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# WEEKLY PEOPLE

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## REVOLUTION TRIUMPHANT

### CONSERVATISM AT STUTTGART GETS BLACK EYE ON EVERY IMPORTANT QUESTION.

International Socialist Congress Unanimously Adopts Anti-Militarist Resolution—American I. W. W.-S. L. P. Resolution on Politics and Economics Gets Support Which Amazes Conservatives—Swiss Delegate, Sturdily Defends It—Majority of French Vote Is Cast for It.—S. P. "Backward Races" Resolution again Introduced and again Defeated.

Stuttgart, Aug. 24.—The Congress is adjourned. Events crowded themselves into the last two or three days. Only then did things begin to happen. Up to then it was all preparatory.

The happenings were heralded in on the 22nd by the order of the Wurttemberg authorities to Harry Quelch, a British delegate, that he leave the Kingdom within 10 hours. In the course of a debate in the Congress Quelch had referred to the Hague Peace Conference as a gathering of "thieves and murderers," or words very much to that effect. The action of the Wurttemberg authorities illustrates, true enough, the backward state in which free speech and civic rights are still left in Germany. Nevertheless it is no slight commentary on "men and things" that Quelch—a gentleman who has echoed in England the American Socialist party slander about S. L. P. "violence of speech"—should be the one ordered out of the Kingdom of Wurttemberg for the use of language that was unquestionably violent.

Politics and Economics. Differently from Amsterdam, this Congress had fully three committees on important subjects—the Committee on party attitude toward Unions, the Committee on immigration and the Committee on anti-militarism. Safe to say, that on all three subjects conservatism received a black eye. I shall begin with the Union question, the only one on which conservatism might seem to have held its own. The German representatives on the Committee had introduced a resolution. It was a collection of words so inoffensive that all might agree on them. Heslewood (I. W. W.) and myself, introduced another resolution—an up-to-date handling of the question. A debate of several days ensued. The German non-committal resolution received amendment after amendment—the Russians stuck in a sentence, the Italians another, and so forth. The thing grew more and more in length, and in a crazy quilt appearance. It became what we call in America an "Omnibus Bill"—out of which every one could take what he liked, and reject what did not suit him. An effort was then made to induce America to drop her resolution and join the "hand wagon." America resisted the blandishments. Heslewood and myself had spoken on our resolution—I on the principle of the thing, Heslewood, who came after "A. M. Simons, Editor," flattering out the gentleman's false accusations and documentarily turning the tables upon him. At the close of the debate four minutes were allowed for "declarations." I made the declaration for America. We declined to abandon our resolution on the ground that the Marxian principle, which highest developed capitalist America had proved correct—"only the economic organization can set on foot a true party of Socialism"—forbade us: the "Omnibus" resolution contained in that respect a theoretical error: it attributed EQUALITY of importance to the economic and to the political movement: useful, good, even necessary and indispensable as the political movement was, it was only secondary to the economic: the false perspective with which the "Omnibus" resolution threw the political and the economic movement was a position fatal to healthy Socialist development in America now, and prepared the ground for a like fatality in Europe. Of course the "Omnibus" resolution was carried; conservatism, nevertheless, was amazed when it saw the American resolution receive, outside of Heslewood's vote and mine, three others—1 from Switzerland, 1 from Italy, and 1 from France, 3 votes in all. How amazed conservatism was at this display soon appeared from the language held to us (America) by several of the Committeemen, Russia especially, who voted for the "Omnibus"; they admitted the thorough correctness of our position, and hungrily asked for literature. Moreover, how amazed conservatism was at the display also appeared from the campaign that its leading men immediately initiated against our European supporters, especially the talented woman delegate from Switzerland.

land, Mrs. Margaret Faas-Hardegger. Upon this episode I shall return in some later commentaries on the Congress. Suffice it here to say that the old Greulich, who was recently in America and was stuffed by the Volkszeitung Nieder-meyer corruptionists, tried to brow-beat Mrs. Faas-Hardegger with an avalanche of slanders against us, and sought to intimidate her with the aid of the rest of the Swiss delegation. But the intelligent and sturdy woman proved a match for them all. She held her ground, and turned the tables upon them. Finally, how justified conservatism was in being amazed at the outside support received by the American resolution in committee appeared from the increased outside support our resolution received yesterday in the Congress itself. There were cast against the "Omnibus" resolution (and thus for the American) 18½ votes—that is, besides the 4½ from America, 11 votes from France (that is a majority of the French vote); and 3 votes from Italy. That we had more votes than that may be judged from the circumstance that Mrs. Faas-Hardegger's vote was not counted for us, the Swiss delegation having adopted the unit rule which suppressed its minority. The progressive delegation, 12 strong, from America and other parts of the Congress, received its 18½ poll with a lusty applause, which quickly drowned the hissing attempted from the side of the A. F. of L. representation from America seated on the opposite side of our table.

The following is the American resolution: "Whereas, the integrally organized industrial organization of the Working Class is the present embryo of the Commonwealth of Labor, or Socialist Republic, and foreshadows the organic form of that Commonwealth, as well as its administrative powers; "Whereas, Craft Unionism, wherever capitalism has reached, untrammelled, full bloom, has approved itself what the plutocratic 'Wall Street Journal' of New York hailed it, in hailing the Gompers-Mitchell American Federation of Labor, 'The bulwark of capitalist Society,' that bred the officialdom which the American capitalist Mark Hanna designated as his 'Labor-Lieutenants'; therefore be it

"Resolved, 1. That 'Neutrality' towards Trades Unions, on the part of a political party of Socialism, is equivalent to 'neutrality toward the machinations of the capitalist class'; 2. That the bona fide, or revolutionary Socialist Movement needs the political as well as the economic organization of Labor, the former for propaganda and warfare upon the civilized plane of the ballot; the latter as the only conceivable physical force with which to back up the ballot, without which force all ballot is moonshine, and which force is essential for the ultimate lock-out of the capitalist class; 3. That, without the political organization, the Labor or Socialist Movement could not reach its triumph: without the economic, the day of its political triumph would be the day of its defeat. Without the economic organization, the movement would attract and breed the pure and simple politician, who would debauch and sell out the working class; without the political organization, the movement would attract and breed the agent provocateur, who would assassinate the movement."

Industrial Workers of the World. Socialist Labor Party (America). Immigration and Emigration. On the other two subjects—Immigration and Militarism—the triumph of the progressive element was complete. Reserving again for future treatment the events that clustered around these two subjects, the following is a bird's-eye view thereof.

On the immigration question the "backward races" resolution, hooted down in Amsterdam, made its reappearance in Stuttgart. This time it appeared under a thick coat of paint to conceal its identity, and it again turned up through the gate of the American S. P., backed up by Van Koll, a pure and

(Continued on page 6.)

## THE SOCIALIST FEDERATION OF AUSTRALIA

Once more has the working class brushed aside with determined hand the petty barriers erected between its members by open and covert enemies and by unwise friends. From Australia at last comes the detailed news of the proceedings of the conference for the promotion of Socialist Unity held at Melbourne about the middle of June last.

Though small in numbers, the conference contained representatives of every Socialist political organization—the Socialist Labor Party included—in Australia, seven in all; and yeoman's service it did for the cause of labor's emancipation. A new all-embracing Federation, the Socialist Federation of Australia, was formed; one clause from the declaration of principles there adopted, and published elsewhere in this issue; strikes the keynote of the whole, and proclaims clear and strong to the world the character of the new organization:

"To win economic freedom the non-owning Working Class must organize on the lines of the Industrial Workers of the World, and they must force the struggle into the political field, and use their political power, the ballot, in conjunction with their industrial organization, to abolish Capitalist Class ownership, set up the Socialist Republic, and

thus revolutionize, in the interests of the Working Class, the entire structure of society."

No half measures are here portrayed or advocated. Casting aside the follies of pure and simple political Socialism and pure and simple Trades Unionism with one and the same majestic gesture, the Socialist Federation comes out straight and strong for industrial and political unity, the one the shaft, the other the head of the proletarian lance, each impotent without the other, but both together the perfect weapon for the overthrow of capitalism.

To the Socialist Labor Party and the Industrial Workers of the World of America, who have steadfastly battled the forces of opposition for the establishment of these principles, the news from Australia comes like the answering beacon-fire from afar to the warriors camped on the heights. The undeniably correct principles of Industrial Unionism have overcome all opponents. In Australia the Socialist workers have nobly risen to the call of the movement. To America, the country furthest developed in capitalist exploitation, they have looked for light and found it; and finding, they have followed. The quagmires of craft unionism, with its identity of interest between employer and employee, with its craft contracts, with its arbitration

made public. Had Prosecution Tied. "Senator Borah announced himself that he had asked the administration to withhold proceedings against him, pending his participation in the prosecution of Haywood. I don't tell anything in this connection, except what Senator Borah made public himself. He announced that proceedings against him were held in abeyance at his request while he was fighting the Haywood case.

"Now he suddenly announces that he wants a quick trial. In other words, he has had the prosecution remain inactive for six months, and now he wants to be tried immediately. The prosecution has been put in the position of a man who has his feet tied and is then told to run."

"Is it customary for the government to withhold the names of persons indicted?" was asked. "It has been done in instances where it was necessary to apprehend a man before he had knowledge of his indictment. But in this case Borah knew of his indictment and was giving it out to the public before the indictment had been announced by the prosecution. It has never been made a matter of record to this time, and had Borah kept silent it would have been known only to the grand jury, the federal judge, the district attorney and the president. As a matter of fact, Borah announced his indictment through the papers before it had actually been made."

Haywood Case Not Involved. "I do not know why the administration held the prosecution of Borah and those who were indicted with him until he could finish the Haywood trial. I was closely connected with the case and I know that the charge that friends of the Western Federation of Miners were responsible for his indictment are unfounded. We began the investigation leading to the indictment five years ago. We did not know then who the investigation would hit, and Borah was neither senator nor had he any connection with the Haywood case at that time.

"The grand jury returned its reports in Boise six months ago. Neither Borah nor any of those indicted with him have ever been arrested."

GOOD TO BORAH. Boise, Idaho, September 4.—M. C. Burch of Denver, and S. A. Russ of Omaha, special assistants of the Attorney-General of the United States, have arrived here to take charge of the trial of Senator W. E. Borah on the indictment found against him by the United States Grand Jury last March.

This is understood to mean that District Attorney Rulick is supplanted so far as this case is concerned.

The Government has determined to give the Senator an immediate trial. The visiting attorneys and Borah have been in conference with Judge Dietrich all day, and to-morrow the date of the trial will be agreed upon.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, of New York, who is known as "Jean of Arc," in glowing English denounced the actions of Rockefeller, the capitalist, Roosevelt, the caterer to the capitalists, and Samuel Gompers, of the American Federa-

## CHICAGO S. L. P.

### AGITATING THE BREASTS OF THOSE WHO HAD IT "BURIED."

Jager, Organizer for S. L. P. in Street Debate With S. P. Spellbinder Lewis Shows Inherent Corruption of the Latter Party, Inseparable From its Policy of Opportunism—Whipped S. P. Man Wisely Refuses to Come Back for More.

Chicago, Ill., August 25.—A week ago last Wednesday, Henry Jager, general organizer of the S. L. P., spoke on the corner of Clark St. and Chicago Ave. This being a stronghold of the S. P. and the tenor of his remarks not being to the liking of part of the audience he was interrupted a number of times, notably by Koope, late S. P. candidate for mayor. E. J. Lewis, at present the S. P.'s leading spellbinder in Chicago, and a lady, who was offended when the speaker resented being called a liar even by so fair a dame.

The upshot of it all was a challenge to debate, which was accepted by our speaker, who appointed H. J. Brimble to represent him in the making of arrangements. Our plan was to have the affair take place in a hall, so that the debaters might be free from interruption and have all the time necessary to develop the subject, which was, "Resolved, that the Socialist Party does not represent the interests of the working class." Mr. Koope, who represented Lewis, would not have it so. The debate must be held on the street corner where Jager, as Lewis elegantly put it, "made his noise." We had been having trouble with the police, as had the S. P., and there was every indication that the debate would be interrupted. For that reason we submitted our proposition. To no purpose, however. It was a case of complying with the S. P. conditions or no debate. So we conceded the point.

On Wednesday last the debate came off as per schedule. Before a crowd of from 600 to 800, Jager opened for the S. L. P. His contention was that the S. P. is a party of compromise, and as such, does not, and can not, represent the best interests of the working class. Following this, Jager went into a brief analysis of the class struggle, "If the Socialist Party" said he, "lives up to what it preaches in other words, stands upon the fact of the class struggle, then its claim to represent the working class is well grounded. If, on the contrary, it may be shown that the S. P. does not stand true, not in word, but in deed, then we make our assertion good that it does not represent the best interests of the working class."

To prove this, the speaker touched upon the Utah case, in which prominent S. P.ites, official members, indeed, endorsed a capitalist candidate for the office of county attorney, a crime for which they were not punished. "The Worker," one of the S. P.'s representative papers, was then produced to prove that two Democrats and one Republican ran on the ticket of that party in Webster, Mass. The report of the Common Council of Milwaukee, Wis. was then used, in which it is shown that the Mayor of that city appointed Stanley E. Czerwinski, a Democrat, as commissioner of public works, subject to a minority vote of the Common Council. In this connection the point is made that the S. P. members of the council voted for the mayor's appointee.

Jager then proved, with the "Social Democratic Herald," probably the most influential S. P. publication, that that party stands for the American Federation of Labor. He followed this with a quotation from the "International Socialist Review" of July 1907, in which Max S. Hayes says that the boss brewers are gathering funds with which to combat the Brewery Workers when it may make certain demands, and that the bosses "look to the A. F. of L. to lend support in any possible contingency." "And this" cried Jager, "is the organization which the S. P. tells the workers to join."

The national platform of the S. P. was then taken up, it being shown thereby that the party's teachings are not in line with the materialist conception of history and the facts of history. In closing, the speaker dis-

tion of Labor, whom she branded as the tool of the capitalists. Miss Flynn also called the workingmen's attention to Hears of New York, and told them not to put any stock in what he promises.

missed the question of the S. P. being a democratic organization. The Berger case was touched upon as being in point, and it was shown that the Milwaukee mayor was first removed from office, then tried for advocating the endorsement of a capitalist candidate for office, completely exonerated upon being found guilty, and finally reelected to office. What would you say had the capitalist class resorted to these methods in the Haywood case; first hanging the men and then trying him?

Lewis opened with the assertion that the S. L. P. is a scab organization. He proceeded to make good on this point by asking why we did not fire Gordon, who is scabbing at the Parrote and Beal factory, from the Party. Next the case of the telegraphers was brought in. He claimed that the S. P. was doing all that lay in its power to help them win, while the S. L. P. if it had the means would bring in scabs to take the places of the strikers. This assertion was greeted with hisses and applause.

Markley of Pittsburg next came in for a castigation. It was said that he had done crooked work in the Jenkinson strike and that he had been made drunk by Flynn of the A. F. of L. at Youngstown.

True to its instincts, said Lewis, the S. L. P. smashed the I. W. W. The S. P., on the contrary, assists all unions when on strike. Jumping to something very different, the speaker declared the tactics of the "Daily People" to be those of the S. L. P. street corner speaker. Coming back to the question of economic organization, Mr. Lewis expressed his conviction as to the superiority of the industrial over the craft form and went on to say that every Socialist is with him in this respect.

Then followed the most remarkable statement of the evening. It was asserted that, of the signers of the manifesto which led up to the formation of the I. W. W., all, with one exception were members of the S. P. and the exception was Daniel De Leon, "the pope, the little Jesus Christ." "On the economic question the S. P. is absolutely mum."

"A few weeks ago" said Lewis, "I had a talk with Max Hayes and I may say that he has changed his views!" Unfortunately, the speaker failed to state the nature of the change.

The S. P. was claimed to be a class conscious organization. If, in Milwaukee, men elected by that party voted as Jager stated, the reason is to be found in that fact that Czerwinski, the Democrat, whom they supported, was elected to represent a majority of the people, which is made up as we know, of the working class in great part. Referring to what he is pleased to call the S. L. P. charge that the S. P. is made up of crooks, Lewis touched upon the circumstance that in Colorado, members of the S. L. P. resigned from the Party to vote for Haywood, "the candidate of a party of crooks."

In rebuttal Jager brought out a copy of the "Chicago Daily Socialist" in which it was shown that Gordon, the scab whom we are charged with retaining as a member, left the S. L. P. years ago. Proceeding, he took up the case of Hayes. "It may be true," said he, "that Max Hayes has changed his mind. The question is: Has he changed his job? He is still a leader of, and still in favor with the union which the bosses look to for assistance against the Brewery Workers, and although the American Federation of Labor throws out its most advanced and intelligent members, he still urges you to join that organization and pay dues, for reasons that are obvious."

Touching upon the Milwaukee case, if what Mr. Lewis said, that the Democrat Czerwinski, elected by the votes of members of the S. P., represented the majority of the people, which includes the working class, why organize another party? Why not bore from within the Democratic party, as the S. P. urges its members to do in the A. F. of L.? "The Worker" (Continued on Page 6)





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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1907.

A noble spectacle and one well worthy of meditation, is that of the attempts made in the different ages of the world, to ameliorate the physical and moral condition of man...

THE LAST QUARTER OF THE PRESENT EPOCH.

These are momentous times, big with meaning and bright with hope to the Socialist. Socialism can now be said to have engaged the enemy. The foremost industrial capitalists now hear of Socialism with gravity and awe.

In the New York Sun of the 28th an attempt is made to rally the upholders of capitalism against Socialism. 'Possibly,' says the article, 'when the foreigners have worked their will in this country and Socialism and paternalism are fully established, history may call their invasion and the change they wrought an advance.'

The Wall Street Journal forecasts a great conflict so near at hand as June 10, 1908, when it says: 'Not even in the darkest days of the Civil War was there a crisis such as that which confronts President Roosevelt to-night. Only a miracle can save the country.'

The steps that have led up to this position which Socialism has attained, are interesting, indeed. General discontent has long burned in the hearts of the working class, but discontent alone has no terrors for the capitalists.

with has been the promulgation of the program of the proletarian revolution. ... the S. L. P., the center and vanguard of the Socialist movement in America, that once fought out and established the principle that the movement is revolutionary and must be uncompromising.

That was a great epoch, the one that saw go down the policy of political compromise. That was a great fight that the S. L. P. made when it lashed fusion and fusionists until there is no American Socialist, even though he be more than half reformer, but would shrink from the thought of being recognized as a fusionist or one who would give cognizance to fusion.

Political fusion under the name of Socialism was pretty well whipped out by the end of 1903. For several years a fight had already at that time been waged against economic compromise, but great headway against the labor fakirs and against pure and simple trades unionism had not been made, due largely to the fact that the program of the economic organization had not up to that time appeared clearly, even to the most advanced Socialists.

Since then the fight that has raged has centered about industrial unionism. Warnly has the lash been plied over the backs of the dividers of the working class and the makers of contracts and compromises. The time might now be foretold in months, when craft division and the practice of extending the slavery of the workers by term agreements entered into by unions will be as thoroughly discredited as is now political compromise.

This is what alarms capitalism. With the revolutionary program finally worked out, the further successful delusion of the workers will become impossible. The tedious wrangles and conflicts among the working class will be over.

Mr. Emmons of the General Electric Company set himself to perform the feat of exterminating the revolutionary movement in Schenectady. No flickering impulse was his, but enduring determination. For the carrying out of that determination Mr. Emmons has given evidence of more than ordinary cunning, matched by unusual zeal.

The next move made by Mr. Emmons was to put the bridge with curbed bit on his employees was the introduction of the A. F. of L. painters' union. By special dispensation, the initiation fee was lowered to only \$1, and Organizer

Wm. F. Rander was brought to the city and set to work to put the machine painters in the craft union, with the intent of splitting up the industrial organization of the I. W. W.

Then the American Locomotive Works joined in the expedition against industrial unionism. They have been having their experience with the I. W. W. in their works at Paterson, N. J.

Fakir and capitalist have united to exterminate the I. W. W. The job is yet far from being accomplished; but they have made progress and Locomotive trust clasps Electric trust in congratulation.

'The last of the I. W. W. in Schenectady has succumbed to the inevitable and passed over to the A. F. of L. At one time the promoters of the visionary organization had fond hopes that there would be a considerable organization in Schenectady, but like almost all other efforts, there was not too much encouragement after the first enthusiasm waned off.'

Proud is the labor fakir of the 'passing over to the A. F. of L.' that took place in Schenectady, proud no doubt of the capitalist escort at that 'passing over.' As is the capitalist, so is the labor fakir cheered by the 'wearing off' of the enthusiasm of the I. W. W.

But every assault by the capitalist class can be turned to the benefit of the revolutionary movement. A burning stick in a bonfire cannot amount to much, but let some smart Alex give it a kick into a lumber yard and the result may strike terror to the entire city.

PUT THEM TO THE TEST.

In the work of teaching the misguided wage-worker that his leader is a misleader, the Socialist experiences little trouble in the first part of the argument. Roosevelt of the 'spiked-club-for strikers,' and 'undesirable citizen' record stands condemned at once as the enemy of the working class.

So it is with the misleader who avows himself a Socialist. Look up his record on the questions of political fusion and on industrial unionism, and you are sure to nail him.

In the next stage of wearing the misguided, however, the Socialist is confronted with some difficulty. Roosevelt advocates reducing the trusts to a position subject to the supervision of the government. This policy on the part of Roosevelt, his erstwhile follower finds difficulty in harmonizing with the conception of Roosevelt as an upholder of the trust.

The confusing element in all such cases is their inconsistency, and yet nothing more pointedly condemns or more inescapably brands these leaders

as misleaders, and their movements as wheels in the mechanism of capitalism, necessary to the life of capitalism, than this very characteristic, inconsistency. There is no feature more patent to capitalist institutions than inconsistency.

So the Roosevelts, who uphold capitalism, seek to take away the liberty of capitalists and place authority in the hands of government officials—it is a condition for the increase of their own power. The Hearsts attack the trusts and yet they must uphold capitalism and yet they must uphold the liberty of capitalists and place authority in the hands of government officials.

Hope for improvement being barred on every side by the cost to the capitalist, what is the remedy? Under capitalism, none. The conditions cry aloud for the overthrow of that monstrous system and the establishment of Socialism.

A VERY FAIR PROPOSITION.

As the great mass of the American working class live from hand to mouth, so do most capitalists. They do not understand nor even remember much of the past—they have no comprehensive insight into the future.

But there is a body of revolutionists among the working class, and they are somewhat conscious of the trend of their existence—they know something of how the working class has reached its present status, and by their correct interpretation of what is going on at present they are able to peer into the future, and to consciously guide the efforts of the workers to the end that they may bring about a realization of the best that is possible to the working class.

So likewise, there is an element within the capitalist class which is also conscious, which also comprehends the present and peers into the future. The first consideration of the conscious American capitalist is the protection of the capitalist industrial system from overthrow by the workers; the next consideration is the survival and triumph of their own section of the international capitalist class.

'IMPROVING' THE RAILROADS.

Like a red thread from leaf to leaf of the daily papers runs the record of train wrecks and their accompanying deaths and mangleings. Fourteen killed and nearly 300 injured are the grim returns for the last thirty-six hours. So frequent and continuous are these railway catastrophes becoming, that the officials of the capitalist States, not knowing but that they or their masters may be the victims of the next one, seem at last to be bestirring themselves in the effort to hold some really guilty person responsible for them, and try to slake up the headlong plunge.

No one, not even the officials of the culpable roads, has any longer the hardihood to deny that this frightful sacrifice of life could be, at will, almost completely obviated. The excuses urged against doing so simmer down to, in fact are, one, namely: 'It would cost money; the business would not be profitable.'

Capitalism is a monster of such hideous mien that, seen from whatever angle it be, its aspect is uniformly horrible, except to those whose eyes are blinded by the opaque golden spectacles of profit.

paration against the Eastern Railway Association for the systematic buying up and suppression of safety devices and appliances indicate how little hope there is of a reform in this respect.

In the other respect wherein a necessity for added expenditure arises, there is even less hope for betterment. That respect is the increasing of the operating force of the roads. While railroad officials point with unction at some few increases in wages in late years, every trainman knows that with those increases have gone reductions of train crews, and more intense and longer work for the remaining men.

Hope for improvement being barred on every side by the cost to the capitalist, what is the remedy? Under capitalism, none. The conditions cry aloud for the overthrow of that monstrous system and the establishment of Socialism.

Another Concrete Collapse, 'Jurisdiction of Plaster Blocks,' 'Concrete Discrimination at Lawrence'—such are the titles of numerous articles in the Bricklayers' Union. Concrete and the concrete worker are taking the place of brick and the bricklayer.

Mr. Hearst, in his Labor Day speech, said: 'Some nations have grown great by conquering their weaker neighbors. Others have grown rich by despoiling dependent colonies, but this nation has grown to be the greatest and richest of all through the peaceful development of its own resources; by the honest labor of its citizens.'

This Report, issue of September 4, contains a statement as to Chinese Railway Operations, in which the facts are set forth that in the year 1906 the total earnings amounted to \$12,191,188. The working expenses were \$3,429,942, or twenty-eight per cent. of the earnings.

The A. F. of L. shoe makers, following the example of other A. F. of L. organizations contracted with St. Louis manufacturers to furnish them the shoe workers' label, to ask for no raise of wages or other improvement of conditions, to furnish them with plenty of men, and to guarantee them against any strike, in consideration for which the manufacturers agreed to compel their employees to join Tobin's union.

When you are going to buy, see that it is labeled and in doing that you are helping the other trades.

As already mentioned, the average American capitalist does not see into the future. He sees only what is immediately before him, and the opportunity to rob the Chinese out of all but twenty-eight per cent. of their product does not appear to the American capitalist as particularly inviting, in view of the fact that he is accustomed to robbing the American working class of all but seventeen per cent. of their product.

This proposed Chinese investment, however, isn't such a bad proposition after all. It is true that, according to the present reports, the Chinese workers cannot be robbed to the extent to which the American working class is robbed, but the Daily Consular Report contains further information of the fact that in 1904 the working expenses of the Chinese Railway operations were forty-two per cent. of the earnings, as against twenty-eight per cent. in 1906.

iciency of the Chinese workers has probably been increased to such an extent that they are abreast of the Amrican workers, and can produce enough so that seventeen per cent. of their product is sufficient to pay their wages.

Another argument in favor of the Chinese investment is the fact that the American working class are already being exploited to about the greatest extent possible, and are becoming revolutionary. The body of the American working class, it should also be noted, are employed; there remaining idle but a good reserve army of hunters for jobs only about sufficient to defeat strikes and keep wages down; so, as long as the American workers are already being exploited to the limit, why should American capitalists not get hold of as much of China as possible and draw as profits the surplus those Chinamen can produce above their wages even though their surplus may not be quite so large as the proportion of surplus produced by the American workers is.

This getting a footing in China will also be a lap in the race which the capitalist class of every country is entered in—a race to become the owners of the industry of the whole world, the beneficiaries of the exploitation of the entire working population of the world.

Another Concrete Collapse, 'Jurisdiction of Plaster Blocks,' 'Concrete Discrimination at Lawrence'—such are the titles of numerous articles in the Bricklayers' Union. Concrete and the concrete worker are taking the place of brick and the bricklayer.

Mr. Hearst, in his Labor Day speech, said: 'Some nations have grown great by conquering their weaker neighbors. Others have grown rich by despoiling dependent colonies, but this nation has grown to be the greatest and richest of all through the peaceful development of its own resources; by the honest labor of its citizens.'

The A. F. of L. shoe makers, following the example of other A. F. of L. organizations contracted with St. Louis manufacturers to furnish them the shoe workers' label, to ask for no raise of wages or other improvement of conditions, to furnish them with plenty of men, and to guarantee them against any strike, in consideration for which the manufacturers agreed to compel their employees to join Tobin's union.

When you are going to buy, see that it is labeled and in doing that you are helping the other trades.

As already mentioned, the average American capitalist does not see into the future. He sees only what is immediately before him, and the opportunity to rob the Chinese out of all but twenty-eight per cent. of their product does not appear to the American capitalist as particularly inviting, in view of the fact that he is accustomed to robbing the American working class of all but seventeen per cent. of their product.

This proposed Chinese investment, however, isn't such a bad proposition after all. It is true that, according to the present reports, the Chinese workers cannot be robbed to the extent to which the American working class is robbed, but the Daily Consular Report contains further information of the fact that in 1904 the working expenses of the Chinese Railway operations were forty-two per cent. of the earnings, as against twenty-eight per cent. in 1906.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—I don't see the consistency of you Socialists ridiculing the idea that Capital and Labor are brothers.

UNCLE SAM—Probably because you are not yet able to be consistent yourself.

B. J.—I don't think. U. S.—You hit it that time. B. J.—What do you mean? U. S.—You don't think. You only think that you think.

B. J.—Oh, but I do think. Is it not a fact that Capital and Labor are brothers?

U. S.—No, sir; not by a long shot. B. J.—What?

U. S.—I mean what I say, and say what I mean.

B. J.—You Socialists are such confounded sticklers.

U. S.—We Socialists insist upon the correct use of terms.

B. J.—Indeed? Explain yourself.

U. S.—Certainly. You admit, do you not, that Labor produces all wealth?

B. J.—To be sure. Any fool would concede that.

U. S.—Not excepting yourself?

B. J.—No. But what of it?

U. S.—Just this Jonathan, Labor is the producer of all wealth, Capital is a part of wealth.

B. J.—Granted.

U. S.—Capital being the product of Labor, wherein is your consistency in saying that it is the brother of its creator?

B. J.—The devil!

U. S.—No devil about it. You mud-heads who think you think are absolutely unable to be consistent.

U. S.—So if there is any relationship between Labor and Capital it cannot be the relationship of brothers. It follows that there would be more sense and consistency in saying 'the Earth is the mother, Labor is the father and Capital is the child.'

B. J.—I begin to think.

U. S.—I hope so. Labor being the father, does it not consistently follow that he has the right to control, spank, direct, influence, protect, command and restrain his child?

B. J.—It do.

U. S.—Far from being brothers, Labor and Capital are to-day deadly enemies. The enemy does not grow out of the true relationship of the two but because of the fact that the so-called shrewd, cunning schemers have kidnapped the child, controlled, educated and developed all its strength, talents and power and pitted them against its creator.

B. J.—I must acknowledge that you Socialists generally know what you are talking about.

U. S.—It behooves everybody to do the same. Consistency is a jewel but it can't be worn as a breastpin or used as a headlight. Let us not hear you repeat the silly lie: 'Capital and Labor are brothers.' It is liable to cause suspicions of illegitimacy, bastardy or something worse.

Canadian census reports give the average wage of Canada's 391,487 wage slaves as \$420.50. Boundary lines drawn on surveyors' charts and government land maps do not affect the spread of capitalist exploitation.

CORRESPONDENCE

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

FROM AN OLD NEW YORKER. To the Daily and Weekly People:—Since leaving New York I have found it lonesome being away from the movement. I get the Weekly People, Arbeiter Zeitung and the Industrial Bulletin, but I miss the Daily People and must have it, so send it for half a year.

I am in the celebrated Lehigh Valley, where we swelter in the day and have cool nights. Mildred is a mining town, three coal breakers here. The population consists of Poles and Italians, mostly miners, who are almost as much the property of the operators as the mines and shanties where the people live. Three churches complete the scene.

THEIR ACTIONS SPEAK. To the Daily and Weekly People:—Who said the S. P. is neutral on the economic field? The first of May all Socialists who are revolutionists and all revolutionists who are Socialists stop work and have demonstrations in honor of the International Labor Day.

OF COURSE IT CAN BE DONE. To the Daily and Weekly People:—I agree with you that each one can get at least one Weekly People subscription a month. Enclosed find one dollar for two yearlies to the Weekly People. Shall keep at it.

APPRECIATES S. L. P. ORGAN. To the Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed you will find a Post-office money order for \$1.00 for which send me the Weekly People for another year. All the workingmen and women should appreciate what the Weekly People has done toward securing the acquittal of our gifted and able labor leader—Wm. D. Haywood.

CALL FOR TRUE SOCIALISM. To the Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed please find 50 cents in postage stamps for which please send the Weekly People to subscriber whose name is given.

HOW LONG WILL THE PRETENSE LAST? To the Daily and Weekly People:—One of the most significant "signs of the times" is the pathetic complaint of some of our patriotic citizens that the sacred constitution and laws "no longer constitute the obstacles to personal ambition that their framers hoped."

abyss." These shocking conclusions are supposed to depend upon the truth or falsehood of the rumor that the president is entering into a compact with the German Emperor looking toward the guarding of our Atlantic seaboard by a German fleet while the United States navy is stationed in the Pacific; and this (alas for Democracy!) without the consent of the American people.

Now the surprising thing here is not that the capitalist rulers are beginning to sometimes disregard the constitution, but that they are able to keep up the pretense of regarding it at all. A set of laws framed to fit certain economic conditions must, in reason, be inadequate to meet a complete change in those conditions.

As to the supposed compact with Germany, the truth or falsehood of that particular rumor has no bearing upon the question. Certainly there is nothing incongruous in the spectacle of the heads of two great empires conferring together for mutual protection; and the idea of consulting the people in a sudden national crisis is as absurd as it is impracticable.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Shortly after the Cobalt miners' strike started, and the news of Organizer Roadhouse's "inflammatory and abusive" speeches had been duly pronounced by the capitalist press as being "anarchistic," the same press began to console itself, publishing long editorials on the impossibilities of Socialism.

This same paper, which is one of the foremost mouthpieces of organized brigandage, frequently refers to Socialism as being a dream. It is immaterial to the wage workers whether they look on Socialism as a dream or not. The fact remains that the working class have a very practical method of converting this dream into a reality through the principle embraced in the I. W. W., and it is the advocating of this principle by Roadhouse that has disturbed the dream of the capitalist class of the country, and is giving them nightmare instead.

To-night all the papers come out with whole pages of the cantilever bridge disaster at Quebec. Since 1900, work has been in progress on the construction of this massive iron structure, which is the largest of its kind in the world, and would cost over half a billion dollars to complete it.

It now develops that the accident that carried eighty-five workmen to their death, was due to the "profit system," which demands that all work must be executed with the greatest possible speed regardless of quality, and regardless of the safety of the lives of the workmen.

When the I. W. W. will be organized on bridge construction work, accidents of this kind will cease, for the workers will be taught to consider their own interests, first, last and always. They will be taught to wage relentless war on the "profit system," to protect their own lives at all hazards, and as for

brother Capital, they will voice the sentiments of Organizer Roadhouse, when he says, "To hell with them!" Yours fraternally. Gus. A. Maves. Toronto, Ont., Aug. 30.

Misery loves company. Bryan, who landed from Europe with the national ownership of the railways bee in his bonnet is now trying to make out of Roosevelt's anti-railroad-corporation speech at Provincetown a similar declaration.

Mining rules in Pennsylvania have to be printed in 32 languages to reach all the nationalities employed. A diversified working force, preventing communication and promoting distrust, is one of the coal barons' old tricks for keeping the mine slaves docile.

"The political institutions which experience will prove the most worthy as offering the best opportunities to individual gifts and ability will survive in those places where they may reach their fullest development and expression." So writes a capitalist antagonist as proof of the hopelessness of Socialism. Had he meant to show its inevitableness he could hardly have made a better argument.

George Gould, a wealthy miser of New Rochelle, worth \$100,000, has died in a hospital of starvation. This is another fruit of capitalism. Driving men to save in early life as a matter of self-defense, capitalism soon turns saving, in certain minds, into a mania, and kills the men by the very instinct intended to preserve them.

Constable Lynch of Mamaroneck's experience last Sunday should awake in his mind a new interpretation of capitalist "law and order." In attempting to arrest a speeding autoist, he got kicked out of the car, and had both eyes dangerously jabbed by a parasol in the hands of a "lady" occupant.

It is almost universally the rule under capitalism that the more disagreeable and laborious the work, the lower the pay. Nor are these conditions changed by government or city employment. The street cleaners, who by the very nature of their work are especially liable to illness, get less than two dollars a day.

"THE SOCIALIST" Official Organ of the Socialist Labor Party of Great Britain. A Monthly Publication and the Only Periodical in the British Isles espousing Revolutionary Working Class Politics and Industrial Unionism.

EVERY WAGE WORKER SHOULD READ IT Subscription Rate for the United States and Canada 50 Cents a Year. Special Offer: The Socialist and Weekly People will be sent to one address, U. S. and Canada for 85 cents a year.

"The People" Official Organ of and Owned by the AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST LEAGUE and SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY. A Weekly Paper published for the purpose of spreading Socialist Principles and organizing Socialist thought. Its mission is to educate and prepare the working class for the approaching day of their emancipation from wage-slavery.

Every Wage-worker Should Read It. Written by Workingmen Published by Workingmen. THE ONLY STRAIGHT TOUT, UNCOMPROMISING SOCIALIST PAPER circulating in Australasia.

DIVIDING UP

A QUESTION WHICH GREATLY WORRIES THE OPPONENTS OF SOCIALISM.

(Continued.)

Irresistably tending downwards. The equalization of incomes among the masses, that thing at which the adversaries of Socialism affect to be shocked, and which they brand with moral indignation as the malignant purpose of Socialism—is going on under their own eyes, and is the result of their own precious system.

The irony of this reasoning is too glaring to need exposure. This much may be said: Should Socialist society ever decide to decree the equality of incomes, and should the effect of such a measure actually threaten to be the dire one prophesied, then, and in that case, the natural result would be, not that Socialist production, but the principle of equality of incomes, would be thrown overboard.

The foes of Socialism would be justified to conclude from the equality of incomes that Socialism is impracticable if they could prove: (1) That this equality would be, under all circumstances, irreconcilable with the progress of production.

Capitalist Inequality. It does not, however, follow from this that the principle of the equality of incomes—a principle that is not necessarily identical with their uniformity—will cut no figure whatever in Socialist society; whenever that principle shall assert itself, it will not spring up as the aim of a movement for leveling things generally, forcibly and straight-way, but as the result of a natural development and social tendency.

By dissolving the middle classes of society and swelling evermore the size of individual fortunes the capitalist system broadens and deepens perceptibly the chasm that exists between the masses of the population and those who are at its head; the latter tower ever higher above the former and become less and less approachable to them.

Equality of Poverty. In view of this the claim is puerile that Socialism means the equality of pauperism. That is not the equality towards which Socialism tends; it is the equality into which the modern system of production drives mankind.

But an outspoken advocate of revolutionary Socialism. Subscription Price (outside Australasia), \$2 per year; \$1 for six months.

As a matter of course, all those tendencies that sharpen inequalities, and that proceed from the private ownership in the means of production would come to an end, while the tendency to wipe out inequalities of incomes would find stronger expression under the Socialist system. But here again the observations made upon the dissolution of the existing family forms and upon the downfall of small production hold good with equal force: the tendency of the economic development remains in Socialist, to a certain extent the same as in capitalist society, but it finds expression in a very different way.

The adversaries of Socialism seek to frighten the small producers with the claim that an equalization of incomes can mean for them nothing else than the lowering of their conditions, because, say they, the incomes of the wealthy classes are not large enough, if divided among the poor, to preserve the present average income of the middle classes; that, consequently, if there is to be equality of incomes, the middle classes will have to give up part of their incomes, and would by so much be the losers under Socialism.

There is, however, no question about "division;" the only question is upon the change of the method of production. The transformation of the capitalist into the Socialist system of production must inevitably result in a rapid increase of the quantity of wealth produced yearly.

Such a state of things is simply impossible in a Socialist commonwealth; it could not fail to find productive labor for all its available labor forces; it would increase perceptibly, nay, it would double the number of productive workers; in the measure in which it did this it would multiply the total wealth produced yearly.

Furthermore, Socialist production would greatly promote the absorption of small and its substitution by large production, and thereby also increase greatly the productivity of labor; it would then be possible not only to raise the incomes of the workers, but also to lower the hours of work.

In view of this the claim is puerile that Socialism means the equality of pauperism. That is not the equality towards which Socialism tends; it is the equality into which the modern system of production drives mankind. Socialist production must inevitably improve the conditions of all classes—those of the small producer and small farmer included. According to the economic conditions under which the change from Capitalism to Socialism may be effected, will the improved general well-being of the community be greater or less; but whatever those conditions may be, the progress will be marked; and from that point on every further economic development will instead of low-

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS. NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

R. G., NEW YORK, N. Y.—The information of this office is that E. F. Richardson is engaged by the W. F. M. for the handling of the cases of Moyer and Pettibone, and that Darrow has charge of the case of Steve Adams.

J. F. M., PALEVILLE, N. Y.—The People cannot advise you where to put your savings so as to gain large profits in safety. There is no haven in capitalism for the middle class man. The only sure way of using one's means effectively is to devote them to the revolutionary propaganda.

QUESTIONER, NEWARK, N. J.—Socialism would not discourage individual accomplishment. Capitalism, on the contrary, does destroy individual development. Under capitalism, the worker is robbed of such a large portion of his product that he is compelled to devote his whole energy to such work as will yield him the means of satisfying his animal needs.

er as it does to-day, raise the general well-being of the commonwealth. This turn in the direction of the course generally taken by incomes is, in the eyes of Socialists, of much more importance to the well-being of society than the absolute increase of incomes.

The Modern Spectre. Thus we become acquainted with another element of superiority in Socialist over capitalist society. It affords not only an improved condition of well-being but also the certainty of livelihood—a certainty not afforded to-day by the largest fortune.

THE PREAMBLE OF THE Industrial Workers of the World ADDRESS DELIVERED AT UNION TEMPLE, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. JULY 10, 1905. BY DANIEL DE LEON.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO., THE ATTENTION OF WORKINGMEN IS CALLED TO THE DAILY PEOPLE The Official Organ of The S. L. P. It is owned by Workingmen, Edited by Workingmen, Supported by Workingmen. GET IT FROM YOUR NEWSDEALER. Daily, One Cent. Sunday, Two Cents

J. H. H., QUINCY, ILL.—I. When you attempt to criticize this paper's policy in refusing to open up its columns to an extended discussion of reforms, you give evidence of your failure to appreciate, as yet, the mission of The People.

2. You must recognize the fact that until the working class get control of the government, they cannot employ political power to put into effect any reform; you should also realize that when the workers' representatives do get political power it would then be traitorous for them to devote themselves to reforms—their duty will then be to immediately establish Socialism.

3. You say that the workers cannot act intelligently in their extreme poverty, which means, in other words, that they must wait for some other class to lift them out of their extreme poverty, before they can do anything for themselves. On the contrary, the S. L. P. knows and teaches that no other class will ever come to lift the working class out of its extreme poverty, and that the working class is doomed unless it has within its own ranks the vitality to effect its own emancipation.

F. F., HARTFORD, CONN.; G. A. M., TORONTO, ONT.; E. R. M., YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO.—Matter received.

