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THE WORKING CLASS THEIR OPPORTUNITY

Change a Political Organization Controlled by Capitalists to an Industrial Organization Controlled by The People

VOTE FOR ECONOMIC FREEDOM

All the Benefits of Perfected Systems and Improved Machinery Would Under Socialism Go to the Worker

By Geo. B. Kline, M. D.

Richard T. Ely, professor of political economy in the University of Wisconsin, says on Socialism:

"Those who desire industrial democracy—not prematurely, but in its own time—are many, and they include most of the best economists. There are however, different ways by which it is proposed to attain the desired goal. One of these ways is voluntary co-operation for all competitive pursuits, and governmental activity for monopolistic undertakings. Another one of these is called Socialism. Socialism means co-operation not merely for undertakings of a monopolistic nature, but for all productive enterprises. Socialists seek the establishment of industrial democracy through the instrumentality of the state, which they hold to be the only way whereby it can be attained. Socialism contemplates an expansion of the business functions of government until all business is absorbed. All business is then to be regulated by the people in their organic capacity, each man and each woman having the same rights which any other man or any other woman has. Our political organization is to become an economic industrial organization, controlled by universal suffrage. Socialism will make civil service employees of all citizens, and will remunerate them in such manner as shall in view of all circumstances appear to the public authorities to be just. Private property in profit-producing capital and rent-producing land is to be abolished, and private property in income is to be retained; but with this restriction, that it shall not be employed in productive enterprises. What is desired then, is not, as is supposed by the uninformed, a division of property, but a concentration of property. The Socialists do not complain because productive property is too much concentrated, but because it is not sufficiently concentrated. Socialists consequently rejoice in the formation of trusts and combinations, holding that they are a development in the right direction.

"There are four elements in Socialism; namely, first, the common ownership of the means of production; second, the common management of these means of production; third, the distribution of annual products of industry by common authority; fourth, private property in income. Socialists make no war on capital, strictly speaking. No one but a fool could do such a thing. What Socialists object to is not capital but the private capitalist. They desire to nationalize capital and to abolish capitalists as a distinct class by making everybody, as a member of a community, a capitalist; that is, a partial owner of all the capital in the country.

"Socialists say that labor creates all wealth. No rational Socialist means thereby to deny that land and capital are factors in production, but as they are passive factors, they hold that their owners ought not to receive a share of the product unless they personally are a useful member of a community. Labor is the active factor, and all production is carried on for the sake of man. Socialists admit that the owners of these tools must receive a return for them when industry is organized as it is now; hence they desire that these tools should become common property. They wish to make of universal application the command of the apostle Paul: 'If a man will not work, neither let him eat.'

To a Socialist this covers the field and needs no explanation. In fact, a Socialist needs nothing more than the opportunity to vote the ticket and he does so. He is also ready at all times to sink self in the principles he represents, for Socialism is so great and grand when thoroughly understood that it is recognized almost as a Utopia. Those not acquainted with its possibilities we would ask to read and re-read what Prof. Ely says until every sentence is understood and its relation to every other sentence is comprehended. Then and

not until then can they refute its meaning, should they desire so to do. None but a fool would attempt such a thing.

"Not prematurely," says Prof. Ely. Socialists have nothing to conceal. They desire the masses to understand the beauties of Socialism. One writer says: "It satisfies every faculty of the mind." Therefore once a Socialist always a Socialist.

"Our political organization is to become an economic, industrial organization controlled by universal suffrage." No one can know the full meaning of Socialism until an economical industrial organization is fully understood, as it is the ground work of the whole superstructure.

To abolish private property in profit-producing capital, and rent-producing land, and yet retain private property in income, and have it that it shall not interfere in public enterprises, might at first reading seem complex.

All are to become public employees and the income restricted to this alone, covers and makes this plain.

The elements' common ownership, common management, common distribution of products will save a world of useless work in duplications—both in management and office work of separate plants—and there are thousands of them, duplications of things beyond the demands of the wants of the people. Solicitors for thousands of separate businesses, long hauls on railroads with a corresponding decrease of time and expense.

Private income can be used as now but restricted to what a person wishes for self, family and presents. It is not to be used to buy things to be sold again for gain. A person may own his own house, mansion and furnishings, yard, garden, stable, horses, buggies, cows, etc., as now.

Capital will remain, but as the post-office, public roads, schools, water, gas works, etc., publicly owned and controlled through an industrial organization instead of a political organization as now. Thus it is necessary to know fully the meaning of an industrial organization in order to be clear on this point. The principles involved in control will be those of "the initiative, referendum, proportional representation, and the right of recall of representatives by voters." This makes lobbying ineffectual; it makes statesmen out of representatives instead of politicians, because "those who make the most noise cannot impose on the people as they are doing, they are taken for what they are worth." After twenty-four years of a trial of the referendum in Switzerland, an ex-president of that republic says: "It is unquestionably one of the best forms of government ever attempted." And yet but few in this country of voting sovereigns understand the bare meaning of the words. Some contend that Socialists, as the two old parties, wish only to get the offices; verily such do but reveal their ignorance. The principles of Socialism once established and the officers are elevated through the industries, over which they shall superintend, by the votes of those interested. The right to recall by the voters at any time the same as the right of directors of a corporation to recall a man they have given the superintendency, should be sufficient to dispose of this question.

At present fully one-half of our people would run for office if they thought they had a show to be elected, while the other half desire to become civil service employees.

Under Socialism the circle of workers would be constantly enlarged to admit all, and the fact that a man or woman is a member of society in general, is a sufficient guarantee that they should have an opportunity to live. Thus each child, be there one or a score, would have the same opportunity as former members, as soon as its school days are over.

Mulhall says the productive capacity today in the United States of each worker is \$7 a day. This of course is with present systems and machinery. Under Socialism this is what each worker would get whether he be farmer, artisan or laborer. Anyone not willing to give a person what he earns can scarcely be considered honest. We have nothing to say against the old parties, their record is sufficient to show where they stand. If there has been more prosperity as some contend during the McKinley Republican administration than during others, it has been, in spite of, and not from any actions of the party. The last issue of the American Federationist has a long and exhaustive report of the legislative committee of the Federation of Labor, an interesting and instructive document concerning labor measures before congress at its last session. It concludes as follows: "In conclusion, we desire to say that of the sundry measure above referred to, it is worthy of note that when they passed the house they were buried in the senate, and when they passed the

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INEQUALITY AND SOCIALIST SOLUTION

The Workers Who Have Created the So-Called National Wealth Are Shut Out from it by the Capitalist System

POVERTY THE SHARE OF LABOR

The Continuance of the Present Manner of Production is Not Consistent With the Continuance of Civilization

By William Liebknecht

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, however, the worst thing. 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 an 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 generally has 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 everyone 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 according to its nature be communistic. Therefore we must have 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 co-operation in place of wage labor!

But what becomes of capital? It remains 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 made. 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 our opponents often rejoin: "The worker is in a better condition today than in the last century." Whether the assertion is true or false we leave undebated. 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 continuance 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 withhold 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.

Whoever would propose today to abolish machinery in order to re-establish the small industry of mediaeval times would be considered insane, for everyone 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, or, more properly, disorder, consider us.

Whoever in fifty years from now should recommend the introduction of our present conditions would be in danger of making the acquaintance of the insane asylum. And we who demand the reform of these present conditions are slandered and persecuted. Yet it is just as certain and just as necessary as the present manner of production should be supplanted by a higher, as that the mediaeval manner of production should be supplanted by the present one. It is not we who are Utopians, impracticable dreamers, as they so gladly call us. Those are rather to be so called who hold outgrown forms to be eternal and believe that they can prevent them from destruction through forcible measures.

"George Wyndham, M. P., who achieved reputation in parliament by his great speech on the Transvaal war, made the statement the other day in the English house of commons that since 1895 English firms had sold the Chinese government seventy-one guns of position, 123 field guns and 297 machine guns, with ammunition for each class, and also that last year a German firm sold China 400,000 Mauser rifles. These serious statements are probably true and suggest that the commercialism, which is often the boast of Europe and America, needs governmental supervision badly. The manufacture of guns and firearms ought to be a government monopoly. Then the spectacle would not be seen of unpatriotic gun and armor makers growing enormously wealthy by supplying arms to be used against their own country."

The above from a capitalist newspaper is good as far as it goes. But since commercialism, which it appears to think needs governmental supervision, together with that hateful thing called patriotism, are essential to the capitalist system, and that Socialism would abolish both, why not "save your vote" by voting at once for Socialism?

The censor at Craow confiscated the Napzrod the other day for publishing an article on the Austrian army, but it now appears that the article was only the reproduction of an article in the well-known "Encyclopedia" of Meyer, which is published under royal patronage, so the censor, with a bad grace, has apologized.

TIMELY DISCUSSION OF TRUSTS AND SOCIALISM

An Examination of Some of the Fundamental Factors in Modern Capitalism—Private Ownership of the Means of Life

THE RELIGION OF HUMANITY

The Solution of the Trust Problem is Found in the Facts Themselves—Socialism the Only Solvent

By James O Neal

4. Competition between the worker for jobs is a fundamental factor that must be reckoned with in the solution of the problem, and plays an important role in shaping the development of society. Each worker seeking to dispose of his commodity—labor power, competes with the other workers in a given trade. Each seeks naturally, to sell his commodity on terms that are advantageous to himself, that is, at as high a price as possible everything else being equal. Those who buy the commodity—the capitalists—seek to secure it at as low a price as possible. Hence a struggle between the workers and the capitalists over wages, which we will take up under the fifth heading. The competition between the workers for jobs give rise to the trade unions and the same motive prompted the organization of trade unions that impelled the capitalists to organize. That is, they wished to destroy competition and substitute combined effort in its place, both realizing that "in union their strength." But the workers are unable to organize all the laborers in trades unions because the introduction of labor saving machinery increases the army of the unemployed, while the crushing out of the middle class and professional men, such as small shop-keepers, traders, drummers, etc., by the trusts further increases the "industrial reserve army," as Marx calls it. It is evident that this reserve army cannot be organized, for there is nothing to be gained by the unemployed in organizing. Hence competition still exists among the workers and grows fiercer and fiercer as trusts develop and machinery is invented. This brings us to the law of wages. As we have seen that labor power is a commodity, so it follows that the law that determines and regulates the value of commodities also regulates the value of labor power. What is this law? It is a significant fact that nearly all the political economists of the world agree that human labor is the source of and determines the values of commodities. The value of a commodity is in direct proportion to the amount of labor, measured by time, that the commodity absorbs in its production. For instance, if a laborer can make a chair in three hours and a hatter can make a hat in three hours with the tools commonly used for that purpose then the two commodities are of equal value. However, we must not make the mistake of thinking that the labor of any certain individual determines the value of commodities for such is not the case. Let us take an example: Suppose a workman is able to construct a table in one day of twelve hours' work with the tools commonly used. The value of the tables then is embodied in one day's work of twelve hours. Suppose now, some one invents a new machine by which two tables can be made in the same time. If the labor of an individual determined the value of commodities, in this case we would have two standards of values, which would be absurd.

The first workman has embodied twelve hours' labor in one table, while the second laborer has embodied twelve hours' labor in two tables—or six hours in each. Thus we see then that the labor of any certain individual cannot determine the value of commodities. The labor that determines the value of commodities is that which on the average is socially necessary. In time the new invention by which two tables can be made in twelve hours supplants the old method of making one table in twelve hours and it is found that it is no longer necessary to produce with the old methods, so the value of the tables fall one-half, six hours being required to make one table now, where it required twelve before.

LABOR POWER AND ITS VALUE
Thus it is seen that labor which is absolutely necessary on the average to produce commodities determine their value. The cost of producing commodities and their value, therefore is deter-

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, AUGUST 25, 1900.

SOCIALISM ASSERTS ITSELF IN TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION

By vote of 87 to 73 last Friday the delegates to the International Typographical Union convention at Milwaukee voted to practically endorse the Social Democratic Party and to avoid in future any entanglements as individuals with the capitalist Republican and capitalist Democratic parties. This action came as the surprise of the convention and it stirred up such a panic among adherents of capitalism and wage slavery within and without the convention that at the next morning's session a reconsideration was accomplished and the action of the day before reversed by a majority.

The matter was brought up by Delegate Bandlow of Cleveland, who introduced this resolution:

"Resolved, That the International Typographical union emphasizes that it is distinctly a class organization, embracing in its membership all workers following the kindred crafts in the printing industry, who upon the industrial field are antagonized by their employers on every occasion, which fact should impress the members of this organization that to subvert their interests as wage workers it is essential that they act as a unit upon the political field from whence capitalism derives its power to oppress, and we declare it consistent with the ethics of unionism and the sacred duty of every honorable member of this union to sever his or her affiliation with all political parties of the exploiting class which are constantly encroaching upon the liberties of the working people."

Delegate George Koop, of the Social Democratic party, took the floor and made a masterly plea for the passage of the resolution. He thundered the truths of the socialistic contention as the delegates amidst recurring and long continued applause, and the efforts of a few to declare him out of order were blocked by President Donnelly, who declared it an economic question. Among other things Comrade Koop said: "The trusts are here to stay; capitalism is here to stay; and it will be a matter of only a few years before there are but one or two newspapers in each of the large cities and the editors and reporters and printers are walking the streets in search of other work. Trades unionism can prevent this catastrophe. And what has labor been doing? One-half votes for McKinley and the other half votes for Bryan and each half bets and boasts that its candidate will win, while the capitalist comes out ahead if either wins. Why are we not an organized political party? Why do we not vote unitedly for Eugene V. Debs, who represents our mutual interests? We compete with each other for the price of our wages and the result is we all get poor pay. Eugene V. Debs represents the true labor principles—all others are fallacies. No 16 to 1, no gold standard, no imperialism, no protection, no free trade. They are only schemes to fool you. Chattel slavery has been abolished but the form of wage slavery under which we are now working is far fiercer. The black slave was put on the block and sold at the highest price. Put yourselves on the block and what would you bring today? The whole lot of you wouldn't bring \$10; there are too many men looking for your jobs. I stand for my class interests. You must not divide your vote. If you do you will seal your doom. Stand together and you will win out."

The applause was redoubled when Miss Becher of Utah, the only woman delegate, voted aye on the roll call. The passing of the resolution caused no little talk round town and, although they were gingerly about it, the daily papers gave enough of the matter to give the readers quite an insight into the merits of the debate. But the politicians set to work at once. Next morning a reconsideration was moved and the debate reopened. One delegate brandished an alleged Social Democratic paper before the convention and read a paragraph from it denouncing labor unions and indiscriminately abusing labor leaders. This had its effect also, although the truth was that it was a Socialist Labor Party paper, not a paper of our party. Then a vote was taken and though sixty-one stood firm the opposition managed to roll up a vote of ninety-one and carry the day. But here's the crumb of comfort for us. Who would have dreamed that there were nearly half of the delegates so firm for Socialism that they could not be stampeded? All honor to them. "May their tribe increase!"

NOTES AND COMMENT

Labor's "cross of gold" is a mere reminiscence and the big corporation and trust managers are getting ready to give Bryan a cordial support. Hurrah for the new democracy, the support of capitalism for the next four years and the hope of the world!

Democratic politicians welcome with loud hurrahs the accession to their ranks of trust managers, as in the case of the president of one of the great express companies the other day. Imagine Rockefeller and Morgan joining the party of Jim Hill, Dick Croker, Bill Whitney and other Democratic plutocrats! Why, the Bryan press would actually go nutty! Watch the trend.

Sixty-one delegates to the International Typographical Convention stand firm as a rock for Socialism. The capitalist press may search their lexicons in attempts to belittle this fact, but it's going to worry them to keep Socialism out of the trades unions much longer.

A vote for Bryan is a vote for a modified form of imperialism, a modified trust, a modified system of electing senators, a modified plan of taxing the people—in short, a vote for capitalism modified. How Democratic modifications are going to help the working class not a man among them can tell.

W. R. Hearst, who is a "Socialist, too," continues to print Ingalls' contradictions and misrepresentations about Socialism. Ingalls, by the way, appears to have been one of the exceptional three per cent of every hundred American citizens who do not "die penniless." He died well off. That fact may have something to do with his idiotic opposition to Socialism while he lived.

In a hundred and twenty-four years thirty-one men have had a "chance" to become president; yet the innocent boys in school are taught that every boy can get there if he will only "improve his opportunities." What should be taught them is that most of their number will not even have a chance to earn a living when they leave school.

Each of our seven thousand comrades must be an active worker from now till the campaign closes. Get out and do something. You can add a new member to your branch, you can send us a subscriber to the Herald, you can send us an order for some literature, you can promptly pay your dues and see that others do likewise, you can vote for the ticket, you can attend a meeting, you can agitate, you can do one or all of a hundred things. The battle is on. Comrades to the front and sluggards to the rear!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING

A meeting of the National Campaign Committee of the Social Democratic party was held last Sunday, Aug. 19, at 55 N. Clark street, Chicago. There was a large attendance and much business of importance was transacted. Comrade James Wright presided. The committee commissioned Comrades W. C. McSweeney and Herman C. Perry as organizers, and they will at once enter upon the important work assigned them. It was also decided to put other organizers in the field as soon as men well qualified could be found. The committee on literature was authorized to inaugurate what will be known as the "Postal Card Propaganda," also to have prepared for use in the campaign a small sticker with portrait of the presidential candidate. Secretary Stegman reported on bills incurred and the same approved and ordered paid. Comrades Dennison, Brown and McSweeney were chosen as an auditing committee on accounts. The secretary was instructed to render a complete account of all receipts and expenditures at each meeting.

Secretary Stegman reported that Comrade E. H. Thomas would arrive in Chicago this week to participate in the work of the campaign.

Among the expenditures sanctioned by the committee were the following: \$25 for Bohemian literature; \$50 for stickers; organizers salaries; salary of office clerk; office rent.

The committee adjourned to meet at the same place, Saturday, September 1, at 2 o'clock.

JOSEPH R. FINN

The comrade of this name who has been chosen treasurer of our National Campaign Committee is one of the staunchest characters in the revolutionary movement. A locomotive engineer by profession, with a record second to none in the country, he was the first man to step from his engine when the order inaugurating the great Pullman strike in 1894 was issued. He was running as good a passenger engine as the Illinois Central had and was among the most trusted employees of the company, but his \$150 a month job nor any inducement the officials could offer would tempt him to betray his class. His railroad career ended then and there. Joe Finn nobly represents the working class. He is one of them and they love and trust him.

Twenty-six weeks for 20 cents

TRUSTS AND SOCIALISM

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mined by the expenditure of human labor force which is on the average absolutely necessary. Now, what is the value of labor? What does it cost to produce and re-produce labor power? The answer is, that quantity of the means of subsistence which is absolutely necessary for him to live and produce more labor power. In other words, the value of labor power is determined by the amount of food, clothing and shelter which is absolutely necessary for him to live and reproduce more laborers. Below this it cannot go without physically injuring the laborer. It is true that this level has not been reached in all trades, but in most of them it has and it is fast bringing the others down to this point. This is the law of wages under capitalist society that the working class has to face. This standard of life theory is borne out and admitted by many great writers on this subject. I will quote from two of them. David Ricardo says, "The natural price of labor is that price which is necessary to enable the laborer one with another to subsist and to perpetuate their race without either increase or diminution."

Prof. Ely says: "There is very much in economic history in every civilized land which tends to confirm the standard of life or subsistence theory of wages. Turgot said that for centuries as a matter of fact wages had never been more than enough to maintain the existence of the wage earning classes." Much more could be said on this subject, but space will not allow of it for the present. We will now take up the fifth proposition.

CLASS STRUGGLE

5. That there is a class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class no one can successfully deny. The charge has been made that Socialists endeavor to stir up class strife between capitalists and laborers, and that all the unrest manifested among the ranks of the working class today are due to the Socialist agitators." If this were true what a power Socialists must have today! But it is not true and no one takes it seriously even those who speak in this manner, for as a rule they are paid for speaking or writing in this manner. These sentiments have their source in the pocketbook and not in the brains. The contention of the Socialist is that the interests of the capitalist class and the working class are opposed and cannot be reconciled so long as modern capitalism is maintained. Furthermore, we contend that all history is a bloody record of class struggles between the ruling and oppressed classes of all ages down to the present time, and will continue to be so until the working class obtain mastery of the political power and inaugurate the co-operative commonwealth—thus by their action writing finis on the last page of this bloody volume and closing the records forever. But to proceed.

The class struggle is not a question of stirring up strife, but the recognition of a fact; not whether there should be a class struggle or not, but whether there is one now and whether we should recognize it.

We claim that there is a class struggle between capitalists and laborers due to their conflicting interests. Of course, it would not do for those who stand for capitalism to admit that there is a class struggle, for what then would become of that old fable about the "Brotherhood of Capital and Labor?" The capitalists desire to keep as much of the product as possible and the workers desire to get as much as possible, hence a struggle exists in order to secure their separate ends.

The more the workers send wages up the smaller the returns to the capitalists, while the more capitalists send wages down the larger the returns of capitalists. So we have a class struggle over the division of the product. Furthermore, what do the strikes occurring every year teach us, if not that a class struggle is on? What, for instance, does Homestead, Pana, Hazelton, and the Bull Pen at Warner, Idaho, teach us? Is it a struggle between a few individuals, or is it a war between two classes for an economic advantage? He who knows a fact when he sees it, will reply in the affirmative, as he must from the very nature of the case.

SUMMARY

Let us now sum up the argument and then draw our conclusions. We have seen that private class ownership of the sources and tools of wealth production and competition between individuals composing this privileged class, results in combinations and trusts which tends to concentrate the wealth in the hands of this class. We have seen that private property and competition are the cause of trusts and contain within them a monopoly force which can not be resisted. We have seen that the working class occupies a subservient position in society; that in selling their commodity—labor power—they also sell themselves, that competition between them tends to send their wages down to the subsistence point, and that the development of trusts and labor saving machinery increases their numbers in the first place, and in the second, increases the "industrial reserve army" as a consequence of which the competition grows more fierce and the jobs scarcer

every year as capitalism develops. And last, but not least, we have seen that the interests of capitalists and laborers are opposed and that this opposition of class interests lead to a class struggle which is borne out by every strike that occurs throughout the country. Now with all this evidence before us what is the solution of the trust problem, and I wish to say that I believe that in the proper solution of the trust problem is found the solution of the labor problem and many other problems that now confront us. Let us first take up some of the remedies proposed. There are some who still claim that we should abolish them by law because, they argue, they are creatures of law and if they can be created by law they can also be abolished by law. Now I believe I have shown that they are not the creatures of legislation but due to a monopoly force inherent in private property and competition. If anything at all, law is the creature of trusts and not trusts the creature of law. This monopoly force is more enduring than any laws that can be passed against them. Furthermore if law could abolish trusts and distribute the industries back into the hands of thousands of small proprietors (which is difficult to conceive) we would leave that monopoly force that is inherent in private property and competition, still at work and we would have to go over the same development that I described in the case of Jones, the capitalist, in the beginning of this essay. What would one think of a doctor who would claim to cure a certain disease by introducing into the human system, the germs that had caused the disease? It is certain that we would call him a quack, speaking mildly. It is claimed that Socialists dub certain politicians as quacks when dealing with the trust problem; whether true or not the suspicion is well founded. But granting that trusts could be abolished would it benefit the working class any? Would not the workers still be subject to the law of wages that I described and pointed out on another page? They certainly would. It is evident then that the middle class in crying for the destruction of trusts and appealing to the workers to help them achieve their object, have only their own interests in view and not the interests of the working class. If we were to ask the middle class to help the workers to destroy machinery that is displacing them, they would reply: "What! Destroy machinery! What that would be absurd. It saves labor, and anything that saves labor is a blessing." The reply is, "We don't want to destroy trusts for the same reason you don't want to destroy machinery; it saves labor." You see it makes a great deal of difference whose ox is gored. The middle class desires the destruction of the trusts because it is crushing them and rendering their class superfluous, but as machinery does not displace them they have no objections to its introduction. They have no objection to exploitation providing they are the exploiters. What far-sighted class-instinct is displayed here! No, trusts can no more be destroyed by law than machinery can.

(Concluded next week.)

WORKING CLASS OPPORTUNITY

(Concluded from First Page)

senate they were with one exception (the abolition of slavery in Hawaii) buried in the house."

A vote for Debs, nominee of the Social Democratic party of America, is a vote for principles that will outlive selfishness and greed of our present time which elevates the dollar above the man and their adoption will usher in the brotherhood of man.

Socialism is still young, and as such is incomplete—in fact, never can be for its constant aim is to utilize all machinery and inventions for the uplifting of man, and as inventions and improvements are to be taken advantage of, its progress will be ever upward and onward.

Even now the yield in wealth is equal to a guaranteed income of 5 per cent on \$40,000. The benefit of perfected systems and improved machinery would under Socialism go to the workers. Thus the income would be limited only by possibilities and desires, and no doubt could be made to rapidly increase from the present figures of \$2,000 a year, the average, to each, reaching possibly \$4,000, \$6,000, \$8,000 or even \$10,000 a year if the people wish.

Those who sneer at Socialism as a "mere theory" do but reveal their ignorance.

Let's vote for what we want.

APPEAL TO REASON, GIRARD, KAN.

Men who believe in socialist principles should support their own ticket and they will exercise a far greater influence than by voting for half a loaf. There are surely between two and three million men in this country who believe in the Socialist program. Can you not see how soon the Social fabric would bend to their influence if they were to withdraw from the old parties and vote a Socialist ticket, even if they do not elect a single officer? Do not be deceived.

EXPONENT, SAGINAW, MICH.

When the capitalist class go to war for foreign markets for the product of labor, it means that labor produces too much; that the prodigality of the plutocrat, coupled with his qualms of conscience, misnamed charity, are insufficient to use up the surplus product of labor, and in order to keep the system in continual operation it is necessary to ship abroad the very things the working classes need at home.

WILHELM LIEBKNECHT

By James Alliman.

A spirit from this earth has passed away
Into the shadow of Death's dark unknown,
Leaving its fleshly thrall, its chains of clay
For that calm peace which Death can give
alone.
Great was this fighter in the cause of man;
Glorious the battle he for freedom fought;
Sternly and true since manhood's fire began,
Unselfishly for others' woe he wrought;
But even as low in grief I bow my head
I hear a mystic voice which says "He is not dead."

He is not dead, but sleepeth, and his soul
Shall rise upon that awful judgment day
When Revolution's clarion call shall roll,
And Demos Labor wake to Freedom's
fray;
Then, as in battle chant by Homer sung,
The gods came down from Mount Olympus'
height.
And fought the Greek and Trojan men
among,
Aiding and guiding in the heroic fight.
So shall his soul to earth again repair
And guide to victory the uprisen proletariat.

William Liebknecht, the Nestor of the Social Democratic movement, passed away at Charlottenburg, Aug. 7. With the death of this mighty patriarch of the proletarian party a link connecting the political present with the wild, romantic, revolutionary past has been severed.

Born March 29 in the Duchy of Hesse, he while attending the university of his native city, became acquainted, through perusing the writings of Count Henry De St. Simon, with that noble cause of Socialism, to which he remained unwaveringly loyal despite persecution, banishment and imprisonment, until the day of his death. Early in his manhood he found himself banished from Germany, France and Switzerland, and compelled to sojourn for many years in England. While there he became acquainted with Karl Marx, Frederick Engels and other founders of the International, and from them he learned the deeper and more logical economic basis of a theory which St. Simon had taught him from a Utopian and ethical standpoint. In 1867, in conjunction with August Bebel, founded the Social Democratic party, and from thence until 1872 he became editor of the party organ and an active agitator and organizer.

Upon the breaking out of the Franco-Prussian war Liebknecht, in common with many other Social Democrats in both belligerent nations, protested openly, fearlessly and vigorously against the inhuman and brutal slaughter of tens of thousands of proletarians and for doing so he, in company with August Bebel, was tried for high treason, and in 1872 sentenced to two years' imprisonment. While in prison the acquaintance between Liebknecht and Bebel ripened into a strong fraternal attachment, and the pupil of Marx and Engel's became the preceptor and teacher of August Bebel. The latter had been until his imprisonment a rude workman agitator, his occupation being that of a turner, but under the tuition of his fellow prisoner and aided by his own wonderfully receptive mind he developed into a fitting lieutenant in labor and the logical successor in leadership of his great and self-sacrificing teacher.

It is not necessary to give later details of the life of our great departed hero. All his actions are too well known to those among whom he lived, worked and suffered. Agitator, journalist, organizer and fighter, he died as he lived, with his weapons in his hands and his loins girded. But two years ago, in 1898, Liebknecht, then a venerable old man of 72, was ignominiously condemned to four months' imprisonment for "lese majesty." The only peace the militant Socialist knows is the peace that lies beyond the gates of death. William Liebknecht is not dead. They bury the body of a great Socialist leader and millions of followers mourn. But the souls of those truly great men who strive to make this dark earth brighter, live forever. The body may be dead but the spirit will continue to live in his teachings and his grand unselfish example. When that awful judgment day arrives, when the moribund Demos of Labor shall be awakened to the resurrection of revolt by the clarion call of the great stern-eyed Goddess of Freedom, then like the Valkyrie, who in the old Teutonic mythology descended from Valhalla to fight on earth, shall the souls of the great leonine featured Marx, the fearless Lassalle, the pure and noble Morris and the rugged, unflinching Liebknecht rise again and guide the struggle of the awakened proletariat onward towards a purer, nobler, freer and happier life in the form of the co-operative commonwealth, the industrial republic of co-workers.

'Tis true as other have somewhat churlishly remarked in writing of this death that our movement does not entirely depend upon men; nevertheless this movement should but deem it right and meet to honor the memory of those who fought and died for a freedom which they themselves could not enjoy.

Comrades, let us here in America amid the storm and stress of a presidential election, pause in sadness and sorrow for a brief moment to weep in silence for our great departed, to whom one could fittingly apply the following words of William Morris:
Our glorious dead, he honored, they,
Who did their deeds, and passed away
Before the bright sun brought the day.

WHAT EDITORS ARE SAYING

The Edinburgh Evening News, commenting on John Morley's speech at Oxford, where he chose Socialism rather than militarism, although antagonistic, admits that "Socialism will get a trial," and asks, "With militarism discredited, with the liberal party a traitor to its creed, what can the working classes do but accept Socialism, with its short cut to social happiness?"

FARMERS' REVIEW, BONHAM, TEX.

When the working class learn that when they own the means of production and distribution, the wealth will be owned by the producers instead of by the capitalist class, and that the industrial master will disappear and labor will be free, they will learn to be Socialists and work and vote for a system that will free them from industrial slavery.

JUSTICE, LONDON, ENG.

The true meaning of that refrain of our poet of plunger's begging verses is only just beginning to be understood by the English people. They have had their fun and now they must pay for it. And they will have to pay dearly enough before all is done. The "mafficking" was all very jolly, no doubt, although somewhat disgusting, and the killing of "Kroojer" with our mouths was distinctly entertaining. But now the bill is coming in and those who shouted the loudest are beginning to pull long faces. For the bill is a heavy one and will make the lives of the toilers of this land more bitter, hard, and wretched for many a long day to come.

OFFICIAL NOTICE

In Answer to many Inquiries Received from Branches and Members of the Social Democratic Party

To Our Local Branches—Comrades: The fact that we are in the midst of a national campaign accounts for our silence under the grossest misrepresentation.

Notwithstanding the fact that our candidate accepted their nomination in the interest of political harmony and Socialist success, their candidate has not accepted our nomination; but continues to make the statement that our party has "merged" in the S. L. P. faction now called the "united" party.

Our object, however, is not to go into these questions, but to expose the misrepresentations contained in certain circulars recently issued in the name of the "Social Democratic Party," established at "Springfield, Mass.," said circulars being signed by a "National Committee" and approved by one William Butcher as "National Secretary" and addressed to our branches to deceive and mislead our comrades.

In reference to said circulars and any others which may emanate from that source, we have to say:

First—Our party decided by a large majority on referendum vote to have no union with the S. L. P. faction and that settled the matter.

Second—A small number of our members (who voted in the referendum) defied the decision of the majority, bolted the party and went over to the S. L. P. faction, and these two factions decided to adopt our name, the Social Democratic Party, after its leaders had openly ridiculed and opposed it.

Third—The Social Democratic party has its headquarters located at Chicago, where they will continue until changed by the party, and our branches are warned not to surrender their charters, as requested in the Springfield circulars, in exchange for charters from the so-called "United" party, which consists simply of an S. L. P. faction and a few deserters from our party who cannot stand majority rule.

In view of the foregoing facts it is plain that the game is to inveigle our comrades into the Springfield faction.

We have said, and repeated, that we are not opposed to the united party; on the contrary we are and have been strongly in favor of such a party, but no such party can be built upon that kind of a foundation, and we have simply opposed the surrender of our party to the dominant element of an S. L. P. faction with whom we have neither desire nor ambition to cope in party trickery and sharp practice.

The men who largely made our party, our national party, what it is, are still in it to a man. Not one of them has deserted.

We have consented to political co-operation to promote the socialist movement, but we have no union with the Springfield faction which has set itself up as a "united" party in the honored name of the Social Democratic party, a name which only a few months ago, it affected to despise.

Clamoring for "union," some of these factionists are secretly stabbing our candidate for president and among themselves expressing the hope that he will not get a large vote. Such is their passion for factional control that they would sink the entire Socialist movement to gratify it.

Comrades, ask yourselves which is the party that truly desires union, harmony and party success. The party whose candidate accepts the nomination of a rival party in addition to his own or the party whose candidate refuses to make such concession?

Words are cheap; it is acts and facts that speak, and when the immediate necessity for harmony is over, the factions in the Springfield faction will be at war among themselves.

Just now it is necessary to their program to have "harmony" and in the name of "union" they would wipe out our party, the Social Democratic party, whose name they have derided and to which they have no honorable title.

Where their "organizers" failed to inveigle our branches into their fold, and they are failing almost everywhere, they advised them to "withhold dues from all parties" until union is affected. Comrades, this is another trick of theirs to destroy our party. They hope to cut off

our revenue and compel our surrender. This is not a time for any loyal branch to be neutral.

Our comrades are familiar with our whole contention with the S. L. P. faction. If you think they are right, we say join them and support them. If you believe we are right, it is your duty to stand by our party and support it.

You will not promote union by holding aloof; you will simply prolong the strife. In the name of Socialism, we urge each branch to take its stand on one side or the other, against us or for us, and it will not be long until the question of a united, progressive, National Socialist party is determined.

Comrades, stand by your colors. Our party, the first progressive American socialist party, has not "merged," and will not "merge" into a faction. Our party is going to the front and not to the rear. It is a party that cannot be transferred from Chicago to a town in New England without the consent of its members.

It is a party that represents the spirit of militant Socialism, adapted to American people and American conditions, and is moving to the front in spite of the factions that have assailed and slandered it, and now seek to accomplish its overthrow by adopting its name and wearing the mask of union. We are confident that the few wavering branches, temporarily misled, will now promptly and emphatically assert themselves and prove their loyalty by their support of the party; and that others will realize that neutrality at such a time, is cowardice and not stand idly by while their comrades are fighting to preserve and perpetuate the Social Democratic party.

Our party is in earnest and our comrades are at work. New branches are rapidly forming and the membership is booming. Let all our members stand stanch and true, let all unite in increasing our branches, our membership and the circulation of our paper, the Social Democratic Herald.

And finally let us all unite in a vigorous campaign against Capitalism throughout the land, and poll every possible vote for "International Socialism." Issued by the National Executive Board of the Social Democratic Party. Theodore Debs, National Secretary. 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill. Chicago, Aug. 20, 1900.

IMPORTANT CONFERENCE

In response to an invitation issued by the Cook County Committee of the Social Democratic party, delegates from several progressive German trades unions met with our comrades on Sunday, August 12, and talked over the campaign to be made in Chicago. The discussion brought out the fact that those present favored political co-operation with other socialist bodies and resulted in a meeting of the two Cook County Committees on Wednesday evening, Aug. 15, also on the initiative of the S. D. P. comrades.

Chicago, Ill., August 15, 1900.

To all Socialist Organizations, all Labor Unions, Turner Societies, and Other Associations, in the State of Illinois, that indorse the principles of Socialism, and desire to support the Socialist political movement as represented by the International Congresses of the Socialist parties of the world.

Greeting:— In response to a request from a delegated body representing a number of labor unions and turner societies desirous of supporting a united Socialist ticket in this state and county, having Eugene V. Debs as its presidential candidate, the State and County Campaign Committees of the Social Democratic party, and Socialist Labor party met this p. m., at 55 N. Clark street, Chicago, and resolved

"That in response to the meeting of the delegated body representing labor and turner societies desirous of supporting a united Socialist ticket having Eugene V. Debs as presidential candidate. This conference of the Campaign Committees of the Socialist Labor party and Social Democratic party hereby issue a call for a convention of all Socialist organizations, all turner societies, and other associations indorsing the principles of Socialism and desirous of supporting a united Socialist ticket and united Socialist campaign in this state and county.

"That a committee of five be and hereby is elected to issue this call and arrange for said convention."

The committee elected consists of Peter Knickrehm, Jacob Winnen, Fred'k. Strickland and Michael Holsinger of the Social Democratic party, and Thomas J. Morgan of the Socialist Labor party.

The committee have fixed on the 26th of August as the date, 70 N. Clark street, Chicago, as the place of said convention, 10 a. m., as the hour of meeting, and the basis of representation at three delegates for each organization.

The credentials of all delegates must bear the names and addresses of dele-

gates, name of the organization, union or society, the date and place of meeting of election of said delegates, and the signatures of the chairman and secretary of said meeting.

Duplicate credentials must be mailed before the 26th of August, to Thomas J. Morgan, 79 Dearborn street, room 328, Chicago, except those of German societies, which must be sent to Jacob Winnen, 360 Blue Island avenue, Chicago.

The committee urge prompt action on this call, and urge all Socialists to participate in this effort to organize a solid united Socialist movement in this state.

Peter Knickrehm, Jacob Winnen, Fred'k. Strickland, M. Holsinger, Thomas J. Morgan.

LIGHT, MORE LIGHT

A Suggestion to Socialist Societies and Branches of the Social Democratic Party.

By Isador Ladoff

Our idea is, that each branch of the S. D. P. should have a self culture club connected with it, where the outlined studies and discussions should take place. Our plan of work includes both the theoretical and the practical in sociological study. As far as practicable each paper is to be prepared after a careful study of the respective subject and the reports ought to be based upon painstaking and original investigations. The discussions, while open to all and offering a free forum for the expression of divergent opinions, have to be conducted with courtesy and in the scientific spirit.

Let our watchword be "Light, more light!"

OUTLINE FOR SOCIOLOGICAL SECTIONS.

I. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

First Lesson—The Ancient Regime—The Feudal System as a social force; Social and industrial conditions in the middle ages; agricultural communities, handicraft trades and apprenticeships, markets and fairs, the trade guilds, the justum pretium, the position of the church and its authority in matters of conscience, asceticism. (Books: Gomme, The Village Community; Brentano, History and Development of Guilds, and the Origin of Trades Unions; Maine, Ancient Law, Maine, Village Communities; Toynbee, the Industrial Revolution; Hallams, Middle Ages.)

Second Lesson—The Dissolution of Medievalism—The Crusades, renaissance and reformation, land laws and ecclesiastical corporations, colonization, extension of commerce, centralization of government and absolutism, beginning of movement toward constitutionalism, persistence of medieval methods in industry in agriculture, manufactures and commerce-mercantilism. (Books: Guizot, History of Civilization in Europe; Draper, Intellectual Development in Europe; Wilson, The State; Gomme, The Village Community; Taine, The Ancient Regime; Maine, The Village; Toynbee, The Industrial Revolution; Ingraham, A History of Political Economy.)

Third Lesson—Beginnings of the Industrial Age, effect of intellectual revival upon industrial and political life, the rise of inventions, the ideal of liberty and man's place in nature, reaction on politics, the school of Hobbes and Locke, of Voltaire and Rousseau, transition from the common field system to enclosures and large farms, improved means of communication and transportation and effect upon trade, manufactures near close of eighteenth century, political economy in eighteenth century. (Books: Draper, Intellectual Development in Europe; Lecky, History of Rationalism in Europe; Taine, The Ancient Regime; Toynbee, The Industrial Revolution; Ingraham, History of Political Economy; May, History of Democracy in Europe.)

(To be continued.)

GIVING DEBS ATTENTION

Votes are what keep "capitalism" master of the world. In order to control votes, it is necessary to control the minds of men. In order to control the minds of men, it is necessary to control their educational methods; and the more the great mass of mankind becomes dissatisfied and acts, the more it is necessary for capitalists to change their tactics. Thus it is, when nearing election time, that they tell you the great trouble with the people is that the traffic is too high or too low; or they shout free trade, pauper labor, yellow money, expansion, anti-expansion, imperialism, etc., etc. Every one of these issues have been tried in different countries, and at the same time the rich were getting richer and the poor poorer. When labor organizations became strong enough to attract attention (or rather, need attention), the capitalists sent in their great leader (or rather faker), to tell you you should not discuss politics in your unions, you should cast your vote this or that way, at this or that particular time; or if you become strong enough, as did the Knights of Labor or the A. R. U., lead you into a strike, or get you fighting among yourselves (over nothing in reality), to "smash up" your organizations. I fancy I hear you say that you do not believe this; neither would the members of

LOCAL BRANCHES
Notices of Branch Meetings Inserted for 25 Cents per Month

CALIFORNIA
Liberty Branch, San Francisco, holds public meetings every Sunday and Wednesday evenings, commencing at 8. Admission free. Business meetings (for members) every Thursday evening.

COLORADO
Branch No. 1, Denver, meets every Sunday at 3:30 p. m. at 1715 California Ave., Chas. M. Davis, Secretary, 1525 17th Street.

ILLINOIS
Meetings of Chicago Central Committee held regular every 2nd and 4th Sunday, 8 p. m., at E. Greer's office, 32 Dearborn St.

INDIANA
Branch No. 6, Indianapolis, meets first Saturday evening and third Sunday afternoon of each month at 2 p. m., at Ball, corner Market and Noble sts. Address all communications to the Sec. of State Executive Board, Thomas Catton, 617 Arbor Ave.

IOWA
Branch No. 2, Hiteama, meets every fourth Friday in the month at opera house, James Baxter, chairman, Wm. Truman, secretary, Box 131.

KENTUCKY
Branch No. 4, Bellevue, meets 1st and 3rd Sunday, at 2 p. m., and 2nd and 4th Wednesday, at 8 p. m., at Fairfield Ave. We will aim to make it interesting for all. Henry Listerman, Sec., 132 Foote Ave.

MARYLAND
Branch No. 1, Baltimore, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m., at Carpenter's Hall, 500 E. Baltimore St. Public invited.

MASSACHUSETTS
The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 734 Washington St., Boston. All dues and moneys intended for the State Committee should be sent to the financial secretary, A. McDonald, 104 W. Springfield St., Boston. All other correspondence should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, Margaret Halle, 5 Glenwood St., Roxbury.

MICHIGAN
Branch No. 1, Battle Creek, Mich., meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of each month, at 3 p. m. at 10 W. Main Street, in the International Congress Hall. All are cordially invited. L. C. Rogers, Secretary.

MINNESOTA
Branch 1, Red Lake Falls, meets every other Sunday in real estate office of Fred Gesswein, on Main St. A. Kingsbury, Secretary.

MISSOURI
St. Louis headquarters, Room 7, 22 N. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches, inquire at the above address.

MONTANA
Branch No. 1, Butte, meets every Thursday, at 8:30 p. m., Engineers' Hall, Owsley Block, G. Frankel, Sec. Park Street.

NEW JERSEY
Branch No. 1, Secretary, Michael W. Schor, 57 Livingston St. Branch No. 5, Camden, N. J., meets every 2nd Sunday of the month. For particulars address Paul Eberding, 1206 Knight's Avenue, Camden, N. J.

NEW YORK
The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York, meets every second Tuesday at 412 Grand street, Windsor Hall. James Allman, Secretary, 32 Suffolk street of "Forward."

Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 423 S. 3rd Street, until further notice. Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at E. of L. Hall, 716 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stain, Secretary, J. E. Porry, 119 Sassafras St.

Branch No. 2, Erie, meets 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 7:30 p. m., at Funk Hall, S. 2nd and Josephine Sts. Hobbs, President, 244 Adison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 213 Jane St.

Branch No. 4, Cincinnati, meets at Richelieu Hall southeast corner 9th and Plum Sts., every Sunday at 2 o'clock. In each month at 8 p. m. in Ohlsen's Hall, 65 York St. Lectures and discussions.

Branch No. 5, Dayton, Ohio, meets every 2d and 4th Friday evening, in Hall 27, Central Trades Council. Those desiring to become interested in Socialism, invited. J. C. Schawe, Chairman, W. Barringer, Secretary, P. O. Box 24.

Branch No. 8, Cincinnati, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Workingmen's Hall, 1313 Walnut St. F. Hamel, Secretary, 1804 Frantz St. Branch No. 11, German, Columbus, Thomas May, Jr. Secretary, 550 S. 3rd St.

PENNSYLVANIA
Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, meets every Monday, at 8 p. m., at 423 S. 3rd Street, until further notice. Branch No. 2, Erie, meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at E. of L. Hall, 716 State St. Chairman, Joseph Stain, Secretary, J. E. Porry, 119 Sassafras St.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburg, meets 2nd and 4th Wednesday at 7:30 p. m., at Funk Hall, S. 2nd and Josephine Sts. Hobbs, President, 244 Adison St. J. H. Lewis, Secretary, 213 Jane St.

Branch No. 5, Philadelphia, meets first Friday of each month—Executive meets every Sunday morning at 8 p. m., in Social Labor hall, No. 29 East 34th St. G. B. Smith, chairman; Jno. Lyon, secretary, 743 Second St. Public invited.

WASHINGTON
Branch No. 5, Tacoma, meets every Monday evening at 8 p. m., 413 11th Street.

WISCONSIN
Milwaukee Central Committee, S. D. P., meets second and fourth Monday of the month at Brewers' Hall, southeast corner Fourth and Chestnut sts.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets at Kallor's Hall, Fourth Street, between State and Prairie, every second and fourth Thursday evening. Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Friday in Gieske's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia Ave.

Branch No. 3, Sheboygan, meets every second Thursday of the month at Emil Henschel's place, 1011 Michigan Ave. Secretary, Eugene F. Eichenberger, 1701 N. 11th Street.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Meller's Hall, corner 2nd and Brown Sts. George Moerschel, Secretary, 891 25th St.

Branch No. 9, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, southeast corner Orchard St. and 9th Ave. O. Wild, Secretary.

Branch No. 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at Volkmann's Hall, 25 and Center Sts., 8 p. m. Secretary, Rudolph Loeschman, 1126 23rd St.

BRANCH SUPPLIES

Membership Cards (per 100)..... 1.00
Membership Applications (100)..... .25
Constitutions (each)..... .03

Send orders with cash to Theodore Debs, 126 Washington Street, Chicago. No supplies sent on credit.

labor organizations until it was too late. In the A. R. U. strike, Eugene V. Debs proved to be a man they could not control. He went to prison before he would accept their oily tongues or tempting dollars, but they did "smash up" the organization.

This lesson, though hard, taught Eugene V. Debs that it was impossible for organizations to win without political action; thus he and his friends organized the Social Democratic party in America. The great confidence the people have in this man is largely due to this fact; that he had been tried and had proven true. So it happens that Eugene V. Debs is a candidate for president of the United States on the Social Democratic party ticket, and he is proving to be such an obstacle to capitalists as to "need attention." They are giving it to him, and in this way: By getting those with the same ideas fighting among themselves, thus hoping to crush his influence against the capitalist class. Comrades, do not allow these so-called leaders to lead you astray by their literature and oily tongues; but manifest your power this fall by organizing for the S. D. P. Do you not see they are trying to get as many tickets in the field as they possibly can for "Socialism," so as to destroy its popularity? Do you not know that the question of unity would not be hard to settle, if it were not for those so-called "unity" leaders keeping us apart? Trust yourselves, not them, and you will be tossed to and fro by every wind of doctrine. Remember our standard-bearer, Eugene V. Debs, has been tried and proven true; he is as true as ever today. Stick to your organization, and we will poll over a million votes this fall. Be not content until we restore this Garden of Eden back to mankind; not for us to be crucified upon the cross of competition, interest, rent and profit, but to be forever guided by the star of co-operation and the brotherhood of man. S. G. MEAD.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA

CAMPAIGN OF 1900

THE PARTY.

The Social Democratic Party was organized at Chicago, June 11, 1898. It is the party that elected the first Socialist mayors of American cities, at Haverhill and Brockton, Mass., and in different sections of the country not less than thirty members of the party have been elected to public positions.

ITS METHOD.

Five or more members can organize a branch of the Social Democratic Party. Any reputable person subscribing to the principles of the organization is eligible to membership.

Desiring to organize a branch, application should be made to the national secretary for copies of the constitution, which should be placed in the hands of prospective members. In these will be found the declaration of principles, as also the laws of the organization.

ITS OBJECT.

First—The organization of the working class into a political party to conquer the public powers now controlled by capitalists.

Second—The abolition of wage-slavery by the establishment of a national system of co-operative industry, based upon the social or common ownership of the means of production and distribution, to be administered by society in the common interest of all its members, and the complete emancipation of the socially useful classes from the domination of capitalism.

TRADES UNIONISM.

The trades union is the arena where all wage-workers may be brought together for joint action to resist the encroachments of capitalism on the economic field and to participate in the class struggle of the proletariat which will finally develop into the political alignment of the forces of labor in the struggle for emancipation.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

ROBERT MEISTER Chairman
JOSEPH R. FINN Treasurer
SEYMOUR STEDMAN Secretary
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

EDWARD ZEIGLER Chairman
JOSEPH R. FINN Treasurer
JAMES WRIGHT Secretary
Address, 126 Washington St., Chicago.

COMMITTEE ON LITERATURE

A. S. EDWARDS Chairman
CHRIS. MICKELSON Secretary

COMMITTEE ON PRINTING

JOSEPH WINNEN Chairman
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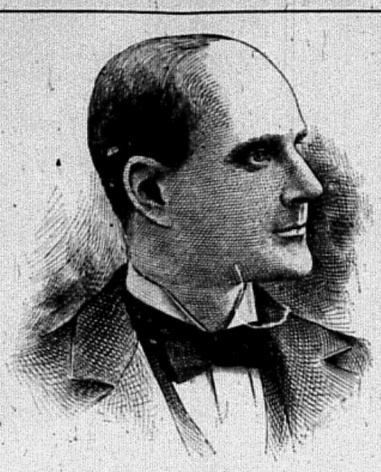
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OSCAR LOEBEL Chairman
SEYMOUR STEDMAN Secretary

CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT



EUGENE V. DEBS

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SEYMOUR STEDMAN Secretary
EUGENE V. DEBS VICTOR L. BERGER
CORINNE S. BROWN

NATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER.

THEODORE DEBS
No. 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

THE CAMPAIGN FUND

C. E. Weise, Bozeman	..... \$	25
Aug. Zitsky, "	.....	25
Henry Wraga, "	.....	25
G. W. Henke, "	.....	1.00
Carl Topel, "	.....	1.00
Henry Topel, "	.....	1.00
C. Jamieson, Clymer	.....	.55
J. Lestrangle Taylor, Toronto	.....	2.00
Branch No. 11 Wis., Milwaukee	.....	10.00
Branch No. 1 Ind., Terre Haute	.....	5.00
Previously reported	.....	901.90
Total	.....	\$923.20

Send all communications for the National Campaign Committee to Seymour Stedman, Secretary, 126 Washington Street, Chicago.

ITS PLATFORM.

Revision of our federal constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to complete control of government by the people irrespective of sex. Public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

Public ownership of all railroads, telegraphs and telephones; all means of transportation and communication; all water-works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

Public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, and other mines, and all oil and gas wells.

Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production. Inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

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

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

National insurance of working people against accident, lack of employment and want in old age.

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

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

Abolition of war and the introduction of international arbitration.

NATIONAL PAPER OF THE PARTY:

The Social Democratic Herald
50 CENTS A YEAR.
126 Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

HEADQUARTERS: 126 WASHINGTON STREET, CHICAGO

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

Comrade W. C. Bohannon reports good work at organizing in Indiana.

Comrade A. Schroeder ordered ninety Debs lithographs to bill the city of Cleveland.

The next two leaflets, Nos. 3 and 4, are being prepared. One on machinery you will want.

Send in your order now for Ben Atterbury's letter to workingmen. Leaflet No. 2; \$1 a thousand.

A change of date has been made for Comrade Debs' meeting at Van Horn, Iowa, to Tuesday, September 11.

No. 2 leaflet to "The Average American Workingman," is still selling in large orders of one to five thousand.

Comrade William Truman of Iowa writes: "The comrades are well pleased with the leaflets; they are just the thing."

The postal card propaganda will be a great vote maker during the next two months. Twenty-four cards sent to you for 10 cents.

Comrade W. C. Bohannon spoke at Fort Wayne, Ind., Tuesday of last week and had several other meetings at different points in the state.

The small 4-page leaflet used by the Chicago comrades is good for any part of the country; 1,000 to any address, postage paid, for 75 cents.

All loyal members of the Social Democratic branches in Washington are hereby requested to communicate with Comrade L. W. Kidd, 1115 Sixth avenue, North, Seattle, Wash.

Socialists willing to assist in forming new branches of the Social Democratic party are requested to communicate with the secretary, Theodore Debs, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

All particulars relating to the "Stickers" will appear in next week's Herald. We are figgerin' on it so as to put out a round million of 'em during the campaign and will have the price down low.

One wall of the campaign committee's room is stacked up with mailing tubes. These are for the Debs lithographs that you can deck out your town with at 3 cents each in large orders—20 for 60 cents.

At a convention of Social Democrats held last week at Fort Wayne, Ind., Comrade H. H. Haines was nominated for congress. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed and Comrade Bohannon reports a lively interest in the movement in that section of the state.

For the information of comrades wishing to secure Debs campaign buttons, we may state that the Social Democratic Button Co., of Sheboygan, Wis., are making buttons and pins with a good miniature photo of Comrade Debs. Price for buttons or pins \$3 for 100.

The national campaign committee met Sunday, August 19, in an all-day session and transacted a lot of business. Two organizers for Illinois were appointed to immediately go in the field. Comrades Perry of Spring Valley and McSweeney of Chicago, under pay of the N. C. C. Postal cards for propaganda and S. D. P. stickers, with portrait, were ordered printed by the hundred thousands.

Our platform, object, methods of organization and "The Man Under the Dray," by Prof. George D. Herron, are printed in the Debs leaflet with a fine picture of our candidate. This leaflet the campaign committee sends out, charges paid for 75 cents per thousand—little above cost.

The portrait of the presidential candidate gives great satisfaction. Thousands have been mailed to branches and comrades in all sections of the country. It should be seen in every community; it informs the observer, directs attention to the party and makes votes. Ten copies, 35 cents; 33 for a dollar; single copy, 10 cents; postage prepaid.

It is hoped every branch secretary will bring the contribution blanks before the next meeting of their branch and also see that all friends of socialism (unattached) are given an opportunity to help increase the national campaign fund. Send all amounts collected to the National Campaign Headquarters of the S. D. P., 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

Any branch not having received collection blanks for the Campaign Fund by the time this copy of the Herald reaches them, should immediately notify the National Campaign Committee, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill. This is the most important work for the month of August; to see that every branch and individual member learns the necessity of a Campaign Fund and what it is to be done with it. We won't have as much as the capitalist parties, but, in proportion to the amount, we will make a greater showing.

Leaflet No. 2, issued by the National Campaign Committee of the Social Democratic party, is a genuine "hit," the first of the campaign. The first run of 20,000 copies was exhausted in 20 days after the first announcement; the second run was 100,000 copies, of which 30,000 have already been shipped to comrades and branches in different parts of the country. The price of the leaflet is One Dollar per thousand, carriage prepaid. For prices on smaller lots see advertisement. It is four pages, 4 1/2 x 7 inches, just what you want to give to a friend on the street or insert in a letter. Other leaflets are being prepared, but No. 2 should have a circulation of One Million. Send orders to Campaign Committee, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

EVANSVILLE, INDIANA

The Social Democratic Party will hold a district and county convention at Weber's Hall, corner Fourth avenue and Franklin street at 7:30 p. m., Aug. 29, for the purpose of nominating candidates for district and county offices. All voters interested in this movement are requested to be present.

By order of the committee.

Matt Hollenberger,
J. C. Sutherland,
Henry J. Hartwig.

ATTENTION, ROCKVILLE, CONN.

Branches 4 and 6 at Rockville, Conn., and the Lassalle Mannchor Singing Society, will hold a grand picnic at Niederwefer's Grove, Sunday, Sept. 2, to which many branches and societies in the vicinity have been invited, the proceeds to go to the campaign. All Socialists and sympathizers are invited to attend.

Montana Socialists

All unattached Socialists in Montana please communicate with J. F. Fox, 71 E. Park street, Butte, for the purpose of furthering Social Democratic propaganda.

NEW BRANCHES

Wisconsin, two.
Minnesota, one.
Montana, two.
West Virginia, one.
Indiana, one.
Michigan, one.

HAD A GOOD TIME

Social Democrats and sympathizers to the number of nearly one hundred passed a most enjoyable evening last Sunday, August 19, at the Socialist Club Rooms, 1541 Central Boulevard. Members of the National Committee, who attended a meeting during the day, were present from Wisconsin. The lawn surrounding the house was illuminated with Chinese lanterns and the young people present engaged in games and had a thoroughly good time. Ice cream and cake were served and everyone indulged. A number of strangers dropped in to talk on the all-absorbing topic of Socialism; short addresses were made by Comrades Stedman and Edwards and converts were made to the cause. All in attendance agreed that the occasion was a success in every respect.

WISCONSIN CONVENTION

To the Voters and Members of the Social Democratic Party of Wisconsin: Greeting: The state convention of the Social Democratic party will be held in Milwaukee Sunday, September 2, at 2 o'clock, at the hall of the Freie Gemeinde on Fourth street (between State and Cedar.)

This being a presidential election year the state convention of our party is of more than usual importance. Both of the old parties have shown their utter inability to grasp the economic situation of the present time, or even to elect honest men into office. No matter which of the old parties is put into power, we always find the same result: Corruption among office holders, ignorance and misery and poverty among the masses. These facts cannot be obscured by raising false issues, like "honest money" on one side and opposition to imperialism on the other.

The reason for this is obvious. The two old parties do not differ materially from each other. Both are dominated by the non-producing class that depend upon exploitation and plunder for subsistence. Both parties by necessity create more corruption and misery. And the leaders of the defunct third party, the so-called People's party, not having any principles to stand upon, have naturally drifted into the same camps, for the purpose of their own pecuniary benefit and political aggrandizement. All "reform parties" have failed because they have trusted to the goodness to this or the other leader, instead of trying to change the conditions that surround us all.

These conditions must be changed before man in general will change.

We, therefore, call upon all honest men who do not as yet despair of the future of humanity, to unite under the banner of the Social Democratic party of America. The Social Democratic party is not aiming at a mere change of office holders, we realize, that without a change of the present economic system the best men can do nothing against corruption. The Social Democratic party wants to abolish the source of avarice and corruption by the socialization of the means of production, distribution and exchange, thereby extending the advantages of civilization and our rich country to the whole people.

And while we recognize that it is not in the power of a single state of this

Union to restore to the people all their rights, we are also fully conscious that the state of Wisconsin can do a great deal to limit within its borders the exploitation of the masses and thereby raise the standard of life.

But besides this it is our duty to strike at the ballot box for Socialism and the national candidate of the Social Democratic party EUGENE V. DEBS. Therefore do not fail to send delegates to the convention.

The basis of representation is as follows: Branches of the Social Democratic party and all other recognized Socialist bodies are entitled to three delegates. Each ward or township is entitled to one delegate for each fifty votes or major fraction thereof cast for our party at the last state election. Each Trade Union is entitled to one delegate, if the membership is fifty or less, and to two delegates if the membership is over fifty.

All reports of delegates elected and other matters pertaining to the convention should be sent to 614 State St., Milwaukee, Wis.

The State Committee of the Social Democratic party.

Eugene Rooney,
Howard Tuttle,
Ernst Mohr,
Robert Meister,
Victor L. Berger,
John Doerfler,
Edward Ziegler,
Jacob Hunger,
Fred Brockhausen,
F. W. Rehfeld.

It is hoped that every Branch will contribute \$10 to the Campaign Fund; some can do better; some have done so and will make a canvass for individual subscriptions as well. What is your Branch doing? Send all money to the treasurer of the National Committee, Joseph R. Finn, 126 Washington street, Chicago.

TO ORGANIZE THE MINISTERS

About two years ago an organization of Christian ministers was formed for the purpose of advancing socialism. The organization died soon after its birth because of the milk-and-water statement of principles. More recently Rev. Charles H. Vail suggested that I issue a call for the names of ministers who believe in socialism without any prefixes or suffixes. As secretary of the old organization, I hereby call for such names and request that with your name you send the name of your choice for president, secretary and treasurer. The persons sending me their names who receive the highest number of votes shall be declared elected. They also shall constitute a committee to draft a declaration of principles and purposes, which declaration shall be submitted to the members for ratification.

All in favor of this outline, please send names to Theodore A. Johnson, Wadsworth, O.

IF YOU SYMPATHIZE WITH TRADE UNIONS

You will encourage the sale OF UNION LABEL GOODS

If you want Union Label Shoes demand the above Union Stamp. No shoe is Union made unless it bears the Union Stamp. No charge or royalty for the Union Stamp. Visit your shoe dealer and take no excuses. Send for latest list of factories. Subscribe for "The Union Boot and Shoe Worker," 50 cts per year.

Boot and Shoe Workers Union,
620 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.

The Herald will be sent to any address in the United States 26 weeks for 20 cents.

SPLENDID LIFE-LIKE PORTRAIT OF EUGENE V. DEBS

CANDIDATE OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

SIZE—21 X 28 INCHES, ON GOOD PAPER

Price, 10 Cents, Single Copy
Sent by mail, securely enclosed in tube to insure safe transmission, on receipt of price.

Address:
CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY,
126 Washington St., Chicago

Social Democratic Party Leaflets

FOR CAMPAIGN PURPOSES

The National Campaign Committee of the Social Democratic party will issue for the campaign a series of well-written, effective four-page leaflets, two of which are now ready for delivery. These leaflets will be sent to branches and individual workers at cost of printing and postage.

LEAFLET NO. 1 is an address to unorganized Socialists; contains information concerning the Socialist movement, the party and its methods, object and program.

LEAFLET NO. 2—"An Open Letter to the Average American Workman" by Ben Atterbury. This is an admirable and convincing paper on the wage question, production, distribution of wealth and an appeal to the intelligence of the working class.

Put Them Into the Hands of Every Workingman

PRICES.

50 Copies	.....	\$ .10
100 Copies	.....	.15
250 Copies	.....	.25
500 Copies	.....	.50
1,000 Copies	.....	1.00
5,000 Copies	.....	5.00

POSTAGE PAID.

Send orders to Campaign Committee Social Democratic Party, 126 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.

THE FULL STRENGTH OF APPEAL TO REASON WILL BE GIVEN TO DEBS AND HARRIMAN

the ensuing campaign. For purposes of propaganda the following prices are named on bundles to one address:

25 copies weekly, 8 mos.,	\$ 1.50
50 " " " "	3.00
100 " " " "	6.00
250 " " " "	14.50
500 " " " "	27.50
1000 " " " "	49.00

ADDRESS,

APPEAL TO REASON
GIRARD, KANSAS