

# ST. LOUIS LABOR

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PHONE: KINLOCH, CENTRAL 1577. NO. 418

## THE MEXICAN PROTEST MEETING

**Mother Jones Addressed an Enthusiastic Audience at Druids Hall—Resolution of Protest Adopted.**

The large hall at the Druids building was crowded with an enthusiastic audience last Sunday afternoon to listen to speeches in behalf of the Mexican political refugees, Sarabia, Magon, Rivera and Villarreal.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the Socialist Party. Comrade L. G. Pope acted as chairman and opened the meeting with a few well-chosen remarks, stating the object and importance of the gathering. He then introduced Comrade Hoehn, who spoke of the revolutionary struggles in recent years throughout the civilized world, also referring to the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone, the Rudowitz-Pouren and Mexican refugees' cases, and closing with a few remarks on the Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison decision.

"Mother" Jones was then introduced, being greeted with hearty applause by the large audience of men and women. The speaker pictured the story of the Mexican Revolutionists in forceful language and gave a striking description of the miserable conditions of labor in Mexico. She pointed out the connection between commercial interests of powerful capitalist corporations of these United States and the political machinery of the government in Mexico. "Mother" Jones then described the kidnaping of Sarabia, his release from the Mexican dungeon, thanks to the governor of Arizona, and the arrest of Magon, Rivera and Villarreal. Incidentally she criticized the efforts of the ruling powers here to Russinize the political institutions of this country.

A collection amounting to \$23.70 was taken up for the Mexican Refugees' Defense Fund.

Chairman Comrade Pope then read the following resolution, which was passed by a unanimous vote:

### Resolution.

"Whereas, Systematic efforts have been made during the last few years, by the governments of Russia and Mexico, to compel Uncle Sam to play the role of the Pinkerton hireling for the benefit of Czar Nicholas and Czar Porfirio Diaz;

"Whereas, The Mexican refugees, Sarabia, Magon, Rivera and Villarreal, have been imprisoned in the United States at the instance of the Mexican government for political reasons, which is in violation of the fundamental laws of our Republic and a disgrace to the memory of the American Revolutionists of 1776; therefore be it

"Resolved, That this mass meeting of citizens enters an emphatic protest against the imprisonment of these Mexican patriots and demands their immediate release;

"Resolved, That copies of this resolution be sent to the United States Senators from Missouri, to the United States Congressmen representing the three St. Louis districts, to President Roosevelt and to the Secretary of State, Hon. Elihu Root."

The comrades were well pleased with the success of the meeting.

## AN APPEAL

**In Behalf of the Mexican Political Refugees.**

Brothers and Comrades:—

At three great national conventions—namely, the American Federation of Labor, the Western Federation of Miners, and the Socialist Party conventions—resolutions were passed espousing the cause of the Mexican patriots and labor leaders imprisoned in a United States jail in Los Angeles, Cal.

For sixteen months these men, Ricardo Flores Magon, Antonio I. Villarreal and Librado Rivera, have been held without trial. They have been denied the right of bail, although ample funds were offered by their friends. They have been held "incommunicado" since July 7 of last year—that is, refused the liberty of seeing their families or friends.

Upon the testimony of an employe of the Furlong Detective Agency of St. Louis, these Mexican political refugees are accused of attempting to set on foot in Arizona an armed expedition to invade Mexico. This the prisoners absolutely deny, proving on the witness stand at their preliminary examination, first, that neither they nor any of their friends possessed weapons to arm such an expedition; and, second, that they were not in the territory of Arizona at the time. (How all this must remind union men of the trial of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone!) In addition, it was shown that the Furlong Detective Agency was in the employ of the Mexican government; that this detective agency had been pursuing Mexican political refugees all over the United States for years, and that these private detectives had already returned to the waiting Mexican soldiery across the border one hundred and sixty political enemies of President Porfirio Diaz.

Why does Diaz want them?

Because in Mexico free speech has been suppressed, the right of ballot has been abolished, and the free organization of trades unions made a crime—sixty-four men, three women and four children were recently shot down at the strike in the Rio Blanco mills by the soldiers of Diaz.

Against all these tyrannies the Mexican political prisoners now in jail in the United States have been fighting for ten years.

They do not deny that they are enemies of Diaz—Diaz, who has succeeded himself as president, by force of arms, seven times.

They do not deny that they advised their compatriots in Mexico to take up arms rather than to be shot down by the rurales of Diaz.

They do not deny that they intend to fight in Mexico for their constitutional rights, if they can obtain them by no other means.

But they do deny the false testimony produced by the paid spies of Diaz—the Furlong Detective Agency of St. Louis.

Many pages could be written upon the atrocities practiced upon the working people of Mexico. Here is a sample:

On the tobacco plantations of Valle Nacional 15,000 slaves are annually purchased for from \$40 to \$50 a head, under the infamous "Contract System." Three-fourths of these miserable beings die in the space of twelve months—a fact acknowledged by the overseers themselves—and the Valle Nacional is but one of the many death-traps of Mexico. Conservative estimate places the annual importation of slaves upon the various plantations of Mexico as not less than 125,000 souls.

But it may be asked, "How does this affect us?"

Your question will be quickly answered by any American miner, for just across the border the Mexican government is compelling the Mexican miners to work for less than half the wages received by the American miner in Arizona, and the mine owners are preparing to use this as a club to beat down wages in the United States. The cheap labor of Mexico is the most threatening problem ever faced by the American wage worker, and Mexican labor will be cheap just as long as President Porfirio Diaz is in power. What did he do when the Mexican miners at Cananea went on strike for higher wages? He sent his general, Kosterlitsky, with a squadron of

rurales, shooting right and left, and drove the Mexican miners back to work. Hundreds were killed in this slaughter.

For protesting, organizing and fighting in Mexico against these things Magon, Villarreal, Rivera and Sarabia are to be tried in Tombstone, Arizona, probably within a few weeks. Neither imprisonments nor threats of death have crushed the spirit of these Mexican patriots. Give them liberty, and the working people of Mexico will rally round them, re-establishing constitutional government and freely organizing their trades unions.

Recognizing these facts, the American Federation of Labor, the Western Federation of Miners and the Socialist Party, in their national conventions, have espoused the cause of the imprisoned Mexican patriots, and with these resolutions as their warrant the Mexicans now call upon you for financial support.

Send all funds for the defense of the Mexican Refugees' Defense to Secretary-Treasurer, Western Federation of Miners, Railroad Building, Denver, Col.

## THE ONLY DAY of REGISTRATION for the Coming MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS will be THURSDAY, FEB. 18

in the Voting Place of Your Precinct.  
Polls Open From 8 a. m. Till 10 p. m.

Don't fail to register, if you have changed your address since last election, or if you are entitled to vote for the first time at the April elections.

**REMEMBER THE DATE!**

## Socialism in a Nutshell By G. Edward Lind.

Socialism is a term with three distinct meanings, as follows: First, a social philosophy; second, an international political movement; third, a future state of society.

Socialism as a philosophy defines the laws of social evolution, which may be summed up in these propositions:

1. The economic organization of society determines the character of its social institutions.
2. Improvements in the methods of wealth production gradually change the economic basis of society and thereby create a new class, which struggles for mastery with the previous ruling class. This is the method of social progress.
3. The chattel slave, serf and the wage worker whose labor applied to the natural resources produced all wealth received as their portion sufficient to feed, clothe and shelter themselves and progeny and all wealth over and above that went to the masters, feudal barons and capitalists. This is the law of surplus value.
4. Labor's only salvation lies in collective ownership and democratic control of the instruments of wealth production, which would guarantee to every worker the full social value of his labor.
5. This ultimate goal is attainable only through independent, class-conscious political action by the working class of the world.

Socialism as a movement is world wide in scope, embracing all the foremost nations in the world. Its ten million adherents are propagating its principles on the platform and in the press in almost every language. Its organization is the largest and best disciplined political organization in the world. Its motto is: "Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to gain."

Socialism as a future state will fulfill the dreams of the ages in that it will be the realization of the universal brotherhood of man. It will be an industrial democracy in which the instruments of production and distribution will be collectively owned and democratically managed in the interests of society as a whole.

A society without class struggles and exploitation, a society in which there will be equality of opportunity, a society in which women will have a voice in determining the conditions under which they and future generations shall live.

This is the ultimate ideal of Socialism, a self-governing, co-operative commonwealth.

### JUSTICE OR CLEMENCY.

Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison ought to be proud of what they have done. We have no doubt they are. They are not criminals to be pardoned. They are citizens and workmen who have exercised their rights and performed their duties, who are being persecuted for so doing, who have been wronged by the court, and whose wrong is to be redressed.

Either "the administration of justice" is a part of the execution of the people's will, or it is something apart from and above the people. If the administration of justice is something else than an agency for doing the people's bidding, then the sooner the people realize the fact and bring the judiciary down to its only proper function, the better. Let us have no "good feeling" between the people and the usurpers of arbitrary power.

The "checks in our government system" have no value and no purpose except to impede progress, to fetter the democracy, to keep the propertied classes in power. The federal judiciary, in particular, with its power of injunction and its power of declaring laws unconstitutional, were expressly devised to prevent the will of the masses of the people from being carried into effect. Anyone who has made more than a superficial study of American history knows that. What we want, what any twentieth-century newspaper professing to be progressive out to desire, is not to "give labor a feeling of the justice residing in the trite wisdom of the government," for such a feeling would be a dangerous delusion, but to give all men a clear understanding of the way in which this system of checks and balances works harm to the masses.

Executive pardon for Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison, or the remission of their sentences "through the clemency of the court" at the President's intercession, would probably be good politics for Mr. Roosevelt to play. We thus understand its advocacy by Hearst's "American," which has of late developed into a personal organ of the Rough Rider President. So far as the three officers of the American Federation of Labor are concerned, and so far as the labor movement is concerned, it would be a gross miscarriage of justice. The reversal of their sentences and the abrogation of the legal ruling under which those sentences were pronounced are imperatively necessary to them and to the working class.—N. Y. Evening Call.

## OFFICIAL STATEMENT

**Issued by Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison.**

**In Defense of their Position in the Buck Stove and Range Co. Injunction Decision.**

(Editorial from American Federationist.)

The man who is charged with violating an injunction may be and often is a peaceful, patriotic, law-abiding citizen whose life is devoted to the amelioration of the condition of the weak and the helpless. On the application of some unfair corporation which is oppressing its employes, an injunction is issued restraining this man from the performance of duties that are not of themselves in violation of any constitutional or statutory law. This man is charged with violating some provision of the injunction. He is thereupon commanded to appear in court and show cause why he should not be adjudged guilty and punished. Unlike the murderer who is presumed to be innocent until he is proved guilty, this defendant is presumed to be guilty until he can prove his own innocence. He is denied a trial by a jury of his peers; he is not confronted by his accusers; he can not secure a change of venue; he must be tried by the judge whose dignity has been offended, or at the best an associate judge of the same court; he has no protection against either the bias or the animus of the court; he is at the mercy of a judge who may or may not be disinterested, judicial, or dignified.

Says the law to the defendant: "You are presumed to be innocent until, after a fair and impartial trial, you are adjudged guilty by a jury of your fellow-citizens."

Says the injunction to the defendant: "You are presumed to be guilty until you can prove your own innocence. You are commanded to appear before the offended court to show cause why you should not be sent to jail."

In publishing this editorial we may be held to be in additional contempt, but, if, so, we are willing to accept the consequences. It may be necessary to the preservation of the liberties of the people that a judge should be destroyed. Judges sometimes usurp power and become tyrants. Disobedience to a tyrant is obedience to law.

We wish to point out how despotic and unwarranted and unfair have been the methods of the prosecution. We are penalized for printing the same character of news and comment which every other newspaper and magazine in the country published with perfect freedom.

If our speeches and our writings have been unlawful, libelous or damaging to the plaintiff there is one legal way of punishing that offense—that is, a suit for damages and a trial by jury, in which not only the fact of the spoken words and the publication would be passed upon, but we would also be allowed to offer whatever there might be of explanation or justification of our course.

Our fundamental law authorizes no other process for the punishment of any abuse of freedom of speech or of the press. Our system of law does not authorize prohibition of lawful rights by injunction and punishment subsequently by proceedings for contempt and at a hearing before the judge where the only question considered is the mere fact of utterance and publication.

If we had abused our right of free speech or free press in our references to the Buck's Stove and Range Co., peace and order and good citizenship required that we should have been proceeded against—not by injunction—but by due form and process provided by statute law.

This is a broad question of right and law and order. There are no mystifying technicalities about it. They are equally well known "in Texas, Florida, Maine and Oregon" as they are in the District of Columbia. All who know anything of our country's history know that judge-made prohibition of freedom of speech and freedom of press can issue only in defiance of fundamental American law. Congress can not even make such prohibition. May judges then command what Congress is powerless to enact? It appears from Justice Wright's decision that he believes this can be done. Judicial usurpation of power is a most serious matter. Jefferson warned posterity that the greatest danger to our free institutions lay in the likelihood of this usurpation.

When a judge issues an injunction—like that of the Buck's Stove and Range Co.—it is the judge who defies the law, and not the citizens who refuse obedience to his injunction mandates, which would deprive men of their constitutional rights.

Justice Wright seemed to expend more of his thought on the judicial virulence of language with which he sentenced Mitchell, Morrison and Gompers to prison than upon careful consideration of the vital issues of the case.

Apparently with deliberate design to assist in insidiously undermining constitutional rights by judicial usurpation, Justice Wright says that this injunction only "incidentally" prohibits the exercise of free speech and freedom of the press. How can it be "incidental" when the prohibition is absolute and permanent?

Unless constitutional rights are secure from "incidental" as well as every other sort of invasion they are not secure at all. If an injunction may be issued prohibiting freedom of speech and of the press for the purpose of protecting an employer's alleged "property rights" in labor, then there is no limit beyond which our judges may not go in destroying the freedom of the press and the freedom of speech.

Grant for even a moment that the courts have a right by injunction to enjoin from publishing, and what will be the logical result? It will come to pass, as one already said, the press can not expose political corruption because it hurts some "boss." It can not criticize an hostile or indifferent administration because the Chief Executive would be annoyed. The Congressional Record may be censored because some Senator or Representative has the courage to uncover the lawlessness of powerful wrongdoers. Even the President's message may be interdicted. The press will not dare to expose the horrors of child labor and the exploitation of helpless women workers.

Forbid us to state any one unpleasant truth and the way is opened to go the whole limit of press censorship and prohibition. As we said in our statements to the judge, "the freedom of the press was given not that we might say pleasant things, but that we might say the things which are unpleasant, that we might criticize the wrong; that we might call attention to truths as yet unrecognized; that even if we might do a wrong we would better have the right and be subject to punishment than that the freedom to print and speak should be denied. The injunction denies in advance the right to speak or print. It puts an absolute censorship on press and speech.

Thoughtful citizens will not, we trust, belittle the importance of the issue because it had its inception in a labor union difficulty. Whatever the Mitchell-Morrison-Gompers case was in the beginning it is no longer in essence a labor controversy. The immeasurably higher question has been raised of whether the great traditions and guarantees of American liberty shall be destroyed. The vital facts in the case should be clearly comprehended and all prejudice laid aside in face of the solemn fact that the liberties of all our people are invaded.

We are confident that the people of our country, that public





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46



The Allied Printing Trades Council calls your attention to the above label. It is made in different sizes, and is furnished to the printing establishments employing union men. We request the cooperation of all union men, as well as the business men of the city, and ask that they insist upon it being in the office patronized by them, and that it appears on the printing.

## SOCIALIST PARTY VOTE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

In 1900 for Debs and Harriman..... 96,931  
In 1904 for Debs and Hanford..... 408,230  
In 1908 for Debs and Hanford..... 423,898

## SOCIALIST VOTE OF THE WORLD.

1867..... 30,000  
1877..... 494,000  
1887..... 931,000  
1893..... 2,585,000  
1898..... 4,515,000  
1903..... 6,825,000  
1906..... over 7,000,000

## CLEVER WORK

The St. Louis street railway, gas, electric light and power monopoly made a clever political move to once more deceive and fool the people of this community. It is a well-known fact that the North American Co. is today in absolute possession of the United Railways Co., the Laclede Gas and Power Co. and the Union Electric Light and Power Co. The North American Co. also owns the "public utilities" in Milwaukee. Mr. John I. Beggs has been the general manager of the North American Co. interests in both cities, St. Louis and Milwaukee.

Within the last few weeks the daily press has had much to report about the "reorganization" of the octopus' management in St. Louis. It was heralded that Mr. John I. Beggs would retire and leave the management of his St. Louis interests to St. Louis men. With the first of April Mr. Beggs would retire to Milwaukee and give his full time to his Milwaukee interests. Perhaps Mr. Beggs is getting afraid of the growing power of the Socialists in the Milwaukee City Council, and to counteract their efforts in behalf of the people's interests will require more attention than heretofore.

What does this St. Louis reorganization really mean? How many of the St. Louis citizens realize the significance of Mr. Beggs' retirement from the St. Louis management of the North American Co.?

Here are some of the facts: The North American Co. and the St. Louis Big Cinch interests have become more closely allied and consolidated within the last few months. Charles Huttig, one of the great Big Cinch lights, is today one of the directors of the North American Co. Huttig spent some time in New York to assist in the St. Louis "reorganization." David R. Francis, Jr., was elected to the Board of Directors of the United Railways Co. Festus J. Wade, the great Big Cincher, and Breckinridge Jones were also elected members of the North American Co. board of directors at the recent meeting in New York. Charles A. Coffin and R. Mallory, well known for their alliance with the Big Cinch interests, are the other two St. Louis men who, as general directors, are today guiding the destinies of the North American Co.

Richard McCulloch will take John I. Beggs' place as general St. Louis manager by April 1, and the people of St. Louis will then once more be the April fools.

Other St. Louis capitalists, including Adolphus Busch, were elected as local directors for the North American Co., all of whom are closely affiliated with the Big Cinch interests. The St. Louis Terminal Association and the Manufacturers' Railroad Association, queer as it may seem, are well represented in the new local directorate of the North American Co.

Politically, these St. Louis North American directors are high up in the councils of the Democratic and Republican parties and will take good care of their interests during the present municipal campaign. The attempt to get the proposed free bridge close to the yards of Gussie Busch's Manufacturers' Railroad Association is in line with the Terminal Association's interests, and shows conclusively how shrewdly and cleverly the North American-Big Cinch capitalists are managing affairs to pull the wool over the people's eyes.

In this connection we hereby reprint part of an editorial from the Globe-Democrat, which may throw a little more light on the local situation and the John I. Beggs "reorganization." The G.-D. says:

### What's in a Name?

Sometimes appeals to our generosity are embarrassing, even while we realize that their purpose is to conceal truth, and darken counsel, for the defense of wrong-doing. An appreciation of the difficulties of Mr. John I. Beggs when under the necessity of getting dividends here on watered stocks has led us into one of these situations. Feeling that Mr. Beggs was retiring under the fire of men who had helped to make his difficulties, we rallied around him. In the course of his defense we pointed out that some of the men primarily responsible for his difficulties were also those responsible for the mob which visited the City Hall with ropes to force delegates to take \$40,000 for a lighting franchise. A part of the defense also was that any man must fail, as Mr. Beggs failed, to lay the ground floor of a part of

the same clique to plunge the city in debt to build a passenger subway for the trust to use.

Everybody in the clique knows well why names were not used. De mortuis nil nisi bonum. That leader of the mob which visited the precincts of the House, carrying one of the ropes for a part of the time, and whose responsibility for fomenting the agitation was not then denied, has since died, under circumstances to make his connection with the raid discredit it as much as it was then thought to authorize it. At the time of the raid he was preparing a monograph on reform in state institutions, which was published soon afterward, and which was hailed by reformers as epochal. To print his name as the leader of a mob designed to overawe boodlers into shading their price for a corporation franchise might be misconstrued as a blow at reform. Aside from that, the name is an illustrious and historic one in Missouri annals, and this consideration alone makes it unprintable in such a connection. But what sort of fair play would it be to omit it, while printing the names of honest but misguided men the worthy leader led into that trap of the trust conspirators?

We understand why the Globe-Democrat failed to publish the name of the old-time mob leader. The gentlemen in question, if we remember rightly, was one of the leading West End aristocrats, with the reputation of a reformer, who committed suicide under circumstances which caused general excitement and some consternation in Big Cinch quarters at the time.

St. Louis is today "Big Cinched" as never before; cinched with the steel screws of the North American Co. by Beggs, R. McCulloch, Festus J. Wade, David R. Francis, Charles Huttig, Breckinridge Jones and tutti quanti.

These same Big Cinch and North American Co. capitalists are also running the financial institutions of St. Louis. You find their names in the boards of directors of every leading bank and trust company of this city. The daily press is under their absolute control, and woe to the paper that dares to oppose any of their schemes!

An important municipal election will take place on April 6. Once more the people will be fooled by means of a sham battle between the Democratic and Republican parties. Political agents of the Big Cinch will try to do their work in every reform organization. Their political henchmen will even attempt, what they repeatedly attempted in the past, but failed to accomplish, to disrupt progressive labor organizations, including the Socialist Party.

Citizens of St. Louis, wake up!

## Editorial Observations

**Now Is the Time to Keep Your Eyes on the Political Fakers** who are advertising the Capitalist corporation medicine.

**Mother Jones Did Some Good Work at Last Sunday's Druids Hall meeting in behalf of the Mexican revolutionists.**

**Samuel Gompers Says He Won't Be Gagged, Not Even by a judge on the bench.** This is the language of a man, and anything less would be unmanly and cowardly.

**Don't Fail to Read the Declaration on Trade Unions and the Socialist Party** issued by the National Executive Board. It is published in full in this week's St. Louis Labor.

**Comrades, Now to Work for the April Elections! What We want is a good, strong, militant Socialist Party, true to the cause of the working class, marching hand in hand with the Organized Labor movement.**

**Watch the Latest Developments in the North American Co. and Big Cinch work in St. Louis.** Look for the "nigger in the woodpile" and don't permit yourselves to be fooled again by capitalist party politicians.

**"Out of Hell" Is the Heading of an Article by the Management of Common Sense, our Los Angeles party organ.** If the comrades everywhere could read that tale of woes they would perhaps accept at least a little responsibility for their party press.

**The City Council Decided to Present to the Laclede Gas Light and Power monopoly ten blocks of ground for the paltry sum of \$20,000.** How long will the people stand for this robbery of public property? Every Democrat and Republican councilman voted for the grab. Watch these "public servants!"

**Out of the Dump.** By Mary E. Marcy. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. Do you remember "Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch," which had a big run some years ago? It pictured the working people as "our best" people would like them to be. Out of the Dump is a book that shows the working people as they are. The capitalists and the charity workers in the story, too, are live people, neither better nor worse than real life. There are eight original wash drawings and a cover design by R. H. Chaplin. Well printed and daintily bound in cloth. A beautiful gift book. Price 50 cents postpaid. For sale at the Labor Book Department, 212 South Fourth street.

**The Russian Czar's Throne Is Built on a Vast Dunghill.** Just read this latest telegram: St. Petersburg, Jan. 23.—Further scandals in the Russian police administration have been brought to light. The assistant chief of the St. Petersburg police, M. Nikiforoff; two directors, five colonels and eight police officers have been arrested on charges of bribery and extortion. Enormous robberies, alleged to have been committed by the officials of the South Russia Government Railway, have been discovered. It is said that 19,000 valuable parcels were stolen last month. The Bourse Gazette asserts that at the head offices of the railway at Vilna thefts to the extent of \$1,000,000 have been committed.

**The British Labor Party for Socialism! This Is What the Cablegram reports:** London, Feb. 1.—The annual conference of the Labor Party, which has been sitting for the last few days at Portsmouth, has declared itself in favor of socialization by means of production, distribution and exchange, and of the complete emancipation of labor from the domination of capitalism and landlordism, with the establishment of social and economic equality for the sexes. At the annual conference of the Labor Party at Hull last year a similar resolution was adopted. At that same conference a resolution making the Socialist declaration a part of the Labor Party constitution was rejected by a vote of 362,000 against 313,000, a decreased vote against the proposed amendment to the constitution. The action of the present conference is a reaffirmation of the resolution for Socialism adopted last year, but Socialism is not yet included in the Labor party constitution.

Patronize our advertisers and notify them that you saw their ad. in St. Louis Labor.

## Socialist Party and The Trade Unions

### National Executive Board Issues Appeal Containing Some Good Advice to Militant Socialists and Trade Unionists.

There is no royal road in agitation and least of all in dealing with the trades unions. Patience and hard work are required.

Nor can we establish any rule or set procedure for every city of the United States. Local conditions vary and our methods of agitation\* must change accordingly.

All we can do is to define certain principles to guide us in our attitude towards the trade union movement. And the agitation for our party, no matter how conditions may differ locally, must adhere to these general principles.

Two great mistakes in tactics have been made in the past—mistakes which are still lingering in our party to no small extent, and must be avoided in the future if we wish for success. First, we must get rid of the idea that things must go in this country as they did in Germany, Austria, France or Italy.

Our trade unions were not patterned after the continental unions, but followed the English precedent, and this was natural enough since not only many trades union men came directly from England, but the similarity of institutions and the identity of language made this almost a necessity.

Besides, in Germany and most of the continental countries, the trades unions were largely founded by the Socialists and have remained ever since under Socialist influence.

In England and America this was not the case. Some of the older trades unions attained considerable influence and size long before the Socialist Party was known, or before it had made any headway.

Second, we must get away from the notion of considering the trades union movement simply a recruiting ground for the Socialist propaganda and the Socialist Party. We must get accustomed to the idea of a labor movement with two arms. The economic arm represented by the trades union movement is fully as important as the political arm represented by the Socialist Party.

Among the Socialists there was formerly a tremendous under-estimation of the trade union movement. And when they tried to rectify the mistake, some went clear to the other extreme by overstating the value of the trades union.

In Germany the Gewerkschaften, the trade unions, were started and nurtured by the Lasallean wing of the Social Democracy before the two wings united.

The Lasalleans started the trade unions as a matter of self-defense because the Liberal party (Fortschritts-Partei) had gained ascendancy in the Deutsche Arbeiterverein of which Hirsch and Duncker had formed the German trades societies (Gewerkvereine). For that reason the Lasalleans rather unwillingly founded the trade unions (Gewerkschaften) and for a long time considered them merely recruiting grounds for the Social Democracy. And even after the two wings of the German Social Democracy united in 1875 our comrades in Germany for some years still considered them merely recruiting grounds.

However, the German party has changed its attitude in this matter. The German Socialists now agree that membership in a trade union is a necessity of life for every workingman, and that the trade union therefore must accept its members without respect to religious or political opinions. The trade union which can not weld together all existing fellow-craftsmen into one organization can not accomplish its mission or will accomplish it very imperfectly.

The tendency of the Socialist trade unions in Germany of late is therefore not only to try to get into their ranks the Hirsch-Duncker trades societies, but also the Catholic and Protestant workingmen's associations, which were founded in opposition to the trade unions.

The accepted view of Social Democracy today is that a trade union is the organization of labor which fights for the improvement of the workingmen's condition under the present order of society—under capitalism.

And therefore the trade unions are very deeply interested in all legislation concerning accident, old age, sickness and invalid insurance—or in establishing insurance of this kind of their own.

Furthermore, the trade unions naturally are deeply interested in immediate legislation on sweatshops, factory laws, factory inspection and protective legislation of all kinds.

The conditions of the workingmen even under capitalism can be very effectively improved by legislative measures. To get these improvements is the duty of the trade unionists, and the trade unionists will very soon learn that their chances of getting their demands through city, state and national legislatures are infinitely greater if they have representatives of their own class, who stand for the abolition of the present wage system. These measures stand a better chance just in proportion to the number of such representatives in the legislative bodies.

So while the trades unions as such, must necessarily remain neutral, the trades unionists as an individual and as a voter will very soon appear as a party man. For only as a party man can he attain his purpose, which in this instance is necessarily a class purpose.

What we have to do, therefore—in fact, what we must do—is to gain the ear and the good will of the individual trade union man.

We want to make him understand the condition of his class. We want to make him see conditions in the right light and we want him to act accordingly.

To pass resolutions in favor of Socialism or of the Socialist Party in trade union meetings, resolutions that are not understood by some and opposed by others—is, therefore, worse than useless.

We do not ask any trade union to indorse the Socialist Party. Party politics is not within the scope of the trade union.

On the other hand, we must make the trade unionist constantly feel that the Socialist Party is the political complement—the other half—of the economic organization.

Wherever we can, we must continuously bring up measures for the improvement of the working class today and fight for them today.

Besides the measures mentioned above, we should take up popular and higher education, taxes, public administration, care of public health and care of the poor, administration of civic and penal justice and many other measures.

In the union meetings these topics ought to be brought up by the Socialists under the head "For the good and welfare of the order"







