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VOL. XVI NO. 52.

# WEEKLY PEOPLE

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 23, 1907.

PRICE TWO CENTS 50 CENTS PER YEAR.

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## SOCIALIST JOLTS FOR CAPITALISM

When diplomats talk peace conferences and prepare for war. The first Hague peace conference was followed by the Russo-Japanese war. Will the next one, now being agitated, be followed by a Japanese-American conflict?

The blowing up of the warship *Jena* is an illustration of the deadly beauty of militarism, even in times of peace. War is simply peaceful destruction multiplied.

The news that big carpet manufacturers favor combine is typical. None but small capitalists oppose combination; and even they are forced into it by competition.

"Willcox slays Harriman," despite this and similar performances, the hide of capitalism remains whole.

"There is to be no general raid on the railroads," this too as though the government managed the capitalists, instead of as Karl Marx showed, the government being a committee managed for the capitalists.

"Mrs. Russell Sage gives \$10,000,000 for charity" would not sound so philanthropic were information given disclosing the place from whence Mr. Sage took them. Philanthropy should be judged by its sources; not by its gifts.

The Church Federation's appeal to the President in behalf of religious revival, presupposes a danger that does not exist. The ethical concepts for which the church is supposed to stand are more observed out of the church than in it. The Socialist movement represents a greater moral force than all churchianity combined; in fact, it is the only moral force in society today.

Judge O'Gorman, in compelling Harry Korkowinsky, alias Y. B. to make restitution of the \$10 to \$15,000 profits he received from a corporation of which he was a member and with which he did business as Secretary of the United Garment Workers, in violation of his official trust, is doing the labor movement a good service. He is thereby helping to reveal the extent of the "labor leader's" graft and justifying the course of the *Daily* and *Weekly People* in exposing Korkowinsky's actions in the past. There are other Korkowinskys, higher up, in A. F. of L. "unionism."

According to a Berlin despatch, a Bavarian wine dealer has been sentenced to two months imprisonment and to pay a fine of \$2,500 for adulterating wine. It was proved that he manufactured \$5,000 gallons of wine in one year by means of chemicals, not using a single drop of grape juice.

The American capitalists who raised \$22,000,000 on a railroad never built, ought to take this Bavarian wine dealer to their bosoms. He, too, moves in a "higher sphere."

Weyerhaeuser, the lumber king, whose wealth is said to be greater than that

of Rockefeller, is reported lost. As far as his family and friends are concerned, this is distressing; but it will make little difference to humanity, at present. The millions of acres of forests which Weyerhaeuser monopolized, will continue to increase in value, thanks to the value bestowed upon them by wage-labor; and their control, in the case of Weyerhaeuser's death, will pass to his heirs, so that the men and women to whom they belong according to the rights conferred by nature and labor, will find them in the future just as effective a means of exploitation as they are at present. "Save the king; but destroy the monarchy," shouted Thomas Paine, during the French Revolution. Find the capitalist; but overthrow capitalism, says the socialist in the present social revolution.

The Patchogue, L. I. Socialist party platform is a thing of beauty, but it is not likely to remain a joy for ever. The platform carefully refrains from mentioning the class struggle. It believes in but, apparently, does not desire "the co-operative method of production and distribution of the comforts of life;" for it supports "the merchants in our town in preference to city department stores." And it wants "to amend the law so that our representatives cannot raise their own salary, but place the power in the hands of those who pay the bills." That means the middle class taxpayers, of course; for they are mainly concerned with such payments and bills. "On the face of the foregoing," the Patchogue Socialist party, asks "the support of an intelligent public at the coming election."

"Your President," C. O. Sherman, keeps up his opposition to the Industrial Workers of the World, in his usual comical manner. The I. W. W. publishes a list of new locals organized; whereupon Sherman issues a list of I. W. W. locals that he has "expelled," i. e. refused to have anything to do with him or his hired detectives and reactionary pretense of an organization. Karl Marx once said that history repeats itself, first as tragedy, then as comedy. Sherman repeats himself, first as light comedy, then as a roaring farce.

In Russia the workingmen are determined to secure political and civil rights. To this end, they now stand ready for a general strike on the dissolution of the second Duma. The Russian workmen are worthy of admiration. They exhibit the patience, fortitude and determination of their class everywhere. The international proletariat is proud of them, as they well ought to be. To the workmen of this country, the Russian workmen are especially interesting. They have what the Russian workmen strive for; nevertheless, many of them do not appreciate their rights and privileges; many of them deride politics as wasteful and delusive. Russia contradicts them in no uncertain manner. "No politics" is unhistorical.

much better health than at any other time he has appeared in court here. His face has lost that haggard, worried expression. To-day there appeared to be no cloud either of physical pain or worry upon his brow. He appeared cheerful and at several times smiled merrily with his companions at things said by them or by the attorneys in whispered conversations.

George Pettibone held his head high in the air. His face wore a calm, cheerful expression and he entered into animated whispered conversations with his companions, which, judging from the smiles could not have been of a serious nature. And Bill Hayward, big and strong, and the picture of health, was the most happy appearing one of the three. As he took his seat next to Attorney Richardson in the court room he glanced about with a pleasant smile and nodded to several acquaintances he recognized.

The Court announced that the remittitur from the United States Supreme Court having arrived he would hear arguments on the motion to dismiss. The motion was argued on behalf of the defendants by Attorney Richardson, who was followed by James H. Hawley, chief counsel for the State. When the arguments ended the Court took the matter

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## ALL AROUND CORROBORATIVE

Industrial unionism, that form of labor organization which aims to unite all the workers according to industries and class interests, for their own emancipation, indicts craft unionism, which organizes a portion of the workers for their own selfish ends according to capitalist principles and trades, or crafts, on two general counts. The first count is that the craft union is not a labor organization, but an auxiliary to the capitalist class, recruited by it for the purpose of holding down the working class on the economic and political fields. The second count is that craft unionism at best, is an inadequate form of protective organization; as it divides the workers into warring factions, bringing about the defeat of their own class interests, to the triumph of those of the masters, the capitalist class.

The two counts in this indictment have heretofore been sustained by an overwhelming mass of cumulative evidence. Fresh evidence is constantly appearing, and should be added, so as to bring the great piles of fact up to date. The latest evidence in support of the two counts in the industrial union indictment of craft unionism, is to be found in the March issue of the "Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine." The gist of that evidence appears in the following opening paragraphs, taken from a strong editorial article appearing on p. 397, entitled:

### THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC STRIKE AND THE LESSONS IT TEACHES.

"By the course which it has pursued in connection with the recent strike on the Southern Pacific Railway, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers has forfeited all right to recognition as a labor organization. In the enforcement of a narrow, arrogant and brow-beating policy it has invaded the legitimate and recognized field of a sister organization, and allying itself with strike-breaking agencies and a grossly

subsidized press, and perverting its own members into scabs, it has sought by methods as unscrupulous as such an alliance is degrading, to accomplish the purposes of its wolfish aggression.

"The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, long since realizing that it cannot depend upon merit or the glory of past achievements to perpetuate itself from extinction, is seeking the co-operation of railroad companies in an endeavor to recruit its ranks by a system of coercion that is as unjustifiable and un-American as it is incompatible with the basic principles upon which organized labor and human labor in general are founded.

"At the cost of lending its influence in helping to defeat the very ends for which it professes to exist, it will purchase the support of any power that will help it to accomplish that object. Thus for years past we find B. of L. E. representatives in an official capacity as such appearing before committees of various State Legislatures in opposition to measures the enactment of which has been sought in the interest of railroad employees, or labor in general—the most flagrant and shameful instance of such prostitution being the recent strenuous though laughably futile efforts they put forth to defeat the New York Employers' Liability Law. Again we hear of B. of L. E. officers offering to withdraw their demands for certain concessions sought by their constituents, if railroad officials will, in consideration of such a monopoly, give their organization a monopoly on engineer representation by recognizing that order as the only medium through which the grievances of engineers, personal and otherwise, can be adjusted.

"In the Southern Pacific strike, however, the B. of L. E. has appeared in a new role of infamy, for, in addition to directing its members to become strike breakers themselves, it has deliberately entered the field as a scab-employing agency, as witness the following adver-

tisement appearing in a San Antonio newspaper during that trouble:

WANTED—Reliable men for position of locomotive firemen on Sunset lines. Good pay and steady work. Apply at office of superintendent or master mechanic or to any engineer on these lines.

H. F. Anderson, Superintendent.

"Thus, after the B. of L. E. and E. men had left the service of the railroad company in response to the strike order, it was a safe bet for a scab to approach any engineer remaining in the company's employment and find in him a friend and brother; for, in the art of scabbing no strike breaker ever existed who could outdo the B. of L. E. people either in efficiency or industry. They not only took the places of our engineer members on the S. P. but fired and hosted and even supplanted the poor cinder man, who threw up his job rather than submit to the contaminating degradation of working or associating with scabs."

This is all around corroborative; the industrial union case is proven once more. Craft unionism is a capitalist auxiliary, doing the dirty economic and political work of the capitalist class, who recruit it for that purpose. Craft unionism, being dependent on capitalist aid for existence, is necessarily oracles of capitalism, which, opposing working class interests, divide the working class into warring factions, to its own injury and the benefit of the capitalist class and capitalism.

Fortunately, the principles of industrial unionism are making headway. They are being embraced by the coal miners of Illinois, and even the belated railroad men show the first manifestations in the attempt to organize all the engineers into one organization; a fact which will partly account for the present friendliness of the railroad magnates for the B. of L. E.

## FREE SPEECH

### DETAILS OF ATTEMPT TO SUPPRESS IT IN GRAND JUNCTION.

The Illegal Actions of the Adams and Buntings Explained in the Light of Modern Socialist Philosophy—Preservation of Class Interests the Motive.

Grand Junction, Colo., March 18.—In a previous letter, attention was called, in a general way, to the manner in which an attempt was made to suppress free speech in the city of Grand Junction. In this letter we propose to handle this matter at closer range.

The politicians of the capitalist system delight to strut forth on any and every occasion, Fourth of July, for instance, as the great and only upholders and defenders of "our" (1) "free institutions." With contemptible smirk and perverse prevarication they play to prejudice and ignorance as exponents of the "square deal," "equal opportunity," "gruelling the grafter," and every and any other old thing which seems to offer chances of "getting solid with the people," ad nauseum.

But, "Oh what a difference in the morning." The workingman goes forth with fair assurance and he proceeds to talk to his fellow workmen concerning his own and their own interests. A crowd proceeds to congregate to listen to the remarks of Mr. Workingman aforesaid, exercising their "right" of "free public assemblage" on a "public highway," or "public property." Encouraged and strengthened by the interest aroused and still confident our friend the workingman continues on his mission earnestly and honestly when, lo, and behold, something happens. A policeman steps up and asks if you have a "permit"—to exercise your "right" of free speech. A protest from Mr. Workingman that he needs none is answered by arresting him and throwing him in jail. Then up steps Mr. Politician, his mask of deceit and hypocrisy is thrown aside; his fair words forgotten, his rhetoric relegated, to limbo, and he appears clothed in all the glory of his real personality as a time server, a yellow dog, the dirtiest mangy stripe, and with true attention to his real business, he violates his oath of office to "free speech," and pitch-forks himself as a liar and a fraud by suppressing "free

public assemblage," and he drains himself of the last dregs of morality, of manhood and self-respect by offering as an excuse the violation of religious doctrines and usages, when he knows that this government is also founded on the principle of freedom to worship God or no God, as you please. In fact, this politician will make a car look like a petty mental by his assumption of authority, and bring the blush of disgrace to a dunderhead by his exhibition of ignorance, stupidity and bigotry. Which reminds us that—

"Croesus says of old,  
Turned all he touched to gold,  
The modern politician with ease  
If touched with gold  
Will turn to what you please."

But why this thyness? Is it because this political pariah is afflicted with physical and psychological characteristics that determine him to these actions? Is it because he would be a blackleg and scoundrel and earn the reputation of an irresponsible and disreputable Uriah Heep simply for the love of doing it? It is obvious that these reasons are entirely insufficient to explain the question correctly. So there must be some other reasons.

Let us see. The capitalist class of this country, about six per cent of the people, own about eighty-three per cent of the wealth; the middle class, nineteen per cent of the people own about fifteen per cent of the wealth. Now this wealth consists in railroads, steel mills, factories, workshops, mines, large buildings, farms, etc., etc., and each individual capitalist is constantly striving to get more, and the whole capitalist class, large and small, are trying to get more. The workingmen, seventy-five per cent of the people, own about two per cent of the wealth. Now what is this two per cent? It consists of some old broken down furniture, a few ragged carpets, and other household goods usually mortgaged, a suit of shoddy, a calico gown, etc.

Now, how was all this wealth produced? How are rails made? By labor, of course. How is silk-cloth woven? By the labor of a weaver. How are shoes, wheat, beefsteak, hats, in fact, everything, produced? By no other process than the application of man's brain, nerve and muscle power to the sources of life, furnished by the earth. Ah! Now we have it. We remember that Mr. Workingman was telling those other workingmen who were listening that since labor produced all wealth, and

(Continued on page six.)

## GLEANINGS 'LONG THE ROAD

En route to Denver, March 12.—Have just returned from a "foray" in the rear smoking coach. Went thither to "take a census" on two heads among the workmen, who usually crowd that coach, and are more accessible there than in the other coaches. The smoking coach was not as crowded as I found those coaches sixteen years ago, when, on the first tour I made for the Party across to the Pacific, I frequently dived into them on a similar errand.

The first census I took was on Unionism. There were 47 men in the coach; 5 were obviously bourgeois; the others workmen. Of the 42 workmen only 1 is not now and never was in any Union. Of the remaining 41 only 3 are still members of a union—1 a carpenter, 1 a telegrapher and 1 trainman. The other 38—2 carpenters, 1 teamster, 3 waiters, etc., etc., had all been members of a Union at some time, but would be blankly-blinded if they now joined any. The reasons were notoriously uniform—"sold out," or "tricked out of work" by the inside ring, or "fired out" to make room for some favorite. I made no propaganda for the I. W. W.; only asked questions and listened. And as the answers came, the statement of the "Wall Street Journal" to the effect that the A. F. of L. is the bulwark of Capitalism, rose before my mind's eye, and likewise did the underground wires between Belmont and the Gomperses come to sight. Craft or pure and simple Unionism disheartens the workers and scatters them away from the Union—a necessary weapon for Labor's emancipation.

The second series of questions I put to the men looked to their family status. Capitalism struts forward as THE patron Saint of the family. Here were 42 men, none younger than 25, most of them above 30. Of these 42 only 10 were married. Their wives and children were left behind as far North and East as Grand Rapids, Mich., and as far East and South as New Jersey and Tennessee. They were forced from home in search of work. Neither did they look as though the prospects of a family reunion were bright. The remaining 32 were unmarried. Some of the reasons given were as scientifically sound as they were couched in unprintable language. It all came down to this—the Patron Saint of the Family is, when looked into a little closely, a ruthless Atilla; the scepter of the Southern slave-holder, who placed father, mother and child on the auctioneer's block and sold them to purchasers from distant and separate localities—that scepter has passed into the hands of the modern wage slave holder.

In Omaha a middle class Socialist party man called upon me at my hotel. He has 3 children, and is pinching himself to own his own home. He hoped for nothing from the workingman. He banked on his experience. What was that experience? They did not read, they did not post themselves. I gave him rope. It did not take long before the fact transpired that this self-same self-satisfied bourgeois did not read any Socialist paper. He did not see even the "Appeal to Reason" but once in a while. Of the important happenings of the last

6 months he knew worse than nothing—only such scraps as were utterly worthless. I asked him: "If the workingman can not be relied on for want of being posted; and if you are a fair sample of the middle class, and are so ill posted; who is going to bring help—the J. Pierpont Morgans?" The answer is still due.

—8 two Kansas City meetings had several visitors from Kansas. They were mostly S. P. friends who now "saw the cat" in their own party. The ferment is going on in Kansas, and there will be things doing. Likewise the two Omaha meetings had visitors from Iowa (Council Bluffs.) Significant is the fact that the S. L. P. men, both in Kansas City and Omaha, have bravely got over the one-time Party fever to increase the membership. They were cured of that by the object lesson furnished by the S. P. in Omaha especially. Bigness being the S. P. slogan, everyone was taken in, with disastrous results. The S. L. P. have become "choice." Anxious tho' they are for recruits, they will take none who does not know just what he is after. At Omaha, J. P. Roe, an I. W. W. man who is also the S. P. national committee man for Nebraska, presided at my first meeting.

A curious incident happened in Omaha. After my second meeting a number of friends in the Movement (S. P. as well as S. L. P.) accompanied me to my room in my hotel. Among the topics that turned up was the S. P. charge about The People's "abusiveness." Both the S. P. and the S. L. P. visitors agreed that the charge was false. One of the S. P. men said: "The People's 'abusiveness' consists in telling the truth and proving it. We want that." I then said: "The S. P. man, who says The People is 'abusive,' is guilty of double falsehood. What he says is false, in that The People is no more abusive than an indictment; what he says is furthermore false in that it implies that his party press is not 'abusive.' Abuse only, the making of unsupported charges and including in vilification of the S. L. P. is the stock in trade of the S. P. press," saying this I took out of my grip a copy of the "Appeal to Reason," dated July 22, 1899, and passing the paper to one of them requested him to read aloud a certain column. He did so amidst general amusement. The column consisted of a string of paragraphs each more billings-gat than the other. One of these paragraphs, typical of the lot, was particularly relished. It was as follows:

"Daniel De Leon is not a Socialist and the Appeal to Reason will furnish the public proof of it, if De Leon dares call for it. But Danny is afraid to call for fear he will be landed behind the bars before he got done with it.

"Dear De Leon, See?

"Fraternally,  
"Appeal to Reason."

The passage illumined, not only the S. P. charge of The People's "abusiveness," but also the Appeal's lining up with the capitalist sheets in abuse of the Industrialists and in praise for the reactionists at last September's I. W. W. convention.

DANIEL DE LEON.

### DE LEON IN KANSAS CITY.

Good Audiences Greet Editor of *Daily People*—Handshakes From S. P. Men.

Kansas City, Mo., March 12.—De Leon's lectures in Kansas City were a success.

The first night the hall was well filled and his talk on Industrial Unionism gave good satisfaction to all who heard it. It was so clear that not a single question was asked, although the speaker pressed the invitation. A collection of over \$5 was taken and several pieces of literature sold.

The second night the weather was bad, cold and raining, but a good audience was present. The lecture on Socialism was plain and pointed and brought out a number of questions, notably one from a hot-headed Socialist Party man who favored the use of arms if the capitalist attempted to count out "us socialists" after we had carried an election. De Leon's answer was convincing, several leading S. P.'s coming forward to shake his hand and approve his answer. As a result we expect to double our membership inside a month.

We have opened headquarters at 140½ Walnut street and will "keep open house" from this on. A good collection was taken the second night and

more books sold. Two young S. P. men came to our organizer at close of second meeting and declared they would resign from that party the next day and would then join the S. L. P.

Lillian Forberg, of Chicago, will be here in a few days to push the work of organizing the I. W. W.

Haste the revolution.

Press Committee.

### DE LEON IN OMAHA.

Enthusiastically Introduced by Socialist Party State Secretary To Audience.

Omaha, Neb., March 12.—Daniel De Leon arrived in Omaha from Kansas City, March 10, at 6:10 P. M., and, after a light lunch, immediately went to the Lyric Theatre. There he was warmly greeted by members of the Industrial Workers of the World and Socialist Party and a few old veterans of the Socialist Labor Party, who still survive the hardships of the movement in Omaha.

J. P. Rowe, State Secretary of the Socialist party in Nebraska, also a member of Local 86, I. W. W., was made chairman of the meeting, which he conducted in a very able manner. Rowe introduced Fellow Worker De Leon as "the war horse of the Labor movement in America." The subject for the even-

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## DEFENSE OVERRULED

### COURT HOLDS MOYER ON EXPIRED INDICTMENT.

Decision Also Covers Cases of Hayward and Pettibone—Argument for Change of Venue Then Taken Up—Motion of Defense Backed by Six Hundred Affidavits—Prisoners Reported in Good Health and Spirit.

Boise, Idaho, March 19.—Moyer, Hayward and Pettibone, accompanied by four armed guards, were taken to Caldwell yesterday morning, and their trial for the murder of ex-Governor Steunenberg on December 30, 1905, begun in the Caldwell court. The train was stopped near the court house at Caldwell and the prisoners were taken from the train.

All the attorneys for both the State and the defence except Clarence Darrow were present when court convened with Judge Fremont Wood of Boise on the bench.

There were quite a number of spectators at the court. Those among them who had attended previous proceedings in this case last spring when the prisoners appeared in court, expressed great surprise at the appearances of the defendants. Moyer especially appears in

# ANTIPATRIOTISM

ADDRESS OF GUSTAVE HERVE, AT THE CLOSE OF HIS TRIAL FOR ANTI-MILITARIST ACTIVITY, BEFORE THE JURY OF LA SEINE, DECEMBER, 1905.

Translated For The People By Solon De Leon

(CONTINUED.)

As for us, revolutionary Socialists, we have discarded a flag along whose folds are blazoned in letters of gold the records of so many butcheries.

Flags are merely symbols. They have no value except for what they represent. What, then is the fatherland? What, indeed, are all the present nations?

Permit me, gentlemen of the jury, to use a figure, a sort of parable, which will give you a clearer idea of our position.

The nations, all nations, whatever may be the etiquette of their system of government, are composed of two sets of men, one far the smaller in numbers, the other comprising the vast majority of the population.

The first class is seated around a well set table, where nothing is wanting. At the head of the table, in the place of honor, are the high financiers. Some of them are Jews—yes; the others are Catholics; some more are Protestants, and others, free thinkers. They may be in disagreement with each other over questions of religion or philosophy, or even over rates of interest; but as against the great mass of the people they are banded like thieves at a fair.

To the right and left of them are the Ministers of state, the high functionaries of the civil, religious or military administrations, not to omit the general treasurers, with their 30, 40, or 60 thousand francs salaries per year; a little further around, the full Council of the Order of Lawyers, the glorious spokesman of the Universal Conscience; next the gentlemen of the court, and their precious auxiliaries, the solicitors, notaries, and bailiffs.

The big stock-holders in mines, factories, railroads, and steamship companies, the merchants, the possessors of castles and large estates, are all at this table; all those who own fountains are here also, at the foot of the table; they are the small fry who have, nevertheless, all the prejudices, all the reactionary instincts of the big capitalists.

You, also, gentlemen of the jury, I must place among the number of privileged persons gathered around this table. It is not an evil fate, I assure you. In return for work—when you do work—which is of an intellectual character, often pleasant, which always allows plenty of leisure, which flatters your pride and vanity, you get in return a bounteous life, rendered endurable by all the comfort, all the luxury which the progress of science has placed at the disposal of the favorites of fortune.

Far from that table I see a herd of beasts of burden, condemned to labor which is repugnant, unclean, dangerous, brutalizing, with neither rest nor respite, and above all, without security for the morrow; petty merchants, tied down to their counters on holidays and Sundays, pressed more and more to the wall by the combinations of large stores; small employers, crushed down by the consolidation of large plants; small land-holders, dulled and stupefied by work days 16 and 18 hours long, whose toil only goes to enrich the big brokers, millers, wine commission-merchants, and sugar refiners. Further still from the table around which the happy ones of the world are gathered, is the great mass of the proletariat, whose sole fortune is but their arms or their brains; workmen and women of the factories, liable to long periods of unemployment, petty officials and functionaries, forced to cringe low, and conceal their opinions; domestics of both sexes, food for exploitation, food for cannon, food for pleasure.

There are you countries!

A country of the present time is nothing but this monstrous social inequality, this monstrous exploitation of man by man.

When the proletarians uncover before the flag as it passes, that is what they uncover to. They say, in effect: "O. how lovely is our country! How free, how kind and just!" Yes, well may you laugh, Mr. Advocate-General, when you hear them sing:

"To die for our country  
Of deaths 'tis the best,  
The worst of envy."

You perhaps believe, gentlemen of the jury—it is an illusion natural with privileged ones—that it is by labor and economy that one arrives at this table of the lucky. We know, to be sure, that occasionally some one does get there by combined labor, good management, and thrift. We ask nothing better than to believe that it was thus that you succeeded in securing a place there. But the rest of us, all who are members of the manual and intellectual proletariat, know well, that one gets there most frequently by working others, and by imposing on them the privations.

If you are indeed ignorant of the history of your class, be assured that we know it to the bottom. We know that in the revolutionary Republican Assemblies of 1789 and 1793 there was not a single workingman or a single peasant, but only bourgeois, big and little, who worked for their own class interests.

We know how they fell upon the 6,000,000,000 francs owned by the priesthood and the nobility, and how so many ordinary and extraordinary fortunes were accumulated by fishing in troubled waters during the whole period of revolution.

We know how your class, once it had its fill, once its revolution was accomplished, in dread of Babeuf and the misery-stricken proletariat whose anger and hopes he voiced, digested its prey under shelter of the saber of Napoleon and the Concordat of the Pope of Rome.

We know how the newly rich, created by your revolution, making of themselves prefects, councillors of state, and senators, constructed the Codes under which we still live, so favorable to the classes in possession, so hard on the workers and the poor.

We know how they made for the officials of their class and those of ours, the grossly unequal standards of pay which we still suffer from, and our tax system, so light on the shoulders of the burly, so heavy on the shoulders of the weak; we know how they put forth their hands upon the coal mines, a natural resource, a collective property, which they distributed among some thousand stock-holders who have seen their investments of 500 and 1,000 francs jump in value to 10,000, 20,000, 50,000, and some, as those of Anzin, to 500,000 francs each.

We know, how, on the downfall of Napoleon, the upper bourgeoisie seized the machinery of government, and assumed control of Parliament, 90,000 electors from 1815 to 1830, and 300,000 from 1830 to 1848, arrogating to themselves the right to send representatives to that body, and denying the right of universal suffrage to the nation at large; we know how, profiting by this seizure of the government to roll up its privileges, your class extended its dominion, to the tune of burdensome levies upon the tax-payers, over the railroads, and how, all through the nineteenth century, it passed military laws rank with privilege and arbitrariness.

Since your revolution of 1789, your class, Code in hand, has piled up its fortunes on the tombstones of the small fry; and to-day, a hundred thousand men, most of whom are drones, have worked themselves into possession of all the principal means of production, mines, factories, railroads, and banks, levying, by directions or indirections, a tribute on the labor of the great expropriated multitude, more heavy than any yet recorded.

But our country is better than the others, they say. The Advocate-General himself, among many others, informs us so. Have you not heard him, gentlemen of the jury, complaisantly enumerate the many liberties which the French nation grants us? "You have

universal suffrage," they tell us, "you have the right of organization in trade unions, the right to strike, the right of assemblage, the freedom of the press. If the country is not good, it is for you, the sovereign people, to make it better!"

Universal suffrage! Just look at it! Overthrown in the countries of workshop and mansion by the economic pressure of the employers, nullified everywhere by the inevitable ignorance of voters torn early from school with only a rudimentary education, the universal suffrage is led about by the nose—permit me the expression—by your large newspapers, which are all in the control of the capitalist class, and all of which systematically falsify facts in order to fashion public opinion to their liking. Under the capitalist system, Capital is sovereign, even though it comply with republican forms.

The right to organize! It is tempered by the power held by your class to throw the leaders on the street and overcome them by starvation.

The right to strike? The witnesses who have been called, most of whom were of your own class, have recounted to you how strikers, even when orderly, are horsewhipped and sabred, and how even when strikes are successful, the employers perpetrate sinister deeds of reprisal among the ranks of the victors, in order that terror may reign among their slaves.

The right of assemblage! Ask of Bousquet and of Garnery what they think of it, they who for two months past have been within prison walls for the speeches they delivered at a public meeting, and who would now be free, like Jaluzot, if they could have found the 2,000 francs' bail cruelly and ironically demanded of them.

The liberty of the press? Look at us, who are here in this box. We are all old stagers. There is not one of us who has not been hauled up for our utterances in the press. They have had us before all the assize-courts of France and Navarre. The Advocate-General has eloquently boasted to you of the liberality of the press laws which permit us to be tried, according to him, before a jury of our peers. Our peers! Our equals! You, gentlemen! Come, now! I see among you land-holders, merchants, manufacturers, an engineer, an inspector, a bailiff; show me, Mr. Advocate-General, the manual or intellectual proletarians who confront us on these jury benches?

No, Mr. Advocate-General, it is vain to deny the existence of classes; they exist, they force themselves upon your recognition. Behold them. Here is one, in the box, under accusation—the proletariat; there is the other facing us, summoned there to judge us—the bourgeoisie.

You deny the classes, Mr. Advocate-General. But I am sure that among the municipal guards stationed in this room, there is not one, who, yesterday, when, with his magnificent forensic eloquence, under which multitudes thrill as the violin thrills to the bow, my comrade Bousquet voiced the hopes of the world's proletariat, did not respond; at the moment of which I speak, there was not one who did not feel that he belonged to our class, to us, the accused, and, sir, that he was the enemy of the class you represent.

Ah, you style yourself the advocate of all classes in society. You deceive yourself, sir. You are here as the advocate, the official attorney of only one class, the class which is really in the dock in this trial, the bourgeois class, the capitalist nation.

That the members of your class should love their country, gentlemen of the jury, is nothing wonderful. That you should ardently desire to die for it, Mr. Advocate-General, I can understand. The nation is for you a bounteous mother; she nursed you when you were infants; she instructed you; she afforded you a happy youth; and you look forward to measured and well recompensed labor, to long holidays, and to security for the morrow and for your old age.

You would indeed be monsters of ingratitude, unnatural children, if you did not fly to her defense when she called you.

I can say more than that. I can even understand that you should strive to communicate to us, the proletariat, your holy fire of patriotism.

You would be not at all sorry if we were patriots, so that, if your country were threatened, as happened the other day, at Fourmies, at Limoges, and at Longwy, we should make ourselves the watch-dogs of your strong-boxes and your privileges, against our own brothers in toil and misery.

You would be not at all sorry if we should remain patriots, and cheerfully steal, in the name of your civilization, another Tunis, another Tonkin, another Madagascar, or pillage anew Peking, for the benefit of your financiers.

It would not displease 80 per cent. of your class in the east, if, in case your financiers and diplomats did not agree to-morrow with those of Germany, we French and German proletarians should march against each other, and slaughter each other by the hundreds of thousands to decide whether Morocco should belong to the capitalists of Paris or of Berlin.

We are well informed, you see, as to the mysterious and interested springs of your patriotism. You are right, indeed, to strive to inculcate in the enslaved proletariat the cult of nationality, of flag-worship. You are right, in order to perpetuate the dominance of your class, to propagate among the proletariat a sentiment of patriotism which will blur class antagonism, which will make the sheep believe that they are the same race, the same family, the same nation with the wolves who devour them.

But you must permit us, Mr. Advocate-General, you must permit us proletarians, manual and intellectual, to entertain entirely different sentiments toward your nations.

The nation for you, is a kindly mother; for us, a step-mother, a shrew, who detests us.

Patriotism is for you a sentiment natural and profitable; for us it is a fool's trap.

We may retain for the town or village where we were born, where we grew up, where we suffered or loved, a deep affection, a natural and even instinctive feeling, which is in no way akin to your love of country; but we have lost all sentiment of love for such countries of privilege and iniquity as are the great nations of to-day.

For us, the world contains but two nations; that of the favored of fortune, and that of the dispossessed, whatever may be the language which they speak, whatever the land which gave them birth. Our compatriots are not the capitalists of this country, who would massacre us if they could, as they massacred the fathers of the Commune; they are the class-conscious proletarians, the Socialists, the revolutionists of all the earth, who are everywhere waging the same battle as we for the inauguration of a new society. In common with them, we but await the opportunity, when in this Europe where the railroads, the telegraph, the penny newspaper, and the uniformity of the capitalist regime have annihilated distance and reduced life to a dead level, we shall establish the free European federation, the first step towards that grand federation of humanity, in which the principalities of to-day will lose themselves, as the petty provinces of old lost themselves in the formation of the France, the England, the Germany of modern times.

In our hearts, Socialism, grounded on the class-struggle, has so utterly wiped out all national sentiment, that we were unable to restrain our smiles the other day when our good friend Gobier, but ill recovered from his ancient attack of patriotism, spoke to us with emotion of the affront of Fachoda. Your Government, your Nation, may receive any number of insults like that of Fachoda; but we others, we shall sustain thereby no offense; we are strangers to your nationalities, and all that they comprise.

The Advocate-General, the other day, was desirous of interesting us in the defense of "our" liberties, the liberties which we enjoy in this country, the "freest and sweetest of home-lands" as we have so often been told. I thank the Advocate for his solicitude over our liberties. We know quite well what we must do to defend "our" liberties, liberties not graciously bestowed upon us by your class, but which our forefathers tore from you by force. I have already shown you how illusory become these political liberties to us, so long as we remain economic serfs, and dependent for our morrow's bread almost upon the whim of that class which is master of the means of labor.

But that in which these political liberties are real and profitable to us, no one in the world can snatch away. In one of the most heated discussions which arose upon the anti-patriotic declarations made by me in the name of the Socialist federation of Lyons at a meeting in the Tivoli Vaux-Hall some months ago, several members of my Party urged against me the objection, for all the world like the Advocate-General himself, that if my ideas spread on this side of the frontier, the German Kaiser would gobble France at a mouthful, annex it, and thereby put a finish to all our liberties. Let us follow up this fantastical hypothesis, and see how soon its impossible nature becomes apparent.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

## THE LAST BELGIAN TRADES UNION CONGRESS

BY CAMILLE HUYSMANS, SECRETARY OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU, IN THE STUTTGART "NEUE ZEIT."

(Translated from the German by E. Fischer, N. Y.)

It is evident to me that even the Belgian press did not fully realize the importance of our last trades union Congress. I will endeavor, in this article, to describe the far reaching influence of the debates and the different tendencies which were noticeable during the sessions.

Belgium represents one of the four trades union types, into which the different professional organizations may be classified: (a) France; (b) Germany; (c) Denmark; and (d) Belgium.

In France the so-called "Syndicates" are not connected with the Socialist party. They are like lovers, coquetting with each other.

In Germany, trades unions and party are marching ahead on parallel roads. The connection is purely a personal one: it is the regime of "free love."

In Denmark, the unions and party are, through mutual representation, married to each other: it is the regime of the "commercial marriage."

In Belgium, union and party are one body, because the Party rose out of the craft organizations: it is the regime of a true union, commonly known as "legal marriage."

I believe the Belgian system to be the logical end and outcome of all the other systems. It recognizes, contrary to the French system, the uselessness of creating a difference between the political and the economic movements. It builds, unlike the German system, a real union. It makes it easier, better than the Danish system does, for the different forces of the movement to assist each other. It adopted at once tactics which it took

our English comrades long years of bitter experience to learn. Through this it saved itself twenty years of experimenting. But, strange to say, the labor movement started out with co-operative societies and political organizations. Notwithstanding the superiority of their form of organization, the co-operative elements were very weak in point of numbers and connection. The energetic movement of the masses at times was a surprise to the capitalist class, and forced it to grant concessions. The working class then believed that the fortresses of the bourgeoisie would be effectually bombarded by means of ammunition from these co-operative establishments. But our failure taught us a different lesson. Our defeat of 1902 opened the eyes of the proletariat, and work was commenced anew. In the interim some neutral or independent trades unions sprang up; the diamond workers of Antwerp, the textile workers of Verviers, the glass workers of Charleroi. The Printers of Brussels had been in existence for some time. The Party established a trades union committee after the fashion of the Germans, and issued a monthly review, "Das Correspondence blatt," always copying our friends on the other side of the Rhine. Trades unions, not connected with the Party, were given the privilege of being represented on this trades union committee of the Party, providing they would recognize the principle of the class struggle. In most cases, nothing was asked of these independent unions, but only those based upon the class struggle were admitted. The time was now ripe to give to this Central Committee a constitution and a permanent

secretariat. At once five different tendencies were noticeable:

(1) Followers of affiliation with the political Party, who were against representation of the independent unions in the Central Committee.

(2) Followers of affiliation with the Party, who were in favor of representation of the independent unions in the Central Committee, but demanded that the Committee should remain a part of the Party under the title "Trades Union Committee of the Labor Party."

(3) Followers of affiliation with the Party, who believed in representation of the independent unions in the Central Committee because they looked upon these bodies as a sort of a reserve army, to be considered in the economic struggle. They intended to harmonize the two groups of trades unions and to give the Central Committee a name, indicating the real composition of the organization, i.e., made up of members from all groups: "Trades Union Committee of the Labor Party and the Independent Unions."

(4) Followers of non-affiliation of the unions with the Party for tactical reasons, and representation in the Central Committee under the terms of group 3.

(5) Followers of non-affiliation of the unions with the Party, as a basic principle of the organization, recognizing a trades union Central Committee apart from the Party.

Groups one and five were quickly forced to retreat. Group one joined group two, and group 5, group four. As in reality the question of neutrality or independence of unions was never asked, and, as everybody realized that the unions had to settle the question of affiliation or non-affiliation with the Party themselves, only two distinct factions remained, one composed of groups one and two, the other of groups three, four and five.

I am sorry to admit that I left most of my friends by joining the latter faction, and I believe that I was one of the first few defenders of system No. 3, the only one answering the momentary conditions. I had very good reasons. According to my views, the Belgian unions pass, in their development, through five different stages:

(a) The workers organize because they believe the trades union is their only weapon.

(b) The workers learn in the workshop that there is no social harmony possible, as the Liberals, and the "Christian Socialists" try to make believe, and that the struggle against the exploiters is a class struggle.

(c) The Trades Unions based upon the class struggle, know that they must form national Federations, combined through a Central Committee of Trades Unions.

(d) The members of the Central Committee, organized in national and local unions upon class lines, learn that the difference between the economic and the political movements is only an optical delusion, that the political part is only a reflex of the economic, that the union alone is impotent to a degree, and that therefore the union must go into labor politics, which must be Socialistic.

(e) The unionists, organized on class lines in National Federations, combined in a Central Committee, believe in Socialism, and are members of the Labor Party.

The majority of the Party members who fought for the trades union in the Congress, thought that the Belgian economic organization could be made to order, and insisted upon a Socialist standard. Undoubtedly, they acted wrongly, as they did not take into consideration the different stages of mental development of the different groups of workers. What shall be done with unions, whose members are not as yet Socialists? Shall they be debarred from entering the Central Committee of the trades unions?

No! Shall they be admitted to the party? No! To keep these unions out of the Central Committee means to declare war against them. The possible result would be a split in the Party, and a disorganization of the economic forces. I hold that we must pay attention to the different stages of development, to which different groups of workers have attained.

In Vilvorde a local independent union is forming, for the purpose of uniting the workers in a certain locality. They are entering stage (a). The workers are united. Afterwards they recognize the class struggle. This is stage (b), in which you find the textile workers of Verviers. Now they form a national federation, and gain membership in the Central Committee—stage (c), which the Printers have reached. The next step is for the workers to become adherents of Socialism. This is the case with the Diamond Workers, who exemplify stage (d). The last forward move is to join the Labor Party, as the Metal Workers have done, and who represent the last stage (e).

Against those who always look first at the Party and then at the working class, I hold that in economic matters we must first consider the working class. This certainly does not include the neglect of the interests of the Party.

Peace to the working class, war to the capitalist class.

In a central body of labor unions you must take in all elements. Education will do the rest. The question of an economic central organization is not so very simple as some believe, and why should we exclude from the central body all such organizations as are based upon principles which are adopted with good results in other countries? A human organization is never perfect. Undoubtedly you find unions in France and Germany which consider the Belgian system an ideal one. Let us reverse the situation. Could the French Confederation and the German General Commission exclude those unions which are not up to the standard, because they are in the minority? This would be ab-

surd. On the other hand, could you rob them of their will by the covert pretext: "You are bestowing a great honor upon us by joining the General Commission, but this central body belongs to us alone. All we can do is to tolerate you. Our name does not indicate the composition of this organization. We have everything and we are going to keep it?"

Is this loyal, honest or courageous? The Congress, whose majority was composed of representatives unfriendly toward a solution of the delicate problem for the benefit of all concerned, because they held that their position was the only correct one, did not dare to follow its momentary impulses. The Congress realized what it meant to force the independents to retreat. The whole matter was referred to a special committee, composed of five members from the Central Committee, five of the Socialist unions (the Labor Party), and five independents.

I hope that the result of the deliberations of this special committee will be an agreement to unite all the workers more closely together against their masters and make possible Socialist propaganda among those who are not as yet able to draw the logical conclusion from the class struggle.

This agreement would at the same time not allow the independent unions to act politically against the existing Labor Party. Organizations of long standing are gradually realizing the growing power of the Central Committee. Already 50,000 are marching together. Tomorrow there can be 80,000, or 100,000. New organizations will be forced to join the Committee. To become stronger, you must first be strong.

We are on the eve of the unity of the Belgian workers, based upon the trades unions. The time is nearing its end, when chaos reigned upon the economic field. No jurisdiction squabbles any more. There was no concerted action possible, as a directing will had only a nominal existence. The Central Committee had no power, no authority, to act. Only at times it could play a role. Thus was no permanent office with a

permanent secretary. Only the will existed, not a responsible persons, to carry it out. There was only an accidentally elected member, as in the Italian unions. The only time the Central Committee got any recognition was during strikes, when an empty treasury caused an appeal to the solidarity of all workers to be issued. This chaotic state of affairs will soon be over. The unions will be asked by referendum to raise their dues so as to be in a position to engage a permanent secretary to closer connect the different organizations, in one word, to centralize the force of labor.

### HOW TO JOIN THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

All persons desiring to attach themselves to the Socialist Labor Party, either by the formation of a local organization known as a "Section," or by joining as members at large, may proceed as follows:

- Seven or more persons may form a "Section," provided they subscribe to the platform and constitution of the S. L. P., belong to no other political party and are not officers of a pure and simple trade of labor organization.
- Isolated persons, unable to find six others to join with them in organizing a "Section," but desiring to become members, may do so by becoming members at large upon signing an application card, subscribing thereon to the platform and constitution of the S. L. P. and answering other questions on said application card.

For application blanks to be used in the formation of "Sections" and for application cards for the use of individual members as well as all other information apply to the undersigned. Frank Bohn, National Secretary, 2-6 New Reade Street, New York (P. O. Box 4576).

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