An Address to Labor

Come, brothers, let us reason together and face the facts. The truth will make us free.

Working men and women of the United States, the Socialist party asks you to choose between the parties of your masters and the party of workers. Make that choice in accordance with your interests and the teachings of experience.

You are called upon to choose between candidates and parties, but in reality you will choose between your servants and your masters. If you are satisfied with your lot—meager wages, long hours, uncertainty of employment, insecurity for the future—then, for the present, the Socialist party must leave you clinging to your chains and helping to rivet the shackles on men who would be free, but if you ask more for yourself the Socialist party asks you to join them in securing a larger life for all.

You have the ballot—what are you going to do with it?

It is the wonder-working tool of the modern world. By it you decide who shall make laws and enforce them, whether judge and legislator shall aid in freeing you or help to enslave you. In the past you have voted to uphold your prejudices instead of your interests. The strike and the lockout, the militia and the injunction, low wages and high prices have been your teachers; your ballot will show what you have learned.

Your labor creates all the wealth of the industrial world; your ballot decides what class shall enjoy it. You have the power to push the kings of industry from their throne—a throne that rests on the unpaid labor of your class. You have the power to give the fruits of labor to its creators, the industrious instead of the cunning. Will you use it?

You have the power to remove the cause of war and want, of waste and shame—the capitalist system. Will you exercise it? Your class is the only one that dares to ask for justice, the social value of your labor, you are the only class strong enough to take it. If you continue to suffer the hardships of poverty, though surrounded by the abundance your labor has created, it is because you have not the intelligence and courage to solve the problem of distributing wealth as you have its production.

That problem will never be solved by your industrial masters. It is up to you.

The Socialist party has an answer to this problem—the only party that has. The Socialists know that the capitalist class is rich because they own
the things that all must use in order to live. The working class is poor because they get but a small part of the value of their product in wages. We have panics because the workers cannot buy back nor the shirkers waste the goods that labor has produced. The Socialists know, too, that political parties serve economic interests, and a party that is financed by the capitalists will never serve the worker's interest. He must have a party of his own.

Private ownership of the means of life stands between the worker and his enjoyment of nature's riches and the achievements of civilization. It is necessary that food should be distributed cheaply, as well as letters and newspapers; the schoolroom should be open to every child and employment to every worker. We have found it necessary to attempt the regulation of the railroads and other public utilities. It has not been successful because effective control is impossible without ownership. Some restraints have been thrown around employment in mines and workshops. Why? Because men realize that the health, life and limb of the workers are valuable assets of society, and that corporations, while carefully guarding their own property, are constantly infringing upon others. They are persistent law-breakers, and even when obeying the laws are a menace to the general welfare because their interests conflict with it.

Whenever the people in their own defense find it necessary to control a corporation, it is time for them to take over the franchise and make that control effective. With public ownership of the things we collectively use, operated in the interest of all the people, there would be no overwork and no problem of the unemployed. Until that happy time it is the first duty of municipality, state and nation to furnish employment to every jobless applicant.

We do not seek to divide up railways and workshops any more than you would divide up schoolhouses and postoffices.

This is a struggle between classes. Our appeal is upon the basis of your membership in the working class, that you perform useful services to society with hand or brain. You may not like the idea of classes in society; we are banded together to destroy the evil fact.

TRADE UNIONS

The Socialist party makes its appeal to every toiler. That appeal should come with irresistible force to every organized worker. Every union is at least a tacit recognition of the class struggle, positive proof of the conflicting interests of the employer and employe.

In those conflicts the Socialist party has never hesitated. The full weight of its power and influence has been given to the worker. The members of the Socialist party were not simply your fair-weather friends, Mr. Striker. They were your conscious self, speaking the things you dared not utter, voicing your hopes, defending your title to the wealth your labor had created. You are bone of our bone. No matter how you criticised or voted, when you engaged in battle it was our fight.

You asked a larger part of your product—we demanded all of it.
Your fight is a part of ours—you were the pioneers in the struggle.

The struggle over the division of labor’s product goes on where that wealth is created, in mine and mill, on the railways and in the workshop. Each advance in the processes of production lessens labor’s part of the product, widens the gulf between the owner of the tool and its user and intensifies the conflict.

The Socialists point out those facts. Our theories were woven out of the life of the working class. You would never be satisfied as long as an idler took part of your product. We point to that as your goal—the full social value of your services to society; you cannot get more, you should not receive less.

The struggle will continue as long as one class owns things another must use. We strike at the heart of the system that produces strikes, lock-outs and bull pens when we vote the Socialist ticket. We seek to unite all men at the ballot-box for the emancipation of the working-class as you seek to unite all the men of your trade or industry for the improvement of conditions.

The reason for our partial failure was and is the same as yours—there were too many workers who, through ignorance, took the side of the master-class against their fellows.

The only remedy for you and for us is education. You never knew a workingman who understood Socialism who was not a Socialist. A cause based upon the interests of every useful member of society, depending only upon knowledge for its advancement is invincible.

Your unions are the arms of the class-struggle. We recognize that in a very practical way when we advise our members to join the union of their trade or industry. The union is a school where some of life’s greatest lessons are taught. They develop solidarity as nothing else can. Their battles for a shorter workday, against the white-slaver and child labor, among other things, entitles them to the gratitude of every lover of his kind. But their front is always menaced until their demands are crystallized into law.

How often in your struggles you have seen victory turned into defeat when the sword of the state was thrown in the wavering scale on the side of the employer’s gold—and you had the bitter knowledge that your vote had helped to raise a corporate servant to place, entrust him with power and he used that power as mayor, governor, president or judge to break your union and defeat your efforts.

Through years we have hailed you as brother and comrade. What are you going to do with our plea? What are you going to do with your ballot? We have battled with and for you in the strike, protested against bull pens, injunctions and the use of the police and militia. When your leaders stood in the shadow of the scaffold it was the voice of the Socialist that aroused the conscience of the nation, and when you cried out under oppression it was the Socialist press that took up your cry and sent it around the world.

Where do you stand?

Socialist theories were born of the struggle between contending forces. The Socialist did not put the capitalist on the worker’s back, but they found
him there. The Socialists had no part in putting the means of life in the hands of one class and stripping the other of everything except the power to labor. They did not call armies into existence, provide for the militia, erect prisons, nor did they propose the establishment of the bull-pen or initiate the writ of injunction, but they found the capitalists using these gentle means to subjugate the worker when flattery and deceit could no longer blind him. We found it and we named it WAR, the class-war, the struggle of the workers for bread, for life, whose other name is freedom.

We traced the red line that runs through all countries and races of the civilized world, that separates mankind into two classes on the basis of the manner in which they get their living, one by owning things, the other by doing things. Nature placed us in the ranks of the disinherited where we must battle like men in the arena of thought, or miserably perish like slaves unworthy of even their chains.

We see the capitalists holding the land, including the mines, forests, oil fields, etc., nature's gifts to the race, together with the railroads and telegraphs, smelters, mills and workshops, the whole great creation of labor's hand and brain, that takes nature's raw material, fits it for use, brings it to your fireside and sends thought around the world. The owners of these are the capitalist class of the nation and they are linked by the bonds of common interests with the capitalist class of the world.

You who have pushed the frontier into the Pacific, built the cities, constructed the railroads, developed the mines, toiled in the workshops, who invented and operate the machinery of industry, you are the working class, crushed by the weight of your creation, urged on by wants you cannot supply, guided by the seers of science and inspired by poets, your handclasp girdles the globe and your hope speaks in every tongue. No longer silent, you voice the wrongs the toiler has suffered; you know the evil method by which the few have ever robbed the many—it lies in one word—"ownership." The few owned the body of the slave, the land of the serf, the land and tools of the modern worker. We trace the course of the toiler from slave to serf, from serf to wage worker, from wage worker to freeman. Once the victim and the slave of economic forces, now the student and master of those forces, waiting for but your support to decree the end of slavery and the birth of freedom. That is the path of evolution, that is the course of destiny.

You stand face to face with the cause of all your wrongs—the capitalist system—as the slave confronted his master, but there are ages between the two. Slave and master were each a necessary part of that system. The master had a work to do—the supervision and direction of industry. The capitalist has none; he has turned it over to hired men. The slave was helpless. He could only choose between hopeless submission and blind revolt. You need but education and organization to make any change you see fit.

When a man's work is done, the grave soon claims him; when a class has no useful function to perform, it passes away. By that sure sign we read the doom of the capitalist and the system for which he stands.

The capitalist is a hindrance to progress. Wherever men ask for a reduction of hours and an increase in wages that they may live like men—wherever women ask a wage sufficient to protect them from shame—wher-
ever children cry for the joy of childhood's carefree hours—there the capitalist interposes his god-profits. Wherever the vultures hover above the battlefields, wherever the white slaver holds his victim, in the mine-explosion and the railway-wreck, wherever votes are bought and honor is sold, there you will find the capitalists pursuing profits and mocking at human grief and misery.

The capitalist exists but for himself—the worker lives for the race.

Show me a country's laws and I will tell you the condition of her people, said a statesman. You know the shameful conditions you have suffered under them. Who wrote and interpreted and enforced those laws responsible for the conditions? Republican and Democratic politicians. Who supplied the funds to carry on campaigns, subsidize the press and buy thousands of votes. Read the partial list of partial contributions to the campaign funds of 1904 and 1908; heading the lists the officers of corporations employing thousands of men and whose operations affect every inhabitant. Those officers are shrewd men; they make dollars breed rapidly. What did they get for their contribution? They got the laws enacted that they wished; they kept laws from being enacted in the people's interest; they secured immunity from punishment for violations of law, they got value received many times over, and the people paid the bill.

No party can rise above the source of its campaign contributions.

The Socialist party's fund comes from the dues of its members and their voluntary contributions—from pennies up. No corporation ever contributed a cent to its campaign fund—it would not be received if they did.

The Socialist party has but one class to serve—the workers. It makes no appeal but to them. Likewise the other parties have but one class to serve—the capitalist class; but to serve them they must deceive and betray the workers.

Every dues paying member is a stockholder in the Socialist party, and has a vote on every question. No man counts more than one—compare that with the boss-ridden old parties.

In the growth and development of the trusts, the Socialists see the march of industrial evolution. They are aware of the evils in their train, but the evils exist because they serve the interests of the few instead of all. You might as well attempt to turn back the tides as to stay the march of industrial evolution. Combination has displaced competition in finance and industry, because peace is more productive than war. The trusts of today are the natural outgrowths of competition. The successful competitors became monopolists; they are the survival of the fittest. They are conquerors whose appearance signifies the end of conquest. The trust is a great organized machine, using social wealth, the accumulated resources of labor and inventive genius to provide for the needs of mankind. To that extent it is social and beneficent. It makes planful production possible. The trusts are anti-social in the fact that they are privately owned. The economies which they effect go into the pockets of the stockholders instead of enabling the people to satisfy their wants with less effort. They are above the law, a constant menace to free government, a corrupting influence everywhere, lengthening the hours of labor, enforcing low wages and exacting exorbitant prices to the end that profits may be as large as possible. The
trust magnates have become industrial Caesars—they are the real rulers of the land. Political liberty cannot exist with industrial despotism. To fine them is but to increase the price of their product; to imprison their officers does not remedy the evil. They have done their part of the work, with society's aid, in perfecting the machinery of production and distribution. That machinery is as essential to human welfare as the steam engine or dynamo—it's only evil lies in the fact that it is privately owned. Substitute public ownership for private ownership and its baleful, corrupting influences would disappear; its oppressions cease. It would become a public servant instead of a heartless master.

Political parties represent the interests of economic classes. Ever since the civil war the Republican party has been the spokesman of the great capitalist interests. Through land grants and subsidies to the railways, tariffs and special privileges to all able to pay for them, they have plundered the people to enrich the corporations. They have given official sanction to the will of corporations. They have proven how a class may be benefited by the exercise of government power. They have hastened the process of industrial evolution by accelerating the concentration of wealth and made it difficult for the man engaged in the work of getting a living to keep step with the changing conditions.

The Democratic party has been the party of protest, not against the great wrongs which the farmer and wage-worker suffered, but against the great capitalist who was crowding his little competitor to the wall and forcing him into the ranks of the workers. Their minds and policies hark back to the days of the flail and the stage coach. Their leaders have bidden eagerly for the support of the capitalists, but they have been unable to deliver the goods.

The so-called progressives of each party represent those who are not yet so drunken with power but that they can hear the cries of the hungry, feel the unrest and see the injustice of present conditions.

They would concede a little that they might keep all. Their entire contribution consists in advocating a few of the tools of popular government, such as the initiative, referendum and right to recall. These have long been in use in the Socialist party. The conversion of most of the progressives to these measures is very recent. You might have more faith in the sincerity of the Progressives if the voice of the boss was not so loud in their councils and the support of corporation gold so evident. The capitalists propose to dominate it as they have the parties from which it sprung. The Progressive party is convincing proof of the growing power of the Socialist movement and a study of its methods and leaders will show how futile its performance must be.

Judge parties, their leaders and promises in the light of your experience. What change of heart has Roosevelt experienced since he classed Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone along with Harriman as "undesirable citizens," since he aided in consummating the Alton steal and helped the steel trust to swallow the Tennessee Coal & Iron Co. What vision of popular rights since he denounced the provision for the recall of judges in Arizona's constitution? Taft—but who considers him save as the blundering servant of corporate privileges, with a mind enmeshed in legal technicalities and a
heart dead to labor's agonies. Wilson—he has written some history; labor finds much to condemn and nothing to commend in his ponderous volumes. He has been at the making of history while governor of New Jersey. His conduct in the strikes at Franklin Furnace, Passaic and Perth Amboy show that labor has nothing to hope for from him. He is another man whose convictions are not so strong as his love of office, a recent convert to popular government.

Debs belongs to and fights with the working class. Its griefs, tragedies and victories are his. The veteran of more than twenty years of struggle, he has been the voice of the silent, a splendid prophecy of a comrade-world; he is not bidding for votes; he is breaking chains. Whether you recognize it or not, he is your candidate.

How long have workingmen appeared before platform committees and begged at the door of Congress and legislatures, spurned like a beggar?

How often must such performance be repeated?

What have they given that they did not first take?

You cannot distinguish between the old parties. They have been equally pernicious and cruel. Starvation stalks among the textile workers of Massachusetts and the Carolinas alike. The rifles of the militia speak for the coal barons in the same way, whether in Republican Pennsylvania or Democratic Alabama. Labor outraged under a Democratic administration in Chicago and a Republican one in Colorado.

Republican and Democrat serve the same master and renew their promises only to continue their betrayal.

To the fullest extent of their power the Socialist party has protected and advanced the interests of workingmen from the city council to the halls of Congress, our only weakness has been lack of numbers. You can remedy that.

The Socialist party expects the determined opposition of all who grow rich through others' toil. It is entitled to the support of all who suffer from that wrong.

Against the organized forces of greed the Socialist party is uniting the ranks of labor. It knows no sex, nor race nor creed. There can be no truce in this war and but one result in the struggle between combined dollars and united men—the triumph of the workers.

We do not offer place and power, only a chance to battle for freedom. The lines are advancing, the ranks are forming—fall in.

Hear the slogan of the advancing hosts: "Workers of the world unite, you have nothing but your chains to lose, you have a world to gain."

Issued by National Campaign Committee Socialist party.

J. MAHLON BARNES
Campaign Manager

111 N. Market St. - - Chicago, Ill.
## SOCIALIST PAPERS

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Labor Organizations, and Their Relation to the Socialist Party

Unanimously Adopted by the Delegates of the Socialist Party, in Convention Assembled, at Indianapolis, Ind., May 16, 1912

Political organization and economic organization are alike necessary in the struggle for working class emancipation. The most harmonious relations ought to exist between the two great forces of the working class movement—the Socialist party and the Labor Unions.

The labor movement of the United States has of recent years made marvelous progress in all directions. It has steadily increased in numbers and has reached trades and industries which were before unorganized. It has in many instances concentrated its power and increased its efficiency by the amalgamation of related trades into federations and industrial unions. Many unions have opened their meetings and journals to the discussion of vital social and political problems of the working class, and have repudiated the demoralizing policies represented by the National Civic Federation. The organized workers are rapidly developing an enlightened and militant class-consciousness.

The reality of this progress is attested by the increasing virulence with which the organized capitalists wage their war against the union. This improved economic organization is not a matter of abstract theory, but grows out of the experience of the wage workers in the daily class struggle. Only those actually engaged in the struggle in the various trades and industries can solve the problems of form of organization.

The Socialist party therefore reaffirms the position it has always taken with regard to the movement of organized labor:

1. That the party has neither the right nor the desire to interfere in any controversies which may exist within the labor union movement over questions of form of organization or technical methods of action in the industrial struggle, but trusts to the labor organizations themselves to solve these questions.

2. That the Socialists call the attention of their brothers in the labor unions to the vital importance of the task of organizing the unorganized, especially the immigrants and the unskilled laborers, who stand in greatest need of organized protection and who will constitute a great menace to the progress and welfare of organized labor, if they remain neglected. The Socialist party will ever be ready to co-operate with the labor unions in the task of organizing the unorganized workers, and urges all labor organizations, who have not already done so, to throw their doors wide open to the workers of their respective trades and industries, abolishing all onerous
conditions of membership and artificial restrictions. In the face of the tremendous powers of the American capitalists and their close industrial and political union the workers of this country can win their battles only by a strong class-consciousness and closely united organizations on the economic field, a powerful and militant party on the political field and by joint attack of both on the common enemy.

3. That it is the duty of the Party to give moral and material support to the labor organizations in all their defensive or aggressive struggles against capitalist oppression and exploitation, for the protection and extension of the rights of the wage workers and the betterment of their material and social condition.

4. That it is the duty of the members of the Socialist party who are eligible to membership in the unions to join and be active in their respective labor organizations.

OUR RISING DISCONTENT.

When have strikes and political upheavals been so numerous as in these boasted years of prosperity? Never. Why do workers strike? Because they have not produced enough? No. The fight is over the things that have been produced. The workers realize that the markets have been stocked with their surplus product; that their impaired economic condition is the result of having produced too much. Paradoxical, but true.

“Well,” you say, “that explains why they strike. What has that to do with political upheavals?”

This. Man is by training a peaceful individual. He is endeavoring to find a peaceful solution for his economic problem. Strikes cannot be avoided. But he understands that no relief comes through capitalist-made laws. When he goes on strike the political powers are beating him on the head. He then reasons thus: “That policeman that beats me on the head was appointed by the mayor I voted for. I'll never vote for him again.”

In the next strike the judge whom he supported with his vote issues an injunction against him, or the governor has sent the militia that breaks his strike. Again he resolves to change his ballot. He realizes, slowly but surely, that this is a class government; that what the Socialists say about voting and striking with his class will help his economic condition. He may not know the solution, but here is where his knowledge begins.

America’s discontent is the agitator, the Socialist literature is the educator, and the Socialist movement is the organizer, whose activity will not cease until the economic and political powers rest with the producers of the world’s wealth.

SOCIALIST LYCEUM COURSE.

Sixty of the best Socialist speakers in America are working out a Course of five Lyceum Lectures. These five lectures will be given in over 1,000 cities this season. They will be the best, the most authoritative, the most interesting lectures on Socialism ever delivered. If you would know the Socialist movement and the secret of its power, attend this Lyceum Course. Ask any Socialist about the plan for a free ticket as a premium with a small purchase of Socialist literature, or address Socialist Party, Lyceum Department, Chicago.
Socialist Party Platform

Adopted by National Convention, at Indianapolis, Indiana, May, 1912, and by Membership Referendum August 4, 1912

The Socialist party declares that the capitalist system has outgrown its historical function, and has become utterly incapable of meeting the problems now confronting society. We denounce this outgrown system as incompetent and corrupt and the source of unspeakable misery and suffering to the whole working class.

Under this system the industrial equipment of the nation has passed into the absolute control of plutocracy, which exacts an annual tribute of hundreds of millions of dollars from the producers. Unafraid of any organized resistance, it stretches out its greedy hands over the still undeveloped resources of the nation—the land, the mines, the forests and water-powers of every state in the union.

In spite of the multiplication of labor-saving machines and improved methods in industry, which cheapen the cost of production, the share of the producers grows ever less, and the prices of all the necessities of life steadily increase. The boasted prosperity of this nation is for the owning class alone. To the rest it means only greater hardship and misery. The high cost of living is felt in every home. Millions of wage-workers have seen the purchasing power of their wages decrease until life has become a desperate battle for mere existence.

Multitudes of unemployed walk the streets of our cities or trudge from state to state awaiting the will of the masters to move the wheels of industry.

The farmers in every state are plundered by the increasing prices exacted for tools and machinery and by extortionate rent, freight rates and storage charges.

Capitalist concentration is mercilessly crushing the class of small business men and driving its members into the ranks of propertyless wage-workers. The overwhelming majority of the people of America are being forced under a yoke of bondage by this soulless industrial despotism.

It is this capitalist system that is responsible for the increasing burden of armaments, the poverty, slums, child labor, most of the insanity, crime and prostitution, and much of the disease that afflicts mankind.

Under this system the working class is exposed to poisonous conditions, to frightful and needless perils to life and limb, is walled around with court decisions, injunctions and unjust laws, and is preyed upon incessantly for the benefit of the controlling oligarchy of wealth. Under it also, the children of the working class are doomed to ignorance, drudging toil and darkened lives.

In the face of these evils, so manifest that all thoughtful observers are appalled at them, the legislative representatives of the Republican and Democratic parties remain the faithful servants of the oppressors. Measures designed to secure to the wage earners of this nation as humane and just treatment as is already enjoyed by the wage earners of all other civilized nations have been smothered in committee without debate, and laws ostensibly designed to bring relief to the farmers and general consumers are juggled and transformed into instruments for the exaction of further tribute. The growing unrest under oppression has driven these two old parties to the enactment of a variety of regulative measures, none of which has limited in any appreciable degree the power of the plutocracy, and some of which have been perverted into means for increasing that power. Anti-trust laws, railroad
restrictions and regulations, with the prosecutions, indictments and investigations based upon such legislation, have proved to be utterly futile and ridiculous.

Nor has this plutocracy been seriously restrained or even threatened by any Republican or Democratic executive. It has continued to grow in power and insolence alike under the administrations of Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft.

In addition to this legislative juggling and this executive connivance, the courts of America have sanctioned and strengthened the hold of this plutocracy as the Dred Scott and other decisions strengthened the slave-power before the civil war. They have been used as instruments for the oppression of the working class and for the suppression of free speech and free assembly.

We declare, therefore, that the longer sufferance of these conditions is impossible, and we purpose to end them all. We declare them to be the product of the present system in which industry is carried on for private greed, instead of for the welfare of society. We declare, furthermore, that for these evils there will be and can be no remedy and no substantial relief except through Socialism, under which industry will be carried on for the common good and every worker will receive the full social value of the wealth he creates.

Society is divided into warring groups and classes, based upon material interests. Fundamentally, this struggle is a conflict between the two main classes, one of which, the capitalist class, owns the means of production, and the other, the working class, must use these means of production on terms dictated by the owners.

The capitalist class, though few in numbers, absolutely controls the government—legislative, executive and judicial. This class owns the machinery of gathering and disseminating news through its organized press. It subsidizes seats of learning—the colleges and schools—and even religious and moral agencies. It has also the added prestige which established customs give to any order of society, right or wrong.

The working class, which includes all those who are forced to work for a living, whether by hand or brain, in shop, mine or on the soil, vastly outnumbers the capitalist class. Lacking effective organization and class solidarity, this class is unable to enforce its will. Given such class solidarity and effective organization, the workers will have the power to make all laws and control all industry in their own interest.

All political parties are the expression of economic class interests. All other parties than the Socialist party represent one or another group of the ruling capitalist class. Their political conflicts reflect merely superficial rivalries between competing capitalist groups. However they result, these conflicts have no issue of real value to the workers. Whether the Democrats or Republicans win politically, it is the capitalist class that is victorious economically.

The Socialist party is the political expression of the economic interests of the workers. Its defeats have been their defeats and its victories their victories. It is a party founded on the science and laws of social development. It proposes that, since all social necessities today are socially produced, the means of their production and distribution shall be socially owned and democratically controlled.

In the face of the economic and political aggressions of the capitalist class, the only reliance left the workers is that of their economic organizations and their political power. By the intelligent and class-conscious use of these, they may resist successfully the capitalist class, break the fetters of wage-slavery, and fit themselves for the future society, which is to displace the capitalist system. The Socialist party appreciates the full significance of class organization and urges the wage earners, the working farmers and all other useful workers everywhere to organize for economic and political action, and we pledge ourselves to support the toilers of the fields as well as those in the shops, factories and mines of the nation in their struggles for economic justice.

In the defeat or victory of the working class party in this new struggle for freedom lies the defeat or triumph of the common people of all economic groups, as well as the failure or triumph of popular government. Thus the Socialist party is the party of the present day revolution, which marks the transition from economic individualism to Socialism, from wage slavery to free co-operation, from capitalist oligarchy to industrial democracy.
Working Program.

As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim, the Co-operative Commonwealth, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

Collective Ownership.

1. The collective ownership and democratic management of railroads, wire and wireless telegraphs and telephones, express services, steamboat lines and all other social means of transportation and communication and of all large-scale industries.

2. The immediate acquirement by the municipalities, the states or the federal government of all grain elevators, stock yards, storage warehouses, and other distributing agencies in order to reduce the present extortionate cost of living.

3. The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.

4. The further conservation and development of natural resources for the use and benefit of all the people:
   (a) By scientific forestation and timber protection.
   (b) By the reclamation of arid and swamp tracts.
   (c) By the storage of flood waters and the utilization of water power.
   (d) By the stoppage of the present extravagant waste of the soil and of the products of mines and oil wells.
   (e) By the development of highway and waterway systems.

5. The collective ownership of land wherever practicable, and in cases where such ownership is impracticable, the appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all land held for speculation or exploitation.

6. The collective ownership and democratic management of the banking and currency system.

Unemployment.

The immediate government relief of the unemployed by the extension of all useful public works. All persons employed on such work to be engaged directly by the government under a workday of not more than eight hours and at not less than the prevailing union wages. The government also to establish employment bureaus; to lend money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works, and to take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

Industrial Demands.

The conservation of human resources, particularly of the lives and well-being of the workers and their families:

1. By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.

2. By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.

3. By securing a more effective inspection of workshops, factories and mines.

4. By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.

5. By the co-operative organization of the industries in the federal penitentiaries for the benefit of the convicts and their dependents.

6. By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories and mines.
7. By abolishing the profit system in government work, and substituting either the direct hire of labor or the awarding of contracts to co-operative groups of workers.

8. By establishing minimum wage scales.

9. By abolishing official charity and substituting a non-contributory system of old-age pensions, a general system of insurance by the state of all its members against unemployment and invalidism and a system of compulsory insurance by employers of their workers, without cost to the latter, against industrial diseases, accidents and death.

Political Demands.

1. The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

2. The adoption of a graduated income tax, the increase of the rates of the present corporation tax and the extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the value of the estate and to nearness of kin—the proceeds of these taxes to be employed in the socialization of industry.

3. The abolition of the monopoly ownership of patents and the substitution of collective ownership, with direct rewards to inventors by premiums or royalties.

4. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women.

5. The adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall and of proportional representation, nationally as well as locally.

6. The abolition of the Senate and of the veto power of the President.

7. The election of the President and the Vice-President by direct vote of the people.

8. The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of the legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed only by act of Congress or by a referendum vote of the whole people.

9. The abolition of the present restrictions upon the amendment of the constitution, so that that instrument may be made amendable by a majority of the voters in the country.

10. The granting of the right of suffrage in the District of Columbia with representation in Congress and a democratic form of municipal government for purely local affairs.

11. The extension of democratic government to all United States territory.

12. The enactment of further measures for general education and particularly for vocational education in useful pursuits. The Bureau of Education to be made a department.

13. The enactment of further measures for the conservation of health. The creation of an independent bureau of health, with such restrictions as will secure full liberty to all schools of practice.

14. The separation of the present Bureau of Labor from the Department of Commerce and Labor and its elevation to the rank of a department.

15. Abolition of all federal district courts and the United States Circuit Courts of Appeals. State courts to have jurisdiction in all cases arising between citizens of the several states and foreign corporations. The election of all judges for short terms.

16. The immediate curbing of the power of the courts to issue injunctions.

17. The free administration of the law.

18. The calling of a convention for the revision of the constitution of the United States.

Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of socialized industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.
THE SOCIALIST PARTY

The Socialist Party is an organization of the working class. It is organized primarily for political action. United political action on the part of the workers is not only theoretically sound; it is practically possible. It is the ONE way, and the ballot box is the ONE place where the workers can be united and class solidarity secured under capitalism.

The workers have ONE COMMON INTEREST in abolishing the system by which they are robbed and exploited. The Socialist Party stands for the abolition of this system. It invites to membership all workers without distinction as to sex, race, nationality, occupation or religion.

No political party can represent the master class and the working class at the same time. It cannot represent the exploiter and the exploited, the robber and the robbed. It must represent the one or the other. The Socialist Party represents the working class, and the working class ONLY.

It is therefore entirely dependent upon the working class for financial support. No trust or corporation has ever contributed one penny to its campaign fund and no Act of Congress was required to prevent Morgan, Perkins or Belmont from buying up its candidates by liberal contributions.

Because the party is composed of workingmen and financed by workingmen, it is also controlled by workingmen. While the old parties are TALKING about democracy and PROMISING Direct Legislation, the Socialist Party has provided the Initiative, Referendum and Recall for its own management and has given its women members Equal Suffrage.

Every member of the party has a vote upon every matter of importance to the organization. When the national convention met at Indianapolis and adopted a platform for this campaign, it was NOT the platform of the Socialist Party. Before it was published as the platform of the party it was submitted to referendum vote of the entire membership, section by section, so that every member could vote for those sections which he favored and against those which he opposed. Only those sections which received a majority vote of the membership were retained and published as the official declaration of the party. That is the way the Socialist Party makes its platforms.

THE ORGANIZATION.

The party is organized in "locals." A local is organized in any community when five or more members can be secured. There are nearly five thousand locals in the United States with a total membership of One Hundred and Thirty Thousand. In order to join the party a person makes application to the local in his community upon a printed form furnished for that purpose. The application states that he believes in political action, that he indorses the platform and principles of the Socialist Party and has severed his relations and connections with all other political organizations. The application is placed before the local and he is admitted upon vote of the membership.

All the locals in a state are federated in a State Organization, and the various State Organizations form the National Organization. The National Organization has a National Secretary and a National Executive Committee to manage the affairs and conduct the work of the party. These officers are elected by referendum vote of the entire membership, and can be recalled at any time by a majority of the members voting.

Each member pays monthly dues (usually 25 cents), which is divided between
the local, state and national organizations. The national organization receives five cents a month from each member and with this small amount and voluntary contributions it carries on a nation-wide campaign from one year's end to another.

An Official Bulletin is published monthly, showing where every dollar came from and for what it was expended. This is not a new practice since "Publicity of Campaign Contributions" became an issue, but has been the custom of the Socialist Party since its organization, twelve years ago.

For the present campaign a National Campaign Committee was elected for the express purpose of raising funds and managing the campaign. It was early decided to make this campaign principally with literature, appealing to the intelligence and the calm judgment of the working class for their support. Millions of different leaflets and pamphlets have been printed and distributed free of cost. This is one of them, and there are a dozen others explaining different points of interest in regard to the Socialist Party and the party's principles.

This pamphlet was printed by the National Campaign Committee and given free to the local organizations in any quantity desired, from one to a hundred thousand, the local paying the freight or express charges on the shipment.

It was handed to you at a meeting of your union or at a Socialist speaking perhaps. More likely you found it in your letter box or on your doorstep this morning. It was placed there by a member of the local, who distributed them from house to house under the direction of the local organization. At the same time other workers were distributing them in other blocks and wards, and if our organization is strong enough one of them was left at every residence in your city.

This systematic, house-to-house distribution of literature requires an immense amount of work and would cost any other political party hundreds of thousands of dollars. It costs the Socialist Party nothing. The distributing is done by members of the organization, whose only reward is the consciousness of serving the party of their class and hastening the day of their emancipation.

They are workingmen and women who contribute dimes and quarters out of their small earnings to print this literature for your education. They spend hours at night after a hard day's labor, or on their only day of rest, distributing it from house to house and placing it in the hands of you and your fellow-workers. They are CLASS-CONSCIOUS. They have found the way of emancipation for themselves and their posterity. But they are helpless, they cannot inaugurate the new order without YOUR assistance. It is necessary to get a majority of the workers to unite politically and strike at the ballot box for the emancipation of their class.

You are one of these workers. You have felt the grind of poverty and the pitiless struggle for existence that the masters force upon you in a land of plenty. Perhaps you have already realized the injustice of the system and are seeking a way of escape. The way is here.

Join with these fellow-workers in the Socialist Party. Contribute just a little of your time, your money and your energy to assist in this great battle. Don't shirk your duty and throw the whole burden upon the backs of the faithful few. As they have labored to convince you, so you should labor to convince others.

The campaign is still in progress. Millions more of pamphlets will be needed before the campaign is over. The money comes slowly from the meager earnings of the poor and the organization is handicapped for lack of funds. If you have not done your part this is an invitation to send a contribution to the National Campaign Committee at 111 North Market Street, Chicago, Ill.

But do not stop with making a money contribution. Do not be content with simply voting for the party candidates. If no one did more than this there would be no campaign literature to be distributed, and no one to distribute it; there would be no campaign and no candidates to be voted for. It is only through having a party organization that these things are made possible.

The fact that you receive this pamphlet is proof that there are Socialists in your community, and most likely a local organization.

Get in touch with them. Make an application for membership. Join the Socialist Party and do your share in this great campaign of education that we are making. It is the only party that is honestly financed, that is democratically controlled, that stands for the interests of the workers first, last and all the time. Its success is practically possible.

UNITE AT THE BALLOT BOX AND VICTORY IS OURS.

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