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AMERICAN SOCIALIST

Readers For The American Socialist Now Means Party Members Later On

VOL. IV. No. 3. ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL CHICAGO ILL. 304 CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JULY 28, 1917. 25 CENTS FOR SIX MONTHS; 50 CENTS PER YEAR; $1 PER YEAR OUTSIDE UNITED STATES

NATION'S PRESS RECOGNIZES AMERICAN SOCIALIST AS CHAMPION OF CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES

COMRADES:—

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST stands today as the chief champion of the right of a free press and of the Constitutional Guarantees of American liberty.

All over the country the case of THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST is being eagerly watched and followed by the capitalist press as well as the socialist and labor press. It is the test case. If we are victorious, it means that Democracy has still a safe hold in this land. If we are defeated, it means that autocracy has strangled the American Constitution, and that no longer is there any security of life, liberty, or the pursuit of happiness.

Such widely different newspapers as the New York Times, the New York World, the New York Evening Mail, The Public, the Chicago Herald, and the Chicago Examiner, concede to The American Socialist the position of championing the rights of all the press.

The Chicago Examiner says, in its principal editorial of July 20, "Whenever the time comes that any American citizen is not absolutely safe in the free expression of his opinion as to the policies of government, THEN NO ONE OF US IS SAFE.

"If we permit these aggressions upon the constitutional rights of citizens which seem to have become the fashion, to continue and to grow in frequency and force, IT MAY EASILY HAPPEN THAT OUR CHILDREN WILL NOT BE A FREE PEOPLE AT ALL."

And the Business Manager of the New York Times—a paper as far removed from Socialists and Socialism as the north pole from the south—bitterly attacked the Postoffice Department in a speech before the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce for suppressing The American Socialist and sixteen other Socialist newspapers, saying "It is a power which the department should not have."

When The American Socialist decided to send its committee of lawyers to Washington—the biggest labor lawyers in this or any other country—the first and biggest step was taken toward protecting American rights and the American Constitution from aggression. Frank P. Walsh, Clarence Darrow, Seymour Stedman and Morris Hillquit went to headquarters. They talked with Postmaster General Burleson, with the Federal Judge who is administering the law for the Postoffice Department, and with many of the United States Senators. What the result is at this moment we do not know. But we do know this.

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST HAS STARTED THE BIGGEST FIGHT THIS COUNTRY HAS YET SEEN IN PROTECTION OF DEMOCRACY AT HOME.

Stand by us. If we fail, you fail. If we are defeated, you are defeated, and you and your children after you for many a generation will pay the penalty.

We need your aid—your moral support as well as your financial support. Some have asked whether they will be safe in taking subscriptions. YOU WILL BE PROTECTED IN THIS. All subscribers will receive full value for what they send us.

We are going to win, either now or later. It depends on you whether we will win NOW or not.

In this issue are given some of the editorials and expressions of opinion from those who are closely following our fight. It is not a Socialist fight only—it involves all parties and all people. For if a subordinate official in a Democratic administration can suppress any Socialist paper with whose policy he does not agree, then a Republican, a Progressive, a Prohibition, a Single Tax or even a REFORM DEMOCRATIC newspaper can likewise be suppressed.

Bring this to your local newspaper's notice. Demand of your editor that he join in this fight to protect his own rights and your own liberties. The future of American freedom is at stake, and The American Socialist at this moment is its champion.

Believes In Constitution

House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

I am a firm believer in free speech and the freedom of the press as my record in congress during the last seven years will disclose.

I take the constitution as its reads and believe every word of it, and for that reason believe your paper should have the use of the mails.

E. E. ROBERTS,
Representative from Nevada.

Senator Vardaman, Of Mississippi, Makes Speech In United States Senate Against Putting Padlocks On Mouths Of Free Men—Stedman In Great Protest Against Revocation Of Second Class Mailing Privileges—Darrow Returns To Washington.

By J. L. ENGDAHL.

(Special to The American Socialist)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—"The effort to put a padlock on the mouths of the free men of this country at this time is unfortunate in the extreme, and it will recoil upon those who do it."

With these words U. S. Senator Vardaman, Mississippi, opened the fight in the United States Senate to preserve the "inalienable and constitutional right" of a free press in this country during the war.

Only a few hours before, the Socialist Party Free Press Committee had discussed the suppression of Socialist papers with Senator Vardaman, as we had taken up this momentous question with a score of other senators and representatives.

"The nation has gone war-mad and money-mad", was Vardaman's explanation for the blind and ruthless crushing at this time of the fundamental liberties of the common people.

Rising in the senate to discuss the food bill, and uttering his opposition to conscription for the aviation corps, stating the people had "had more conscription than they relish", Senator Vardaman took up the discussion of Socialist publications as follows:

"We have heard of the excluding from the mails of certain newspapers that are guilty of no offense except the exercise of the blood-bought privilege of honest patriotic citizens to express their convictions on governmetnal and social questions. I do not agree with much that some of these newspapers say, but I deny the right of any officer, from president down to constable, to proscribe, limit or abridge the right of free speech.

"It is not treachery in a newspaper editor to express his disapproval of anything that the Congress or the President has done since the beginning of this war. He has got a right to do it, and to deny his paper the privileges of the mail for publishing his thoughts violates the spirit and letter of the constitution and the very genius of our government.

"There is no danger, no harm is to come, from the free and full discussion of all public questions, and I think the closing of the mails against such publications is unwarranted, and the further effort to put a padlock on the mouths of the free men of this country at his time is unfortunate in the extreme, and it will recoil upon those who do it.

"The tyranny of the Prussian despot is out of place in this republic. The methods of the despot cannot last long among free people. and he who undertakes to transplant that noxious social weed upon American soil will find that it will grow up to clog his pathway and lacerate his feet".

Senator Vardaman lauded the efforts of the Canadians to oppose conscription in the following language:

"It is very gratifying to me to see from the newspapers the manifestations of independence and patriotic courage on the part of our brethren across the border in Canada. They are protesting against certain acts of injustice—of petty tyranny—on the part of the government, and they have a right to do it. It is their government; and I want to say, Mr. President, that it will be an unhappy day for America when her citizens are denied the right to express their sincere and honest thoughts about public questions".

Renewed Threat Made By P. O. D.

An additional threat against the life of the American Socialist has been made by A. M. Dockery, formerly governor of Missouri and now Third Assistant Postmaster General of the United States. It is to revoke the second-class privilege altogether, on the ground, apparently, that since several issues have been declared unmailable by the Postoffice Department, this constitutes an interruption of regularity of issue, and therefore we have violated the law which provides for regularity of issue!

The letter is as follows:

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT
Third Assistant Postmaster General
Washington.

Publisher, The American Socialist,
Chicago, Ill.

Sir;

You are hereby notified that in accordance with the Act of Congress approved March3, 1901 (ch. 851, 31 Stat. L, 1107) you will be granted a hearing at the office of the Third Assistant Postmaster General, Washington, D. C., at 3.00 p. m. Friday, July 20, 1917, to show cause why the authorization of admission of The American Socialist to the second class of mail matter under the Act of March 3, 1879, (ch. 180, Sec. 14, 1 Supp., 246) should not be revoked, upon the following ground;

The Publication is not a "newspaper or other periodical publication" within the meaning of the law governing mailable matter of the second class, and, furthermore, it is not regularly issued at stated intervals as a newspaper or **other periodical publication within the meaning of the law, it being in conflict with the provisions of the law embodied in section 481½, Postal laws and regulations.**

Your appearance at the hearing may be in person or by representative. In any event, your answer must be in writing. It should be submitted on or before July 20, 1917, and will be given the same consideration as tho you had appeared in person or by representative.

Respectfully,

A. M. DOCKERY,

Third Assistant Postmaster General.

Our comrades may rest assured that everything which can legally be done to prevent this action is being done

Stedman Makes Great Protest

Seymour Stedman's statement in the third assistant postmaster general's department arguing against revocation of second class mailing privilege of Socialist publications, was as follows:

"I understand your position to be that a paper excluded by the Department for containing non-mailable matter, altho it may be but a single issue, destroys the continuity of the publication, and that you consider it as tho no paper had been issued for that week or month, and therefore it is your privilege to cancel its right to pass as second-class mail matter.

"This is based upon the proposition that these papers contain improper matter which has been prohibited from going thru the mails.

"In the case of fraud and lotteries and the promotion of fraudulent design you can with some certainty discover the illegal matter in the paper, stop it, and prosecute those guilty of the offense.

"This is quite a different situation. You have stopped fifteen or twenty papers. You now proposed to debar them from the mails. Some of them have been published for years without complaint, their rights apparently secured. These papers are published by working people who contribute their half dollars and their quarters and their nickels.

"Their papers are stopped. Then they appeal to lawyers, professional men who have been licensed by supreme courts, admitted to practice in local courts and courts of the United States, and are held forth as men familiar with the law and to whom these working men can go for guidance. These lawyers are unable to advise them after reading this law.

"They then appeal to the Department of Justice. This they have a right to do, for it is by their daily work that the expense of the Department of Justice is maintained. The factories and the mines in which they work are an essential part of this government. Without them there would be no Department of Justice.

"These men upon appealing to the Department of Justice, these working people are informed that they are not criminals, that the papers which they publish violate no law. Atfer being assured that they are law abiding citizens they bring their papers to the Post Office Department. That Department says: "You are criminals, and your paper, because it violates the law, cannot be delivered to subscribers."

"Then these workers, who are publishing the paper ask the Post Office Department to tell them what is wrong, what is printed that violates this law.

"Then the Department tells them to go to the lawyers, to whom they have already appealed in vain.

Refuse To Interpret Law.

"The hanging of the law up so high that it cannot be read and punishing the offender is outrageous. But it is not more so than to pass a law and then refuse to interpret that law for the people who are expected to obey it. It is an outrage to tell the people of this country that they cannot find out what their rights are altho they are maintaining, supporting and paying for this government.

"This amounts to tricking them.

"It is an imposition of the professional classes upon those who are not educated in schemes of government and the administration of its laws, and the people of this country will not tolerate this.

"When these facts become known there will be a vigorous revolt against them. They wil overthrow this administration at the next election, and the government will find out the necessity of speaking to the people in language which they can understand.

Departments Disagree.

"Nothing is more reprehensible than to demand obedience to a law which cannot be understood, upon which lawyers disagree, and, in this instance, where two great departments of the government disagree.

"The Department of Justice and the Post Office Department disagree as to whether or not the articles in these papers are mailable, and in the face of that it is proposed to punish working men and women because they do not understand what these two great departments are unable to reconcile.

"The assumption that these two departments do not agree with each other is based upon the fact that the Post Office Department must assume that there is criminal matter in these papers, otherwise it would have no right to prohibit their going thru the mails, and upon the fact that the Department of Justice would prosecute criminally a violation of the law if there was such a violation."

The Socialists At Stockholm And The Socialists At Home

(From the N. Y. Evening Mail.)

The government at Washington is going to have a chance to rectify the mistake which it made in refusing to grant to representatives of the American Socialist party the right to go to Stockholm and participate in the international Socialist conference there. Secretary Lansing's refusal to grant passports to these men had a wider bearing than the denial to Americans of the right of international assembly and international free speech. If these Americans are not allowed to go to Stockholm, this country will be without first-hand information of the important developments which are bound to come out of that conference. Above everything else, our action was distasteful to Russia, whose government is dominated by Socialists.

The opportunity to make good our error is given by the invitation which the Socialist party has received from the Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, an invitation to participate in this same Stockholm conference. Tscheidse, president of the Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, and at the same time a member of the Russian provisional government, thus writes to Morris Hillquit, secretary of the American Socialist party:

The council expresses the firm hope that the American party, which since the beginning of the war has repeatedly urged the convocation of an international Socialist conference, will consider it as a duty of honor to send its representatives to the conference of the council.

The day is at hand when the Socialist party has got to be treated as something more than a joke. This business of confounding the Socialists with the anarchists must cease. The ban which the Department of Justice and the Postoffice department are jointly operating against Socialist publications is an unfortunate commentary upon freedom of speech in this country. The general organ of the Socialist party is "The American Socialist," a weekly which appears in Chicago. The last two numbers have been forbidden the mails. Only a two-page number has been allowed circulation, and then only after every line of it had been submitted to the Department of Justice.

In any case our Socialists will probably be allowed to sail, now that the mainspring of the Russian government itself invites them.

Help Defend The Bill Of Rights!

We stand faced by a supreme crisis. A blow has been struck at the First Amendment to the Constitution—at the first Article in the Bill of Rights—at the Free Press of this Republic. The instant and concerted energy of the whole American people must rally to its defense.

The August leaflet of the Socialist party contains a statement of the case of **The American Socialist vs the Post Office Department,** as here given. It includes Stedman's summing up of the situation, and a summary of the comments of the nation's press. **This is now ready.**

We urge every reader of The American Socialist, whether Socialist party member or not, who desires the maintenance of the Bill of Rights, to order at once at least 100 of the August leaflets—as many more as you can possibly handle—and to distribute them immediately. The price is 15 cents per hundred, $1.00 a thousand. The price is a little higher than usual **because of the emergency whch confronts us.**

It is not possible to explain fully how dire and pressing the necessity is. We can say only this: ACT AT ONCE.

Send your order for August Leaflet (price 15 cents per 100, $1.00 per 1,000) to the National Office, Socialist Party, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

C. E. Ruthenberg, A. Wagenknecht and Edward Baker, officials of the Socialist Party of Ohio, have been found guilty of conspiring to evade the draft law. Sentence has been deferred.

Bureaucratic Despotism

From The New York World.

Needless to say, The World has no sympathy whatever with the editorial attitude toward the war and the Government of the various Socialist, pacifist and radical periodicals that have been excluded from the mails for their semi-seditious utterances. Yet we can think of no more pernicious method of dealing with such offenses than to leave the punishment to the judgment of the bureaucrats in the Post Office Department.

Either the writers and publishers of these articles are guilty of a specific offense under the law or they are not. If they are guilty, there are grand juries and district attorneys and courts and juries to deal with them. If they are not guilty, it is an offense against free institutions to deny them the use of the mails.

What could be more ridiculous or inadequate than to permit a so-called seditious periodical to have unlimited circulation thru news agents in a great city like New York and then arbitrarily cut off a few hundred copies that may be circulated thru the mails by way of making the punishment fit the crime? But wholly aside from any question of pains and penalties imposed upon a section of the press that is published for the crackbrains of the country is the increasing use of the Post Office Department as a means of regulating the habits, morals and political opinions of the American people.

The practice began with the lottery legislation and has been extended by leaps and bounds. The Post Office Department today is the most irresponsible despotism known to free government. There is not a citizen of the United States, there is not a business or industry in the country, that cannot be deprived of the use of the mails on the ipse dixit of a benevolent bureaucrat of the post office. No legal evidence is necessary. No court proceeding is required. A written order duly signed and countersigned, and the thing is done.

The original function of the post office was to collect, transport and deliver the mails. That function has almost been forgotten. The mails are becoming merely a by-product of a nation-wide system of regulating everything from political opinions to the sale of patent corkscrews in prohibition territory. Nothing human is too great or too small to escape the scrutiny of this bureaucracy.

The principle under which the Socialist and pacifist periodicals are excluded from the mails can be extended to every publication whose opinions are objectionable to the mandarins of the postal service. Either this is a government by law or it is not, and if it is to be a government of law the post office cannot remain much longer an irresponsible prosecuting attorney, judge and jury combined.

The Seed Of Absolutism

From The Public, Founded By Louis F. Post.

The attention of Mr. William H. Lamar, attorney for the Post Office Department, must be called to the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. This says:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press.....

Mr. Lamar should study this section because he is under the impression that authority to abridge freedom of the press has been conferred upon him by the Espionage Act. Acting on this impression he has entered on a policy of suppression which, if upheld and persisted in, must make the democratic sections of the Constitution mere scraps of paper; and must make the United States a very insecure place for democracy. His latest exploit is the suppression of an issue of THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST of Chicago. The issue has been suppressed merely because it happens to be Mr. Lamar's personal opinion that something in it is contrary to the Espionage Act. Leaving out of consideration congressional lack of authority to abridge freedom of the press, there still remains the fact that Mr. Lamar's individual opinion, the basis of which has not even been made public, should not decide what may or may not be admitted to the mails.

In view of such attacks on the freedom of the press it is well to repeat some of the unanswerable arguments advanced by Louis F. Post when, during Roosevelt's administration, the postal censors suppressed a Chicago publication on the charge of "immorality," without indicating what matter in the paper came under that head. Mr. Post, after many months of effort to secure from reluctant and secretive officials information concerning the specific offense of the suppressed paper, finally learned, to quote his own words, "that it was for publishing two articles, only the titles of which are given, and in which, however offensive they may be to good taste, even a prude could hardly find material for specifications on a charge of immorality." In comment Mr. Post said editorially in THE PUBLIC of August 12, 1905:

So long as an administrative officer can withdraw mailing rights from a publication for any offense whatever, without an opportunity for the publisher to be heard in his own defense before an impartial tribunal, fair play is impossible. Tho we deny mailing rights to indecent publications, fair play demands that the person accused of the offense, and whose personal and property rights are involved in the accusation, shall have the opportunity he is guaranteed in all other cases to convince his fellow citizens that his publication is not indecent. It is his right to be judicially heard in his own defense..... No matter how objectionable or even dangerous a paper's teachings may seem to the censors, no matter how offensive its language in their own estimation, so palpable an invasion of the commonest rights of citizenship is a direct menace to the independent press of the country. Any law that authorizes it should be swept from the statute books..... Under the postal censorship publications are denied mailing rights, not because they are offensive to decency, but because the censor, from whom there is no appeal, chooses to think them so. Here is the seed of a mighty tree of absolutism.

The same comment applies with even greater force to the censorship of today. The "seed of a mighty tree of absolutism" has begun to sprout. It should not be allowed to flourish any longer.

A resolution urging Congress to enact legislation requiring the federal trade commission to take over the operation of American paper mills and to import and distribute Canadian print paper as a war measure has been forwarded to Washington by the National Editorial Association, in annual convention at Minenapolis, Minn. Let the editors now go back home and agitate to have the government socialize the production and distribution of all the necessaries of life.

Two Economic Classes

By MORRIS HILLQUIT.

MODERN society is split into two principal economic classes: the users of the machinery of production, who do not own it, and the owners, who do not use it; the employers and the employes, the capitalists and the workers, those who derive their income from "profits" and those who depend for their living on "wages." The classes are not fixed by law, but they are determined just as effectively by economic position, and as the modern industrial system is unfolding, they tend to become permanent and even hereditary. A lucky workingman or clerk may still occasionally be lifted into the coveted realms of wealth and power, but the probabilities of such a rise are not much greater than the proverbial chances of each soldier in the Napoleonic army to be advanced to the rank of field marshal. The vast mass of wage-earners are doomed to factory work for life, and their children are predestined factory hands. And similarly capitalism is rapidly becoming a hereditary status. The "self-made man," the pioneer of a new industry, is fast passing away. Modern wealth is largely in the hands of second or third generations. The gay heir who squanders his fortune and is reduced to the original poverty of his grandsires, becomes rarer, as the fortunes of the individual capitalists grow in bulk, and corporated management supersedes individual initiative.

It is not contended that the entire population is definitely divided into the two classes mentioned. There are, of course, the more or less indefinite and undefinable economic groups, generally designated as the "middle classes," with all shades of special interests, but the main factors in modern industrial life are clearly represented by the two most pronounced types or classes—the capitalists and the wage-earners, the latter comprising all grades of hired manual and mental workers.

* * * *

AND THERE is war between and among the classes. War, sometimes overt and violent, sometimes concealed and even unconscious, but war nevertheless. The war is all the more intense and irrepressible because it springs not from personal hostility or accidental misunderstandings, but from ever-present organic economic antagonism.

There is war between employer and employe.

The employer is in business for profits. Industrial profits come from the work of the hired hand. The employe works for wages. Wages represent the product of his labor after deduction of the employer's profit. The larger the share of the profit, the smaller that of the wages. The employer must strive to maintain or increase his profits under penalty of industrial extermination. His personal views and feelings cannot alter the situation. The employe must strive to maintain or increase his wages under pain of physical destruction. His personal inclinations do not count. Sometimes this antagonism of interests expresses itself in petty bargaining and commonplace haggling, and at other times it assumes the form of violent conflicts: strikes, boycotts and riots, and on the other hand lockouts, black lists, injunctions and jails.

* * * *

THERE IS war between employer and employe.

Each capitalist controls a share of an industry. The greater the share, the larger is ordinarily his profit. His natural desire is to increase his share. He can do that only at the expense of his neighbor. Hence the mad industrial competition, the merciless rivalry for the "market," the mutual underbidding and underselling, the adulteration and falsification of commodities, the senseless speculative enterprises, and finally, wholesale failure and ruin.

* * * *

THERE IS war between worker and worker.

Modern machinery, altho inherently of untold blessing to mankind, operates as a curse upon the toiler under the prevailing system of individual ownership. It does not lighten the burdens of the worker. It does not reduce his hours of labor—it displaces him from his employment. The marvelous productivity of the machine creates the dread legions of jobless workers, the fierce competition for a chance to work and the consequent lowering of wages below the living standard.

The automatic, almost self-operating machine makes child and woman labor possible and profitable, and the children and wives of the workers are drafted into the field of industry in competition with their fathers and husbands. The more women and children are at work in the factories, the rarer become the opportunities for men to find work and the lower become their wages. Child and woman labor mean lower wages for man. Low wages for men mean more child and woman labor, and so the workers move forever in a vicious circle of misery and privation.

There is war between producer and user.

Business is conducted for profits. The larger the prices of the commodity or the higher the rate of service, the greater is ordinarily the profit of the capitalist. Hence the everlasting quarrels between the seller and buyer, the landlord and tenant, the carrier and passenger: the aggressive and inexorable "producer" and the pitiable "ultimate consumer."

The Road To Power.

MANY thousands of Kautsky's great book, "The Road to Power," have been sold. The original price was 25c per copy. We bought a lot at a cheap price and can let you have them at 10 cents each. This is a classic and should be read by every Socialist. Order now.—Socialist Party, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago.

Ex-Governor W. D. Hoard of Wisconsin says that "Socialists are a set of law-defying, order-disturbing political ingrates, who have been allowed the privilege of American liberty yet would bite the hand that feeds them." Wrong, brother; we are biting the hand that snatches away our food. Can that be treason? If so, to whom?

The "privilege of American liberty" you would grant us is to starve in silence. For that we are not particularly grateful. Can you explain why we should be?

Single Taxers Plan To Abolish War Profit

Legislation is to be presented to Congress by the Committee on the High Cost of Living to levy a federal land tax of one per cent on the assessed value of all improved land and of two per cent upon the value of all unimproved land. The proceeds are to be used for the war in place of further taxes upon industry and workers.

Along with the land value tax, laws are proposed for the immediate acquisition by the Federal government of all natural resources (such as coal and oil lands, iron ores, timber, water power sites, etc.) to be owned and operated by the public for the public at least for the duratoin of the war. The principle of compensation to the private owners is to be a return on the actual, honest investment and nothing for the fictitious "values" of "good will", etc.

This legislation is part of the constructive program to abolish privilege in America and to set free the manhood forces of the nation.

It connects directly with the war only as the added costs and sterner duties of the war emphasize the need of a new democracy in America.

Naturally, the legislation is not proposed by the two per cent few who own the majority of the wealth of the country. But as nothing constructive or good for the country has ever come from them it is not to be expected that anything good will come now.

What is proposed is one concrete proposition in the general assault upon a system of privilege which was crumbling when the war came.

The Committee on the High Cost of Living, in whose name the legislation will be presented, has held exhibits and recent conferences before and since the war came to the United States. Another still larger conference will be held in the Raleigh Hotel, Washington, D. C., July 30 and 31.

From a statement prepared by Benjamin C. Marsh, Executive Sec'y of the Committee the following extracts are made:

"The Committee comprises in its membership, drawn from twenty-eight states, men and women like John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, C. B. Kegley, just elected for the twelfth time, Master of the Washington State Grange, Mrs. Joseph Fels, Commissioner Frederic C. Howe, Frank P. Walsh and Amos Pinchot. The Committee also favors government ownership and operation of natural monopolies, such as railroads, in the fight to cut living costs.

"The Committee estimates that the aggregate unearned profits of land speculators, owners of natural resources and natural monopolies is approximately five and a half billion dollars, this year, while the producers of the country, have to pay nearly two and a half billion dollars in taxes, because land owners are permitted to retain most of the ground rent. Despite the shortage of crops, nearly half of the arable farm land of the country is held idle, most of it for speculative purposes. To secure more food the slackers who held land idle, must be heavily taxed, so they will produce or let some one else produce."

"Commissioner Howe, in an address on "Taxation, Land and Liberty", declared for the taxation of land values as the rallying cry of democracy in the New World.

Charles H. Ingersoll, advocating the Liberty Tax, said:

"Every one of the huge incomes received in the United States is derived from some special privilege. It is inequitable and undemocratic to conscript our sons to fight this war and to conscript our grandsons to pay for it.

"Democracy cannot be attained in the United States, however, noble our purpose in entering the war, unless we break up monopoly, afford the working people free access to the land, and stop our sinful and undemocratic practice of farming out the workers to land speculators. We must limit the power to tax to properly constitued government. We must have a liberty-tax—a tax which will pry the land speculators off the back of the producers, release the land to the people, open opportunity for all, and leave every man free in the possession of what each produces."

Frederic C. Leubuscher, a prominent attorney, in an address on the constitutionality of a Federal tax on land values, quoted numerous decisions of the United States Supreme Court and dissenting opinions which indicate that a tax on land values, would be held not to violate the provision of the Constitution against direct taxes except in proportion to population. That provision was incorporated to prevent a tax on the acreage of land, and not to avoid a tax on the value thereof, he claimed from early decisions.

"Mr. Byron W. Holt, a noted financial writer said that prices have increased about 70 per cent since the war began, so that they are now 168 per cent higher than they were 21 years ago. Meanwhile nearly 400,000,000 acres of land are held idle."

Emil Vandervelde, of the International Socialist Bureau, says, after a visit to the Russian army: "The army of the revolution resembles as little as possible the army of the czar. Personal contact with this army reminds one of the volunteers of the French revolution. There is the same apparent lack of discipline, but the same enthusiasm.'

The Russian army is now an army of volunteers, not conscripts

Scholarship Contest News

First Winner Goes Over

We are happy to announce that one of the contestants in the Rand School contest is already practically sure of his prize. Morris K. Friedman, of South Bend, Ind., has to-day over the 2000 point minimum necessary to qualify for the contest. He does not intend to stop there, however, but is going to boost for another member from his own state.

Comrade Friedman's prize consists of a free scholarship at the Socialist university of this country—the Rand School. He will undertake this work at a time when the school will be going thru one of its biggest periods of activity. All efforts will be bent toward securing a magnificient building worth a quarter million dollars as a worthy home for this institution. The best of teachers and workers in the socialist movement give their time to the training of the students at the school and any member will be greatly benefitted by such a course of instruction.

There is still time for anyone to win out in this race. There is not one prize offered but FIVE of them. The first five contestants who get at least 2000 subs for The American Socialist will be awarded a free full-time scholarship at the Rand School. Comrade Friedman has shown us that it can be done. Particularly at this time people are anxious to read our side of the case. Friedman's effort has gained several thousand subscribers in his state and this in turn will help to build up the movement. And after his training course is over he will come back to further build and organize for the cause.

The contest is open to all party members, and anyone starting in even now can get 2000 subs by September first. Entries are free, and all are urged to take part.

How They Stand.

Name	Address	Points
M. K. Friedman,	So. Bend, Ind.	2007
B. J. S.,	Gary, Ind.	796
Mae Garber,	Greensburg, Pa.	510
M. Maginsky,	N. Y. City	394
J. N. Carter,	Omaha, Nebr.	282
Mrs. C. Schase,	Youngstown, O.	141
Tony Morello,	Youngstown, O.	125
R. H. Lane,	Aurora, N. Carolina	118
Conrade L. Friberg,	Chicago, Ill.	98
L. Van den Bergh,	Minneapolis	86
J. C. Knowlton,	Mason City, Ia.	42
P. E. Tomlinson,	Winona, Minn.	24
Miss E. W.,	Holyoke, Mass.	20
Ida Bienstock,	Hartford, Conn.	2

YIPSEL NEWS

New leagues have been organized at Lorain, O., with 15 members; and at Salt Lake, Utah, with 22 charter members. In the Ohio town it took a hustling New York State Yipsel to put them on the map. Let this be a tip to others of our members who wander away from their old home town—the best way to celebrate is to organize a new Y. P. S. L.

Hartford, Conn., reports that its first state picnic was a great success, visitors attending from five cities.

Providence, R. I. held a very good picnic in conjunction with the Socialist Party on July Fourth—one of the Yipsels reading the Declaration of Independence, and another making a speech. They have taken in 15 members in the last month.

Chicago, Ill., is booming its membership and all activity. Several hundred members have been admitted since the beginning of the war, our Yipsel leaders have been several times haled before the Federal authorities, and their work for the Socialist Party and for the People's Council is the talk of the town.

Jewish Circle No. 3, Newark, N. J., was the first league to come across on the Y. P. S. L. Liberty Defense Fund, with a donation of $10. Many others are now on the job and all are doing their duty. Let it be impressed upon all our members that there is great need for this fund, so get busy on it.

Terre Haute, Ind., has had very successful affairs, and is starting a fund to clear off the headquarters' debt on the building owned by the local.

Buffalo, No. 1, N. Y., has a long history of very fine social successes, and is growing at a great rate. Strawberry socials, hikes, candlelight meetings, beach parties, and many others mingle with the best of educational events.

NATIONAL CHAMPIONSHIP CONTEST.
June, 1917.
EDUCATIONAL DIVISION.

Result on question: "How to build up a library".

First Prize, 10 points.
Darwin B. Sherman, Rochester, N. Y.
Second Prize, 7 points each.
Samuel Blauner, Northwest, Chicago, Ill.
Harry J. Ammatt, Watertown, N. Y.
Third Prize, 4 points each.
Harry Konowitz, Ansonia, Conn.
Rose Rothberg, West Side, Chicago Ill.
David Rothstein, Circle 2, Newark, N. J.

ENTERTAINMENT DIVISION.

Result on question: "How to make visitors feel that they "belong".

First Prize, 10 points.
Tom Matthews, Omaha, Nebr.
Second Prize, 7 points.
Florence Erickson, Jamestown, N. Y.
Third Prize, 4 points.
Rose Berry, Fellowship, Chicago, Ill.

ORGANIZERS DEPARTMENT.

Result on question: "Summer Activity".

First Prize, 10 points.
Paul Shogren, Newark, N. J.
Second Prize, 7 points each.
Aug. Marshalky, Rochester, N .Y.
Paul Schuhardt, Terre Haute, Ind.
Third Prize, 4 points each.
Simon Alderman, New Haven, Conn.
Dewey Reifsnyder, Reading, Pa.
Axel Franson, Jamestown, N. Y.

"We have not had a split, we have only had a splinter", says the Milwaukee Leader.

Making A Man Of You

Will it? The recruiting officer says it will. But there are other army men who think differently. Here is what one of the "higher-ups" has to say about it. It is reprinted from the New York Times, Oct. 21, 1915.

"Major-General John F. O'Ryan told members of the Technology Club at the fifth war luncheon yesterday that the greatest value of a trained soldiery came from the process which made them mere automatoms, trained to do the bidding of their officers.

"The first thing that must be done", he said, "is to destroy all initiative, and that with the training fits men to be soldiers".

"The recruit does not know how to carry out orders. His mental state differs from that of the trained soldier who obeys mechanically. We must get our men so they are machines.

Keep Militia At Home

NOTE.—In his speech in congress against sending soldiers to Europe, Representative Mason, Illinois, cited the opinion of former Attorney General Wickersham showing that it is unconstitutional He declared this opinion is binding upon the country today. He said:

Mr. Speaker, may I be permitted here to cite in full the opinion of George W. Wickersham, Attorney General of the United States, who was called upon February 17, 1912, by the Secretary of War to answer the very question which I am herein discussing. May I read the conclusion of that opinion:

I think that constitutional provision here considered not only affords no warrant for the use of the militia by the General Government except to suppress insurrection, repel invasions, or to execute the laws of the Union, but by its careful enumeration of the three occasions or purposes for which the militia may be used it forbids such use for any other purpose, and your question is answered in the negative.

Gentlemen may say that we may send our militia to Europe to enforce "the laws of the Union." That question is completely answered by Attorney Wickersham, and he says:

As no law of the Union can exist and be enforced in any foreign country, the militia can not be called out to enforce any such law there.

Gentlemen may claim that we may send them there to "repel invasion." That question is completely answered by Attorney General Wickersham, and he appeals to the common-sense rule of reason. He says:

If an armed force were assembled on our border, so near and under circumstances which plainly indicated hostility and an intended invasion, this Government might attack and capture or defeat such forces, using either the Regular Army or the militia for that purpose. This also would be but one of the ways of repelling an invasion.

Gentlemen may say that we may send them under the clause which allows us to use the militia to "subdue insurrection." The Attorney General answers that completely by saying:

As "insurrection" is necessarily internal and domestic, within the territorial limits of the Nation, this portion of the sentence can afford no warrant for sending the militia to suppress it elsewhere.

This is the opinion of the Attorney General of the United States. It is, by that custom which makes law binding on the executive departments of the United States, binding to-day, unless reversed by some other Attorney General or by the courts of our country.

Mr. Chairman, I have made this statement so that we may have a fair discussion upon our constitutional rights. I have no pride of opinion.

If Attorney General Wickersham is wrong, if we have that right, I have nothing further to say.

In a long editorial on "The Downfall of the Socialist Party, "the Philadelphia Press ignores the uncomfortable fact that the Socialist Party is now enjoying the greatest boom in its history, despite every endeavor to hamper and thwart it.

The Anglaize County, Ohio, Socialist picnic was held Sunday, July 15, near New Bremen, O. The attendance was between four- and five-thousand, including 400 automobiles and 100 horse vehicles. A vote taken after one speech on the great current issue was 944 against and 2 for. One local made $176 on ice-cream and pop, and the collection for the county organization work amounted to $63.90.

Mehring Protests

Franz Mehring, the veteran German Socialist publicist who was recently elected to Karl Liebknecht's seat in the Prussian Diet, and is a member of the small group of German Socialist extremists known as the Internationalists, has addressed a letter to Tcheidze, the president of the executive committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, protesting against the admission of representatives of the German Socialist Majority to the Stockholm conference.

After claiming that the Internationalists are employing in Germany the same tactics as those employed by Tcheidze's party before the Revolution, and declaring that that event constitutes a guarantee of the future and universal triumph of international Socialism, Mehring writes:

"The most urgent task for us all at present is the securing of peace, and the international conference planned to be held in Stockholm is intended to serve that end. As German Socialists we most emphatically protest on moral and practical grounds against the admission to that conference of the so-called Socialist Majority; that is, of the Government Socialists grouped around the party executive. We refuse to participate in any deliberations with these elements, and call upon our Russian friends and associates similarly to oppose the admission of the German Majority in the interests of both a proletarian peace and of the rebirth of a real Socialist Internationale. What they would actually represent at the conference would be not Socialism, and not the German proletariat, but the German Government and its interests. If, as your manifesto to the nation demands, and as our convictions recommend, the international proletariat is to take the question of peace into its own hands, it will be impossible for it to do so in conjunction with the belligerent imperialist governments, or, what is the same thing, with their disguised representatives, who at home are the sworn opponents of any independent action on the part of the masses, and are affecting a class-solidarity with the bourgeoisie.

"If, again, the Internationale, which has been broken up by the war, is to be awakened to new life by the international action of the proletariat in fighting for peace, all social-imperialist elements must be excluded from it at the outset, for it is precisely the concerted struggle against imperialism conducted on an international basis which must, and will be the central axis, indeed, the very being, of the new Internationale. Finally, the admission of Sudekum, Scheidemann, Legien, and so on, to the Stockholm conference would mean a heavy blow for international Socialism in Germany, and for our common cause. By interpreting this as a recognition and ratification of their policy on the part of international Socialism these men would confuse, in the highest degree, the process of enlightenment which has made great progress among the German working class."

Mehring concluded by saying that he was writing in the name, not only of the Internationalists, but of his imprisoned comrades, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, and made a point of declaring that, in the event of his associates being prevented from sending representatives to Stockholm, no other delegation from Germany was competent to represent them.

The Milwaukee Review says, "Individuals who have declined to submit to the dictation of the committee which dominates the Socialist party in Milwaukee have reason for believing that that organization is anything but democratic." Two individuals who turn informer in the attempt to dominate or destroy a great movement are not, dear brother, shining examples of democracy.

Neil Benton, a Duluth attorney, congratulates the Democrats and Republicans of Minnesota on burying their differences in order to defeat the Socialists. There never were any differences, except to keep up appearances. It has been a division of labor; one party held the workers while the other went thru their pockets.

New York Organizes To Shield Free Press Right

NEW YORK.—Among the organizations that have rallied to the support of the struggle for a free press is the Civil Liberties Bureau of the American Union Against Militarism.

More than 100 men and women, many of them editors and writers, attended a meeting here recently to discuss this matter. As a result of the gathering a committee will be sent to Washington at once to lay before President Wilson an account of the recent arbitrary actions of postoffice officials.

Amos Pinchot questioned the right of a single official in any department to exercise censorship. He said it was an impossibility to kill either ideas or ideals by repressive measures.

Must Defend Free Speech.

Frederick C. Howe, commissioner of immigration, called the attitude of Solicitor Lamar of the postoffice "the intrusion of a departmental official into the rights of free speech." In closing, Howe told his hearers that privilege had always taken advantage of war to intrench itself and that the present action of postoffice officials was a denial of every right that the American people had fought to gain in the revolution, in the civil war, and of what we had entered the present war to preserve.

Dudley Field Malone, collector of the port, when called upon by Pinchot to express his views, emphasized the fact that he was not there in his capacity as a government official or to criticize the acts of officials in other departments, but that he wanted to state as a citizen that he did not think that any postmaster or official in the United States had enough knowledge to be allowed to decide what particular political views should or should not be allowed to pass thru the mails.

Says Law Violated.

Morris Hillquit, who is the attorney for many of the papers denied the privilege of the mails, showed how the postoffice officials had not even obeyed the provisions of the law under which they were seeking to prevent the free circulation of these papers. He said that this was the most vital blow that had yet been struck at a free press in America.

Max Eastman, editor of The Masses, said the administration is denying the most basic rights of its citizens at home while it claimed it was conducting a fight to help "make the world safe for democracy." That, as a man had been given 90 days for distributing extracts from the Declaration of Independence, we might soon expect to hear of a citzen being given six months for distributing the bible, and should we have the temerity to quote extracts from the speeches of Woodrow Wilson, in connection with matters that were not pleasing to some of our officials, he might be in danger of getting a life sentence.

Eastman In Protest.

"If this thing keeps up," said Eastman, "we might as well seek the security of a cyclone cellar and write the memoirs of the republic." Eastman made it plain that the management of The Masses would fight the attempt to deprive it of mailing privileges to the limit of its resources. Abraham Cahan, editor of The Jewish Daily Forward, told how his advices from Russia indicated that the present government was welcoming absolute freedom of discussion, and that he thought its greatest safety was in such a policy. That there was no attempt to stifle the statements of even the greatest extremists, with a result that every activity was being conducted in the open.

John Reed, Royal J. Davis of The Evening Post, Stoughton Cooley of The Public, Anne Herendeen of Every Week, Gilbert E. Roe; Charles E. Ervin of The Call, and Roger N. Baldwin, director of the civil liberties bureau, also spoke. John Temple Graves sent a wire to the chairman of the meeting protesting against the methods of old Russia and present Prussia being used in America.

J. G. Phelps Stokes, Upton Sinclair and John Spargo have issued a call for the formation of a new Socialist party in September.

From The Firing Line

J. D. Gentiss, Okla., sends in his fourth list in a few days, a total of 40. He says, "We can boost The American Socialist to the million mark. I can make it 100 in my township." It's going that way, comrade, and going strong."

Jacob Harber, of Indiana, sends in 24 subscribers and orders a bundle of papers and leaflets for distribution.

John M. Leyda, attorney, of Nebraska, writes: "We took a couple of hours this afternoon taking subscriptions, and the following 35 new subscribers is the result. Of those solicited many were eager to subscribe, and not to exceed 10 per cent refused. It is our judgment that our cause is destined to succeed in the near future, as it should. The un-Americanism of the present governmental regime is going to work enormously to our advantage as a party organization." Cheering words, these! Similar work will produce similar results, thruout the nation.

Fourteen names are sent in by Comrade J. R. Ristine, Mo. "It's a big fight, but we are sure getting the volunteers, and they don't have to be drafted, either," he writes.

"Most of these men voted for Hughes or Wilson, but now they all say 'Never Again'," writes S. C. Thompson, Oklahoma, with a list of new readers.

"I wish to congratulate you on the success you are having. It is not a bit more than you deserve," writes Albert Allerton, New York.

"Seventy-five per cent of the farmers are going to vote the Socialist ticket at the next election. The old parties are beginning to see the handwriting on the wall", writes Charles Sims, Nebraska.

A list of seven is sent by Paul Gruber, Illinois, who says: "Socialist literature is what the workingmen want these days."

"Since reading your paper, (borrowed) people are beginning to see what the Socialists really believe, and finding that it is what they believe too," writes Local Kirk, Missouri.

Socialists of Anderson, Ind., held a Fourth of July picnic. Rev. S. C Garrison spoke.

West Allis Branch No. 2 of the Socialist Party held a picnic Sunday July 1.

T. J. Brown presided at a Socialist picnic in Denver on July 4.

William F. Kruse spoke at the Fourth of July picnic at Terre Haute, Ind.

Irwin Tucker spoke at Canton, Ill., on July 4.

Radical Socialists attempted to demonstrate in front of the Peace Palace at The Hague, but were dispersed by soldiers.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP

By Carl D. Thompson

A comprehensive current survey of municipal ownership in the United States by an expert. It includes some information about the movement in Europe.

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YOU CAN scarcely pick up a newspaper nowadays without finding an article about the Socialists of one nation or another.

This constant repetition of the word "Socialist" causes people to wonder what the Socialists stand for anyhow.

It was never so easy to sell Socialist literature as it is now.

There is one book which is preeminently fitted to be put into the hands of inquirers.

It is "What's So and What Isn't," by John M. Work.

This book is written in a clear, crisp and convincing style, and it is written for the express purpose of answering all the regular questions about Socialism and all the regular objections that are urged against Socialism. It has made many Socialists and it will make many more if you give it a chance.

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Debs And "Public Safety"

"PUBLIC Safety" will not allow Eugene V. Debs to be heard in the free and sovereign state of Minnesota. He is too dangerous, according to the authorities, to be allowed to speak in these days when all good patriots should be fighting for democracy and free speech and other things that are free everywhere except in Minnesota and other sovereign states of the United States of America. The story is brief but interesting:

Last winter the Coit-Alber Chautauqua Company booked Debs for the Fourth of July speech which was to be the opening number of the Chautauqua at St. Peter, Minn. Some time later when Debs had to cancel his engagements on account of ill health he sought to have this engagement cancelled with the rest. But the Chautauqua people insisted and Debs finally agreed to make an exception of this engagement and fill it. He was then advertised extensively and a crowd of many thousands from all parts of that section was assured. This evidently got on the nerves of the "patriots" who are on the lookout for any possible danger to the innocent people and they promptly got after the Chautauqua folks and compelled them to keep Debs away and to choose in his place some harmless pedagogue or dancing-master to amuse the people while they were being fleeced.

Debs would have told them what they needed to hear and he had a distinct understanding with the Chautauqua authorities that if he spoke at all he would make his own speech and there would be no modification of it to suit any person or persons whatsoever. That settled the matter. The following telegram explains the rest:

Kasota, Minn., June 27th, 1917.
Coit-Alber Chautauqua Company,
640 Orchestra Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

Minnesota Commission of Public Safety will not permit Debs to speak at St. Peter on July Fourth. Who can you send as substitute that will deliver simon pure patriotic Americanism on July Fourth. Wire answer.

W. Mallgren.

"Simon pure Americanism" in this case means that the man who talks must say nothing and to this admirable purpose capitalist politicians as well as socialist "patriots" are admirably fitted.

But the real significance of this incident is the determination of the plutocratic "authorities" to strangle free speech in this "land of the free and home of the brave".

Keep it up, gentlemen, and speed the day of your own overthrow!

Die Zukunft, Maximilian Harden's publication, now has been suppressed for the remainder of the war, according to the Berliner Tageblatt. Herr Harden has been mobilized under the auxiliary civil service law and will be employed as a military clerk. The government had planned to take this action some time ago, but lacked the courage.

TREASON IS CHARGE AGAINST 16 CINCINNATI SOCIALISTS

By NICHOLAS KLEIN.

Sixteen Socialists arrested at Cincinnati, O., are being held by the federal court on charges of treason.

Eleven were arrested June 1. The others were taken later. Most of these are charged with distributing anti-registration literature from house to house. One is charged with speaking against registration. This is the sum total of their alleged offense.

The prisoners are as follows: Philip Rothenbusch is 31 years old, married, has two small children, aged six and nine years, is a member of machinists union. Alfred Welker is 21 years of age, single, printer and a member of his union. Charles Thiemann is 22 years of age, single and a union man. John Hahn is 20 years old, married, has a child aged two years and is a laborer. Walter Gregory is married, has four small children, is 29 years old and a member of machinists union. Arthur Tiedke is 30 years old, married, has a child aged three years and is a member of paperhangers union. William Gruber is married, has two children aged two and three years and is a member of brewery workers union. Alexander Feldhaus, aged 26 years, shipping clerk, married, has one child aged four years. Fred Schneider, single aged 9 years. Frank Reis, aged 21 years, single member Boot and Shoe Workers union. Joseph Geier, married, aged 32 years, has five small children, safe maker and member of his union. Gustav Weiss, aged 21 years, single, lives at Hamilton, Ohio, charged with treason for making speech, put to $9,000 bond. William Georg, aged 52 years, married, has five children, member Brewery workers union. Lotta Burke, a member of Womans Label League, aged 45 years, single seamstress, in jail in default of $9,000 bail. Thomas Hammerschmitt, Socialist candidate for Mayor of Cincinnati, married, engineer, member of his union, aged 48 years, his bail now fixed at $9,000.

According to rule of Federal Court here it would take $36,000 worth of real estate exclusive of mortgages to release Comrade Hammerschmitt or Miss Burke. All the comrades are citizens. All but two were born in America.

Get A Welcome Packet For Every New Member

Hosts of new members are pouring into the Socialist Party. They are asking for Books and Reading Matter on Socialist Principles.

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The Packet contains:

"Public Ownership of Railways", by Carl D. Thompson; price 10 cents.
"Our National Kitchen", by Anna A. Maley; price 10 cents.
"What's So and What Isn't", by John M. Work, new and revised edition; price 25 cents.
"The Truth About Socialism", by Allan L. Benson; price 25 cents.
"The Usurped Power of the Courts", by Allan L. Benson; price 5 cents.
"The Farmer," by Clyde J. Wright; price 10 cents.

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PRUSSIANISM STATE OF MIND, NOT A PLACE, SAYS TUCKER.

Chicago newspapers grossly misrepresented the address of Irwin St. John Tucker in opening the Second American Conference for Democracy and Terms of Peace as permanent chairman.

In order to correct these misrepresentations, the full text of the address is given herewith:

Tucker's Speech.

"We have gathered here from many states to discuss means whereby the American people may make good their nation's claim that it seeks to render the world safe for democracy. In the words of Theodore Roosevelt's Fourth of July speech at Oyster Bay "Even while fighting we must prepare the way for the peace of industrial justice and the peace of industrial democracy, which are to come after and consecrate the war." We are here to prove to the world that we really believe in that for which, we have proclaimed to the world, we are at war.

"It is urgently necessary that we should thus prove our loyalty to democracy. **For there are forces abroad in the land which are committing a black treason, a moral treason, against our republic. They are loudly proclaiming that while democracy is admirable as a theory to be forced upon other peoples, it is absurd, impracticable, and visionary as a course to be followed for ourselves.** Our meeting here has been opposed, and we for insisting upon it have been denounced, on the ground that this democracy for which we fight is intended for export only, and is not for home consumption.

Should Set Example.

"Surely it is evident to any honest man that if we are to persuade the German people to accept our democratic ideals, we must make it plain that we really believe in them ourselves. It is a moral impossibility to ask another people to adopt as their rule of life a system which we have discarded, and therefore we assert that aid and comfort is given to the enemy in overflowing measure by those who vociferously maintain that a democracy in order to face war, must convert itself into an autocracy and abandon all its constitutional guarantees of freedom of press, freedom of assemblage, and freedom of petition for the redress of grievances.

"Far greater than any victory won by Hindenburg or Mackensen is the moral justification given to the foes of democracy when we assure them that their position is correct, and that democracy is impossible when war is at hand. For this is the whole claim of such dynasties as that of the Hohenzollerns; namely, that a self-governing people is inefficient, and cannot defend itself; therefore, since the Central empires are surrounded by heriditary foes, they must be governed by an heriditary autocracy, to supply that efficiency of self-defense which in war is a necescity. This I say is the bulwark of the monarchical power in Europe. **And therefore we assert, and repeat, and say again, that those who cry alout that the Hohenzollern idea is righ; that America much abandon her democracy in order to wage war; that the people are incapable of discussing the issues of life and death, of war and peace, are guilty of the blackest moral treason to the very life of the Republic, and of all republic.** For what greater aid and comfort to the enemy could be given than to assert that every attempt at democracy during the war is pro-German?

"Senator Sherman of Illinois in presenting to the Senate the resolutions adopted at our mass meeting here, of May 27th, said that he believed the terms of peace should be arranged entirely by Secretary Lansing and Woodrow Wilson, and that neither Congress nor the people should ask or be given a voice in the matter.

It Is Un-American.

"That is precisely what the Kaiser told the Reichstag. Nobody would object to the Kaiser's concluding peace all by himself, if the Kaiser did all the fighting by himself. **What we dissent from is the proposition that the people who are doing the fighting, the killing, the dying, the mourning and the paying should be told that they have nothing to say about what it is all for, or how long it shall be kept up. This proposition is purely Prussianistic, Kaiseristic, militaristic and un-American.**

"Prussianism is a state of mind not geographically confined, it appears, to the Kingdom of Prussia. And those who cry that the people must be content to be pawns in this vast game of death, without murmur, without question, without discussion, without voice, have imbibed that virus, and are guilty of black moral treason to the cause of democracy.

"We dare not, therefore, in loyalty to America and what she stands for, cease from our questioning and abandon our common counsel. We must work on for democracy, and keep on demanding concrete and definite terms of peace, until the bloody slaughter is brought to an end

"In its inception human society governed itself upon the tribal basis in which the community was held together by the blood bond. This is the groundwork of all nomadic societies. Later, when agriculture became the dominant mode of production of the means of life, the geographical basis was accepted, and continues today as the groundwork of our political state. But the geographical or political congress is supplemented by many industrial congresses, social congresses, labor federations and scientific societies which represent much more truly the life of our nation. The Peoples Council seeks to base itself on this true grouping of our present day society. This Chicago Conference is held in order to spread the idea in the Middle West. You, as delegates, are asked to go home and induce the societies and groups which you represent to elect delegates to the Constituent Assembly of the People's Council of America, which is to meet in Minneapolis on September 1.

The Third American Conference was held in Los Angeles, July 21 and 22.

In recognition of faithful and comradely services we will send to every comrade who sends in twenty-five subscriptions, THE AMERICAN LABOR YEAR BOOK, priceless encyclopaedia of facts and figures on Labor — FREE. Ask for it when you send them in. THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Free Speech As A Virtue

One of our "patriotic" papers has an editorial entitled, "Shut up or be locked up." The same paper pays a glowing tribute to the "fearless man of Germany" Harden, who, as the paper says, "was loudly proclaiming bitter truths to the German people."

But, of course, Harden was right, while those who say unpleasant things here are wrong.

The duty of the patriotic, apparently, is to denounce the enemy and follow his example.

—The People's Press, Cincinnati.

Benson Denies He Will Desert Party

The following statement has been issued by Allan L. Benson, last year's candidate for President on the Socialist ticket, in denial of the reports that he will leave the Socialist party because of its war stand.

"I deeply regret that less than one-third of the membership of the Socialist Party has committed the party (so far as words that are not followed by deeds can commit the party) to a declaration that might easily be construed as an endorsement of draft-riots. Such use of language seems to me to be indefensible. Two of the best known members of the committee that formulated the report have privately assured me that they consider the language unfortunate; that in pledging support to "all mass movements against conscription" they did not mean to pledge support to draft-rioters, and I have not the slightest belief that in the event of draft riots that the party would support them.

"I opposed to the last American participation in the war, as I also opposed the enactment of a conscription law, but I contend that there are orderly ways in which the people may cause their government to do their bidding with regard to these matters as well as with regard to all others, and if the people do not see fit to use lawful methods, I will never approve unlawful ones, nor do I believe any political party should even seem to do so.

"Nevertheless, I shall remain a member of the Socialist Party. Never was my belief in the fundamental principles of Socialism greater than it is now. The Russian Socialists, by taking the lead in Socialsm thruout the world, have given Socialism a prestige that it never had before. With the war unmistakably drawing to a close there will be much work for Socialists to do in America, and whatever I can do I shall do."

ALLAN L. BENSON.

The phrase in the St. Louis program which he says "might easily be construed as an endorsement of draft riots", meant nothing of the kind. The words "We pledge our support to all mass movements meant that the party will not back up eccentric individuals but only organized movements, and in methods which a political party can sanction. No one could have misunderstood it except by a wilful desire to misrepresent Socialism and the Socialists.

It is with great joy that we learn that Benson will not follow the exodus, numbering to date some twelve or thirteen persons, who have left the party because of its stand. This is joy for Benson's sake. We rejoice that he is of the right stuff to stick.

Benson's books have been and are among the best propaganda the Socialist movement possesses. Hundreds of thousands of them have been sold, and more will be sold when his decision has become known.

The publication of Benson's Magazine has been suspended. Unexpired subscriptions will be filled by the Appeal to Reason.

A New Definition

The Chicago, Ill., Tribune, expresses the following:

"The tyranny of the Socialist party is like the tyranny of an autocracy. Individual action and individual thought must be subordinated to the will of the party."

Can you beat that? We were always of the opinion that autocracy meant that the will of the people must be subordinated to the will and thought of an individual. In the view of the Tribune, however, for the majority to prevail—even an overwhelming majority, like ten to one, for instance—is autocracy. For the will of an individual to prevail is democracy.

Already the Tribune has gone on record as asserting that any congressman who heeds the voice of his constituents in preference to the editorials of the Tribune is a "traitor to democracy."

This gives a pretty clear idea of the brand of "democracy" this particularly vicious newspaper thinks we are fighting for. It is a democracy in which the will of an individual is supreme over the will of the great majority—always providing that the said individual is the principal owner of the Chicago Tribune.

Thanks for the definition, brother.

KENTUCKY SOCIALISTS ALIVE.

Report from Kentucky State Secretary Stark states that the garment workers are on strike and have been given free use of Karl Marx Hall as strike headquarters. Mass meetings of the strikers and the new Union of Garment Workers of the Amalgamated Garment Workers are held daily and over 250 members have joined the Union with 2500 members to be enrolled. That 18 members of the Garment Workers Union joined the Socialist local in a body including their President. That a monster Labor Day picnic will be held jointly between the Union and the Socialist Party campaign committee. The State Executive Committee of Kentucky has adopted a plan to put every new member taken in on The American Socialist sub list

England's Aims In The War

Editor's Note.—This article is taken entirely from the Chicago Examiner of July 6. 917.

ON FRIDAY and Saturday (June 29 and 30) Lloyd George delivered two speeches, one in Glasgow and one in Dundee, in which he set forth the gains England expects to get from the war. Briefly stated, Lloyd George's declaration means simply this:

If the allies, with American assistance, can thoroly defeat the central empires, France is to regain Alsace-Lorraine, Poland is to be made an autonomous state, and England is to annex the German colonies in Africa and establish British control of Mesopotamia, Armenia, Palestine, Syria and the whole Near East. In addition to these gains, Germany's overseas trade is to be so thoroly crippled that it cannot effectively compete with Great Britain's commerce and carrying trade for many decades to come.

In brief, the British government's program is to make England the undisputed dominant power in the world.

Her colonial empire, already too vast for the safety of other nations, is to be hugely increased. The control which she exercises over all commerce between Europe and the Orient, thru her possession of the Suez Canal, is to be made more absolute and more permanent by the possession of Mesopotamia and the Arabian Peninsula and her ability to shut off all rail and water communication by way of the Anatolian Railway and the Persian Gulf, between Middle Europe, Russia, France and the Orient.

As a matter of fact, what the British government's proposal actually means is that no other people can trade overseas without having the permission of Great Britain or without paying tribute to Great Britain.

The administration knows, the Congress knows, every well-informed man in this country knows, that the French and British commissions, when they came to Washington, frankly admitted that the allies' resources were almost exhausted; that their military campaign had been wrecked by the defection of Russia, and that without speedy and powerful help from the United States they would be compelled to accept terms of peace dictated by Germany.

The French commission made no bones at all of saying plainly that France was nearly at the end of her resources; that her old men and her boys were in the trenches; that she had no further reserves, and that it was impossible for her to hold out longer than this year against the powerful and increasing assaults of the German war machine.

If we are to save the exhausted allies, which is exactly the part which has been assigned to us, why, then, have we not the right, and why is it not our duty, to define clearly and specifically what terms of peace will best benefit the world in general and ourselves in particular?

We can imagine no exhibition of statesmanship more futile than for us to exhaust our wealth, endanger our prosperity and to sacrifice our young men, not to equalize and to stabilize the political relations of the world, but to pull down one power on the ground that it aims at dangerous domination of the world, and then to place another power in the same seat of world empire and world domination.

This nation can no more afford to have England become the undisputed mistress of the world than it can afford to have Germany or any other nation become the despotic master of the world.

More particularly is Lloyd George's program of the seizure of Mesopotamia, of Arabia and of Persia, and of that bridge between Europe and Asia over which has flowed for three thousand years the tide of trade and war, peculiarly obnoxious to us and to Russia.

If we are going to spend billions of money and sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives to save England from defeat at the hands of Germany, what possible sense is there in permitting England as a result of our sacrifices and exertions to shut us off very largely from trade and commercial intercourse with the great and friendly democracy of Russia?

The unfairness of this program toward Russia is even more marked than the unfairness of this program toward us. England is insistently urging the new Russian government to continue to do its part in the war. The risk which Russia is asked to assume is a very great risk. A Teuton expedition launched from Riga with all the power and skill of the German war machine might speedily capture Petrograd.

What Mr. Lloyd George proposes in reality is that Russia shall risk her freedom and make tremendous sacrifices in order that England may annex to her vast empire those provinces of the Near East which, if they should belong to any European power at all, should be under the control and the influence of the new Russian democracy.

There is nothing in the English program as stated by Mr. Lloyd George which is not a menace to Russia's present safety and her future peace and prosperity.

No matter what Mr. George's asseverations may be, it remains an historical fact that England has persistently thwarted Russia's desire to obtain access to the ocean for nearly one hundred years.

It was to thwart this desire that within the memory of many men still living England and France united with Turkey in waging the Crimean war upon Russia.

It was to thwart this desire that Disraeli sent the mobilized British fleet thru the Straits of the Dardanelles to stop the victorious Russian armies at the very gates of Stambul.

It was to thwart this desire that England, within the last decade, entered into her secret alliance with Japan.

And it is apparently to thwart this desire that Mr. Lloyd George now purposes that in case of allied victory England, instead of Turkey, shall control the Near East and the Dardanelles waterway and effectually bar Russia's access to the oceans.

It makes no difference upon what grounds the war may or may not have been begun. The bald truth is that the only things which now occupy the thoughts of the European chancelleries, English and French and Italian, as well as German and Austrian, is the division of spoils among the victors.

The PEOPLES of the various nations are fighting this war and we believe that the peoples should determine, and will determine, when the war shall end and how the war shall end; and that the peoples of the various nations will not allow themselves and their interests to be sarcificed by servile, snobbish or incompetent leaders for the particular interests of the British government or of any other government.

It is intolerable that England, after having been saved from sure defeat and imminent disaster by the sacrifices of Russia and France and the United States, should presume to dictate the duration of the war, to gobble up in her own interests all the territory lost by Germany, to seize the commercial domination of the seas, and in every quarter of the globe to take to herself the fruits of a victory which she could not achieve for herself.

Railroad Heads Fight Government Ownership

(Special Correspondence)

Washington.—How to forestall government ownership of the railroads is the subject of many grave conferences in Washington these days. It is significant that these conferences center in and around the Council of National Defense, the chairman of whose "advisory commission" is Daniel Willard, president of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad.

The railroads have carefully loaded up the Council with their own trusted hirelings. An impartial investigation might prove that this was done for the purpose of preventing government ownership. For instance:

Rail Kings On The Job.

Daniel Willard, president of the Baltimore and Ohio, has co-operating with him a large number of committees and subcommittees. The names of the members of these committees read like a Who's Who in railroadom. The head of the co-operative commitee on telegraphs and telephones is T. N. Vail, president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, an open enemy of government ownership. In fact, not long before he came to this new job, Mr. Vail superintended an extensive and expensive advertising campaign against government ownership of the wire systems of the country. A vice president of the same corporation, N. C. Kingsbury, is also on this committee. The president of the Western Union, a vice president of the Postal Telegraph, and a vice president of the "Independent" telephone corporation completes this outfit. There is not a single representative of the government, not a single non-partisan expert on the committee. It belongs body and soul to the wire corporations. Transportation of words by wire will not be taken over by the government if these gentlemen can help it.

The "co-operative committees" on various phases of railroad transportation are also black sheep. The executive committee consists of eight members, all but one of whom are railroad men. The one exception is an Interstate Commerce Commissioner, but he is EX OFFICIO. You can't beat the game.

Then there is a committee of the northeastern department, the eastern department and so on, every man jack of which are railroad presidents or railroad receivers. Railroad receivers, by the way, are about as numerous as railroad presidents, and this is of course no evidence of the fact that the railroads have been badly run under private ownership.

Express Committee Is Wonder.

The subcommittee on express is a wonder. The public is well aware of the fact that the express companies have long exploited a field which by right and reason belongs exclusively to the government. They have consistently blocked all parcel post progress. Only because they were discovered to have absolutely iniquitous arrangements with the railroads were the express companies forced to reduce their rates and pay some little attention to the needs of the people. Interlocking directorates with the railroads make them body and soul, mind and spirit, a part of the railroads, a pure parasite growth whose persistence drains into private pockets annually millions of dollars. Here is the menu of the subcommittee on express:

D. S. Elliot, vice president American Express Co., chairman.

E. A. Stedman, vice president and general manager Wells Fargo.

J. B. Hockaday, vice president and general manager Southern Express Co.

H. E. Huff, vice president Adams Express Co.

Of course you cannot beat it. This subcommittee is THE authority on express of the Council of National Defense, and the Council of National Defense is the last authority next to the President of the United States himself on ALL matters for the duration of the war. It is easy to predict that there will be no extension of the parcel post as long as this committee stays on the job.

The rest of the story is about the same. The subcommittee on car service is composed exclusively of railroad men, there being not a single representative of the public even ex officio. The subcommittee on military equipment standards is similarly composed. There is not a single military men on it, nor a single representative of the people. So with the subcommittee on military transportation accounting, the subcommittee on military passenger tariffs, the subcommittee on military freight rates, and the subcommittee on materials and supplies. Why the word "military" is used in this connection it is difficult to understand.

We may conclude this tale by mentioning that there is a co-operative committee on cars, composed of car manufacturers and presidents of steel companies. There is also a co-operative committee on locomotives, of exactly the same nature. And by this time no one is surprised to find that the co-operative committee on electric railroad transportation is composed exclusively of officials of power companies, railroads, and so on.

Put "O. K." On Themselves.

In short, so far as the railroad field is concerned, the railroad men have the situation completely in hand in the Council for National Defense. The railroad brotherhoods have no voice in the management of these fundamental committees. The government's own experts on railroad matters have no representation on these committees. It is merely the railroads running themselves under the official O. K. of the United States Government.

The Welcome Packet

To our New Members:—Our toil is not only of the hand, but of the mind as well. You have already begun to study Socialism. Let your studies continue; for the longer you live, the more Socialism develops, and the more there is to know about it.

We do not make presents or give gifts; we exchange them. We have therefore prepared for you a Welcome Packet of carefully chosen booklets, to arm you for the questionings and arguments that will arise, as soon as your step is known. They are greatly reduced in price, and are for the special benefit of NEW MEMBERS.

Study these books with care, if possible in company with others — some member of your family, or some friend. Show them; explain them; lend them around. We must get your neighbors thinking, and thinking hard and thinking quickly, for the Great Day has come to you and me, and we must be ready.

Send for a Welcome Packet. 85 cents worth for fifty cents.

WILLIAMS DENOUNCES REPORT THAT HE HAS LEFT THE PARTY.

(Telegram)

Los Angeles, Cal., July 21.

Adolph Germer, Chicago.

Newspaper reports false. Only Ghent, Maynard and Sinclair withdrew. Members now voting on new state committee along industrial lines. Referendum closes September. This committee elects state secretary. Have never betrayed a comrade or renounced the cause, and will not be slacker now.

People's Conference great success. Hall inadequate, crowds turned away.

T. W. Williams, State Secretary, Cal.

Prof. B. E. Shatsky, head of the Russian Bureau of Information in New York, says that the Russian Socialists are loyal to the new government, and that the disturbances in Russia are immaterial.

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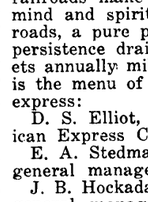

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"Ye Shall Know The Truth And The Truth Shall Make You Free"

Washington Like An Imperial Capital, Say Wilson's Supporters

American Republic Is Now Under Absolute One-Man Government, Is Asserted By New Republic And The Chicago Tribune.

"We have no war council. The President is our war council", said Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane in a recent public address. The phrase seems to sum up fairly well both the strength and the weakness of the Wilson administration in the present great national emergency!

With these words Henry M. Hyde, special writer for the Chicago Tribune, begins a survey of the situation at the capital.

President Wilson does not evade responsibility. He seems to invite it. His intellectual confidence is so great, his critics say, that he **declines to make the necessary delegations and divisions of authority.** Many of the large number of boards and commissions—a recent estimate was fifty-five—which have been created to handle great and vital problems are responsible only to him. They report to no other authority. His own official subordinates are said to bring to him for final decision nearly every problem of more than minor importance.

Even congress—the individual statesmen having a careful eye on their political future—has taken advantage of the readiness with which the president bows his shoulders to take on additional burden.

To any historical student it is unnecessary to point out that this is the way autocracies begin.

Mr. Hyde continues:

It may be magnificent, but it is not war. The result is inevitable delay, much confusion, and occasional conflict of authority among administration officials.

It s one of the defects of President Wilson's great quality of self-confidence that he has few wise and disintersted advisers.

Like In Imperial Capitals.

Any man who occupies a position of vast power will find plenty of men who tell him only what they think he will like to hear. **And the courtiers of Washington are not behind those of imperial capitals.** When the ruler is a man of great intellectual self-confidence **it takes a brave as well as a wise man to tell him what are recognized as unpleasant truths.**

It is for attempting to lay before the American people the unquestioned and undisputed facts regarding this condition at Washington that The American Socialist is threatened with suppression.

The mantle of infallibility covers even the cabinet officials who are confessedly weak and incompetent with its imperial shade. Mr. Hyde continues:

Critics of the administration further say that the president's self-confidence prevents him from paying due attention to the weakness and the mistakes of some among his cabinet officers. They were chosen, indeed, with considerable attention to political and geographical considerations. Not many of them would have been chosen perhaps, to help direct the prosecution of the greatest war in history, to help guide the nation thru the greatest crisis since it was created. But the president selected them.

Sure To Act With Firmness.

His confidence in his own judgment, based, indeed, on some years of intimate contact with most of them, and his deep feeling of loyalty will lead him to support each of them until they have to his satisfaction demonstrated their incapacity.

And there is no way for Congress or the people to get back at them.

When a question regarding Bethmann-Hollweg's fitness for his position as chancellor of the empire was first raised, the Kaiser said:

"To doubt the fitness of my choice is equivalent to questioning my imperial judgment."

And the New Republic of New York adds, in an article written by William Hard, a publicist of the highest quality:

"This is concentration in government unknown at Berlin. The Kaiser would not tolerate it for one imperial instant. That is why he is alive.

"Politically and administratively Mr. Wilson needs decentralization. He cannot give us political unity or administrative unity any longer in his own one person. To-day, for the first time since Mr. Wilson formed his administration, it is being forced, slowly but manifestly, toward a mere defensive. And the stake is the freedom and safety of the world."

This autocratic administration is necessary, says the administration's defenders, in order to cope with the industrial autocracy which is cheating and robbing the people under cover of the war.

This proves what we have maintained right along; that political autocracy is the necessary cover and shield of industrial autocracy—namely, Capitalism.

There is no way of preventing or defeating Political Autocracy except thru Industrial Democracy—namely, Socialism.

Socialism, and Socialism only, has the cure for the situation; it is, to nationalize immediately all the natural resources of coal, minerals, oil, railroads, and all other publicly necessary means of production, transportation and communication. Then to make the administration of these industries democratic.

This is the only cure; and Socialism is the only physician which can administer the medicine successfully.

Blank Columns Will Not Be Lost

Congressman B. C. Hilliard, of the First District of Colorado, writes;

"The American Socialist, Chicago.

"Full, free and frank expression, in press and speech, make for enlightenment and toleration. In an imperfect world, as man has made this, nothing can justify one man in an attempted suppression of the views of another man. The exclusion of your publication from the mails is wrong and must fail of its purpose. The blank columns will not be lost upon the people, never so thoughtful as now."

Caring For The Sick

In the Indiana state prison at Michigan City, there are about 3,500 inmates. Of these 8 per cent are insane. About 23 per cent have the intelligence of children of 10 years and under. About 38 per cent are epileptics.

These statistics are offered by Dr. Paul Bower of the Indiana state prison.

According to Dr. Bower a vast number of so-called "criminals" are not criminals at all, but merely sick men—sick in the head.

"If the jurors and judges took these things under consideration the unfortunates would be sent where they belong—not to prisons, but to asylums," said Dr. Bower.

Society today instead of being a friend of its "sick men" persists in being an enemy. Society will develop intelligence, however, with the coming of Socialism and then for the first time will the problem of our criminals receive serious consideration. Thus Socialism again will be the benefactor of civilization.

The Clerk Of Last Resort

Germany is being compelled to revise her Reichstag system, it is reported, so that the cabinet is now responsible to the deputies. But our own Cabinet continues absolutely irresponsible and altogether defiant of Congress, giving orders to the representatives of the people instead of receiving orders from them.

The "parliamentary system" makes the Cabinet responsible to Congress. Under that system, the secretaries of the various departments sit regularly in the House of Representatives, or its equivalent, to answer questions and make explanations in regard to the conduct of national affairs. Every European nation and most American republics enjoy that privilege, of holding their executive officers strictly and constantly to account for the power entrusted to them.

With us it is otherwise. A request for information from a Congressman or Senator may or may not be honored. If the information or explanation is given, it may or may not be what is wanted. It all depends on what the clerk to whom the order is referred thinks of it.

A cabinet department may be pursuing a policy directly opposed to the will of congress. The post office department, the navy department, the agriculture department, may have ideas about things totally opposed to those of the majority of the people's representatives. That is to say, that the clerk who runs some particular branch of the department may have become "sot in his ways" and refuse to alter them or to consider what congress may think as being of any importance.

For under our method of governing ourselves the supreme authority in the land is not the President, not the congress, not the supreme court. It is the "clerk of last resort."

Congress asks a question or makes a resolution or passes an act. The answer to that question, observance of that resolution or obedience to that act rests with an executive department. The secretary of the department is usually a political appointee who has not and cannot have any particular knowledge of the affairs he is supposed to supervise. He refers the question, resolution or law to the proper bureau; the head of the bureau to the proper division; the head of the division to the clerk who has always handled that branch of the business; and the clerk of last resort either provides the answer, observes the resolution and obeys the law—or he does not.

There is no way of disciplining him. He is under the civil service law and cannot be dismissed without trial. Nobody knows who he is, and nobody can get at him to argue with him.

This is not a democracy; it is a bureaucracy run mad.

Recognizing the need for change, Senator McLean of Connecticut has introduced a bill into the senate providing that the Cabinet officers should be as responsible to Congress as the German ministry is now, apparently, about to become to the Reichstag. It was laughed at. One senator moved to refer the bill to the committee on the disposition of waste paper. This is how our senate treats the problem of democratizing America!

At the present moment this question is of supreme importance. For even the Cabinet is now apparently subordinate to the council of national defense; and nobody can get at them except the president. Congress, deprived of all authority and shorn of all responsibility, falls naturally into a kind of querulous nagging. It holds on to its authority as long as it can, in the only way it can hold on to it, by arguing and discussing and criticising and amending bills which are really of supreme importance until the whole country is on edge with impatience and disgust.

There is one answer to the problem: it is this: DETHRONE THE CLERK OF LAST RESORT!

Bring the cabinet officers into congress. Let us have one day a week when the whole administration sits in the house of representatives, with the senate in joint session, to answer questions, make explanations and receive criticisms.

Let us at least keep peace with the Germans in the march toward democracy!

We Agree With La Follette

U. S. Senator La Follette, who has no faith in the daily press of the land, runs a publication of his own called La Follette's Weekly.

In the current issue he advocates that citizens should begin work immediately for the election of congressmen who take the right position on the war issue.

La Follette's views are set forth in a Madison, Wis., dispatch to the Chicago Journal reading as follows:

"La Follette's determined opposition to the war is voiced in an editorial published in today's issue of La Follette's magazine under the heading "The Right of the Citizen to Oppose War and the Right of Congress to Shape the War Policy."

"In these days," said the editorial, "when ever an American citizen presumes to question the justification, either in law or morals, of our participation in the European war, he is at once denounced by the war party and the war press as disloyal to the country.

"After congress has been bullied into a declaration of war, the politicians, the press and the mercenaries of the war party assume authority to deny the right of American citizens to discuss the necessity for the war, or the ultimate object and purpose of the declaration of war.

"A citizen who believes the draft law unconstitutional may have the question tried out in the courts, or if he thinks it undemocratic he may start a campaign for its repeal. The citizens should begin work tomorrow for the election of congressmen who represent this view of the war issue."

We agree with La Follette. Begin immediately to work for the election of the right kind of congressmen in November, 1918—SOCIALIST CONGRESSMEN.

"Russian workingmen, who are the strongest factor in the present revolution, are staunch supporters of Socialism, and, of course, stand for unrestricted suffrage for both sexes", writes J. G. Ohsol, member of the Second Russian Duma, in The Woman Citizen. "Russia does not need to be converted to woman suffrage; it was ready for it even before the Revolution".

AMERICAN SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of the United States.

J. L. ENGDAHL.....Editor

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SATURDAY, JULY 28, 1917.

The World Is In Disintegration; Cabinets Shake And Thrones Totter

As we go to press the world seems in process of disintegration. Alexander Kerensky has become premier of Russia and dominates that Republic as Napoleon dominated France. Great Britain's cabinet is shaking and references to the fear of revolution among English workingmen, only prevented by the bayonets of the 2,000,000 soldiers England is holding at home; become increasingly frequent in the utterances of the ministers. In France the People's Council movement is gaining strength.

Germany's bloodless revolt has subsided for a while, Michaelis is still being tried out. The Kaiser has held long conferences with the parliamentary leaders, apparently for discussing the introduction of a parliamentary system into the Reichstag.

German guns are trained on the city of Constantinople, with the threat that the Turkish capital will be bombarded if any further disorder develops. This seems to mean that the city of the Sultans is in revolt against German domination.

In the Hungarian Parliament Count Michael Karolyi arises and proclaims;

"Every one in Germany wants peace, but it is not enough to desire it, the nation must negotiate for it. Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian premier, has openly declared that we are ready for peace without annexations. One of the prerequisites of peace is the democratization of every country."

These indications show that everywhere in the Teutonic Federation there is grave unrest. Perhaps even Turkey will proclaim a Republic.

There is even hope that our own capitalist republic will become a Socialist republic. The rule of money will be abolished. Already the President has seen the coming of the new day, and in a terrific arraignment of the greed and cunning of the moneylords has prophesied the day when there shall be no 'profit"—for Patriotism and Profit do not agree.

Government Rebukes Uniformed Men Who Broke Up Boston Parade

Replying to the official protest of the National Executive committee of the Socialist Party against the breakup of the Boston Peace parade by soldiers and sailors, Secretary of War Newton D. Baker has sent the following communication to the National Executive Secretary;

War Department, Washington.
July 9, 1917.

Dear Mr. Germer:—Thank you for sending me the copy of the letter to the President, signed by you and Messrs. Work, Hillquit, Berger, and Miss Maley.

I have been informed of incidents of the kind to which you refer, and have brought them promptly to the attention of the Adjutant General, and in the case of National Guard Officers to the attention of the Chief of the Militia Bureau, and as a result very definite instructions have been issued to the officers in command of troops as to the unlawful nature of such activities. If at any time you can inform me of specific instances of disorder on the part of men in uniform, I shall be very glad to see that prompt and vigorous action is taken.

Cordially yours,
(Signed) NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

In pursuance of the above request, we beg to call the attention of Secretary Baker to the conduct of Capt. E. O. Powell, commanding H Company, Sixth Ohio infantry, who on July 7 precipitated a small riot by violently breaking up a Socialist meeting at Broadway and Fifth strets, Lorain, Ohio. Five members of the Socialist speaking party, including Joseph Hazzard, ex-councilman; Fred W. Goll, secretary of the Lorain local branch of the Socialist party; H. M. Waite, and Samuel and Solomon Slutzer, were severely beaten.

The Socialists were speaking from an automobile, and began to discuss the origin of the war. Capt. Powell ordered them to avoid war issues. Waite, who was speaking, announced that he would stand on his constitutional rights. A squad of soldiers immediately attacked the speakers and beat them severely.

If the Secretary's letter means business—as we believe it does—we are confident that prosecution will at once be begun against this captain who assaults American citizens for claiming the protection of the American Constitution.

We call attention also to the assault upon Chief of Police Edward Hyland, officer Thomas Larkin and three citizens of Martin's Ferry, Ohio, by three national guardsmen on March 2. These men are yet unpunished, altho prompt report was made to Governor Cox of Ohio.

Herbert S. Bigelow Wants To Know

Herbert Bigelow, a prominent radical minister and reformer of Cincinnati, O., issues the following in his paper, The People's Press:

A SOCIALIST CHALLENGE.

A statement of mine to the effect that the Socialist Party is a close communion affair, has been challenged by a correspondent who intimates that it is easy to get into the Socialist Party and wants to know if I have ever tried.

If the Socialists will let me make my own private interpretation of the creed, as one may do in some churches, no doubt I could join their church and take the communion.

A man cannot change his mind to join a party. He must be a free lance if he cannot find a party with which he is in fundamental agreement and which will be tolerant of his idiosyncrasies.

I am a Socialist if my definition of Socialism is allowed.

I believe in the collective ownership and operation of all those instruments of production and distribution which, when left in private hands, become the instruments of exploitation and oppression.

I do not believe it is now possible to make a complete and final list of such instruments, much less to take them all over at one fell swoop.

I am convinced that all transportation facilities should be taken over at once.

I am convinced that the business of mining coal should be immediately undertaken by the nation or by the State, if the nation does not act.

I am convinced that every other business which has become monopolized, such as the Standard Oil business, should be socialized.

I am opposed to the policy of the Republican and Democratic parties of seeking to thwart by prosecution, and to break up, the so-called Trusts.

I would let nature take her course with these trusts, and whenever I found a ripe trust on the tree of Capitalism, I would pick it and put it in the Socialist bag.

I agree that to the producer should go the full product of his toil. It is easier to say that than to measure exactly each producer's share. But we might make a beginning at least. For instance, we can identify some incomes as unquestionably unearned. The general increase in the value of land is unearned by the owners of land. Here alone is an income of $5,000,000,000 a year in America, which is taken away from the producers. This should be given back. It might be collected in the form of ground rent and paid out in annual dividends to all the people. The child in the slums would get the same share of it as scion of the Astors. That would be just. But equally just and more expedient is the suggestion that out of this five billion of ground rent all taxes should be paid. With the balance, health insurance and old age pensions should be liberally provided, and educational facilities, such as we have never dared to hope for.

I believe that the right of inheritance should be curtailed. A man should be permitted to leave bequests sufficient to protect his widow or educate his children. But leaving money to support people in idleness is immoral. The great bulk of inherited fortunes should be taken. From funds so secured the people, thru their government, might loan money on easy terms at merely nominal interest to give the disinherited a start in life. The right of each person to a little patrimony is more sacred than the right of any man to a large one.

But I cannot undertake to tell all that I believe should be done.

As a boy on the farm I learned the difference between working in a potato patch of my own and hoeing the patch of another.

I am convinced that the present form of industry is deadly. It gives the factory operative no joy in his work, no interest, no dignity, no self-respect. Industry must be democratized. The men must somehow own the tools with which they work. They must be enfranchised industrially. Parasitism must be abolished.

In short, I would do anything which experience shows to be just and necessary to secure to every man and woman the right to Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness.

Is that Socialism? Will some one tell me what more or what less I must believe to qualify as a member of the Socialist Faith?

Herbert S. Bigelow.

This is all good as far as it goes. Mr. Bigelow wants just what Socialists want. The difference between Mr. Bigelow and a Socialist is that the Socialist knows how to get it.

When a man says "I would do ANYTHING which experience shows to be just and necessary to secure to every man and woman the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" and then sits down and wishes, without trying to find out WHAT experience shows to be just and necessary, he makes the rest of us a wee bit impatient.

For if there is anything on earth which experience teaches, it is that so tremendous a change as Mr. Bigelow wants cannot come and will not come by wishing. If these things are worth wishing for they are worth working for. And experience has shown ten thousand times ten thousand times, that only thru the organization of a political party can political power, sufficient to make such a change as this, be gained. And such a party, in order to make the change permanent must be based on principles so profound and permanent in human nature that they remain unchanged with passing years.

If a big man has stolen something belonging to a dozen little men, and they all sit around WISHING that he would give it back, they are wasting time and gumming the game.

If the dozen little men combine and MAKE the big man give back their property, they are acting intelligently.

A Socialist knows that all of these things cannot be secured by wishing for them.

For instance: Bigelow says "I believe in the collective ownership and operation of all those instruments of production which, when left in private hands, become the instruments of exploitation and oppression."

Lovely, isn't is? How are you going to take them out of private hands and transfer them into collective ownership?

Mr. Bigelow doesn't know, If he were a Socialist he would.

There is an inherent opposition between private control of a social necessity and collective control of the same. The political party which is to make the transfer must therefore be built primarily upon the desire of the many for collective ownership, which includes an opposition to those few who desire private ownership.

Consequently, until Mr. Bigelow and those splendid but irrelevant individuals like him recognize the CLASS STRUGGLE as the basis of the organized political movement whch must accomplish these aims, they are—to put it bluntly—talking thru their respective hats.

To wish for Socialism is not to BE a Socialist.

In order to BE a Socialist you must know how to GET WHAT YOU WANT. You must be sufficiently familiar with the teachings of EXPERIENCE to know that you cannot GET WHAT YOU WANT without GOING AFTER IT IN THE WAY IT IS TO BE GOT.

Collective ownership can only come thru collective action, both political and economic. Hence until Herbert Bigelow, splendid individualist that he it quits hoping and begins working with the party, he is not a Socialist.

Order the August leaflet and distribute it wherever Americans live. They will not see the Constitution struck down without a protest. It costs but 15 cents to strike 100 blows for a free press!

Upon The Freedom Of Speech And Press Depend Liberties Of The American People

(From the Chicago Examiner, July 20.)

Here and there a Socialist newspaper is being suppressed. It seems to be the present policy to ban the Socialist press from the mails.

We think this is a dangerous policy and will in the end prove a very serious mistake. It is always a mistake to attempt to suppress freedom of speech and the freedom of printing.

The American theory, the democratic theory and the true theory, is that every citizen should be permitted freely to voice his opinions, whether by word of mouth or upon the printed page, even tho these opinions be wholly extravagant and unsound. There remains always the punishment of the law if the spoken or printed words are libelous, scandalous or seditious.

Suppression of a free press, no matter how injudicious its free expression of opinion may be, violates the citizen's constitutional rights and is directly and squarely opposed to the American theory of government.

One does not need to believe in the Socialist theory and the Socialist doctrine in order to resent and to protest against an indefensible and unconstitutional attack upon the liberties of the Socialist press.

Whatever its merits or its demerits may be, the Socialist party is a recognized and established political party in this country and in other countries.

Members of the Socialist party have both the moral and the political right to urge their doctrines and to publish their teachings, even tho their teachings be opposed to war or any other policy of government.

The Socialist theory of economics and government is and always has been a radical theory, but its radicalism has not prevented the Democratic party, the Progressive party and even the Republican party from appropriating and championing a large part of the Socialist party's political platform.

For example, the initative, the referendum, the recall, government control of railroads, government ownership and operation of the merchant marine, and state and municipal ownership and control of such public utilities as street railways, telephone companies and gas and electric plants are all purely Socialist measures. In their essence they recognize and put in practice the Socialist doctrine of direct control of government by the people and the common ownership of the means and tools of production.

Influence A Good One.

We feel quite sure that the influence of Socialist teachings has been a very good influence in this country and thruout the world.

The Socialist party, of course, has members who are foolish and mischievous and undesirable citizens, but so has every other party.

It is just as possible for citizens to be undesirable who are excesively reactionary and imperialistic as it is for citizens who are ultra-radical and socialistic. The Socialist party should be judged by the total result of its activities and its teachings.

A propaganda which, upon the whole, has exerted an influence so useful and so beneficial as that of the Socialist party should certainly not be suppressed upon grounds of public expediency. But even if the Socialist propaganda had not demonstrated its public benefits so convincingly, the suppression of free printing and free speech is always in itself an obnoxious and a dangerous policy.

Power May Be Extended.

If the Socialist press can be suppressed because its teachings do not happen to suit the administration which is in power, then another administration in power at another time could suppress the Republican press, or the Democratic press, or the Progressive party press, or the religious press, and then justify its action by quoting the precedent established when the Socialist press was suppressed.

We cannot afford to have that kind of thing in this country.

The basis of all our liberties is the liberty of speaking and of writing.

Constitution Is Clear.

Briefly, clearly and specifically the Constitution says: "The Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or the freedom of the press."

This language admits of no misunderstanding. The meaning is as clear as sunlight. The words are expressly mandatory. The Congress can find no excuse, not even that of military necessity, for enacting a law which in any way hinders or abridges the liberty of speech and of printing.

We do profoundly and earnestly believe that the policy of suppressing newspapers which are not in agreement with the government is an unconstitutional policy and a dangerous policy, the ultimate results of which may prove more disastrous than even a defeat in war.

The whole theory of government suppression of an opposition press is fundamentally wrong and fundamentally undemocratic. It is based upon the assumption that whatever the government does is right and that any opposition to the policies of the government must, therefore, necessarily be wrong, and that what is wrong should not be permitted.

Now, this is exactly the doctrine upon which EVERY DESPOTISM THAT HAS EVER EXISTED IN THE WORLD HAS BEEN BASED. We cannot afford to have such a doctrine as this established in our country. Essentially we are no different from any other people that has ever existed. If we permit the foundation of our institutions of liberty to be undermined, why, then, sooner or later, the edifice itself will fall.

We should, all of us, strenuously resist this propaganda of government omniscience and government omnipotence.

Who Are Rulers?

We should strenuously resist the propaganda that our executive and our representatives in Congress are our rulers instead of being our hired servants, whose business it is to obey and to execute the will of the people.

We should strenuously resist any attempt and every attempt of our hired servants at Washington to hinder free expression and individual opinion upon the ground that they are more wise than the rest of us and that they alone know what it is best for us to think and to say.

Whenever the time comes that any American citizen is not absolutely safe in the free expression of his opinion as to the policies of government, THEN NO ONE OF US IS SAFE.

The liberties of all of us are bound up in the liberties of every one of us, and all of us should resist in all places and at all times any and every aggression upon the rights of any one of us, whether the citizen whose rights are threatened be a Republican, or a Democrat, or a Progressive, or a Socialist, or a Catholic, or a Protestant, or a Jew, or whatever may be his political or his religious beliefs.

If we permit these aggressions upon the constitutional rights of citizens, which seem to have become the fashion, to continue and to grow in frequency and force IT MAY EASILY HAPPEN THAT OUR CHILDREN WILL NOT BE A FREE PEOPLE AT ALL.

These are not light matters. These are serious matters. And they should have the serious consideration of every one of us who is proud of the story of our country and who holds dear in his heart the liberties and the institutions of orderly free government which our fathers gave us.

A crisis has arisen which demands instant action and vigorous response. The fundamental rights of a democracy are at stake—free press being the most fundamental. Order the August leaflets—15 cents per 100, $1.00 per 1,000. ORDER NOW!