quotation, and that is the use of the words "capital and labor," instead of capitalist and laborer. It is perfectly true that the interests of capital and labor are identical and that their relations should be much closer. In fact they should be vested in the same class of persons. Here we agree with the Inter Ocean and Chauncey, although we fancy they will not care to accept our interpretation. We hold that the interests of capital are so inseparably connected with those of the laborer that his life depends upon his getting access to it. We hold further, that since such a vital interest exists the only way in which friction can be avoided is to fuse these interests and vest the thing, capital, in the person—the laborer. Let the laboring class as a whole become the owners of capital and there will be no more trouble about divergent interests. But while this ownership is vested in another class who are able to make the workers toil for them because of this ownership, excuse us if we object to seeing any common interest worth discussing between the capitalists and the laborers.

Finally, the sooner the laborers conclude to "cease their usefulness" to the capitalists by uniting in a class-conscious party for the overthrow of capitalism the sooner will such talk as this cease.

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

EXPANSION

From a Capitalist Point of View.

PURE EXPLOITATION THE OBJECT

Lord Beresford Makes No Secret of Object of Expansion. Its Relation to the Laborer.

The recent visit of Lord Beresford to this city has been filled with incidents of interest to the laborer that should not be lost, and lessons and illustrations of socialist philosophy that it is well to fix in mind for future reference.

To begin with, the object of expansion was boldly and barefacedly set forth. It is no longer "humanity" or desire to "carry the blessings of civilization to weaker nations" that is urged as the impelling motive of conquest. This bluff English sailor has at least the merit of frankness. He sees clearly that the very nature of capitalism is such as to drive it to wars of plunder.

In an interview in the "Times-Herald" he gives a reason for expansion that might well have been taken from a Socialist leaflet. He says: "Manufacturers of all classes have come to see that they must seek an outlet for much of their product abroad." Socialists have long been pointing out this fact as one of the curses of capitalism, and it is refreshing to have their position confirmed from the lips of the official representative of capitalism.

Let the workers of Chicago strive to grasp the full significance of this point. Why must the product of this city be sent to the muzzles of cannon half way round the globe to find users? Are there none at home who need them? Are Chicago laborers so filled with overflowing with good things that they are seeking to dispose of their surplus products? Let the starving thousands who have been besieged our charities in the past few weeks give answer. Why, then, are those at home not first fed? "Why, because they have no money with which to buy," is glibly answered. But why not? Their labor produced these goods, and are they now to have no use of them? And, if not, again why not? The socialist is the only one in the field of politics to-day that dares to offer you an answer to this question, and I believe that every worker will agree that it is a question of manifold more importance to him than any concerning tariff, free silver, "economy in city administration" or municipal ownership of street cars.

The socialist calls the attention of the laborer to the fact that, since he is paid in wages only a very small portion of what he produces, he can not well buy back ALL his product at a PROFIT. The result is that there is always "overproduction" for the CAPITALIST and "underconsumption" for the LABORER. The capitalist must then seek a market for the LABORER'S product, while that laborer starves and freezes for lack of the things he creates. The more he produces the worse he is off. Modern machinery has made it possible for him to produce such a quantity of goods for the capitalist that capitalist governments are all engaged in a fierce struggle to secure access to people who can be compelled to take the goods, for lack of which the workers of those same capitalist governments are dying.

Tell this to your children, laborers of Chicago, and see if it will not help to overcome the effects of the lying rot about "patriotism," "civilization," "white man's burden," etc., that the paid advocates of capitalism poured into their ears through the instrumentality of our public schools on Washington's birthday.

That sort of talk is all right for the workers and their children, but when the capitalists are themselves gathered together, the mask is thrown off. In all the speeches at the Board of Trade banquet no mention is made of "ethical motives," but expansion for plunder is the keynote of every word uttered. Lord Beresford sees in China no "white man's burden" to be taken up, no benighted nation to which to carry the "blessings of civilization." He only says: "The natural resources of China are simply enormous. They are incalculable. The possibilities of the trade of the future are limitless." He has been to "spout the land" and has found it "flowing with milk and honey," and proposes that he and his capitalist friends "enter and take possession." He suggests that England, Germany, the United States and Japan form themselves into a gag o

bandits who shall proceed in a perfectly legal manner to organize the Chinese army, reconstruct their government and exploit their people to the interests of the capitalist class of the aforesaid countries.

He continues: "Whatever the government of China may be, it is absolutely certain that China will be opened up. I will give you my reasons."

The greatest civilization of the world is the railway—the line of communication. And various countries—your own in particular—have got concessions for building railways. I need not tell you, gentlemen, that when once an American has got a concession to do a thing it is certain to be done.

Just think what a civilization that Northern Pacific has been to this country, and all the land steals, bond swindles, stock gambling, legal bribing, Pullman strikes, etc. With the experience thus gained the capitalists of America ought to "civilize" China with a rush.

Another point of equal significance brought out by these events is the union of capitalist interests the world over. One of the main points of his visit is a proposed alliance between England, Germany, America and Japan. The socialist has long pointed out that capitalism is the same in all lands, and that therefore its abolition is an international question. But seldom is the case put in so clear a form as when Lord Charles said: "We are absolutely intermingled in trade—in the telegraph, in railway stocks—the same in America, the same in England. Therefore, what benefits England, I believe, must benefit America." Just notice the cool way in which this exponent of capitalism identifies England and America with the owners of telegraph and railway stocks.

This brings us to a third point that the socialists have long been pointing out and that is ordinarily denied by the capitalist class, but that in this meeting of kindred spirits was announced in unqualified terms. That is the fact that the capitalist class is the ruling class in all so-called civilized countries to-day. The socialists have for years been calling the attention of the workers to the fact that they were living under a class government—that in fact modern governments were simply the agents of capitalism, but we have always been laughed at or denounced as setting up class lines and inciting to class prejudice. Well, if you won't take it from the socialists, will you believe it when the capitalist tells you so himself? Listen to what Geo. E. Adams of the Chicago Board of Trade says in replying Sir Charles' speech:

"We admire the way in which Lord Charles Beresford has gone to work to reach the purposes he has at heart. He wishes to bring about concerted action by America and Great Britain and other maritime nations to maintain the 'open door' in China. He knows that in our country, as in his own, the supreme political power is the public opinion of the nation. Therefore, instead of posting first to Washington to whisper in the ear of the secretary of state, he comes straight to headquarters, and, in a time, so breezy way, he asks the boards of trade and the commercial clubs of the country what they think of the 'open door' in China."

Now, after this we want it distinctly understood that headquarters of the ruling public opinion in America is located down on La Salle street.

The whole affair is most admirably described in the "Tribune's" introductory remarks, and we cannot do better than to put that characterization here. It says:

"About him were 100 representatives of the greatest business interests of the middle West, who came as 'business' men to hear an emissary of business outline a business proposition. On either side of him sat men who exercise control over millions of capital and the welfare of thousands of workmen. There was not a man among the 100 guests who was not in some way vitally interested in the project."

Yes, it is purely a "business proposition." What though it concerned the lives of 300,000,000 of people in China and the welfare of thousands of workmen in America and other capitalist countries! They had nothing to say about it. They were but the pawns with which to gamble, the slaves in which to traffic, the victims to be exploited.

But they forget one thing. The same development that is making all capital cosmopolitan, until it has common interests in all countries is also creating the universal brotherhood of labor that is to wipe out that capitalism. The laborers, too, are beginning to consider a "business proposition" vis., how to obtain the full product of their labor. They are learning well the lesson of capitalism that the way to obtain your ends is to capture the powers of government and to sink all national differences in the pursuit of common interests. Ever upon the heels of capitalism treads like an avenging Nemesis the hosts of socialism, ready to accomplish its overthrow—to expropriate the expropriators, to secure justice to the exploited.

MUDDLED

Mystification of Capitalism at Its Own Development.

SOME REACTIONARY REASONING

The Tribune Would Stop the Course of Social Development. Does Not See the Class Struggle and Hence Expects Capitalist Rulers to Commit Economic Suicide.

The issue of the Tribune for the 8th inst. contains a typical bourgeois editorial on trusts. Of course the capitalist editors of the Tribune realize that trusts are the certain and legitimate development of the competitive system and that their coming is as inevitable as the succession of the seasons. But there is a large class of befuddled and hardly pressed people who do not wish to believe this and who will patronize the paper that encourages their delusive hopes. Hence the aforesaid editorial, and it is only in the hope that the article may serve as an illustration of capitalist tactics and a warning to laborers not to be influenced by them, that any notice whatever is taken of it.

The righteous indignation of the Tribune rises at times almost to the ridiculousness that is close to sublimity. Listen and laugh:

"The time certainly has come for the people to assert themselves (and) wash out the countless combinations of greed to plunder them. The organization of 'combinations' is the rage of the hour. In one issue of the Tribune last week mention was made of new consolidation enterprises with a total capitalization of 200 million dollars. There is hardly any line of business which an effort is not being made to control through the machinery of a trust."

Just read that first sentence in the light of the succeeding three and you will be forced to conclude that the Tribune's "funny man" had invaded the editorial sanctum. Mrs. Partington with her famous exclamation that the Atlantic Ocean is no where as a true ocean creation with the paragraph quoted above.

The reader must wonder just how the people are to "assert themselves." Perhaps the concluding paragraph of the editorial will throw some light on this point.

"There are laws against trusts and monopolies. They are not enforced, however. No serious attempt is made to enforce them. Apparently these officers whose duty it is to do so do not think the people want the laws carried out. If they thought otherwise and believed they would lose their jobs if they did not make war on trusts their zeal would know no bounds. Therefore what is needed is for the consumers to wake up and speak out. They are the sufferers. If they complain of monopolies and the men in office do not go ahead to break up those monopolies, the consumers can turn these men out and put in others who will do their bidding."

New you have it. If the people who are in office do not break up the monopolies turn them out, and put in others who will. But how? If every one of the plutocracy grows stronger and the remainder of society weaker what is the prospect of controlling the machinery while they still remain in office? And the last thing that the issue wishes is to disturb that machinery.

The socialist simply says to the former of the trust: "Go ahead, you are but perfecting society for its next great advance—you are but improving production for a greater change—you are but paving the way to your own destruction." The socialist would not, if he could, stop the improved method of production which the trust introduces—he would simply utilize them for the good of all.

Registration

Only one day for registration, March 25, 9 a. m. to 3 p. m.

Only those who have moved or were not registered at the last election need register.

Many sample copies of the paper have been sent out. To obtain such numbers you need only an examination of the paper, and that you will find it of interest, and assistance in helping all others to secure justice to themselves and the welfare of the whole. Will you not do your share in this cause by sending me a description.

All information regarding Hickey's Trust and the Peter Deane and George Greer

Published every Saturday, at 38 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill., as mail matter of the second class.

Subscription Rates. One year \$3.00. Six months \$1.75. Three months \$1.00. Single copies 10c.

Advertisements. A limited number of acceptable advertisements will be inserted.

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

The time is ripe, and rotten ripe, for change; Let it come; I have no dread of what is called for by the instinct of mankind.

City Ticket. Mayor, A. Klenke. City Treasurer, J. Wanhope.

SALUTORY. In presenting to the people of Chicago the first issue of a paper devoted to the doctrines and principles of socialism it may be well to explain something of the position which it is intended to take and the doctrines it will aim to expound.

In the first place we shall stand strictly upon the lines laid down by the class-conscious international socialists the world over. Clear in the position that upon the present producing class rests the destinies of the future, and that their interests are in accord with social development we cast our lot with the members of that class.

The present capitalist class was raised to its present position of ruling class by the overthrow of the landed nobility at a time when capitalist domination was in accord with social progress.

Capitalist interests are now opposed to social advance. Progress today demands universal peace, capitalism demands "new markets" at the cost of continuous warfare.

This then, constitutes the fundamental reason why we champion the cause of the workers. Not because they are more intelligent, more moral or in any particular way more fitted to govern than the capitalists, but because at this time their interests are bound up with those of social advance, and the securing of justice to them is destined to constitute the next great step in human progress.

This problem of the laborer (not the "labor problem," for it is the MAN not the COMMODITY that is of importance) is THE problem of TODAY. Compared with the question of alleviating the wide-spread misery of the laborers all other problems fade into insignificance.

Opposed to the laboring class is the present capitalist class, who through ownership of the forces of nature and the means by which they are applied—the land and the tools—is able to dictate to all others the terms of life.

enough to live and to perpetuate their kind. Through the power thus obtained the capitalist class has become the ruling social class. It controls our present government, sets the fashions in dress and manners, fixes customs, determines public opinion, dominates the state, the church, the press and the courts and in general rules the action of society.

As we have seen, this condition has now reached a point where social progress demands that the capitalist class be overthrown and the laboring class be elevated to the position of rulers. But since all will then be laborers this amounts to the abolition of class rule.

The conflict of these opposing interests gives rise to what the socialists call the "class struggle." This struggle was created by no one. It was not the socialists, but the progress of events that "set one class against another".

This struggle is now a political one. The weapon of the laborer is the ballot. Owing to his overwhelming numbers he can conquer in this field as soon as he shall present a united front in class-conscious recognition of his interests.

In support of that position we ask the active co-operation of all laborers. This is your paper. Through it your sentiments will find a voice, your rights be maintained, your enemies be attacked.

"Scientific Socialism."

We would recommend the following from The Class Struggle to those of our readers who are clamoring for "scientific socialism" with the idea that Marxism is identical with profundity.

What do you call scientific? We have read several supposedly scientific socialist articles and confess we did not understand them. The writers evidently belonged to the "Concord School of Philosophy."

Many people where they cannot understand. To illustrate: A minister was called to occupy for a while a pulpit in a Scotch parish. He was feeling his way with a deacon as to what the people liked.

Do not forget that you can get the first four numbers of The Workers' Call containing Liebknecht's article for five cents. Special rates in bundles of fifty or more.



"THE MAN WITH THE HOE."

Written After Seeing Millet's World-Famous Painting. By EDWIN MARKHAM.

Bowed by the weight of centuries he leans Upon his hoe and gazes on the ground, The emptiness of ages in his face!

Is this the Thing the Lord God made and gave To have dominion over sea and land; To trace the stars and search the heavens for power;

What gulfs between him and the seraphim! Slave of the wheel of labor, what to him Are Plato and the swing of Pegasus?

Flundered, profaned and disinherited, Cries protest to the Judges of the world. A protest that is also prophecy.

How will it be with kingdoms and with kings— With those who shaped him to the thing he is— When this dumb Terror shall reply to God, After the silence of the centuries?

Extra copies of this poem may be obtained at this office or will be sent by mail postpaid at the following rates: Three for five cents, twenty-five for ten cents or twenty-five cents a hundred and larger quantities in proportion.

Say! This is Rich.

We are not in the habit of advertising other political parties but the following resolutions of the City Convention of the Republican Party are so good to pass without comment.

We congratulate the country upon the return of generous and general prosperity. Who has got the prosperity, you or the other fellow?

How many times have you heard Altgeld say anything about the long hours and tyrannical treatment of the street-car employees?

CLASS POLITICS.

(Continued from page 1.)

whose energies today prepare the meat for a hundred tables where his father toiled for one, eat porter house steak while his father was content with liver?—Let those who are trying to hold the soul within the body on "short time" at \$3.00 to \$4.00 a week in some smoke-begrimed tenement "Back of the Yards" answer.

Stately if ever there was a class that should have a political party to secure their rights and redress their wrongs, it is this class. Where is the party that voices their interests and sufferings? All parties seek their support. Without their votes no party could hope to succeed.

The most prominent characteristic of the working class of the world today is that it is propertyless. It has nothing with which to obtain a livelihood from nature. Its members have no tools with which to work. Yet they must produce if they are to live.

We find that a still more important change has taken place in regard to the ownership of these tools. Where once each worker owned the tools of his trade, there is now a class who make it their only business to do this owning.

The laborer's product then goes to the owners of the tools—the land and the machinery—the instruments of production and distribution. These owners constitute the capitalist class in all its divisions, and they stand between the laborers and the sources of life and are able to take the lion's share of the social product.

Is it not now plain that any party that has any right to ask for the support of the laborers and to represent their interests must stand for the political and economic overthrow of the capitalist class, whose existence as a ruling class is responsible for this state of affairs?

There is one party having a ticket in the field in this coming election that offers as its reason for existence that it stands for the interests of the great laboring class. The Socialist Labor Party is the only party in this

city that dares to say that democracy is not a mocking farce, but actually means rule by the majority—that is the workers.—This does not mean another class domination, since all will be workers under socialism and all class rule be abolished.

This is the only point in the whole field of discussion that in any way concerns the laborer. But upon this point the issue is clear. Here in Chicago, as in every capitalist country in the world, it is the Socialist Labor Party against the entire mixture of capitalist parties, at this point. Between the different capitalist parties there can be no choice for the laborer, as they are all discussing things that do not concern him.

In Memoriam.

In the death of Mrs. Bella Sales, Section Chicago, Chicago mourns the loss of one of its most faithful members. In the trying times that followed reorganization in 1895 she was one of those who stood by the principles of the Socialist Labor Party when such support was most needed.

The sympathy of the Section Chicago and of all societies who knew her throughout the country in extended in sympathy to the sorrowing members of her family.

France.

From London, Justice.—The joint committee of French Socialists on Sunday last appointed a committee composed of a member from each of the organizations affiliated to issue an invitation to the Socialist parties of all countries for the International Congress at Paris in 1900.

Spain.

Madrid, March 1.—The economic depression in Spain, due to the late war, in the Southern provinces is great. The workmen at the Cadiz marine arsenals have been thrown out of work and they are heading an army of 70,000 unemployed. In Malaga the depression and distress is still greater and only a few of the unemployed can find work on the tobacco and rice plantations.

Berlin.

Emperor William is again attempting to get rid of the Socialistic Professor at the Berlin University, particularly Dr. Arons. For six months the police have been gathering his writing and noting his public utterances for the purpose of bringing charges against him.

Russia.

The Czar declares for peace, and arrests and transports 20 tallors for going on a strike at Perm. They have been sent for three years to Eastern Siberia. Among others sent up at the same time were seven tanners, one Professor and one student.

While Chicago reformers are seeking to abolish the deadly trolley through municipal ownership, the "business administration" of Glasgow is just introducing this same death-dealing instrument into their streets.

Any one receiving a copy of this paper who is not a regular subscriber need not fear that any bill will be sent. Either it is only a sample copy or someone has paid for you.

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

Amusing the Workers.

So true is it that socialism is but the obverse of capitalism and that all its features are already in existence in germ beneath the surface of the present society that we find illustrations of its doctrines cropping out in almost every capitalist speech, if we but read it rightly.

Mr. Ela, like many of his class, has begun to notice the characters of the handwriting on the wall but as yet has failed to find an interpreter. In discussing the project to build an exposition building on the lake front he took the position that one argument for its erection lay in the fact that it would be a great place of "popular" recreation.

But let us look for a moment at the details of the scheme proposed by Mr. Ela. According to the Tribune, he begins with a statement in which we will all agree. He says: "At the present rate of progress it will not be long before one-tenth of the people of this city and of the country will control its productive wealth and nine-tenths will be wage-earners."

With his first sentence, as we said above, there is no disagreement. With his final suggestions we are only concerned as showing the confusion that arises in a capitalist mind when he tries to see into anything beyond capitalism. Note the talk about "recreation." Does he mean by that decentralization? If so, does he expect by some sort of chemico-sociological process to "decompose" the trusts and department stores into their original elements?

CIVIL SERVICE.

EXAMINATION FOR QUALIFIED VOTERS. Arithmetic. If under 10 years of anti-trust legislation 1,000 trusts have grown where there was but one before, how long will it take to entirely abolish trusts by the same means?

History.

If Cregier was elected mayor in 1881 on a municipal ownership plank and did nothing, how much will Altgeld accomplish if being defeated on the same platform?

Geography.

Describe the shortest route from a "labor leader" to a "soft snap" at the city hall via the "pure and simple" trades union route.

Practical Experience.

If Altgeld has no hope of election anyhow, and if he would not do what he promises if he were elected, and if it would not do the laborer any good if all he promised were done, why should a laborer vote for him?

Practical Experience.

If politics in trades unions are a good thing for the leaders, why are they so bad for the rank and file? Ans. Because there are not enough officers to go around.

JUGGLERY

Political Bait for the Laborer.

A SHAM MUNICIPAL PLATFORM

A COMBINATION OF REFUTED ECONOMICS, POLITICAL TRICKSTERS, AND SELF-LAUDATION.

One wing of the capitalist class has prepared the bait with which it hopes to lure the laborers into giving its members the lion's share of the political spoils during the next two years. The series of phrases making up the Republican platform seems to have reached the limit of reactionary insipidness, but perhaps with it for a model the Democrats may surpass even its achievements along these lines.

After throwing the usual bouquets at themselves they proceed to state their position on the franchise question. Here a bit of shrewd politics is seen. The plank reads as follows and we would commend its study to all interested in "practical politics":

"The streets of Chicago are public highways. They belong to the people and exist for their use. They should only be used by public-service corporations upon payment of full compensation for their use to the people. All grants and extensions of franchises to these corporations should more carefully than heretofore guard and protect public rights, with due regard for private interests. All such grants should be for short periods, in no case exceeding twenty years. They should provide for adequate service at reasonable rates, and for full compensation to the city. Extensions of existing street-railway licenses or franchises, if made, should expressly provide that all subsequent grants within the term shall expire at the same time, and that the people shall, upon their expiration, if they shall then so desire, be entitled to purchase the tangible property required and used in the operation of the roads at its then value for railroad purposes. Provision should first be made for reduced fares, especially during the rush hours and for school children, and then for special services and cash payments to the city, making in all full compensation for the valuable privileges granted."

The beauty about that plank is that it is as wide as a barn floor. You "pay your money and you take your choice." In the first place the "streets are public highways—belong to the people, and exist for their use." Then they are to be used by "public service corporations" (wonder where they keep that kind).

Then we have provision for limited franchises, and municipal ownership and finally there are to be special rates for school children and during rush hours. It is rather rough on Altgeld and Harrison to thus steal all their thunder and it looks as if all they could say on the "main issue of the campaign" is just "me too." But hold on—there is one class of our citizens for whom there is nothing said. How about the laborers on the street-cars with their inhumanly long hours, unprotected work, and petty tyranny. We suppose their votes are not wanted. Street-car men please take note.

The next plank is a long rant of Mayor Harrison's administration of civil service reform, and we may be sure that the Democrats will respond with an equally long eulogy. The voter may believe which he wishes. Towards the close they announce that "The examination must be made so that all citizens, whether native born or naturalized, whether educated in books or in the great school of practical experience, shall have an equal chance to secure public position."

That would be an interesting sort of an examination, but we would like to see a sample set of questions before endorsing the plank. Can any one imagine such a set? Can it be possible that public intelligence has fallen so low that any great body of voters will not see the flimsy impossibility of this plank?

The next paragraph is of interest to the socialist as showing that, while catering in the main to the plutocracy, the Republicans still retain their hope of catching the votes of some of the hardy pressed middle-class.

Hence they put themselves on record as opposing department stores. This plank, like the former one, is of interest to show how low a measure is set upon the popular intelligence by the "practical politician." Just think of the intellectual character of a populace whose votes would be caught by such stuff as this:

"We favor the enactment of such legislation as will most effectively protect the small shop-keeper against the unfair and unjust competition of the department stores, and we advocate by all legal means the abolition of the present system of large department stores."

It will be noticed that no details are given of the character of the legislation that will "protect the small shop-keeper against the unfair and unjust competition of the department stores," nor are any particulars given of the "legal means" that are to "abolish the present system of large department stores."

It is taken for granted that economic progress can be reversed, laws of social development set aside, the condition of society made worse.

with and the wheels of time made to roll backward.

What possible interest can a laborer have in anything here promised even if there had ever been such a thing known as the carrying out of political platforms.

We wonder how many so-called intelligent laborers will mark an X above the column of men who formulated this program and are promising to carry it out.

A New Platform Needed.

At a meeting in Central Music Hall on the 6th inst. Prof. Herron spoke of the need of a municipal program. We heartily recommend the following extract from his speech to public consideration:

"This brings before me an entirely new sort of motive. It brings before us in dealing with municipal problems the urgency of some sort of a positive municipal program. Men will not respond any more to appeals for tinkering in any way whatsoever with industrial questions. The men who seek to reform the city and summon people to action fall, as they ought to fall, not because they ask too much, but because they ask comparatively nothing at all. There is nothing that will summon the common life and the common conscience to action, nothing that will call the normal reserve of the citizenry into being, except a definite, tangible municipal program that shall fascinate the imagination of the people and call them to give themselves to something that is worth giving themselves to, that shall call them into some hope of an actual justice realized in the city government. The great need of the city of Chicago is such a definite municipal program that has some bone and sinew and substance of reality in it, a program that will actually propose to organize this city for the benefit of the people, instead of being merely the sphere of the plunderer and the few, as it is at the present time. This is the nature of the social program of reconstruction demanded. If you would really call the people into action, a million men will lay down their lives for an ideal that is worth while. None will listen if you appeal to them to do something that is incidental and comparatively trifling. Citizens must not only be willing to respond to a call, they must yearn for a call to give all there is of themselves for the good of their fellows."

Amen, to every word of that Professor, and we would respectfully call your attention to the fact that such a program exists in the form of the Socialist Labor Party Municipal Platform, which you will find in another column and to which we would respectfully call your attention. If the same does not fill the conditions laid down, we would be pleased to open our columns to you to explain in what points it is deficient. If it does fill those conditions we would be glad to know why you do not say so, and advocate its success.

B. Fay Mills on the S. L. P. Platform.

In connection with the remarks of Prof. Herron, given above, the utterance of another worker in the "reform" field is of interest. In the January number of the Arena the Rev. B. Fay Mills in pleading for the formation of a new party, speaks as follows of the S. L. P.:

"The Socialist Labor Party has an almost ideal program.

"It occupies in relation to the social question the position of the more radical of the old Abolitionists in the days before the war. It is possessed of an heroic enthusiasm, and it appears to have engendered the power and sacrifice that accompanies the birth of a religion. But, in sharp contrast, it seems to be practically without soul! It seems to aim exclusively at the establishment of an economic democracy and lacks the vital conception of rational, unselfish spirituality. It may be criticised because it will not take anything if it cannot gain all it wants, and because it is intolerant of other agencies working toward similar ends, instead of co-operating with them so far as possible."

We commend to Prof. Herron, the Rev. Mills' statement that we have an ideal program. We would then ask Mr. Mills why, if the S. L. P. is so lacking in soul he does not join it and, while working for its "ideal program" pour into it some of his superabundance of soul. If he does not is he not refusing to "take anything because he cannot get all he wants," and is he not "intolerant of other agencies working toward similar ends"?

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.

There is no place like the streets of Chicago to study Socialism. As you pass along them tomorrow morning just note the wastes and abuses of competition, the progress of concentration and the stratification of society that is going on around you. See how much energy is being wasted than thrown away. Watch the signs of the death-agonies of the small dealers. Observe all these things and then ask yourself how long this must continue.

SOCIALISM

What It Is and What It Seeks to Accomplish.

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

First of all, a few remarks concerning the name of our party. It is called the Socialist Democratic or Socialist Labor Party; our banner is that of social democracy, or socialism. Social democracy and social democracy signify more than democratic and democracy. Democracy means, first, a government by the people; second, the society that is the outgrowth of such a government. Democratic demands are those which are sought through the sovereignty of the people.

The word democracy, derived from the Greek, is frequently translated "rule of the people". That is not, however, wholly correct, at any rate it does not correspond with the logical conception of the idea of democracy. The "people" is composed of all the members of the state, and the whole cannot rule since there is no one outside them to be ruled. A ruler necessarily presupposes a subject—where there there is no one to be ruled, because all have a part in the governing, there is no domination as a matter of course.

It is by all means a reasonable demand that all subjects of the state, minors naturally excluded, should have an equal part in the rule of the state, and further, it cannot be denied that the carrying out of such a system would bring about the destruction of social misery. Why not then retain the name democracy which has a social history? For the reason that it has a history. Since the rise of the modern industrial society, with the opposition of classes and class struggle, the banner of democracy has been made use of many times to veil the eyes of the people to the chasm that yawns between the divided classes of society. Yes we have lived to see the enemy of the working people fight them under the flag of democracy. Even in the mouth of those democrats who honestly wish the rule of the people, the word democracy has essentially narrowed sense covering only the political and governmental sphere. It is this illogical conception, however, which exists at present, and the name democracy cannot therefore satisfy a party which really strives for the rule of the people, but has also perceived that the governing is not the end but the means, that the end of the state is to secure to all its subjects the highest possible sum of well being and that this end can be realized only through a just regulation of the necessary social labor.

In a word, social democracy, social democratic expresses this view. Social signifies association (gesellschaftlich), that is referring to society. Social democracy the rule of the people in the province of the social relations of men as well as in that of politics, the just, wise dignifying arrangement of state and society. Socialism is the science of society, the science of the irrational regulation of it at present, and of the reasonable order to be brought about through us; socialistic, in relation to this science, means developing in that sense; a socialist, one who seeks to reorganize society according to the principles of socialism—so that socialistic and socialist in the essentials mean the same as social-democratic and social democrat.

We call ourselves the labor party because the vital interest and the strength of numbers of the working class alone have the power to establish such an order. And mark well, under working people we do not understand merely the hand workers but every one who does not live on the labor of another. Besides the city and country laborers, must be included also the small farmers and traders who groan under the burden of capital, even as the laborers proper. Yes, in many cases yet more. There are hundreds of thousands of small masters who are obliged on Saturday to run about for hours in order to borrow the week's pay for their workers and who are happy if their profit is equal to that of a factory laborer.

Now to that which we propose to do. From May 22d to 27th, 1875, delegates, (127 in number) from the whole democratic body of Germany, met in Gotha and accepted unanimously after mature deliberation the following program:

I. Labor is the source of all wealth and all culture and since universal productive labor is possible only through society, therefore to society, that is to all its members, belongs the collective product of labor. With the universal obligation to labor, according to equal justice, each should have in proportion to his reasonable needs.

In the present society the means of labor are the monopoly of the capitalist class; the servitude of the laboring class, which is the outgrowth of this, is the cause of misery and of slavery in all forms.

The liberation of labor demands the trans-

formation of the means of production into common property of society and the associative regulation of the collective labor with general employment and just distribution of the proceeds of labor.

These manacles of labor must be the work of the laboring class, opposed to which all other classes are only reactionary bodies.

II. Proceeding from this principle the Socialist Labor Party of Germany seeks through all legal means the free state and the socialist society, the destruction of the iron law of wages, the overthrow of exploitation in all forms, and the abolition of all social and political inequality.

The Socialist Labor Party of Germany, though working chiefly in national boundaries, is conscious of the international character of the labor movement and is resolved to fulfill every duty which is laid on the workers in order to realize the brotherhood of humanity.

The Socialist Labor Party of Germany demands as a step to the solution of the social question the erection, with the help of the state, of socialistic productive establishments under the democratic control of the laboring people. These productive establishments are to place industry and agriculture in such relations that out of them the socialist organization of the whole may arise.

The Socialist Labor Party of Germany demands as the foundation of the state:

I. Universal, equal and direct suffrage with secret, obligatory voting of all citizens at all elections in state or community.

II. Direct legislation by the people. Decision as to peace or war by the people.

III. Common right to bear arms. Militia instead of the standing army.

IV. Abolition of all laws of exception, especially all laws restricting the freedom of the press, of association and assembling; above all, all laws restricting the freedom of public opinion, thought and investigation.

V. Legal judgment through the people. Gratuitous administration of law.

VI. Universal and equal popular education by the state. Universal compulsory education. Free instruction in all forms of art. Declaration that religion is a private matter.

The Socialist Labor Party of Germany demands within the present society:

I. The widest possible expansion of the political rights and freedom according to the foregoing demands.

II. A progressive income tax for state and municipality instead of all those existing, especially in place of the indirect tax which is burdensome to the people.

III. Unrestricted right of combination.

IV. Shortening of the working day according to the needs of society. Abolition of Sunday labor.

V. Abolition of child labor and all female labor injurious to health and morality.

VI. Protective laws for the life and health of the worker. Sanitary control of the homes of the workers. Supervision of the mines, the factories, work shops and hand industries by an officer elected by the people. An effective law of enforcement.

VII. Regulation of prison labor.

VIII. Full autonomy in the management of all laborers' fraternal and mutual benefit funds.

Who that honestly wishes the welfare of his fellowmen can refuse his consent to this program? Who that is not satisfied with his own slavery and exploitation or not interested in that of his fellowmen can deny that the fulfillment of this program would be a blessing to the world?

Let us examine state and society as they are. All power and means of life are to be found in the hands of a small minority, and this minority naturally use their power to the end of securing and maintaining that monopoly of all advantages which domination in state and society gives, and to prevent the obtaining of political and social rights by the subject majority.

Who exercises the political power? A scanty minority whom birth and wealth have made a privileged class. The great majority of the people are absolutely helpless and because helpless also without rights, for a right to which the power of enforcement is not attached is only a picture, a play, a misleading phantasm.

What meaning for example has the right to choose a legislative representative that can only speak but cannot exercise the slightest influence on the government of the land? The governing minority rules for itself, not for the subject majority. Between rulers and ruled there exist as little community of interest as between the plantation owner and the negro slave. The interest of the negro does not come in question for the plantation owner; his own interest is determinative for him and he handles the negro as his interest demands. Just so in the present state. The interest of the people does not come in question but exclusively the interest of the ruling minority.

To make the interests of the ruled subservient to the interests of the rulers is the foundation and purpose of rule, is the meaning of ruling. So long as there are rulers and ruled it must be so, for rule is by its very nature exploitation. It follows therefore that the interests of the subject people demand the transformation according to their interest, of the state from its foundation. It must cease to be the possession of a few persons of position and class; and must become the possession of citizens with full and equal rights, of whom no one rules over the other, and none will be ruled by another.

For this the social democracy strives. In place of the present class rule we will institute a free government of the people.

The clear statement of our party program stamps as a slender the assertion of our opponents that socialism will secure the ruling power

in the state for the laboring class. We have already said that the idea of mastery is above all undemocratic and consequently in opposition to the principles of socialism. All demands for liberty made by democracy are likewise demands of the social democracy. The difference between democratic and social democratic is, that the latter sees the consequences which the former entangled in civil prejudices has not the courage to see. Social democracy is consequently actually democracy. It will bring into existence an organization of the state and society, that resting on the equality of all men will choke the source of inequality, will tolerate neither ruler nor servant, and will found a fraternal community of free men. In order to make this possible the present manner of production must be brought to an end. The economic basis of society, that is, the system of wage labor, must be transformed.

The mother of all social wealth, of all culture is labor. Whatever we are and have, we are and have through labor. We have labor to thank for everything. Not our personal labor, at least only to an inconsiderable degree, but the general social labor. It is very possible indeed—and we see it frequently enough—to enjoy the blessings of culture without personal work; but it is also absolutely impossible for the most industrious and efficient worker with the most strenuous toil to live as men of culture without the general social labor, that first created culture and without which we were beasts, not men. From this we see the communistic nature of labor, its essentially associative character, on which all state and society rests. Labor has always had this communistic character, with the ancient slave, and the vassal of the Middle Ages as well as with the modern wage-earner. But the product of labor he did not have nor has he it yet. The ancient slave worked for his master, the medieval vassal for the lord of the manor and the modern wage-slave works for the capitalist. Here is the inconsistency, here the injustice to remedy which is the object of the social democracy. The social communistic character of labor must be extended to the product of labor, the product of labor shall be the property of labor, labor no longer be the companion of misery but of enjoyment.

One can see how absurd the allegation is that we propose to abolish property. Not the abolition of property is sought but the abolition of the deprivation of property, the false property which is the appropriation of others' property; the social thievery. "Exploitation of the exploiter," Marx has called it. Above all, those who call themselves Christians have no right to cry out against this "division," for the New Testament preaches communism in the roughest, most primitive form, and the first Christian communities that had yet the "whole pure teachings" carried out "division" with the greatest thoroughness.

Let us look at present conditions. Who will deny that the majority of mankind live in the greatest wretchedness and that only a minority have the means of attaining an existence worthy of human beings? We would refer the doubter to the statistics whose figures admit of no reply, and can be ignored only by the ignorant or the evil disposed.

The economic inequality is not the worst thing, however. Labor creates all wealth and were those who do not work poor, this inequality would have a certain justification; in reality the situation is turned about. As the bourgeois political economist, John Stuart Mill, who is honored as authority by our opponents, has explained with keen insight. In our present society goods are proportioned in inverse ratio to the heaviness of the labor performed. He who works the hardest has on an average the least; he who does not work at all and can have others working either directly or indirectly for him has much. Poverty is the share of labor, riches the portion of the idle. The workers who have created the so-called national wealth are shut out from it. It is the monopoly of the non-workers. In this way the inequality becomes the most revolting injustice. And this injustice is a scar on our famed civilization, that every one who has a spark of the sense of justice must strive to clear away. Palliative measures that merely touch the surface, merely reduce the symptoms, make the evil worse; this must be seized and torn out by the root. All wealth is the fruit of labor, teaches political economy—labor shall reap the fruit of labor; demands justice, demands socialism. The present inequality springs from this: that labor does not work for itself, that it must sell itself to the idle for wages and by them be exploited. In a word: it springs out of the system of wage labor. The present injustice is only to be abolished in this way, that labor cease to work for the idle and that instead it work for itself.

Individual labor is unproductive. Work, as we have seen, must accord-

ing to its nature be communistic. Therefore united labor for the advantage of every individual, united labor and united enjoyment of the fruits of labor. This it is which we would establish in place of the present system of exploitation. Socialistic cooperation in place of wage-labor!

But where does capital remain?

Where it belongs, with labor. There is no capital but through labor. There shall be no capital except for labor. It has been asserted by charlatans that capital creates value as well as labor—the test can be easily tried; the worshiper of capital may sweep together in a heap his capital, he may gather all the capital of the earth, and after the space of a year there would not have grown a penny more of value from it, but indeed the worth of the idle mass would be considerably decreased. Capital is not merely the child of labor; it cannot grow or continue without it. Capital has in relation to labor no rights, while labor in relation to capital has the right of ownership. The tyrannous manner of production has overturned the natural relation between capital and labor and made labor the slave of capital. Is our wage-labor not slavery? Is the modern wage-laborer because he can change his master in any regard more free than the ancient slave? Does not hunger fasten him more firmly and more mercilessly to labor than the strongest iron chain? Yet one often takes exception to us, "he worker is in a better condition today than in the last century." Whether the assertion is true or false we leave undecided. Even if true, it would prove nothing. It is not better position the socialist worker demands but equal position. He will work no longer for another; he insists that each shall enjoy in equal measure the fruits of labor and the blessings of culture. He has enough logic and sense of justice to lay no claim to a favored place; he will also, however, accept no inferior one. The continuation of the present manner of production is not consistent with the continuance of society. The great capitalist production was an advance. It has, however, become an obstruction. It no longer satisfies the economic needs of society, and by society we mean not the small minority of privileged persons who are pleased to call themselves "society" but the whole people. Wholly aside from the unjust distribution of the products of labor capitalist production is incapable of providing all members of society with the things requisite to an existence worthy of mankind and must be displaced by a higher form of production which fulfills these conditions. And this is possible only through communistic, social production, and the socialist organization of labor which turns the concentrated capital of the community to the advantage of society.

It is an error which arises from the confusing of society, with the privileged minority, that is with the ruling classes, that we are charged with the intention of overthrowing all existing things and proceeding tabula rasa to erect a fantastic structure upon the ruins. We only wish to remove whatever hinders the sound, intelligent development of society and to bring about a condition in which the interests of the great majority shall no longer be sacrificed to those of the minority. And instead of privileged individuals, instead of political social monopolies we would establish the rights and interests of all and justice as the highest law of state and society. Whatever has outlived itself and no longer satisfies the growing cultured needs of society shall cease to wither air and sun from the struggling new life. We will make possible the organic evolution of our culture that is prevented by the present class rule. Who would propose today to abolish machinery in order to re-establish the small industry of medieval times would be considered insane, for every one knows that the small industry has been succeeded by a higher, more productive method, the great industry. Whoever in the middle ages, however, or even the first half of the present century, had said that the system of small industries was too costly, too unproductive, and must be wiped from the earth through an industrial revolution, that should bring another system of production to the ruling position, would have been considered as—well much as the fanatics of the present social order—more properly disorder, considered us.

Whoever in fifty years from now should recommend the institution of our present conditions would be in danger of making the mistake of the insane asylum, of those who demand the reform of present conditions are also being persecuted. Yet it is just as necessary that the present manner of production should be supplanted by a higher, more productive manner of production, as it is not we who are to be imperceptibly dissolved, but the present system of wage labor. The present injustice is only to be abolished in this way, that labor cease to work for the idle and that instead it work for itself.

Individual labor is unproductive. Work, as we have seen, must accord-

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP Official Statement of Section Chicago.

LABORER'S VIEW OF THE SUBJECT

Summing Up of Socialist Position. Municipalization of Local Industries Only a Phase of Capitalism. Of No Real Benefit to the Laborers.

To those not in touch with the socialist propaganda, to those in whose mind socialism is vaguely defined as the operation of all industries by the government, it would appear that any move toward municipalization was of necessity socialist, and should, therefore, command immediate and unequivocal socialist support.

Nevertheless, nothing can be more dangerous to the intelligent progress of the labor movement than the confusion which frequently results from the careless use of terms. The widest divergence of purpose is most effectively concealed when cloaked by familiar, forcible phrases that serve as political catch phrases for the unwary.

"Hay," remarks the master with a wink, "is really quite indispensable," and he skillfully dodges a whip in front of the weary donkey's nose.

"In that we are agreed," sagely replies the donkey, wagging his long ears, and off he trots in the vain endeavor to reach it. In the end he discovers he has merely lugged his master's eggs to market the faster.

Much more important, therefore, than the proposition of municipalization is the purpose with which it is sought. By whom and in what spirit will it be carried out? In whose interest will it be administered? These are the vital questions.

The class-conscious socialist asks them, knowing that the lines of the class struggle cannot be safely ignored. To do so would encourage false hopes. It could lead only to vagueness of purpose and confused action. Under a system of production dividing society into two classes, with interests diametrically opposed, the exploiters on one side, the exploited on the other, every economic question becomes of necessity a class question. To close the eyes to the fact does not alter it; it only makes the awakening the sorer. It is wiser to frankly accept it and act accordingly.

For this reason the Socialist Labor Party offers no apology for considering municipalization strictly from the standpoint of the exploited working class and its interests. Not in a narrow spirit, but from conviction that there is no right superior to that of the class which performs the useful work and produces the wealth of the world.

By numerical predominance alone, daily increasing the welfare and interests of this class become more and more identical with those of organized society as a whole. To awaken the class to a consciousness of its true position, to inspire it with the knowledge of the revolutionary part it is destined to play in this generation of society; to lead it in the conquest of civil powers; to lead the supremacy of its interests may be established, this is the aim and mission of the Socialist Labor Party.

Municipalization in the hands of the capitalist is a radically different proposition from municipalization as advocated by the socialist. Municipal ownership of public utilities appears with peculiar force to the so-called middle class, that fringe of the capitalist class composed of petty traders and small property holders.

For this section to maintain itself as a part of the exploiting class some measure of relief has become an urgent necessity. Its purpose is not progressive, but reactionary. It advocates municipal control in much the same spirit that it blindly whacks at the trusts and the department stores.

There is a vague hope that in some way the channels of concentration can be blocked and the flow of wealth sluiced into their fit, starving patches. But of what concern is it to the exploited class, from which this wealth is squeezed, whether it flows in a few broad streams or is ditched into a thousand tiny rivulets?

Another object the middle class seeks to reach through municipalization is a measure of relief from the burden of taxation, which, as its wretched incomes with paralyzing severity. By the substitution of the property for the capitalist it would with its expropriation squeeze out surplus values from its expropriation. But again what interest has the propertyless wage-workers in the question of taxation? Deprived of the wealth they produce, what is it to them how the spoils are divided, what care they whether the tall or the short robber has to pay the debt?

It is the realization that effective appeal to the wage-workers for support is impossible on these lines, that brings out the promise of lower fares, a pitance by which poverty and misery are to be abated. What a mockery to the wage-workers! On one hand stands the landlord, quick to appropriate to himself through increased rents whatever tends to reduce the value of his property.

On the other hand stands the employer, equally ready to renege, wages to any degree in the cost of living at the earliest opportunity. How long, then, could he hope to benefit by it, should this doubtful promise be made good?

Not in the street our employe will receive higher wages, work shorter hours and have better security in his job? Truly, promises are profuse when there is an ax ready to grind. But what assurance has the worker of their fulfillment, under capitalist government? Does past experience give ground for expecting such concessions from a government run on "business principles," that a class that is aiming primarily at a means of revenue to lessen its taxes, should, to the capitalist, government is bent on production to the economy of its ad-

ministrations. The public employe becomes a political monkey. Point out a single socialist capitalist who, in the present age, has municipalization, has uttered a

word of protest or of indignation at the slavish conditions, the long hours of work or the begrudging pay of the street car employe. Would they not have spoken had these things seemed evil to them, had they really considered the interests of these workers of any moment?

To sum it up, the socialist sees in the present agitation an effort on the part of a section of the capitalist class to bring about municipalization because of certain direct benefits that it expects to secure for itself in doing so. It would supplant the individual capitalist exploiters by the political organization of capitalism, and thereby affect certain financial readjustments strictly within the limits of the capitalist class. What interest, then have the class-conscious workers to meddle with such a mess, and be used as cat's-paws? Will it simplify the eventual transformation from capitalism to socialism, though its promoters by no means intend it so? Then can we view the process with equanimity. But, even so, does the trust, shall we, therefore, circulate petitions for the formation of trusts?

The socialist labor party cannot afford to waste its energies. It would be false to the interests of the wage-workers if it led them after a will-o-the-wisp of barren municipalization. It would stultify itself if by supporting such a movement, it encouraged the belief that the benefits promised the workers were possible of realization under capitalist rule.

So long as the capitalist class controls the administrative machinery, so long will it appropriate to itself the advantages arising from municipalization. But let the working class once organize under the banner of the class-conscious socialist labor party, conquering the powers of the state for the assertion of its economic supremacy, then, indeed, will municipalization prove a shield to the worker, and at the same time a lash for the scourging of capitalism from the temple which it defiles.

The rage, the despair of the middle class as it sees this seemingly golden opportunity for its rehabilitation slipping through its fingers for perhaps a generation to come is readily comprehended. Outwitted and defrauded though it feels itself to be, yet it dares not question the finality of the acts of the rascals chosen as fit representatives of its interests. It dares not cut the mesh of legality. That were to invite chaos. Let it squirm, then, caught in the net of its own contriving.

Franchise for fifty years! Why not declare them perpetual? Barriers to the capitalist reformer—chaff before the whirlwind of the socialist revolution!

[The foregoing was approved as being the views of the socialists, at a meeting of the executive committee of the organization.]

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. Peoria, March 31-April 1-2. Rock Island, April 3. Moline, April 4. Galesburg, April 5. Quincy, April 6. Jacksonville, April 7. Springfield, April 8. Pana, April 9. DuQuoin, April 10. Murphysboro, April 11. New Athens, April 12. Belleville, April 13, 14, 15. East St. Louis, April 16. Alton, April 17. Collinsville, April 18. Glen Carbon, April 19.

Notice to Sections Throughout the State.

Do not fail to select an agent for the Worker's Call, send the name to Peter Damm, 2522 Cottage Grove avenue. Send all the Party news to same.

Let every laborer, or sympathizer with the cause of labor, who receives a copy of this paper should consider it his immediate duty to subscribe. If the paper is a success, it must be so through the efforts of laborers. Of one thing you may be sure and that is that it will not be allowed to fail. But whether the burden of its support shall fall upon a few comrades here in the city in the form of voluntary contributions, or whether it shall become self-supporting because of its subscribers is a question for the great body of workers of Illinois and America to decide.

It is the only paper in the state that places its square upon the side of the laborers in their great world-wide struggle for liberty. It is the only paper in this state that will be an exponent of scientific socialism, and if you wish to keep abreast of a movement that has already enlisted the lives and energies of a nation known on earth, then become a regular reader of the paper you hold in your hand.

If you do not feel that you can afford to take it for a year, send in 25 cents for six months or 15 cents for three months. If you can do no better at least send us a nickel for the first four numbers containing the translation of Liebknecht's speeches.

If you are already a subscriber send us a list of names of your friends with five cents for each, and we will send them these first four numbers and you will soon have more socialists in your neighborhood.

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 has 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, and the labor power to operate them. Labor-saving machinery, constantly throwing men out of work, makes a body of unemployed workers, who, for just enough to keep them alive. But the capitalist will pay no laborer more than he is able to pay. Therefore, the laborer is to pay just enough to support life, the remainder going to the capitalist as profit.

Plank 1—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 Demands)—The unemployed are created by capitalism and are necessary to its life. Therefore, the laborer is paid but a small part of what he produces he cannot buy back the whole product, so there is always an army of unemployed workers, an army of men to seek work which cannot be supplied them under capitalism. But this army is also entirely necessary to the existence of our present society. If there were no unemployed workers, the capitalists could easily demand and obtain a strike the whole produce of their labor. The "army of the unemployed" is the state militia or United States troops to keep the workers in subjection. No capitalist dares to advocate its abolition. They are, therefore, assured that however much of our platform may be copied by so-called reform parties to catch votes, they will let this portion severely alone. Thus we are making no Utopian demand, or holding out impossible hopes to the laborer. It is the fact that in over one hundred cities in France where 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 class 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 directing the operation 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 out "step by step," as some so-called "state 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 most efficient 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. Let wherever there is a "retrenchment" in the building of schools it is always made in the poorer 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. Socialists, we would especially call the attention of the workers to the fact that while the working class can have their education 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 gymnasias; small parks to be located in the densely populated workmen'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 in his labor. Therefore we hold that during his free hours he should have all possible recreation in 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.—It is time 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, powers and demands that the voice of the people be given an opportunity to be heard. We recognize that this voice will be of small efficiency 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 them. We recognize 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, after a strike building trade of 600 francs for the benefit of their families and then actively gave them sympathy and encouragement, at a point, where it was impossible for them to vote the Socialist Labor Party ticket by putting a cross 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 thereof of the co-operative commonwealth.

THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY of the United States PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in Convention assembled, re-affirms 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 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.

IMMEDIATE DEMANDS.

With a view to immediate improve-

ment 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, telephones and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employes 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 employes to operate the same co-operatively under the control of the municipal administration and to elect their own superior officers, but no employees 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 paper, 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.

We wish to call special attention to the first installment of the translation of Liebknecht's work on "Socialism, What it is and what it seeks to Accomplish," which appears on the third page of this issue. We believe this to be one of the strongest and most comprehensive expositions of scientific socialism in existence at the present time. Considered from several points of view it is a most remarkable document.

The entire work consists of two articles, the first of which was prepared in 1870, and the second in 1894. Viewed historically, the bygone article, of which we present the first half in this issue, gives an excellent idea of socialist philosophy at that time. The fundamental principles of socialism are set forth with wonderful clearness and distinctness, and a study of it cannot help but strengthen the sense of the certainty of those doctrines that have endured the attacks of a century with scarcely a change.

Some few minor points will be noticed in which the position then taken differs from that of the German comrades of to-day. These were mostly owing to the influence of La Salle and will be seen to disappear in the second article where the reasons for their acceptance at this time and their later rejection are explained. The final article is a magnificent summing up of the argument for socialism, with an exposition of its present philosophy, principles and tactics, scarcely equalled in the whole realm of socialist literature. The four numbers of The Workers' Call containing the whole of the two articles will constitute as thorough an exposition of socialism as can well be secured in so limited a space. We believe that if widely circulated they cannot help but make converts to the principles explained.

If you are a member of a trades union, let us know what it is doing. If you are having trouble with your employers, write us and let us help you in your fight.

SOCIALISM

(Continued from page 1)

be so called who hold outgrown forms to be eternal and believe that they can prevent them from destruction through forcible measures.

We set up no special principles according to which the movement shall model itself. Our theoretical propositions rest in no way upon "ideas" or "principles" that this or that reformer has "discovered." They are only universal expressions of actual relations of an existing class struggle—of an historical movement going on before our eyes.

It is easy to say "radical things" and to abuse capitalists, but it does not disturb the ruling class; in fact they rather enjoy the novelty. But when you tell the laborers they ought to free themselves, oh, that is another thing.

Directory of Section Chicago.

Table listing branches of the Socialist Labor Party in Chicago, including addresses and meeting schedules for various wards (Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Ninth, Tenth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Seventeenth, Twentieth, Twentieth-second, Twentieth-third, Twentieth-fourth, Twentieth-sixth, Twentieth-eighth, Twentieth-ninth, Twentieth-tenth, Twentieth-eleventh, Twentieth-twelfth).

Secretaries will please send notice of any omissions, changes or corrections in the above list will please notify the editor of The Workers' Call, 36 N. Clark St.

!/? Womans night!!

MRS. A. M. SIMONS will lecture at 2701 Wentworth Avenue, (entrance on 27th st.)

Monday, March 13, 8 P. M.

SUBJECT: WOMANS PLACE IN THE SOCIAL QUESTION

Admission free! Free discussion!

BOOK LIST.

General Works on Socialism.

Table listing general works on socialism, including authors like Sombart, Schaeffle, Hyndman, Marx, Dawson, Fabian, Ely, Blatchford, Marx and Engels, Manifesto of 1847, Socialist Almanac, Vail, McClure, Engels, and Science.

HISTORICAL WORKS.

Table listing historical works, including authors like Hobson, Toynbee, Gibbins, Rogers, Létourneau, Bax, Benham, and Lissagay.

PAMPHLET LITERATURE.

Table listing pamphlet literature, including authors like Kautsky, DeLeon, Joynt, Harriman, and Kropotkin.

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.

Table listing miscellaneous works, including authors like Ward, Bellamy, Gronlund, Bax, Babel, Bernstein, Herron, George, Eugene, and the Carpenter of Nazareth.

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, being a presentation of the doctrines and tactics 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 others ordering in quantities. Send us the name of a friend of yours, friends with five cents in stamps or currency, to get the first four numbers.