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EDITORIAL

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW.

By DANIEL DE LEON

SOCIALISM—that is, the serious thing; not the pink-tea article dealt in by elites who are cloyed with sports, and look for something tart—Socialism teaches that the Union, being the constituency of Future Society, is the present school in which the proletariat is to drill itself into efficiency for the civic qualities and attainments that the Socialist or Industrial Republic will demand of it.

Read the article under the above head, published elsewhere in this issue.¹ It is the report of the delegates of Union No. 49 of the International Typographical Union, located in Denver, made to their Local upon their return from the national convention of their international organization. Read that report. It presents a bird's-eye view, not of the I.T.U. only, but of all the other Civic-Federationized and Militia-of-Christized bodies that constitute the bulk of Unionism as “she” appears in organized form at present in the land.

What is read by the light of the successive flash-lights that passage after passage of the report sheds across the field?

What is read is the confirmation of the estimation that the *Wall Street Journal* holds of what may be termed “Gompersian Unionism”—the bulwark of capitalism in America.

The Industrial Republic is the sublimation of individual freedom, hence of democratic government. The schools in which the proletariat is to be trained for the Industrial must of necessity be schools in which the proletariat is trained in, and accustomed to, the exact opposite of the ways of Autocracy. The methods of the late I.T.U. national convention, as exposed in the report, make clear that, not to freedom, but to slavery is the mind of the rank and file attuned; not in freedom, but in

¹ [From *Weekly People*, September 28, 1912, page 3, below.]

despotism, are the officers exercised.

The Working Class is to-day the majority of the country's population. That majority is bound to grow a larger and larger one. The bodies in which it is organized are the foreshadowings of the future. Are these bodies more and more enlightened?—then the future reads Progress. Are these bodies more and more in the darkness of ignorance?—then the future reads Reaction.

In the Unionism that the I.T.U. typifies one may find the explanation of the rise of such ominously sinister figures as the would-be theocratically despotic Taft, and the mailed-hand dictatorial Roosevelt.

In the Unionism that the I.T.U. typifies one may find the explanation of the straining on the part of the awakened and awakening portion of the land's proletariat to emancipate itself from Gompersism, and organize itself in style and form to render itself fit for the Socialist Republic—a straining that is illustrated by the note of indignation in the report to Union No. 49, and the deliberate note of satire with which the report justly castigates the Gompers system and its international pillars.

The smoldering indignation will wax into a conflagration; the satire into a consuming fire;—and then, despite all the artifices of Reaction, as other Forces of Evil fell before, will fall the Capitalist State, its capitalist “Union” prop being pulled from under.

Transcribed and edited by Robert Bills for the official website of the Socialist Labor Party of America.
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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1912.



SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

FOR PRESIDENT ARTHUR ELMER REIMER of Massachusetts

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT AUGUST GILLHAUS of New York

Let us not be ashamed to speak what we are not ashamed to think. —MONTAIGNE.

POSSIBILISM AND IMPOSSIBILISM.

The term "Impossibilism" was introduced into American political parlance by the Socialist party in its struggle with the Socialist Labor Party and as a justification for S. P. existence against the S. L. P.

The omission is now being filled by Roosevelt—and convincingly so.

"Impossibilism" means a policy that does not immediately materialize in votes: "Possibilism" is the opposite; it does materialize immediately in more votes than does "Impossibilism."

"Impossibilism" is the policy that educates, and education is a slow process. "Possibilism" is the policy that lashes the waters, and that makes a noise.

"Impossibilism" makes notoriety, together with the usual accompaniment of cash, impossible: "Possibilism" makes such notoriety and cash quite possible.

"Impossibilism" holds that it is better to lose to-day in a cause that is bound to triumph later, than to triumph to-day in a cause that is bound to lose later: "Possibilism" rather triumphs now, though certain to lose later, than lose now though bound to triumph later.

"Impossibilism," accordingly, is a bone that sticks across the throat of capitalist rule: "Possibilism" is a bread-pill that the throat of capitalist rule can completely swallow—as it did through Roosevelt.

The Socialist party is, indeed, "Possible": the Socialist Labor Party is, indeed, "Impossible."

THE ARREST OF HAYWOOD.

It is not quite a month ago that Theodore Roosevelt delivered his first campaign speech in Massachusetts. The speech was delivered on the Boston Common. A passage of the speech was devoted to dragging the legislative department of existing government through the mire, and proportionally extolling the executive. Every sentence of that passage was, accordingly, a stroke of the axe of Anarchy laid to the root of Order.

Within a month, in the identical State of Massachusetts, in the identical city of Boston, and on the identical Common, William D. Haywood urged a nationwide General Strike for the 30th of this month in the event of Ettor and Giovan-

netti not being set free by that date; urged, accordingly, a revolutionary act, the revolutionary instrument for which—a well organized, self-disciplined, class-conscious and self-respecting mass organization—is conspicuous by its absence.

Have, then, Roosevelt and Haywood changed roles—the dictatorial Big Stick become Anarchist, the disorderly Anarchist become Dictator?

No. They have preserved their respective roles—only, the logic of events has betrayed the close affinity of the two.

It is hard to tell where Dictatorship ends and Anarchy begins; or, inversely, where Anarchy ends and Dictatorship starts. The witch's cauldron from which the two emerge, the ingredients that go to their composition are the same.

Dictatorship is a socio-political system of two "houses"—the Dictator and the Mob, termed, in that instance, "the People." Anarchy is a socio-political system also of two "Houses"—the Mob, termed, in this instance, "the Working Class," and the "Husky Leader." As no Dictator is possible without a mob degeneracy of social sediment, neither is Anarchy conceivable without the Husky Leader at its top.

In the arrest of Haywood and the being at large of Roosevelt lies an oddity of the season—an oddity that illustrates the monstrosity of the hour—a monstrosity that it is the task of the Socialist or Labor Movement to wipe out.

J. OF PHILADELPHIA.

When one reflects upon the career of J. Mahlon Barnes of Philadelphia; his acting as informer against his own Union, and then, when his Union had him where the hair was short, purchasing peace by turning traitor to his then party, the Socialist Labor Party; his corruption in the office of National Secretary to which he was promoted in the party he then turned to, the Socialist party; his activity in get-rich-quick schemes; his immorality during his administration; the brazenness with which he indulged his slanderous proclivities even against the grey hairs of Mother Jones;—when one considers the "gigantic gains" made by the S. P. under the National Secretaryship of the said Barnes;—when, finally, one reads the omnium that the Hillquits, the Spargos, the Hunters and other dignitaries of the said S. P. shower upon the Barnes in question;—when all these things are considered together, then one insensibly betakes himself to linking fancy unto fancy, mounting from the present gradually up into remote and still remoter days, till the mind is arrested by the historic figure of George of Cappadocia.

The remarkable career of George of Cappadocia is the subject of one of Gibbons' most brilliant pages. Gibbons runs rapidly over the manner that George of Cappadocia rose from obscurity by the arts of the flatterer, the sycophant and the parasite; how the patrons, upon whom he assiduously fawned and whom he flattered, procured for their vile dependent a contract to supply the army with bacon; how his employment, mean itself, was rendered infamous by him; how he accumulated wealth by fraud and corruption till he was compelled to escape from the pursuits of justice and resign under fire; how, after his disgrace, he embraced the profession of the Christian sect of Arianism, through which he was promoted to the archiepiscopal throne of Alexandria; how his sinister instincts re-asserted themselves in his new office; how his entrance into Alexandria was that of a barbarian conqueror, where each moment of his reign was polluted by cruelty and avarice, until at the accession of the Emperor Julian, named the Apostate, he was physically torn to pieces; finally, how Arian partisanship aided by fraudulent Bishops, introduced his worship into the bosom of the Catholic church, and "the odious stranger, disguising every circumstance of time and place, assumed the mask of a martyr, a saint and a Christian hero; and the infamous George of Cappadocia has been transformed into the renowned St. George of England, the patron of arms, of chivalry, and of the garter."

We never knew what the J in J. Mahlon Barnes originally of Philadelphia stands for, but a bird's-eye view of his own and of the career of George of Cappadocia justifies the conclusion that, if this were the 4th, instead of the 20th century, Bishops Hillquit, Spargo and Hunter would surely find their account in transforming J. of Philadelphia into St. J.;—and the chest of the Socialist Movement heaves with relief at the certainty that the 20th is not the 4th century, and that posterity will not have such a grotesque imposition palmed off upon it.

The New York Labor News Company is the literary agency of the Socialist Labor Party. It prints nothing but sound Socialist literature.

WILSON SELF-IMPALED.

Woodrow Wilson makes the deliberate statement that "the working people of America are the backbone of the nation" and he proceeds to urge the propriety of laws that "protect them where they can not protect themselves."

A social "backbone" that can not protect itself is a curious sociologic conception.

Either the "backbone" is a backbone, and then it has backbone enough to protect itself; or it needs to be protected, and then it is no backbone at all.

On one of the horns of this dilemma the talented Woodrow Wilson has impaled himself.

Under the system of capitalism, the working class is no "backbone"—any more than sheep are the backbone of the wool clipper, or cattle on the hoof are the backbone of the slaughterhouse operator; or feathers are the backbone of a millinery firm.

Under the capitalist system, the working class is what sheep, cattle and feathers are in the above instance—assets of the capitalist class. The more abundant the working people, all the larger the assets, all the more plentiful the profits, and all the more affluent the capitalist class. The recent atrocities in the Putnam districts, committed by capitalists in order to focus the native Indians to the condition of "backbone," are illustrations, hot from the oven of Capitalism, of just what the working class is expected to be, and of the lengths that Capitalism will go in order to furnish itself with certain assets without which Capitalist society is spavined.

Being no "backbone," the working class needs to be protected. To be protected means, to a human stratum of society, to be pariah. Whatever the cloaks, phrases, and other legal fictions that the Working Class is wrapped in—pariah it is in all the spirit of the term.

One would expect from the good intentions of a Woodrow Wilson, and from his culture, that his culture and good intentions would jointly constitute a broom powerful enough to sweep aside his class-habits of thought, and enable him to penetrate the fact that social evolution is demanding one of two things, imperatively,—either the complete emancipation of the Working Class, or its complete re-subjugation with physical brass collars "around its physical neck."

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT.

The War Minister of the Kingdom of Bavaria having pardoned two officers who had come under the ban for "expressing Socialistic views," the despatches announce that Herr Franckenstein, a Centrist, that is, a member of the Roman Catholic political party in the Bavarian Diet, attacked the War Minister for his leniency, declaring that "Socialism is completely undermining the discipline and loyalty of the army; and the two officers have repudiated their pledge of loyalty."

When the Christian political movement was struggling to gain its footing under the rule of the old Roman empire, not a few were the instances of military men who "expressed Christian views," and who were disciplined for so doing. Some, as the celebrated Marcellus the centurion, were even punished with death. The theory—which correctly proceeded from the premises that the Christian Movement was a political movement aiming at the subvention of the existing system of government—was that Christianity was completely undermining the discipline and loyalty of the army, and amounted, when favored by army men, to a repudiation of their pledge to the Emperor. The bishops of then pleaded against, or condemned, according as they thought they had the power, the disciplining of the Marcelluses. Such acts of discipline were termed "persecution" by the bishops; and not a few of the thus "persecuted" were enrolled on the list of martyrs.

As vast as, indeed, a vastly more general political movement than, the Christianity of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th centuries is the Socialist Movement of our own generation.

It is "in form" that the political prelates of to-day should scent in Socialism the identical danger to their political rule that the officials of the old Roman Empire scented in Christianity, and that these political prelates should demand severe punishment for the officers in the army who "express Socialistic views."

But, is it equally "in form" these political prelates, having much more recorded history to illumine their minds—is it equally "in form" that these political prelates should know no better than to kick against pricks as their heathen forebears did?

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GREED OF CAPITALISTS.

Washington, Sept. 19.—Child labor in Philadelphia, the deplorable conditions of mills and factories, and the sordid greed of capitalists for greater wealth are largely responsible for the high death rate in this city—responsible for the deaths of hundreds of innocent children—according to Dr. Joseph S. Neff, director of the department of public health and charities in Philadelphia.

Sweeping charges of such conditions were made by the director in an address yesterday before the municipal health officers' section of the American Health Association here. Later he was more specific. He declared that his remarks were based on observations made in the mills and factories of Philadelphia, where he said factory inspection is a farce.

The director flayed employers whose unsanitary factories lower the vital resistance of the employes, destroying their health and driving them into untimely graves.

Health officers from all over the country heard and applauded his sentiments.

"We know," said Dr. Neff, "that many preventable deaths are due to diseases contracted on account of lowered vital resistance through occupation; to the evil employment of immature children to satiate the greed of wealth; to improper care for female operators; to working in unsanitary buildings; in addition to the so-called hazardous occupations, improper housing conditions, and to alcoholism and poverty, all tending to make subnormal people and high death rate."

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW

REPORT OF DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION.

Denver, Colo., Sept. 1, 1912. To the Officers and Members of Denver Typographical Union No. 49.

Ladies and Gentlemen: Your representatives to the Fifty-eighth Annual Convention of the International Typographical Union, held at Cleveland, Ohio, from August 12 to 17, 1912, desire to make the following report of the transactions of that body and give a true expression of opinion concerning all matters in connection therewith.

The convention was the largest in point of attendance, both of delegates and visitors, of any in the history of the I. T. U., 330 delegates being present.

Propositions to the number of about 170 were submitted. Of this number, the great majority were reported unfavorably by the Laws Committee. Their introducers did not even think it worth while to explain their purport or reason for introduction. Naturally, the delegates passed them up as being frivolous, and they received but scant attention from the convention.

The appeal of this Union from a decision of the executive council in the Means case was dismissed, as were also eight other appeals from various unions, two having Homer Dunn figuring in his usual brutal and ignorant capacity as prosecutor and persecutor from New Orleans.

The proposition of No. 49 to have the convention appropriate \$25,000 in aid of the striking Chicago pressmen was not endorsed. This was in line with the action of the executive council in deciding not to support the pressmen.

The history of the pressmen's trouble, in brief, is as follows: At the time Mr. Hearst started his chain of papers he had a notion that he could make himself President of the United States. In pursuing this notion, he adopted a policy of extreme liberality, not alone toward the pressmen, but also toward members of the I. T. U. and other organizations, with the sole object of securing, through the trumpeting of his virtues as a "good" employer by members of the printing industry, the hearty and unbounded support of organized labor generally.

The Hearst papers in Chicago had a private contract with the pressmen, and employed ten men on a press, whereas the other Chicago papers employed only eight. This Hearst contract expired. Hearst then elected to operate his papers under the contract of the A. N. P. A., which calls for eight men instead of ten on a press. As Hearst no longer indulges himself in the presidential notion, he sees no good business reason why he should employ two more men on a press than other publishers (to be charged solely to advertising account); hence his waning love for the working class and an increasing affection for profits. A dispute arose over this reduction from ten to eight men.

According to Mr. Lynch, the Hearst management offered to arbitrate this matter of reducing the force, and the strike occurred. The pressmen's side was not heard, and the convention had no knowledge as to whether the pressmen had declined to arbitrate or not. Mr. Berry, international president of the pressmen, is now "representing" organized labor in Europe, leaving the real warriors to fight their own battles without his "masterful" leadership.

Also, according to Mr. Lynch, the international pressmen's union is \$60,000 in debt, and has not yet assessed its own members. Your delegates did not have any means of ascertaining whether or not Mr. Berry had allowed the case to come to a strike in order that he might go before all organized labor for contributions to restore "his" treasury to a prosperous condition. Mr. Lynch said they "had something" on the pressmen's officials, and that even a threat to publish it makes them "lay down," but the convention did not get the benefit of this information. As there was no evidence submitted to refute the statements of Mr. Lynch, there was nothing for the convention to do but to accept all statements made by Lynch as being true, and to vote accordingly. The executive council was sustained practically unanimously, as your delegates merely asked to be recorded as voting against the unfavorable report of the committee.

Before passing this subject, it might be well to state that the same situation that confronted the pressmen in Chicago might have confronted some local unions of the I. T. U., were it not for the fact that they have, since Hearst established his papers, increased their scales to even a higher one than that inaugurated by Mr. Hearst; while a seeker after the presidential

office and a lover of the "horny-handed sons of toil."

Your delegates gave their best efforts in support of No. 49's objection to the executive council's decision in the matter of compelling local arbitration where no contract exists and the employers wish to arbitrate.

In connection with this matter your delegates were the recipients of one of Mr. Lynch's characteristic and uncouth inferences, to the effect that no one but himself knows what he is talking about. The letter of the procedure under the new agreement provides two representatives of the Union, one of whom is to be a member of the union and the other not connected with any union; and two representatives of the publishers, one to be actively engaged in the newspaper business and the other not connected with it or interested in it; these four men to select a fifth, to be the chairman, who would make the decision in case of a deadlock. The spirit of this procedure, though, naturally calls for two wage-earners and two employers, with the chairman as a possible third employer.

Just who the union's second representative would be but an employer is not made plain by Lynch, for he must not be a union man, and we certainly would not have a strike-breaker. Your delegates argued that this fifth man generally has the same instincts as the employers, or at least extremely susceptible to viewing the arguments advanced by the employers as being all that are just and equitable. This would make the board stand: three employers, one union man, and a non-union man drawn from that large and mystic division of society commonly known as the "Public." And we are to be compelled to go into this arrangement providing the employers demand it! But this is not arbitration, it is merely a slaughter of the innocents!

While we are criticizing the pressmen's officers for their "blunders worse than a crime," would it not seem that the whole working class is suffering from a large bunch of international blunderers, of whom first one and then another commit blunders worse than crimes, with the result that the wage-earners are constantly fighting themselves and entering into arbitration arrangements under which they can expect nothing but defeat; in fact, they are stopped before they get started?

Is it not about time that the real warriors, who suffer all the ill consequences brought about by these international blunderers and bullies, wake from their slumber and tell the blunderers to retire?

Five propositions were advocated by the Progressives as progress along the right lines. All were reported unfavorably by the Laws Committee, which action does not speak well for that committee's conception of a democratic form of organization or of a free people's ability to satisfactorily rule themselves.

The first of these had for its purpose the establishment of eighteen districts, each to elect its own representative, or organizer, which eighteen representatives would constitute a board of directors to conduct the business of the international union, and each representative to be elected by the members of the district in which he resides. This, naturally, would take away some power from the executive council, which seems to have developed into a form of benevolent paternalism.

Mr. Lynch was of the solemn opinion that if this system were adopted the organization would go to the demnition bow-wows, and it would "strike a blow at the present system, under which the organization has grown so powerful." Our safety and continued prosperity lie in not only continuing the present autocratic monarchy, but living in fear of the day when an ignorant and irresponsible mob, composed of a majority of the membership, might take it into its head to depose the present benevolent despot and benefactor.

The second proposition had for its purpose the giving of one-half column of space, in an official journal we all contribute to support, to all candidates seeking international office, that they may be enabled to tell ALL the members what they stand for, instead of being compelled to tell only A PART, and that at their own expense.

This also strikes at the present system, under which the executive council (or, as Lynch put it, "the organization"), has grown so powerful.

The third proposition would compel the publication in the Journal of all appeal decisions of the executive council.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN (with dancing eyes)—Did you read that Upton Sinclair article that I gave you, "A Bold Plan"?

UNCLE SAM—I did. B. J. (with hopping eyes)—Isn't it great!

U. S.—Yes—a great heels-over-head exhibition. B. J. (livid with rage)—That's the way of all you Socialist Labor Party people! A thing is no good unless you say it! It is rule, or ruin, with you! (Speaking very fast) Nobody is any good but you! You are the only original Socialists! Outside of you everybody is worthless! You think you know it all! You S. L. P. men are a bunch of Pops! You — you — (gasping for breath)—you —

U. S.—Yes, we —? B. J.—Are the most intolerant, narrow, perverse, offensive, blackguardly bunch of fanatics that ever walked on shoe leather!

U. S. (who has been listening to the tirade with a broadening grin)—Art through!

B. J.—I am! And that is what I think of you S. L. P. folks. That article by Upton Sinclair is simply great!

U. S.—I said so, myself. It is a great piece of heels-over-headness.

B. J.—It isn't! It is a good article—really bold. U. S.—Prove it.

B. J.—Well—you see—he wants the revolution—and he;—well, he;—damn you, S. L. P., with your everlasting demands for proof—proof—proof! U. S.—You have dunked in your proof. Now I'm going to give you a sample of S. L. P. "intolerance," "popery," "blackguardism," etc. I shall prove what I said. Now speak up! Doesn't Sinclair admit that all your men who have been elected to municipal offices have made an egregious failure of it?

B. J.—He does. But he shows how to avoid making the failure in future.

U. S.—What plan does he map out?

B. J.—Well—his plan is that the moment an S. P. municipal officer is installed, he immediately take the bull by the horns on some issue that will do the workers good, if enforced.

U. S.—And does he expect the S. P. official to enforce the issue?

B. J.—No. He admits the official will be forthwith drowned under a wave of injunctions, and probably land in jail.

U. S.—And what good will that do?

B. J.—It will do this good—it will give the S. P. official an opportunity to start a hell of an agitation—and that will bring about the Revolution.

U. S.—Good.

B. J.—Wait a minute. He also says that every S. P. candidate ought to make perfectly clear to the electors what he means to do, and that he does not want the votes of anybody who does not intend to back him up.

U. S.—That is the language of the S. L. P. candidates.

B. J.—But they don't get elected!

U. S.—Could the S. P. candidates be elected if they held that language, instead of the language they hold to-day?

B. J.—No. They could not.

U. S.—Very well. You have said all I need to prove to you the foot-in-the-mouth nature of that "great" article. Just answer me this question, is there any danger of successful candidates, who have made up-to-the-handle Socialist revolutionary campaigns, being thrown into jail when they start to fulfill their promises?

B. J.—I don't know—you see, the residents of one city may accept Socialism, and yet the rest of the country may be hostile.

U. S. (with a smile)—Can you imagine Socialist municipal candidates conducting an up-to-the-handle Socialist revolutionary campaign, and sweeping a city like Milwaukee, or even Schenectady, without at least one-third of that portion of the land's population that counts having turned Socialists?

B. J.—No. That's true. Victory in a city of any size must mean a large Socialist mass outside.

U. S.—And can you imagine any such victory without at least another third of that portion of the population that counts being electrified, and speedily matured into Socialists?

B. J.—That's true.

U. S.—I should think so! Consequently, successful Socialist candidates, who made up-to-the-handle campaigns, will run no risk of being thrown into jail for fulfilling their promises—the masses of the people will stand by them, or pull them out of jail p. d. q.—if necessary tear down the jail.

B. J.—True.

U. S.—So, then, the "bold" Sinclairian plan amounts to this: Either carry on a true Socialist campaign—and then there is no chance to start the "hell of an agitation" after election. The candidates could not now be elected; Or, carry on the regulation S. P. campaign of gathering the most heterogeneous of discontented votes, on all manner of contradictory promises, and then the "hell of an agitation" after election can not be thought of—political tight-rope dancers before election, never could walk with steady step after election, and there you are, heels-over-head.

CORRESPONDENCE

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. No other will be recognized.]

OLSSON'S NEW HEARING OCTOBER 15 IN SAN FRANCISCO.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—That Leonard Olsson of the Socialist Labor Party will soon get his citizenship papers back without a fight is now assured. Olsson, having appealed his case, now gets the assistance, upon order from Attorney General Wickersham from the United States, of the District Court here.

When this news was given out, an early settlement of the case was looked for. Some members of the Socialist Labor Party even expected Olsson to get his papers on time to be placed upon the Washington State ticket of the S. L. P. for the coming election. But on Sept. 10 it was announced that the hearing would be held in San Francisco on Oct. 16. The Seattle "Post-Intelligencer" of Sept. 10 contains the following news item of the Olsson case:

"The Leonard Olsson naturalization case will not be heard at the present sitting of the United States court of appeals in this city. United States District attorney B. W. Coiner has been notified by Frank D. Monkton, clerk of that court at San Francisco, that the papers in the case had been received too late to have it placed on the Seattle calendar, and that it had been assigned for hearing at San Francisco on October 16.

"An Associated Press telegram received in this city from Washington, D. C. last night, however, announces that Acting Attorney General Harr has instructed Mr. Coiner to agree to a reversal by the circuit court of former Judge Hanford's decision."

Why the Olsson case should be transferred for a hearing down to San Francisco, Oct. 16, is not clear. The excuse or explanation that the late filing of the case was the reason is not given much credence here. The Olsson Defence Committee, composed of members of the Socialist Labor Party here, is now facing this outlay of traveling expenses for the principal and the lawyers down to San Francisco. Having been worsted here in Seattle, the powers that be seem intent on putting all the hardships they can on their Socialist opposition. But their procrastinations will only open the eyes of the people more widely to the spirit of the capitalist judiciary.

Adolf S. Carm, Seattle, Wash., Sept. 12.

THE AMERICAN FLAG.
To the Daily and Weekly People:—I am requested by several comrades to write you to republish in The People the editorial on the "American Flag."

Adolf S. Carm, Seattle, Wash., Sept. 11.

[The editorial asked for is below.]

THE AMERICAN FLAG.

When, at the late Union Square May Day demonstration in this city, held under the auspices of the Socialist party, Haywood Anarchist associates of the S. P., fired by the cry: "This is International Day, we will not speak under that flag!" rushed to the platform and sought to tear down the American Flag, there was exhibited that feature of the Anarchist which has been more than once commented upon and demonstrated in these columns—under-developed mentality and over-developed bestiality.

He who knows history knows also the history of flags. There is hardly a flag in Europe that was not born of rapine, and does not symbolize rapine. Whether it be the British flag, with its "Three Crosses quartered" symbolizing the practically forceful annexation of Scotland and Ireland to England; or whether it be the Austrian flag emblematic of the mailed hand that organized feudal disorder into an imperial system, and crushed down the peasantry; or whether it be the Russian flag, a testimony to the theory that bloody tyranny is of divine right, and, the bloodier, all the more divine; or whether it be the German flag, the insignia of militarism rampant; or whether it be the flag of Spain harkening back to terrorism of body and mind;—whether it be the flag of any of these and most of the nations of Europe, their flags are living modern monuments of cruel oppression in the

Past and reminders that their Past reaches into the Present. Even the flags of Holland and Switzerland, born though they were of national aspirations for independence, are not free from the suture that attaches to the others. Aye, even the Tricolor of bourgeois France is no exception. 'Twas not the Rights of Man alone that it proclaimed; it simultaneously proclaimed, by the early statute against the right of the French proletariat to organize itself economically, that the proletariat had no rights, and that, by Man, the bourgeois alone was meant.

While all the European flags rose out of the fumes of human sighs, were planted upon the prostrate bodies of subjects, and were meant defiantly to proclaim the double wretchedness as a social principle, it was otherwise, it was the exact opposite with the "Stars and Stripes."

Apart from the circumstances that the American Flag was first raised by men, who, however, and pardonably, mistaken in their sociology and economics, did sincerely believe that the American Flag, raised over the boundless natural opportunities which the land offered to industry, would insure the citizen the power and responsibility of being the architect of his own fortune; apart from the circumstance that the American Flag was the first to wave over a Constitution that "legalizes revolution"—apart from these and many other kindred circumstances, the historic fact that the scientist, the noble-minded, the venerable Franklin, when the scheme of the flag was presented to him, a blue field with a star for each State, expressed the hope that the day would dawn when every Nation in the world would be represented in that blue field with her own star,—that fact confers upon the American Flag the lofty distinction of being the first on earth to urge the Brotherhood of Nations: the first to herald the Solidarity of peoples; the first drapery-symbol of Peace on Earth;—that fact renders the American Flag the anticipation of the Red Flag of International Brotherhood, and endears it to the heart of civilized man.

Of all this the under-developed mentality of the Anarchist knows nothing, can feel and know nothing. Hatred being the active element in his sufferings-torn heart, the milk of human kindness having soured in his breast, the Anarchist knows only of the oppression that flags, generally, have symbolized—and he acts accordingly.

The Flag of Franklin and of Jefferson the Anarchist knows of only in the hands of the modern bourgeois, who seek to conceal their civic crimes in, and to justify them by its folds. Hatred bereaving him of his mind's eye to see, the Anarchist perceives not that the misfortune that has befallen the American Flag has, in spots, already befallen the Red Flag itself, in so far as it has fallen into the hands of the Passaic County Local and of the Officialdom-and-Press of New York City Local of the S. P., who, under its folds, and in gratification of their personal ends, sought but yesterday to stab the I. W. W. proletariat on strike in the back in northern New Jersey. Finally, the milk of human kindness having turned to gall in his breast, and over-developed the beast in him, the Anarchist, like a demented bull, bellowingly wreaks his vengeance upon a Flag, desecration of which is desecration of the Red.

SOCIALIST ACTIVITIES AT TROY.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—On September 1, at Rensselaer Park, the Socialist party organization held a picnic. The principal speaker was Gustave Strebel, candidate for the office of Lieutenant-governor on the Socialist party ticket.

His handling of the subject of Socialism was very far removed from the point of science, except wherein he made a review of history. When it came to the remedy provided for the solution of the evils caused by the capitalist system, he caused you to think that what he said was what the Progressives are saying, to treat our industrial system through political action. It was certainly heartbreaking to note the way in which the appeal for votes was being made.

He said that through the powers of political victory there were several ways of treating the situation; first, through the Commerce Court, which would have the power to fix prices of commodities; second, with the passing of a minimum wage bill relief was bound to be had;

second, that through the right of eminent domain we could take over the coal mines from the present owners; third; that through the appointment of receiverships the affairs of corporations could be administered for the benefit of the people; and fourth, to purchase the industries of the nation through the issuance of bonds.

What beautiful thoughts and expressions for one that has been in the movement as long as Strebel has. One who has toured and toured. One who has realized years ago the solution of the present system, a change of "ownership and control," and which he has many times reiterated. What has caused the change? The recent conventions; the adoption of reform measures, coupled with the possible opportunity of winning several offices in the nation. Is this representing the working class? No. This is the representation of individual interests and the rank and file are being looked to help the individual instead of helping himself.

On Labor Day at the picnic of the Central Federation of Labor, William E. Duffy of Syracuse, represented the Socialist party in a four-cornered debate. Here again, we had the direct appeal for votes from the working class, without any reference to economic organization. The whole debate so far as Duffy was concerned might be summed up in a very few words. He lost the main opportunity to make a direct point in his reply to the opening given him by Congressman Bennett, who represented the Republicans, when he made mention of the fact that "had Edward Murphy, when United States Senator, voted against the tariff bill which provided a very high protection for collars and cuffs, he would not have dared to return to Troy. It was due to this high tariff that the large wages were paid in the industry." Duffy was informed of the good point to score when told he could show that the present wages paid to the employees in the industry are \$3.89 per week. But this he refused to do, and in concluding the debate, while he had made an impression from the political viewpoint, which he made in an appeal to "class politics," there was nothing in the way of an industrial organization mentioned by him.

On last Sunday, Charles Edward Russell, candidate for Governor on the Socialist party ticket made an address at the Lyceum Theatre. He treated the Progressives to a merry tune and made mention of the fact that they had "jimmied the back door and stolen some silver spoons," and while they had taken immediate demands, these had nothing to do with the real issue. The issue was one between the classes, and there was no connection or interest in common with the other. But here again the failure to mention the necessity of economic organization to prepare for the control of the industrial commonwealth.

In conversation with him afterwards he said, when this subject was proposed to him, that "we should not bother our heads about the workers' getting together," and, "What do we want to bother our heads about something that was to happen a million years from now? Let us fight the capitalists." It certainly seems strange to think that people of intelligence who acknowledge that revolution is necessary in our present government should go about trying in the way of reform to do something beneficial to the working class, denouncing everything that is done by the capitalist parties, but going out and talking to the workers with a great deal of logic and a greater portion of sentimentality, preying on the workers for their votes so as to obtain political office, when they know and realize that office would only serve the capitalist through the present system of government.

If Socialism stands for anything it is that the present fight is against the capitalist form of government, made so by our political form, which is not able to cope with industry, and which has allowed for the present power of our industrial and financial kings. If it is revolution that is necessary then it is for the workers to capture the powers of the control of industry, and this can be brought about only by the unification of the workers into an industrial organization, giving expression at the ballot-box of the desires of that organization, which may be attained only when such expression of the majority of the workers have voted to oust present capitalist control and our present political form of government, and for its supplanting by a government of the workers through an industrial republic.

Fred C. Phoenix, Troy, N. Y., Sept. 14.

Until the workers know Socialism they are the hopeless victims of Capitalist Socialism.

The New York Labor News Company is the literary agency of the Socialist Labor Party. It prints nothing but sound Socialist literature.

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW.

(Continued from page 4.)

As this, too, "would strike at the present system, etc., and might result in decreasing wages or lengthening the hours of labor, it consequently was considered impractical and visionary by Mr. Lynch. This proposition has the objectionable feature of compelling the executive council to decide similarly in similar cases. It strikes your delegates that at present mere technical quibbles, based solely on personal considerations, are often permitted to stand in the way of a consistent deduction of identical conclusions from what, fundamentally are identical facts.

A fourth proposition, to appoint a committee to examine into the feasibility of instituting a seven-hour day in 1920, was also considered a blow at something or other by Mr. Lynch. But it forced from him the admission that the eight-hour day is not yet a success. The fifth proposition, to elect three members of an international auditing committee, was likewise considered a blow at the present system. It was considered undemocratic and unbusinesslike for the membership to know definitely and for what purpose the cheerful and lavish spenders of our international funds disburse our money. We are the only business organization in existence that does not need auditors!

After exhausting all his ability to defeat any attempt of the wage-earners to unify themselves on the industrial field, to institute a shorter workday in 1920, to compel the executive council to print all of its decisions, to elect an auditing committee, to give other candidates seeking office an opportunity to acquaint the membership with what they stand for, to prevent a reorganization of our organization along such lines as would place its control in the hands of the membership; after acknowledging that the eight-hour day is not yet established and that the Home is a failure and a white elephant, what has our benevolent monarch to offer? Absolutely nothing. Three measures that may properly be called Lynch measures were advocated, and all of these three have for their purpose the bulwarking of the autocratic tendency of the executive council, or Lynch.

The first of these was a four-year term for all international officers.

The second was the establishment of an employment bureau.

The third was a measure to permit unattached members to send their vote, under seal, to International headquarters. A fourth, which was only a suggestion, was to turn the Home into a rest cure resort for overworked printers. Considering this last proposition first, Mr. Lynch has this to say: "Why, not, then, the Union Printers' Home, converted into a great sanatorium and rest cure, where our enervated members may find that succor from toil and worryment that will instill into their systems energy and ambition and add to their years of usefulness." Usefulness to whom, may we ask? In whose interest do all printers toil and worry except in their employers'? Yet the employers are not asked to help maintain this rest cure establishment, where their employes may become fired with ambition and their usefulness increased.

The Progressives offer a seven-hour day, which will be at the employers' expense. Working seven hours a day under normal conditions, our members will not toil and worry to the extent of needing a place to recuperate. The enforcing of normal working conditions is a legitimate function of a real labor organization. In place of a seven-hour workday, working under normal conditions, Mr. Lynch offers a rest cure for enervated union men, paid for, not by the employers, who get the benefit of the intense labor which causes our members to become enervated, but by the enervated members themselves.

The report of the Secretary-Treasurer shows that \$49.01 per member per month is expended, exclusive of building improvements, transportation to and from the Home, etc. The Superintendent's report shows that the great mass of members admitted remain considerably less than a year. In connection with the establishment of an international labor bureau it was pointed out by your delegates that an employment bureau never has been a necessity, is not now, and that its formation is merely a subterfuge to legalize the Wahnetta, the only members of our organization who are afraid to travel unless they feel sure that they will get the best of it wherever they may go.

Granting the privilege to unattached members to send their votes to headquarters places in the hands of

the executive council the power to practically make its wishes absolute in any matter, whether it be in regard to the election of officers or referendum propositions. This would be especially true in case of a close vote.

In connection with the voting on the four-year term proposition Mr. Lynch was the unwitting furnisher of considerable entertainment. When the proposition was about to be voted upon, Delegate Burton, of Fort Worth, Texas, demanded a roll-call. On a showing of hands, Mr. Lynch, with a characteristic disregard for everything except his own desires, was unable to count more than 24; 25 being necessary. Mr. Burton and other responsible but influential members, endowed with sufficient intelligence to count hands, counted more than fifty.

A viva voce vote was then taken, Mr. Lynch declaring the favorable report of the committee adopted. A division was then called for, with the result that the favorable report of the committee was non-concurred in by a vote of 164 to 129.

After this unparalleled exhibition of a desire on the part of Lynch to force upon the Convention, by methods and practices in vogue during the Stone Age, concurrence in the favorable report of the committee, he displayed very plainly the low estimate he places not alone upon the intelligence of the entire membership, but also upon the delegates representing them, by requesting the chairman of the Laws Committee to explain his position "before the committee."

The attempt of the chairman to explain was, to Lynch, a disgusting frost. Another member of the committee was then called upon to supply a satisfactory explanation. This member, not being an adept at explaining, made a more dismal failure, if possible, than the chairman. After the second horrible attempt at explaining, Lynch, with an expression of sickening disgust upon his face, ended this bit of gratuitous and unexpected comedy by saying to his committeeman, in an irascible and petulant tone: "Oh, sit down! Sit down! The clerk will read." And the poor committeeman, who was doing his best to explain, dejectedly sat down.

It was painfully apparent that Lynch's purpose was to steam-roller this proposition through, if he could get away with it; and, if he failed, to have himself recorded as being against it "before the committee."

This is a sample of the fairness with which the Convention was conducted. Mr. Lynch, when he desires to show how we have grown, claims a membership of 59,703. For the purpose of showing a high average yearly wage he uses a so-called paying membership of 53,807. Either we have 59,703 or we have 53,807 members. If the former, then the average yearly wage is \$89.07, as against \$92.04, given by our President—or a difference of \$98. As the average cost of living for one who lives half-way decently is placed at \$800 a year by the Sage Foundation of New York, we are really working for \$98 a year more than our board! And this is the best the "most powerful labor organization in the world" has to offer!

The figures submitted by our Secretary Treasurer and the Superintendent of the Home are worthy of consideration as showing that when a trade union becomes merely a sick and coffin society, with its members constantly saying their rosary and with their thoughts on the grave, instead of of a shield under which live men can fight the battles of live men, its only progress can be that of the crag—backward.

The executive council has decided that not all members may reap what benefits are attached to the old-age pensions, for which they all pay, but only those judged worthy by the executive council. This decision puts a premium on thriftlessness. In the two cases mentioned, one man had a job paying \$1,500 a year and the other \$90 a month. If the executive council is allowed to say that some are and some are not entitled to the pensions, then members who have been looking forward to this life-saver may find themselves adjudged too prosperous to receive it, even after they have paid for it for years.

In closing this report, which we have tried to make comprehensive without becoming burdensome, and absolutely fair and just without becoming colorless, your delegates desire to thank most cordially the entire membership for the high honor conferred upon us.

Fraternally submitted, Anthony P. Knill, L. D. Hosman.

Until the workers know Socialism they are the hopeless victims of Capitalism. Spread the light!

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.

A. E. R., SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.—There was ample cause to impeach the now ex-Judge Hanford. To disfranchise a citizen is a prime civil crime. No doubt Congress was urged to yell at Hanford because of Hanford's other misdemeanors in office. It was an act of dereliction in office on the part of Berger to let upon Hanford when he resigned. That was the time to push Hanford's real enormity—the cancelling of Olsson's citizen papers.

S. A., BERKELEY, CALIF.—The "people" in the sentence, "What these people pay to the producers they must first get from them for nothing" in "Value, Price and Profit," means the "capitalists." Nobody else succeeds in getting anything for nothing. The passage is intended to show that in the bourgeois world, bourgeois selling to and buying from bourgeois, the profits come only from the unpaid wages, surplus wealth, that the bourgeois gets in production, and that he is owner of, even before he sells, and the surplus is transmuted into Money.

H. D., ST. LOUIS, MO.—It is not demagoguery to preach something for the masses—unless such preaching is altruistically taken—excessively so. Enlightened selfishness tells us that the individual can not be benefited but in the measure that the mass is benefited.

A. M., FREESON, MICH.—Religion is the synthesis of the bands that hold man to certain elemental principles of morality. See Buckle. These principles he reduces to about 5. The principles are in all religions. The term "different religions" means different "creeds." Creeds are politics clustered around religion, and generally subordinating religion to politics. As argued more than once in these columns, from Moses down to Brigham Young, all founders of creeds were State founders.

J. W., WINNIPEG, CANADA.—1. Read the above answer. 2. The S. L. P. organizer stated the case correctly. Socialism is not concerned with "religion"—any more than astronomy is.

W. A., ALBANY, N. Y.—Take the instance of taxation. The scientific theory is that taxes are paid out of that portion of the surplus wealth produced by Labor that Capital absorbs. The first conclusions drawn from that are that taxes are not paid out of wages, that is, by the working class; but that taxes are paid out of profits, that is, by the capitalist class. So far that would seem to be all "idle theory." But watch. Take Schenectady and Milwaukee as examples. The Socialist party municipal administrations in those towns fell pinched for funds to carry out even the reforms that they promised "to the workers." And they could not furnish themselves with the funds because of their false theory that the workers pay the taxes. To raise funds would thereby mean to tax the workers. And thus

the S. P. administrations suffered shipwreck. Socialist Labor Party administrations would have levied the taxes to the limit. S. L. P. officials would not have dreading to lose Labor support because the S. L. P. conveys the correct theory. Theory is not "idle." It is a practical thing. He who neglects correct theory fatedly falls flat upon his nose.

B. G., RACINE, WIS.—We saw the recommendation made by the "Miners' Magazine" to Eastern Labor to demand of William D. Haywood an answer to the question why he was dropped from the national secretaryship of the Western Federation of Miners. We have been putting to the gentleman that question some time ago. His conduct in New Jersey in trying to fire into the back of workmen and women on strike for bread, and now stumping for the A. F. of L. candidate for Congress, renders the question peculiarly timely. No answer also is an answer.

J. J. L., NEW YORK.—Get any reliable biography of Daniel O'Connell; or historic work on his political activity. The Irishman who denies that O'Connell said: "All the religion that you want from Rome, but no politics,"—that Irishman is poorly informed in one of the most interesting epochs in the history of his own country.

L. K., DAYTON, O.—Matter was touched upon in last week's Letter Box.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN, COLUMBUS, O.—Only one sheet of your letter was contained in the envelope—the first sheet. That left the question impossible of being made out, and your name a secret.

A. E. H., JOPLIN, MO.—Shall take the hint and handle the two questions in the Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan column. The second can wait till after election.

U. G., NEW YORK.—Haywood can not trick us into considering him cleansed, of his scabby work during the New Jersey strike, by posing as a martyr, or by stumping for Eitor and Giovannetti.

E. G. R., GALVESTON, TEX.—Answered in to-day's Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan. In order to take a manly and bold stand when elected, a Socialist must have made a manly and bold campaign. The campaigns of the Socialist party are neither bold nor manly. Nothing that is manly or bold can be expected of such officers.

R. W. R., EAST ORANGE, N. J.; S. A., BERKELEY, CALIF.; A. S. C., SEATTLE, WASH.; L. F. A., SCHEMECTADY, N. Y.; A. W., CHESTER, PA.; G. & CO., WASHINGTON, D. C.; J. M., VANCOUVER, B. C.; A. L., OGDEN, UTAH; G. W. O., PITTSBURGH, PA.—Matter received.

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