

Social Democratic Herald

NUMBER 1.

CHICAGO, ILL., SATURDAY, JULY 9, 1898.

Complete

50 CENTS YEARLY.

For the Abolition of Capitalism, and Coöperative Production and Distribution of Wealth.

Gronlund's Mistake.

Was So Well Pleased with the Majority Platform that He "Would Alter His New Book" to Conform to It.

The true friends of Laurence Gronlund have read with profound regret his article in the Social Democrat of June 23. That a man occupying the position he does in the Socialistic world should thus rush hastily into print on a matter that he could not possibly understand is much to be regretted. It will without doubt tend to lessen the confidence heretofore felt in his judgment. When it is remembered that he is criticising the action of the true Socialists of the convention, the representatives of the Socialistic strongholds of the country, and that he is thus taking sides with the motley elements that composed the faction that got control of the convention (by resort to the lowest methods of political trickery), it is clear that sooner or later he will regret his step exceedingly. In plain English, this crowd of Chicago politicians have stuffed Mr. Gronlund and are using him for their own sinister ends. This they have been able to do because Mr. Gronlund was not at the convention as a steady attendant and knows very little of the real situation as it existed there.

No one questions Mr. Gronlund's rights to an opinion of the platform as presented by the majority of the committee. What we do deplore is that he should use his objections to help the cause of the convention packers. But further on I shall throw some light on his views on the platform. His charge that we of the new organization acted from childish spite, I utterly deny, and I must add that in making such a charge Mr. Gronlund has himself been guilty of a display of childishness. We stood out for principle, nothing more and nothing less. So long as the integrity of the Socialist movement is in our keeping we must act for the best interests of the movement, party or no party. Mr. Gronlund's claim that it was our duty to stay in an organization that was being used to swindle people is not at all ethical. I, for one, refuse to be a party to rascality. I should hold to this resolve no matter what personal inconvenience it brought on me. I will not fellowship with swindlers, if I can help it. Instead of abandoning the Social Democracy, we who organized were the Social Democracy, the representatives of a body whose convention had been stolen from it, and who, from the dictates of decency and justice, were forced to repudiate that convention and abandon the headquarters to the local horde that overwhelmed us. We were working on long lines, not for petty temporary convenience. The Social Democratic Party is simply the Social Democracy, with its name slightly changed, because of the necessities of the case. That we were the Social Democracy let the following attest:

The convention was captured by some forty Chicago "colonizers," and the following outsiders: Osborne of Atlanta, Clemens of Kansas, Roge's of California, Grundy of Pittsburg, Frank of New York and a Colorado promoter.

Those who were present at the convention, mostly under heavy expense, and who represented the revolt against the colonization swindle and Anarchist domination, were: Eugene V. Debs, Theodore Debs and Hugo Miller of Indiana; Seymour Stedman and George Koop of Illinois, J. F. Carey and Margaret Haile of Massachusetts; Comrades Hoehn and Meier of St. Louis; F. G. R. Gordon of New Hampshire; Comrades Miller, Butcher, Hourwich, Winchevsky, Phillips and Baroness of New York; Comrades Edwards and Maille of Tennessee; Levin of New Jersey, Loebel of Sheboygan, Hicks of Colorado, and Berger, Kuhn, Moerschall, Hunger and Heath of Wisconsin.

Now which division, Mr. Gronlund, represented Social Democracy? The Chicago crowd or those from the strongholds of Socialism all over the country?

Had we been childish bolters we would not have remained in the convention during almost the entire week. We only took the course we did when there was no other decent course open to us. When the question resolved itself into "gold brick" or no "gold brick," there was but one course to take, and we took it unflinchingly and without regard to mere questions of convenience or party advantage.

And note this peculiarity of Mr. Gronlund's letter. He has not a word to say against the convention packing—he is cheek by jowl with the packers.

When he finds out that the crowd he is training with had bargained with one of the old parties to keep the Social Democracy out of Chicago politics, perhaps he will discover that he is with strange bedfellows.

Especially do the Milwaukee Socialists resent Mr. Gronlund's fling at Comrade Berger. Mr. Berger did not lead the "secession," he was one of the last to admit that there was no other way to preserve the integrity of the movement.

When Mr. Gronlund read over the majority platform just before the convention opened, he declared it to be a grand document, and said that he would alter his book which he had in press so as to agree with the program it presented. How he can now explain his change of heart I shall be interested to see. FREDERIC HEATH.

Lily Truelove's Greetings.

Clear and Refreshing Like the Waters of the Mountain Spring Appears the Social Democratic Party.

My Dear Friend Sincere—You cannot build a solid house on quicksand. No matter what the average would-be reformers may think about it, I claim that the same rule holds good in regard to the political organization of the wage-working proletariat. Any attempt to organize a sound political la-

Desperate attempts were made to radically change the original course of the organization and to make the platform as broad as the "Holy Bible" and as ductile as India rubber, so that Dick, Tom and Harry could conveniently stand on for the "honor of Socialism"—the Bryan-Democrat and the Anarchist, the Kansas Semi-Populist and the Anti-Political "Socialist" and office-holder, the gold-brick colonizationist and, as a matter of course, the bona-fide Social Democrats. These heterogeneous elements wanted to belong to an organization that would stamp them officially as Social Democrats, talk against "slimy politics," at the same time enjoying the friendship of "slimy politicians."

Happily the true Socialist elements attending the Chicago convention acted

Pledged to Organized Labor.

Attitude of the Social Democratic Party Toward Trades Unionism.

The following resolutions, clearly defining the attitude of the party toward genuine trade unionists, were adopted without a dissenting voice:

"Whereas, We hold the trade union movement to be indispensable to the working people under the prevailing industrial conditions in their struggle for the improvement of their conditions as well as for the final abolition of the wage system; we further recognize the urgent need of thorough organization among the workers; therefore be it

Resolved, That we commend an honest co-operation to that end by the members of the Social Democratic Party of America, by becoming members of the unions in their respective trades or callings, or of the Federal Labor Unions, and strive to organize all such trades as have heretofore not been organized and assist the organization of labor in every way possible:

"Resolved, That in order to more effectively resist the encroachments upon labor we advise organized labor to combine into national and international unions, pledging ourselves to extend to them all possible assistance to accomplish this end.

"Resolved, That we reaffirm the truth expressed in the proceedings of the International Labor Congress, held in London in August, 1896, that while it is absolutely necessary for the working people to make use of the political power in order to secure and enforce the demands of labor, yet differences of political views held by members of the labor organizations should not be a reason for separate organization in the economic struggle, causing dissensions and disruptions.

"Resolved, That we consider strikes and boycotts as historically necessary weapons to obtain the demands of trades unionism; we further recognize in the union label an important factor in strengthening the power of organization, and educating the public to demonstrate in a practical way its sympathy and assistance to the cause of labor; and we therefore indorse all the labels of the bona fide trades unions, earnestly recommending to the membership of the Social Democratic Party of America to patronize only such concerns selling products bearing the same.

"Resolved, That we condemn the attempt to disrupt the labor movement by organizing rival unions to the bona fide trades unions.

"Resolved, That we encourage the movement of organized labor for the establishment of a legal eight-hour workday and the Saturday half holiday.

"Resolved, That we condemn the modern white slavery of the sweating system."

THE LAMENTED GROTTKAU.

When there were few sunbeams in the darkness of industrial servitude the magnetic, earnest, self-sacrificing presence of Grottkau proclaimed equality, and it is with tears we bid adieu to his life's work. Only now are the people beholding a character whom his neighbors once failed to see—"because of the halo around his face."

Praise be to the comrades of Milwaukee; they fought a fierce political campaign there; with a magnitude of heart raised over \$500 for the family of the departed hero. Proud are we that the Social Democratic Party contains such comrades.

The following is the resolution adopted by the S. D. P.:

The Social Democratic Party of America, in convention assembled, deeply regrets the inestimable loss to the International Socialist Labor movement caused by the sudden death of that pioneer Socialist agitator, organizer and journalist, Paul Grottkau, and we extend our hearty sympathy to the family of our deceased friend and comrade.

Our comrade died in poverty. We, the Social Democratic Party of America, express our deep concern in the financial distress of Comrade Paul Grottkau's wife and little children, and we therefore extend our heartfelt sympathy and pledge our moral and financial support to this Socialist family.

Respectfully submitted,
G. A. HOEHN,
EUGENE V. DEBS.

HOW TO ORGANIZE.

It is hoped that comrades will not wait for an organizer to come along before active work is begun to reorganize old branches and start new ones. What is needed now is for every comrade to do his and her utmost in organizing branches. Don't delay it. If you can get together only five—organize; if you are fifty strong—organize; but don't wait for fifty, start with five and organize—then grow. Send names and addresses, with 25 cents, to Theodore Debs, 519 E. Sixty-Sixth Street, Chicago, Ill., who will receipt for same. The 25 cents will pay admission fee; dues thereafter will be 25 cents per quarter, payable in January, April, July and October.

Having organized a branch, enlist all your members as workers for the HERALD. The subscription price is 50 cents a year. We want 3,000 paying subscribers by August 1.

With your help, comrades, we shall have them.

GLAD WE LOST CONTROL.

The split that occurred in the Social Democracy at the national convention in Chicago is not surprising to those who have watched the growth and policy of the organization during the past year. The parting of the ways had to be reached sooner or later, and the surprise is that it came so sudden.

The Social Democracy was composed of two distinct, hostile elements, between which there could be harmony for no great length of time, viz.: the Socialist element and an opposing conglomerate of factions which included Populists, Anarchists, silverites, single taxers, colonists and other theorists who were temporarily at peace with each other in order to gain control.

The composition of the colonization faction is not reassuring and attractive. The bolting faction contains the clearest heads, and, aside from Debs, Mailly, Martin, Edwards and a few others, such men as Berger, Hoehn, Gordon, Carey and Cahen have been identified with the Socialist Labor party and all are quite thoroughly grounded in the principles of Socialism.

The colony party will soon disappear from the scene. Its heterogeneous elements cannot be held together.—Cleveland Citizen.

bor movement on a basis of quicksand principles and confusing reform schemes must lead to inevitable failure and disruption.

The capitalist press would impress upon the minds of the people that the Social Democratic movement was now a thing of the past, that the Chicago convention had brought about the final "split" and downfall of the organization. Ridiculous! The capitalist editors undoubtedly realized the importance of the Chicago "split," and in order to counteract the immediate effect this important step of the class-conscious Social Democratic delegates might have on the American wage-workers, they had recourse to the worst sort of misrepresentation.

The Social Democratic Party of America is the direct and rightful heir to the Social Democracy of America. The main object of the S. D. of A., as organized by and out of the A. R. U. elements, were by no means "colonization" or "gold brick business," but the political organization of labor for the purpose of securing control of the machinery of government, and thereby bringing about Socialism, i. e., the collective ownership of the means of production by the people—by the nation.

wisely by promptly bringing about the separation of the clear-minded Socialist elements from the political hash of confusionists and "practical people," thus protecting the name of Socialism and Social Democracy against dishonor and disgrace. The Social Democratic Party of America enters the arena of the proletarian struggle with flying colors, beautifully and brightly shining, like the rising summer's sun. Its platform proclaims the truth of International Solidarity of labor. The S. D. P. of A. is built on a sound foundation, freed of all rotten, decaying, unhealthy material; soon a proud structure will cover the "split" and the tolling millions will be inspired with new hope for their emancipation, for a better state of society, where misery and starvation, immorality, vice and crime will no longer be known.

My dear Sincere, you say our platform is not as concise and clear-cut as it should be. I admit this. However, you must consider that there was not even time left at the convention to have this platform thoroughly discussed and revised, and after all, a good Socialist Labor movement does not necessarily depend on an excellent platform, al-

(Continued on page 4.)

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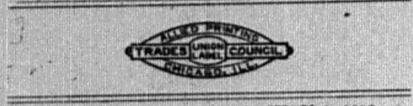
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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JULY 9, 1898.

THE HERALD.

With the appearance of this paper as an exponent of Socialism and the herald of the Social Democratic Party of America, the admission may as well be frankly made at the outset that certain methods and schemes for the advancement of Socialism have become so offensive as to be no longer tolerable. A recognized and universal principle of truth cannot be confined and have life and growth within an organic integument held together by sectional or selfish interests.

There has never been an American Socialism; there has been a growth or expansion of Socialism in America. The development has been attended with pain and the illusory schemes of the promoter. To-day, as a result of the process of evolution from a lower to a higher economic expression, we have the Social Democratic Party, with no limit lines and no baits, no schemes to promote and no promoters to scheme, standing for a Socialism as broad as the nation, as expansive as the needs of humanity.

Karl Marx, writing on the growth and expansion of society, says:

"Society is like everything else in nature. It develops, it expands. When the power of expansion of water shut up in a cylinder begins to increase through the generation of heat, the form of water changes; it becomes steam, which bursts the narrow walls within which it is inclosed. When a chicken is being hatched out, it does so by reason of the increased heat. The substance of the egg remains the same, but its form changes. There is a gradual evolution of the yolk into a living substance. The food of the animal nature had provided in the white surrounding the yolk. The animal grows. The shell of the egg, however, does not expand with the growth of the animal inside. At a certain point it becomes too narrow for the further growth of the chicken. The shell is broken and the chicken is hatched out. But the chicken is alive long before it cracks the shell. It does not break it as long as it can exist and develop under the shell. But when it can do so no more, then the shell is broken."

The shell would not expand, comrades; the chicken could not grow; something had to break; we cracked the shell and came forth—the Social Democratic Party of America.

The Herald is the party's paper. It will do battle against a system; it will not assail individuals. It does not believe that the party or the world can be governed by invective. It does believe, with Marx, that:

"The antagonism between the collective form of production, conjured up by the increased productive powers of mankind, and the individual appropriation of the product of labor, becomes more and more apparent, and is resolving itself into a violent antagonism of irreconcilable and diametrically opposite interests of two classes; the capitalist and the wage-working class. The lines are being drawn sharper and sharper each day."

To present the positive and constructive side of Socialism will absorb most of the space and engage most of the attention of the editor and the staff of contributors.

To succeed we must have the tireless cooperation of comrades everywhere and have it now.

Economic individualism—private mastery of the means of production—has abolished private property for millions.

Socialism does not propose to take any man's wealth; it does propose to prevent one man taking wealth in the production of which he takes no part and makes no sacrifice.

Will our comrades of the Socialist and labor press at home and abroad kindly place the Herald on their exchange lists? Our address is 519 E. Sixty-sixth street, Chicago, Ill.

The Social Democratic Party has no fight against individuals; but against a system which renders society, and especially the producers in society, a prey to individual and corporate gluttony, it will wage ceaseless warfare.

Certainly "the will of the majority should prevail in Socialist organizations," and when the majority wills that Socialism shall not prevail, it is time for Socialists to crack the shell. And that is precisely what happened.

The "steps in the direction" on International Socialism, paragraphs 1 to 12 in the declaration of principles, indicate the near end of the Socialist "chore" in the United States. Let us all take hold at the "near end" and lift.

"There is room in this country for a political movement and an economic movement," and the Social Democratic Party is willing to see all the room this country has for an economic (colony) movement occupied by colonists. Only the occupation will be short-lived; don't forget that.

The Social Democratic Party of America stands for the substitution of social ownership for individual ownership of the means of production and distribution. The party declares in favor of certain demands, what for? "As steps in the direction" of the socialization of all the means of production and distribution. That's clear enough; so clear, indeed, that no Socialist can misunderstand or will seek to prevent it.

The address of Comrade Seymour Stedman, secretary of the executive committee, is room 62, Merchants' building, corner of Washington and La Salle, Chicago. Local members ready to pay dues may leave the same with him, to be reported to National Secretary Debs. All communications and remittances from branches outside should be addressed to the temporary national secretary, Theodore Debs, 519 E. Sixty-sixth street, Chicago. Send subscriptions for the Herald to the latter address.

The procuring cause of corruption in political life is private property rights in those things that ought to be owned publicly. The real conflict is between a democratic system of politics and a despotic system of industry. The latter, being in and of itself corrupt and brutal, can only be maintained by methods both brutal and corrupt. Either the idea of democracy or plutocracy must yield; and basing itself upon historical necessity—the logic of events—the Social Democratic Party attacks the cause of political corruption by proposing a democratic system of industry.

The initial number of the Herald is of necessity devoted mainly to a statement of the causes that separated us from the S. D., and represents the collective opinion of the S. D. P. To make room for matter of more importance in this issue the constitution of the new organization is withheld. This will be published next week and submitted for alterations and amendments prior to a referendum vote on its adoption. Copies of the constitution in pamphlet form, as it will appear in next week's Herald, may be obtained from the National Secretary, 519 E. Sixty-sixth street, Chicago.

In a pre-empted world, where opportunities to labor are closed, and the means of wealth production are used as instruments of private gain, the unavoidable lot of millions of our human brothers and sisters is destitution and misery. Planting itself squarely against the capitalist system of industry, which overtaxes the few and underfeeds the many, the Social Democratic Party, with a full and adequate solution of the great labor problem, presents to the country a practical and an adequate program of immediate demands. The country will do well to try and understand the necessity and importance of these demands.

The executive committee had instructions to "edit, revise and remodel" the declaration of principles. They will no doubt receive the congratulations of comrades on the insertion of a new paragraph, which reads as follows:

"We declare the object of the Social Democratic Party to be the co-operative production and distribution of all wealth, through the restoration to the people of the land and all the means of production, transportation and distribution, to be controlled by a democratic state in the interest of the entire community, and the complete emancipation of labor from the domination of capitalism."

Think over the whole matter deliberately. Reflect that many colonizers joined the old organization a year ago to push the colony idea and destroy our political propaganda. They were not Social Democrats; they were in

reality opposed to the fundamental principle of Social Democracy. This state of affairs, existing before the convention assembled, supplemented by the appearance in the convention of delegates not entitled to be there, made the split inevitable. After the second day, when it was admitted that the convention had been "packed," the Social Democrats feared nothing so much as the prospect of themselves being in control. The control is now where it belongs.

It should not for a moment be supposed that between the separatists and the scattered membership of the S. D. there is any hostility whatever. These members could not possibly understand the necessity and importance of the separation without also having information as to the local situation at Chicago. Those who assumed the responsibility of issuing the address which appears in another column do not doubt that the final result will be. Already from many sections their action has been applauded and indorsed. Our course is clear, comrades; the chimera of colonization, so far as we are concerned, has been bottled up, and illusory programs for attaining the Co-operative Commonwealth are discarded. Agitate, educate, organize, and lift up the banner of Social Democracy.

Since an effort has been made to have it appear that Comrade Eugene Debs is not with us, the editor is authorized by Comrade Debs to say that he has not sufficiently recovered from the illness which overtook him during the convention week to comply with request for an article for this issue of the paper, but will be heard from soon, probably next week. If those who can be deceived into believing that Debs is not for the S. D. P. could have witnessed the scenes at his bedside in the Revere House, when most of the "37" bade him good-bye, they would have realized how truth was outraged by a statement in the colonizers' organ to the effect that the only "bolter" connected with the A. R. U. strike was Kelliher. Most people had thought for four years that Eugene Debs was in some way "connected" with that strike, and all of the people will soon learn that he is connected with the S. D. P.

You say that Socialism would "interfere with liberty." Say, do you think that liberty is promoted by the Western Union monopoly? Don't you think that liberty is already "interfered" with? You say that Socialism would "interfere with the rights of private property." Did you ever stop to consider the fact that capitalism has already destroyed the right of private property for millions?

You say that Socialism would "reduce all men to a dead level." But isn't the capitalist system actually doing that very thing? You can satisfy yourself on that point by simply looking around among your own acquaintances.

You say that Socialism "would take away the incentive to labor." But can't you see that capitalism is destroying the opportunity to labor? Why quibble about the "incentive" when the opportunity is gone? If the present system offers a few remaining opportunities it also gives the capitalist class the opportunity to appropriate all the product beyond actual necessities.

Again, you say that Socialism would "crush out individuality." Well, don't you really think that with certain individualized commercial cornerments, "crushed out" humanity would experience a distinct gain? And is it not true that they are "crushed out?" A Leiter could not put the world's wheat into his own pocket. The very things which you say Socialism would do are now done by the system you try to defend, and done, too, from logical necessity.

DEAD, BUT NOT FORGOTTEN.

No more effective work to dissipate American prejudice against Socialism has been done than that of the whole-hearted and high-minded Edward Bellamy. As, nearly half a century ago, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" electrified the country and roused the national conscience against chattel slavery, so "Looking Backward" pierced the gloom of economic slavery and prepared the minds of the people to accept the emancipating truths of Socialism. In recognition of the service of the author of "Looking Backward" and "Equality," the Social Democratic party adopted the following resolution:

In the death of Edward Bellamy we have lost one of the greatest and noblest men of this century. It is yet too early for the world to form an estimate of the great work of this noble man. Future generations will know him better than this, and when history is fairly and impartially written the name of Bellamy will appear among the most illustrious of the ages. In our humble opinion the American people, as well as the people of other countries, can do no greater honor to the memory of Edward Bellamy than to continue the noble work of educating the people in the principles of Socialism, and endeavor to bring about a state of society that will guarantee to every human being the right to life, liberty and happiness. Bellamy is dead, but the influence of his missionary work will be felt for centuries to come.

G. A. HOEHN.
EUGENE V. DEBS.

Farmer and Proletariat

Their Union Indispensable if Industrial Emancipation Is to Be Accomplished.

With a farming population exceeding the urban population by some thirty millions, it is easily seen that without municipal autonomy, the nationalizing of farms or an appreciated unity of interest between farmer and proletariat, Socialism is a chimera to the living of to-day.

As to municipal autonomy, with the exception of the late agitation of Manhattan; there has been a disposition among legislators to limit municipal authority rather than extend it. Witness the municipal police boards of Colorado, Nebraska and the street car legislation in Illinois. Persons familiar with the disposition of the rural population know their belief in the corruption of cities, and the healthful effect of municipal regulation by officers responsible to the people of the whole state. For this reason the necessary increase of urban population alone to effect the national councils; places the hope of substantial relief through municipal autonomy beyond conception; the power of the farmers in shaping the complexion of Congress makes their union with the proletariat indispensable.

As to nationalizing farms—it is admitted that collective production and distribution of wealth or the "national control and administration of capital" becomes essential, as the producer, by the evolution of industry, is deprived of his tools, and they pass under the control of the exploiter. As a whole, the supposed centralization of the farms is largely mythical, especially as it is ascribed to the evolution of farming utensils. From 1795 to 1870 there was granted 6,700 patents for plows; since 1870 three improvements only of any value, and farmers are divided as to whether their riding plow reduces the cost of labor.

The lister throws the earth on a ridge and enables the farmer to plant without previously breaking the soil; valuable in dry regions, useless where the rainfall necessitates breaking the ground. Out of 920 corn gatherers patented, only one is a success, and that one rejected by many because of the waste. Since the opening of the patent office 6,620 patents for harvesters have been granted, and out of 900 patents since 1870 the twine binder is the only effective invention.

Counting the labor of men binding after the original McCormick reapers, at two dollars per day, the total saving by all these improvements since 1870 is estimated at six cents per bushel for wheat, rye and oats. In cotton, from planting to picking, the same method exists as in 1850 (John W. Bookwalter). The foregoing figures are easily verified. Truck farms, i. e., onions, beets, potatoes, etc., use no essentially different machinery (labor saving than they did twenty-five years ago). Thus it will be seen that the concentration of farms as a result of farming tools and implement perfection will be exceedingly slow. The farmer tenants, however, may become owners by means which so-called scientific Socialists would regard palliatives, i. e., namely, the single tax, state insurance, state elevators, the issuing and loaning of money by the government at cost, the inheritance tax (which has been decided to be constitutional), etc. If we admit that farming is not ripe for social ownership, then we must find a means to unite with them for the benefit of the proletariat, and permit me here to quote Kautsky: "Individual production requires private ownership of the means of production." The expropriation of these would be the more senseless, since it is the aim of Socialism to place into the hands of workers the necessary means of production. In small industries and farms, the expropriation of the means of production would mean that we should take it from the present owners and forthwith give it back to them, which would be non-sensical.

It is not difficult for an economist to conceive of a method by which the tenant of a landlord (or in the last analysis of the slate) may become the owner himself. Thus we find municipal autonomy or centralization of farms too remote, or impossible, to furnish the material unity of interest requisite to unite the rural with the urban denizens.

Schiller says in his History of the Thirty Years' War: "It is only immediate advantages, or immediate evils, that set the people in action, and for these sound policy cannot wait." The Grange, the Farmers' Alliance, the People's Party (only disrupted by a bare majority at St. Louis) teach a lesson we should take advantage of, and while teaching of the abstract fundamentals of Socialism, we should declare for that which is of direct interest to the farmers, in hopes of a unification of forces. Without their support the cause of the proletariat is hopeless and vice versa.

If we argue that to assist the farmer we uphold a middle class, I reply, by agitation you cannot destroy them—the immutable laws of industrial evolution only can do that, fathomless research, oratory and essay can do nothing, until interest prompts and necessitates the grasp of new truth. The

Socialist may give the solution; but cannot create the problem. The proletariat cannot wait for the completion of the farmer's production, middle class. These two must unite, or industrial salvation to this age is so hopeless that reason will dictate only that course by which each, at any cost, may overcome the barbarities of competition, although a highway of bones shall mark his tracks.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN.

WITHDRAWAL A NECESSITY.

The hearts that throb responsive to the suffering and misery in America will doubtless be saddened by the news of a split in the Social Democracy, but when the truth is known and the causes for it understood, they will realize that the result was a triumph for Socialism, and that the organization of the Social Democratic Party firmly establishes the American branch of the International Socialist movement.

To state the truth and make clear the causes that gave birth to the new order is the first duty of those familiar with the situation. The fact that eleven branches had been organized in Chicago on the eve of the convention with a membership of five and six each, sounded the alarm, and the position and determined purpose, together with the methods and tactics of those who brought them into existence, made the withdrawal of every true Socialist a necessity.

Many who supported the minority platform were sincere in their belief that by so doing they were assisting in carrying out the ideas of colonization, but when they realize that nothing can come of the bond deals, mining schemes and other "great" enterprises promised, they will understand that a straight Socialist program offers the only solution.

The trouble within the executive board dates back several months, to about the time Goodwin resigned. They were intensified when the colonization commission began negotiations for buying car works, building railroads and floating bonds for millions on mining and land deals. Although every conceivable system of espionage was resorted to, the most willful and malicious misrepresentation was necessary to furnish a pretext for attack on the writer.

My record stands for itself, and from the close of the convention in '97 I have taxed my physical endurance to the limit in a conscientious effort to strengthen and build the movement. My assistants, Theo. Debs and Louis Billings, are both experts in their line and have worked with an interest and zeal seldom shown. The so-called colonists are in full control of the Social Democracy. All communications and remittances forwarded to me as secretary have been turned over or gone to them direct. They now have a clear field in which to carry out their plans, and the events of the near future will place the responsibility where it properly belongs, and justify the launching of the Social Democratic Party and firmly fix its mission in the minds of the people.

Let the comrades everywhere awake. If you are with us show it by prompt and earnest work. Strengthen old branches and organize new ones. Send in one or more subscribers to the paper and make remittances promptly. While I declined to accept any office, I will be none the less active and am with you heart and soul for a straight, uncompromising Socialist political movement.

SYLVESTER KELIHER.

HUNGER REVOLT IN ITALY.

At the Hull House meeting the following resolutions were adopted:

"Resolved, That this meeting of the Social Democratic Party of America extends its heartfelt sympathy to the victims of the recent starvation riots in Italy, and that we hope the time will be near at hand when the Social Democratic movement in Italy will have grown to such proportions as will make a repetition of such murderous scenes as witnessed in Milan forever impossible."

"Resolved, further, That we congratulate our comrades of the Social Democratic Party of Italy for the noble and heroic stand they have taken during these exciting times of the hunger revolt."

"Recognizing the labor press as a very important weapon in the hands of the organized workers; be it Resolved, That we consider it of the utmost importance for the membership of the Social Democracy to assist in every way possible both financially and morally the labor press."

ACTIVITY AT MILWAUKEE.

Milwaukee, June 30.—Milwaukee will line up with ten branches and the full Socialist strength that cast a vote of 2,500 at the last city election. The Milwaukee comrades are jubilant at the outcome at Chicago, as they feel that the movement has been purified thereby. It will be a pleasure for them to work for pure Socialism and without the necessity of constantly making explanations and apologies.

We are already thinking of the fall campaign. It is quite possible that Milwaukee will equip a wagon mission.

SOCIALIST.

Why It Happened.

Address of the Social Democratic Party of America to the Members of the Social Democracy.

Chicago, June 16, 1898.

To Members of the Social Democracy of America:

Comrades: There has been a division of the delegates who met in annual convention in this city in the name of the Social Democracy, beginning June 7th, and ending June 11th, and the result has been the formation of a new party, known as the Social Democratic Party of America.

To report the truth respecting the withdrawal of the undersigned delegates from the convention, and the causes which led thereto, and to the formation of a new party, is the purpose of this address, and we bespeak for it the calm and serious consideration its importance demands.

Soon after the convention was called to order it became apparent that the delegates were divided into two factions, and as the deliberations proceeded the breach which separated them grew wider, and all hope of bringing them into harmonious alliance vanished.

The prime factor in the disruption of the Social Democracy was the appearance in the convention of a number of delegates representing Chicago branches, which were reported to have been organized within two or three days of the time the convention met, and these delegates were sufficient in number to control the convention. As a matter of fact they were chosen for that purpose and for that purpose alone, and it can be proved that the branches they were alleged to represent had not, and have not now, any existence.

That there was an undercurrent to defeat independent political action, especially in some sections in which certain delegates were personally interested, was too plainly evident to admit of doubt. The intense activity of certain other persons who are known to be violently opposed to political action emphasized the conviction that "colonization" was made the pretext for defeating the independent political program of the organization.

Another factor in the separation was the colonization department. Upon this feature there were, and are no doubt, honest differences, but that the work done, or rather not done, by the commission during the past year is a sore disappointment as well as a flat failure, is a fact so painfully evident as to silence all controversy. The constitution authorized the commission to select some state for colonization, with a view to securing control, political and otherwise, but this mandatory duty had been totally disregarded, and instead of this all kinds of schemes were proposed and abandoned, and absolutely nothing accomplished. There was undoubtedly a radical departure from the original design to decide on a state and colonize it, to secure political control; and on the lines followed by the commission, which the convention was determined to continue, failure and ruin are, we are convinced, inevitable, as time will demonstrate.

From time to time the commission reported in the columns of the Social Democrat that they were on the eve of launching great enterprises, raising the hopes of members to the highest pitch, and as nothing materialized from these glowing promises, the disappointment and dissatisfaction of delegates were intense, and when the reports of the commission showed that almost \$2,500 had been received and spent, and that there was nothing tangible to show for it, the feeling found expression in bitter opposition.

A third cause of the trouble grew out of the fact that a certain number joined the Social Democracy, avowing their faith in the colonization department, who are not Social Democrats, are opposed to political action and are, in fact, opposed to the fundamental principles of the organization.

Under these circumstances, and realizing that the various elements alluded to were utterly and hopelessly irreconcilable, the undersigned withdrew from the convention at the adjournment of the session of Friday night, 2:30 a. m., and proceeded at once to the Revere House, where it was unanimously decided to organize a new Socialist Party, composed exclusively of Socialists who subscribe to the principles and program of International Socialism.

Comrade Frederic Heath of Wisconsin presided, and Comrade F. G. R. Gordon of New Hampshire acted as secretary. The following proceedings were had:

The platform reported by the majority of the committee in the Uhlich Hall convention was approved.

The name "Social Democratic Party of America" was adopted.

A temporary national committee, composed of delegates from the various cities and states, was chosen.

An address to the membership of the Social Democracy, setting forth the causes which led to the separation, was ordered issued and signed by the undersigned representing the seceding branches. The meeting adjourned at 10 o'clock a. m. to meet again to perfect the organization at Hull House at 10 o'clock a. m. Thus, at the dawn

of a new day, the new organization was born.

The delegates met at Hull House, pursuant to adjournment, Jesse Cox of Illinois in the chair, and William Malloy of Tennessee acting as secretary. The following executive committee was chosen: Jesse Cox, Seymour Stedman, Eugene V. Debs, Victor L. Berger and Frederic Heath. The executive committee was authorized to carefully revise the platform, prepare a suitable constitution and submit the same to the membership for approval by a referendum vote.

The resolutions respecting organized labor, and also the resolutions in memory of Edward Bellamy and Paul Grottkau, adopted by the Uhlich Hall convention, were readopted.

A. S. Edwards of Tennessee was chosen national organizer.

Jacob Wislizenus, representing the Social Democratic Federation, appeared before the body, expressing his approval of the new organization and declaring that he had no doubt the members would ratify the action and ally themselves with the Social Democratic Party at an early day.

(Note: E. V. Debs was prevented by illness from attending the Revere House and Hull House meetings, but was in accord with their object and his name therefore appears with the rest.)

The executive committee deem it advisable to continue headquarters at Chicago for the present. The place for holding the next annual convention will be determined hereafter.

The publication of an official paper will be begun at the earliest possible moment.

The constitution fixes the dues at 25 cents per quarter, payable quarterly in advance, and the first quarter's dues is payable on July 1st; and each branch is requested to send this amount for each member as soon as possible, together with a list of the names and addresses of members.

Herewith is forwarded to each branch a copy of the platform and constitution and in accordance with the action of the meeting held by the withdrawing delegates, each branch is requested to have the same voted on by the members and advise us of the approval or rejection of same as early as possible. It is hoped that the constitution will be promptly approved, even though some defects may be apparent, in order that the organization can be perfected. Such defects as may appear can be remedied later by a referendum vote.

As we are entirely without funds and require office equipment, printing, supplies, etc., we earnestly appeal to each branch and each member to send at once such an amount, however small, as can be spared to meet immediate demands.

The officers of the executive board for the present are as follows:

Chairman—Jesse Cox, 95 Fifth avenue, Chicago.

Secretary—Seymour Stedman.
The temporary national secretary and treasurer is Theodore Debs, and his address is 519 East Sixty-sixth street, and all correspondence and remittances will be addressed to him until otherwise ordered.

Immediately on receipt of this address branches are requested to notify us if they approve our action and are with us in the new organization. Branches deciding to ally themselves with the Social Democratic Party will have charters issued to them and cards of membership issued to their members as soon as these can be provided.

The motto of the Social Democratic Party is pure Socialism and no compromise. The party stands for united political action and proposes to enter the national field this fall by nominating candidates for Congress in every district in which the organization has a foothold. Candidates for municipal and state offices will also be nominated wherever possible and a thorough campaign made for a united Socialist vote throughout the country.

Comrades, we feel that the Social Democratic Party is the party of the American Socialist movement. It stands for International Socialism and appeals for support on its merits as a class-conscious, revolutionary social organization. The convention which resulted in separation has not weakened, but strengthened, the movement. There are no longer warring factions, conflicting elements, but absolute unity and harmony, which are bound to bring success. Every loyal supporter of Socialist principles should promptly come to the front and join the Social Democratic Party of America. Never was the outlook more promising. East, West, North and South comrades are with us and ringing messages of approval cheer us on the course we have taken. There is cause for neither doubt nor despondency. The cause of Socialism has again given evidence that it cannot be side-tracked, that it is a living force in human affairs, and that in due course of time it will abolish the slavery of capitalism and give us the Co-operative Commonwealth.

With Socialist greetings, and awaiting your reply, we subscribe ourselves, Yours fraternally,
James F. Carry of Massachusetts, Margaret Haile of Massachusetts, Anna Ferry Smith, California, Eugene V. Debs, Indiana, Theodore Debs, Indiana, Hugo Miller, Indiana, Sylvester Keller, Illinois, Jesse Cox, Illinois, Seymour Stedman, Illinois, George Koop, Illinois, M. Winchevsky, New York, Louis E. Miller, New York.

- I. A. Hourwich, New York,
- I. Phillips, New York,
- Jos. Barondess, New York,
- Wm. Butcher, New York,
- Samuel Levine, New Jersey,
- G. A. Hoehn, Missouri,
- C. F. Meier, Missouri,
- Mary G. Jones, Missouri,
- Wm. Malloy, Tennessee,
- A. S. Edwards, Tennessee,
- Victor L. Berger, Wisconsin,
- Frederic Heath, Wisconsin,
- Chas. G. Kuhn, Wisconsin,
- George Moerschel, Wisconsin,
- Jacob Hunger, Wisconsin,
- John Doerfler, Wisconsin,
- Oscar Loebel, Wisconsin,
- F. G. R. Gordon, New Hampshire,
- Chas. R. Martin, Ohio,
- W. J. Carberry, Ohio,
- Walter H. Miller, Pennsylvania.

Declaration of Principles.

Adopted by the Social Democratic Party at Chicago, June 11, 1898.

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights.

That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the socially-due share of their product.

That capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system will compel the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must cooperate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

Therefore, the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution, through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social-Democratic Party of America.

The control of Political Power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class conscious fellow workers throughout the civilized world will lead to International Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

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

1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.
2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.
3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water works, gas and electric plants, and all other public utilities.
4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, coal, iron, and all other mines; also of all oil and gas wells.
5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.
6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.
7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.
8. Labor legislation to be made national instead of local, and international where possible.
9. National insurance of working people against accidents and lack of employment and old age.
10. Equal civil and political rights for women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.
11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.
12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned, and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

DEMANDS FOR FARMERS.

The Social Democratic Party of America does not hope for the establishment of social order through the increase of misery, but on the contrary

expects its coming through the determined, united efforts of the workers of both city and country to gain and use the political power to that end. In view of this we adopt the following platform for the purpose of uniting the workers in the country with those in the city:

1. No more public land to be sold, but to be utilized by the United States or the state directly for the public benefit, or leased to farmers in small parcels of not over 640 acres, the state to make strict regulations as to improvement and cultivation. Forests and waterways to be put under direct control of the nation.
2. Construction of grain elevators, magazines and cold storage buildings by the nation, to be used by the farmers at cost.
3. The postal, railroad, telegraph and telephone services to be so united that every post and railroad station shall be also a telegraph and telephone center. Telephone service for farmers, as for residents of cities, to be at cost.
4. A uniform postal rate for the transportation of agricultural products on all railroads.
5. Public credit to be at the disposal of counties and towns for the improvement of roads and soil and for irrigation and drainage.

American Socialism.

Of late we hear a great deal of "American Socialism." This term has by certain people been used as if Socialism in America was something different from Socialism in the old countries. And especially the founding of communistic or co-operative colonies was pointed out to us as being "American Socialism." The discussion about the matter is by no means free from bitterness.

We intend to argue only with the honest know-nothings of Socialism. Such "know-nothingness" is not surprising, because Socialism has been misrepresented and maligned by press, pulpit and politicians so long that even some so-called Socialists who did not study the subject have rather vague and misleading conceptions about it.

But the first requisite for the intelligent discussion of any theme is a clear and accurate knowledge of the subject discussed.

The definition of Socialism, as generally accepted now, is "the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution." This definition is about the same in all countries. It has been accepted by the Socialists of Germany, as well as by those of England, Italy, Holland, Belgium and by most all the socialist groups of France.

Socialism, therefore, means virtually the same thing in all civilized countries, and justly so. For in all civilized countries, be they monarchies or republics, the action of capitalism and competition is nearly the same, and the position of the wage-workers is exactly the same: to wit, the latter depend upon the man with means for an opportunity to work and to live. In all civilized countries, and under whatever form of government, the present system of social production by individual ownership has produced two classes; the propertyless class and the capitalist class. The middle class is fast disappearing in the mill of competition everywhere, and the issue is now, or will be very soon, between the two first classes. These are the conditions in England, in France, in Germany, and, in no small degree, in our own country. Any attempt to obscure this issue between these two classes or to delay its settlement is futile, and all other issues will speedily be absorbed by it in all civilized countries.

The difference is only in the methods of the movement. And naturally the tactics employed by the Socialists in France differ somewhat from the tactics in Germany, or Belgium—but as far as they are Social Democrats they all agree in the necessity of the rule of the people and in the use of the ballot.

It has been said that the founding of communistic colonies is the "American" idea. That is not true. Outside of the colonies of religious sects—the Anglo Saxon mind of former days tending towards religion—not one of the innumerable communistic or co-operative colonies that have been founded and failed in America, even if made up of American membership, was of American origin. Not one. They all were founded upon the ideas of French or German utopian Socialists—notably Fourier, Cabet and Weitling. Of late we had some so-called "Bellamy-Colonies," but Bellamy had no original Socialist ideas. His famous "Looking Backward" simply gave the ideas of modern German scientific Socialists in an utopian form. No colony scheme ever had Bellamy's approval.

Practical efforts to realize communism are not new and they are not especially American. The dawn of history shows a communistic period for all nations. Later Sparta and the monasteries of the Middle Ages give us examples of the communistic form of life. With the beginning of the Reformation and the appearance of capitalism in the history of humanity we also see utopian hotspots and dreamers who invented different kinds of communistic systems and occasionally tried to put them into practice.

All these attempts necessarily failed, because their promoters disregarded

the natural development of human society.

As we mentioned before, history records some communistic organizations which did thrive. But under what conditions?

Since humanity has left its primitive condition all communistic communities that ever existed have not lived by their own labor, but from the labor of others. The Spartan commonwealth, for instance, rested upon the most horrible slavery of the Helotes. The Spartans themselves did not produce, they only consumed. The case of the monasteries of the Middle Ages was similar. The monks or the nuns led a contemplative life—they prayed, begged or taught—but they produced little or nothing, at any rate, never enough to keep the monasteries alive. The serf peasantry took care of the production.

And right here, let us define the difference between Socialism and Communism, and draw the line of demarcation.

Communism proposes the common ownership of the means of consumption, or, in some cases, the means of production and consumption.

Socialism, on the contrary, asks only for the common ownership of the means of production, as made necessary by the modern development of the tool into the machine. Socialism leaves consumption, i. e., the selection and the enjoyment of the means of life to the free will and the taste of the individuals.

Socialism is the child of civilization. Socialism was impossible in former centuries. The modern development of the means of production—manufacturing in the present large scale—has made Socialism possible and necessary. Socialism requires the modern industrial development, i. e., capitalism as a forerunner, which centralizes industry and trade. Socialism would even now be impossible in Turkey, Morocco, Cuba, China, Persia, etc., and even in Russia. But Socialism is rapidly being made possible in Japan.

It is furthermore nonsensical to talk about the "Socialism" of Christ and the early Christians. The early Christians were communists in a similar sense as the monks of the Middle Ages, but they were not Socialists. The early Christians depended upon the contributions of the richer members of the community for a living, and upon the Lord for everything else.

Communism, as we seen in history, implies a smack of barbarism, or of religious fanaticism.

Socialism means a higher civilization by multiplying and making use of all the means of culture of capitalist society.

Communistic colonies, except such as were based upon religious fanaticism, have, so far, never succeeded; most of them only carried on a mock existence paid for by the sympathizers outside. In Brook Farm, Nauvoo, Cheltenham, etc., the colonists, so to say, simply consumed the bread furnished from outside, to which they themselves hardly earned the salt.

The case is very similar in Ruskin. Although the admission to the colony requires the possession of quite a little capital—500 dollars is the price of a share—which naturally excludes almost half of the entire population of the United States, and the very half that needs the relief most, the colony is not self-sustaining. It depends largely upon the capitalist world for assistance and tries to reach it by printing a paper, by selling books, by manufacturing, etc. And although there are constant appeals to the solidarity of the sympathizers, the outlook is far from being promising.

That a general return to such communistic colonies would mean the return to the system of production of a very small scale with all its weakness, waste and barbarism, our colony believers seem to overlook. And they even call this the "American economic movement," while in reality it is the most uneconomic affair imaginable. If the successful foundation of many thousands of such communistic colonies would be possible in this or any other country, then socialism would be impossible.

We would no doubt do the capitalists a great favor if we would relieve them from the sometimes burning care of the unemployed. The trouble is we cannot do it if we try. According to the Ruskin colony idea, it would take fifty million dollars to take care of the 100,000 unemployed of Chicago alone. And New York has at least as many. And how about the other large cities? And the success of the colonies would not be assured even then.

Ruskin and every other co-operative colony must work exactly like a capitalist stock company. The only difference is that the co-operative company will always be at a disadvantage, when compared to the capitalist business enterprise, even when the former has as much capital as the latter. The co-operative undertaking, because it is co-operative, cannot press any surplus value out of its members, and, therefore, its capital will not grow. On the other hand, it has to spend its main strength fighting strong capitalist concerns, while it is just that fight of competition that fixes the prices of the products.

Competition has to disappear ere a general lowering of the cost of production and a general uplifting of the standard of life is possible.

But one colony cannot accomplish that. And one thousand colonies could not accomplish it. In order to accomplish that we must, necessarily,

have control over the entire production.

And that it is easy to regulate successfully the entire production of any branch of industry our trusts have proven to the satisfaction of all.

These trusts accomplish what thousands of cooperative colonies could never accomplish, i. e., the trusts regulate production. The trusts make it possible to have a general lowering of the price of products and a general rise of the standard of living—if the people get hold of them.

The commonwealth could regulate matters even better and more successfully than the trusts, for there are means of power at the command of the commonwealth, which the trusts will never have.

But the main condition of success in this respect is that the productive basis of such a commonwealth must be very large. One state of the Union, for instance, Wisconsin, Kansas or New York, would be insufficient for a Cooperative Commonwealth. None of them could furnish the basis for carrying on production on the largest modern scale even in a single industrial branch—not to speak of all branches—because competition with private enterprises would not cease. For example, it would be impossible to carry on successfully the oil business in Wisconsin in competition with the Standard Oil Company, especially since we have no oil wells in Wisconsin.

It is even questionable whether any one European country, England, France or Germany, for instance—although each of them is called a great power—if standing alone, could furnish a basis for independent cooperative production.

Every one of these countries, not producing cotton and certain minerals of great importance (for instance, Swedish iron, quicksilver, copper, etc), and every one of these countries being unable to support its inhabitants in case of the failure of a single crop, could not be considered a self-sufficing basis for Cooperative Commonwealth.

Of all the civilized countries in the world, probably the United States alone could furnish such a basis, because the people of the United States, even if isolated, could carry on production in the highest degree independent of all other nations, on account of the great size of the country and the wonderful variety of its products.

Under such conditions it is clear that all communistic colony schemes have only the effect of leading people astray from the road to our goal. They only have the effect of getting the minds of the people confused as to our aims. They hinder the progress of our ideas. Colony schemes have a habit of hiding and denying the class struggle, for they by necessity live in the spirit of capitalism, and are even in danger of using the methods of capitalist swindlers. For what are we to call a "Cooperative Gold Mine" started with a capital of \$2,500,000 dollars when the cash on hand is \$33.23, "with liabilities unknown?" Especially, if we consider that the present owner is willing to sell this "Cooperative Commonwealth" for \$5,000 cash and \$95,000 in bonds secured by a mortgage on said Cooperative Commonwealth." Truly, in one sense, this is the first "painfully" American colony scheme we know of; this scheme having the "gold brick" idea about it peculiar to certain Americans. But it is not the kind of Americans we Socialists appeal to.

Our American Socialism is only a branch of International Socialism, as American capitalism is only a branch of international capitalism.

American capitalism differs somewhat in methods from capitalism in Europe, for here it has full sway, not having any remnant of feudalism to combat with. If anything, capitalism here is more reckless of human life and more brutal than in most of the old countries. American Socialism has to take that into consideration, and also the fact that the ballot, if used rightly, forms a far more powerful weapon in this country than in any other.

American Socialism starts out with the "threadbare truism" that our present system divides society into two classes, the "have all" and the "have nothing" class, and that it is the great mass of the people that do all the useful work who belong to the "have nothing" class. Therefore American Socialism is class conscious. This does not mean that the Socialist must hate every capitalist individually, that some should be picked out as "scarecrows," while the economic power and political encroachment of all the others should silently be submitted to. It means that while we understand that every individual capitalist is the result of the present system as much as the wage worker, we still must fight the capitalists as a class, because the producers cannot reasonably expect anything but exploitation from the exploiters as a class.

In short, American Socialism recognizes that the development of capitalist society substitutes tyrannical monopoly by a minority for individual property of the many. But it does not revolt against recognized facts; it bows to them. It does not propose to reascend the current of centuries and return to barbarism—it does not intend to go into the backwoods and start communistic colonies—or to arrest the transformation of humanity

which is going on before our very eyes. On the contrary, it bends to the laws of progress and evolution. And since it is a law of sociologic evolution that with modern civilization all means of production pass from the form of individual property to that of capitalist property and then take the concentrated form of a trust for the benefit of a few—the contention of the American Socialist is this: In the measure that these immense capitalist properties, which dry up and destroy small and individual property, are formed, in that measure social property shall be substituted for capitalist property.

To accomplish this we want to make use of our political liberty and take possession of the public powers. And while this process is going on we also want to lighten the burdens on the shoulders of the wage workers and producers in general by constantly agitating, enacting and enforcing laws in their favor, so as to strengthen their power of resistance in the great struggle. [This has been done in such a wonderful degree in Germany during the past fifteen years, that the physical well-being of the wage workers of the industrial districts has been improving greatly. Formerly the country districts used to send most of the men fit for military service, the

the purpose of the Social Democratic Party of America.

VICTOR L. BERGER.

OBSTACLES IN THE WAY.

In the United States the independent political labor or Socialist movement encounters certain obstacles not met with in other countries. Among these is the spoil system in politics. In the city of Chicago, for example, there are said to be some 20,000 jobs, big and little, which are in the gift of the successful politicians. The civil service law has lessened the politician's patronage to a slight extent only; and for this reason it has so excited their ire and opposition that the law is likely to be greatly modified, if not entirely repealed.

The politicians of both dominant parties, before an election, promise these jobs to those that work for them, as the price of their support. Republicans promise each job to at least two or three more men, and Democrats do the same. Thus, there are probably eighty thousand voters to whom jobs under the city are promised before each municipal election. Most of these eighty thousand men

the old-time politician, the political job hunter and the opponent of independent political action, honest or dishonest.

Great as are the obstacles in its path, the Social Democratic Party has set about resolutely to overcome them. It relies upon the development of social and economic conditions to force the truth into the minds of the people. Of the 80,000 people who are promised jobs at each municipal election, 60,000 must be disappointed, since there are but 20,000 jobs to be given out. Sooner or later these men will learn that their real hope of honorable and well rewarded employment lies not in the deceitful promises of lying politicians, but in the political movement of the working class, which has for its object to give to each and every one a job; not a temporary one depending upon the uncertain whim of some scurvy politician; but a permanent one with easy hours and full pay—pay limited only by the amount of wealth that each can produce with the best machinery and perfect industrial organization.

Branch 1, St. Louis, met Friday evening and after much discussion decided by fourteen votes against one to

Lily Truelove's Greetings

(Continued from page 1.)

though I shall always prefer a clear scientific platform in concise form. Such little defects as these can easily be remedied. When our new organization is in working order we may have an intelligent platform discussion in the columns of our Socialist papers. It is only by free, general discussion that we find out the mistakes and defects.

Indeed, I am well pleased with the outcome of the Uhlich's Hall convention, and I see a bright future for the Social Democratic Party of America, at the same time being fully aware of the great and hard work we have before us. No success without hard work and sacrifice. Greetings to all our comrades and friends throughout the country. Onward in the noble fight for labor's emancipation and true human freedom.

Yes, "Gene" has to take a few weeks rest to regain his health. You will soon hear from him again. In his last letter he writes me: "The more I think of the outcome at Chicago the more I am satisfied that the wisest counsels prevailed. I am going to try to get in shape for the greater work ahead, the very thought of which arouses all my energy and ambition. I am full of faith in the future. The new party will blaze the way to victory. The noble people we met at Chicago linger with me still."

Sound economic principles are the rock on which the Social Democratic Party will be built. In order to lead the American proletariat to victory we need men and women with clear intelligence and noble hearts in our organization. Our representative comrades, such as organizers, agitators, etc., must above all understand Socialism and the aims and objects of the Socialist and labor movement. No agitator can clear the minds of the people as long as he himself is a confusionist.

Comrade Sincere, I assure you that you will always find me in the battle for Socialism, no matter how bright or dark the outlook may be. My best wishes to all our good comrades.

LILY TRUELOVE.

IS DEBS WITH US?

"The more I think of the outcome at Chicago the more I am convinced that the wisest counsels prevailed. I am going to try and get in shape for the greater work ahead, the very thought of which arouses all my energy and ambition. I am full of faith in the future. The new party will blaze the way to victory. The noble people we met at Chicago linger with me still."—Comrade Eugene V. Debs in a letter to Comrade Hoehn.

factory districts never being able to fill their quota. This is rapidly changing on account of the many laws for the protection of workmen. The industrial districts not only fill their quota now, but are ahead of most rural districts.]

American Socialism means to support the true economic movement of the American wage workers, the trades union movement, this being at the present time the only weapon of the wage worker outside of the ballot. American Socialists do not propose to run away from the capitalists; they intend to stay right in the battle and compel capitalist society to take care of the unemployed and of the aged and invalids of labor. They intend to raise their voice and votes against the exploitation of children, mothers and unborn babes. These and a great many other duties, which fall upon them with the present civilization. American Socialists will try to perform before the Cooperative Commonwealth is reached. But they do not intend to compete with capitalist "promoters" in selling bonds for nebulous "gold mines." American Socialists will fight open and above board everywhere and fight all capitalist parties alike. They cannot and will not assist capitalist politicians of one color in one state and of the other color in another state. In short, American Socialists will be simply Socialists, and nothing else.

And to gather and unite under its banner such American Socialists is

have some influence and get their friends to vote for their candidate in order to help them to a job. Relatives and friends are thus brought to vote for certain candidates entirely regardless of the principles the candidates are supposed to represent. The effect is tremendous. All regard to political principles, all desire to better conditions by reforms, is thus swallowed up in the struggle for political jobs. Poor men are especially open to such influences. And it is to poor men that the Socialist movement must look chiefly for support.

This state of things brings treason to the camp of the independent political movement. Men who have no influence with the dominant parties come into the independent party and become active and prominent in it in order to prove to the old line politicians that they can influence votes; and then they forthwith sell their supposed influence to the politicians upon the promise of jobs. This, indeed, was the stronghold of the People's Party politician. He used his party as a club to enable him to get the Democrats to open a way for him to the pie counter. The Chicago city hall has in it many of these Judases.

The Social Democratic Party has purified itself of all such traders. It has withdrawn from the old Social Democracy and left to it the heritage of the city hall politician, as well as the anarchist and the colonization scandal. It has adopted a Socialist political platform too narrow to hold

withdraw from the S. D. of A. Further action in regard to S. D. P. of A. was postponed until arrival of constitution.

On June 15 the Executive Board met at the home of Comrade Eugene Dietzgen to editorially revise the platform and draft a constitution as instructed by Hull House meeting. Besides the members of the board Comrades Smith of California, Hoehn and Jones of Missouri, Theo. Debs, Keleher and Scherzgen were present. Illness has prevented the attendance of Comrade Eugene V. Debs at the previous meetings, but his enthusiastic approval of the action taken showed his appreciation of the courage and generalship that gave birth to the Social Democratic Party.

The Appeal to Reason, which has done valiant work for Socialism, supports the Social Democratic Party and prints the address in last week's paper. The Appeal is 25 cents a year and should be in the homes of all comrades.

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