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AMERICAN SOCIALIST

Readers For The American Socialist Now Means Party Members Later On

VOL. IV. No. 2.

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY JULY 21, 1917.

25 CENTS FOR SIX MONTHS; 50 CENTS PER YEAR; \$1 PER YEAR OUTSIDE UNITED STATES

Press Has Right To Oppose Draft Law Postmaster General Tells Socialists

PRESS GAG FIGHT STIRS CAPITOL

Special to The American Socialist.

By J. L. ENGDALH.

Washington, D. C., July 16—All important business in two of the big departments of the national government came to a halt today to give way to the consideration of the biggest war problem before the nation now—the freedom of its press.

The story of the American Socialist and other publications that have been held up under the espionage law of June 15th was told to high officials in both the Department of Justice and the Postoffice Department.

I cannot say now what will be the outcome of these historic hearings, fraught with the greatest importance to the liberty loving people of the nation, but I believe that a way has been opened which will make it possible for socialist, trade union, radical and pacifist publications to continue legally to state their war views without any serious embarrassment from postal officials.

Many misunderstandings have been swept aside. In order to guide the editors of publications most seriously affected, the Department of Justice will issue a statement clearly defining the application of the censorship clause of the espionage act to newspapers and magazines.

Must Be Rich To Fight For Liberty.

"I wish they were all so rich they could fight for their rights and guarantee their liberties," declared Postmaster General Burleson, addressing the committee sent to Washington by the Socialist Party National Executive Committee, and others who joined them here in the struggle to preserve liberty of press and speech.

It was pointed out to the head of the nation's postoffice, member of President Wilson's cabinet, that the law was being unjustly and harshly enforced against the weakest and poorest publications in the country. It was shown that the holding up of even one issue of some of these publications meant complete suppression.

Then it was that Postmaster General Burleson uttered his wish that Socialist newspapers were rich so they could fight for their rights and guarantee their liberties.

I am sure that altho the AMERICAN SOCIALIST may not be endowed with much wealth, it has the enthusiastic support of its great army of readers, which is worth more to it than riches.

Remember this—The AMERICAN SOCIALIST is going to continue publication. Keep this in mind—let there be no let up in sending in subscriptions. The more readers we get the more powerful we become.

Great Labor Lawyers Gather.

Inspired by their great faith in the cause they represented, the free press committee gathered early this morning for a preliminary conference before calling upon the government.

There was Clarence Darrow, perhaps the nation's greatest labor lawyer, and Frank P. Walsh, chairman of the now famous United States Commission on Industrial Relations. There was Morris Hillquit, interna-

tional secretary and national executive committee member of the Socialist Party, and Seymour Steman, one of the founders of our organization and former member of the Illinois legislature. With them were Amos Pinchot and Roger Baldwin, representing the civil liberties bureau of the American Union against Militarism, Miss Fannie May Witherspoon for the Woman's Peace Party, Julian Pierce, Socialist National Committeeman for the District of Columbia and Thomas A. Hickey, editor of The Rebel, spokesman for the Texas farmers.

This made an impressive delegation as it went to the Department of Justice building, where Judge William C. Herron, special assistant to the attorney general in charge of the enforcement of the espionage law, received them.

Darrow Opens Argument.

Darrow opened the argument for the papers that had been held up, stating his belief in the principles of free speech and free press, which are fundamental to American institutions. He said he had come to Washington without any hope of compensation for himself, merely to take advantage of this opportunity to raise his voice for liberties that he wanted kept alive.

"The espionage act is ambiguous," he pointed out. "You can construe anything in or out of it."

He said the whole method of holding up the 16 publications that had already been interfered with was bad. He then told of the workings of the censorship under the espionage act, with which the readers of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST were already familiar.

"This censorship amounts to the suppression of a paper," he said emphatically. "I am sure that the censorship is a violation of the rights of the people. I am sure that no two lawyers would construe this law alike. I am opposed to the question, 'While fighting for democracy, what are we getting here at home?' What shall we say when newspapers are being suppressed all about us? We must do all we can to safeguard the rights of all individual citizens."

Judge Herron Gives Views.

This was followed by quite an extended discussion, during which Judge Herron gave some of his opinions concerning the meaning of the law. He said the daily papers published much that might come under the interpretation of the law, but that this was lost in the great mass of other matter, whereas it nearly always completely filled the smaller Socialist papers, thus making it more prominent.

Morris Hillquit then reviewed the efforts of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST to comply with the law, declaring he could find nothing in the three issues declared unavailable, that is in violation of the law. Hillquit inquired whether it was the intention to cut off all discussion of war and questions that arise incidental to war.

"Of course that is not our intention," said Judge Herron. "We don't claim the law calls for any such thing." He felt, however, that we must have regulated freedom of speech and press.

Walsh Makes Impassioned Plea.

Walsh delivered an impassioned plea for a free press, declaring we must all do what

we can to preserve the ideals on which our government is built.

Pinchot said that the kind of suppression brought about by the espionage act does not suppress. "It is the kind of suppression that defeats itself," he said. "It doesn't get anywhere. Suppress these papers and what they would print is carried from mouth to mouth."

Stedman urged that the issue be faced openly, and that an effort be made to find out what we can and what we cannot say.

This ended the hearing at the Department of Justice, which had extended over three hours, and after which Judge Herron renewed his promise to issue a statement giving a more concrete interpretation and application of the law.

Can Work For Draft Repeal.

"There isn't the slightest inclination here to place any limitation on the freedom of the press," said Postmaster General Burleson, after pointing out the provisions of the law. "It is the right of editors to advocate a repeal of the draft law, for instance. It is their right as American citizens. But they must be careful how they do it."

He agreed that the wisdom of any attempt to suppress the press was very doubtful. In reply to Hillquit's declaration that some postmasters under the espionage act might hold up publications thru personal spite, Burleson declared,

"IF ANY POSTMASTER USES HIS POWER TO VENT HIS PERSONAL SPITE ON ANY PAPER, I'LL FIRE HIM! I'LL CUT HIS HEAD OFF!"

Hillquit said he would present such a case. Burleson repeated he had absolutely no prejudice against the Socialist press.

Walsh repeated the plea he had made to Judge Herron, declaring that the law ought to be interpreted in the light of reason, and that the orderly, democratic and right thing ought to be done.

"It is a lamentable fact that these papers that are being held up are being strangled to death," he said.

He then pointed out the great change in public opinion that is being brought about as a result of the war and especially the Russian revolution, declaring that Socialist publications have always fought to correct the wrongs in the present social order.

"The people of America have been fed on the idea that this is a free government," said Walsh. "These suppressions to the ordinary mind mean the bringing here of conditions that prevailed in old Russia and that now obtain in Prussianized Germany."

Walsh urged that the interpretation of the law be made as clear as possible in order to minimize mistakes, and then to let it be known that this is the policy of the government.

"By suppressing a paper, you do not suppress an editor's idea," he said, "you accelerate it. There is nothing that will bring this law into more disrepute, there is nothing worse than to have the law in its present state of indefiniteness."

"I respectfully ask you on behalf of my clients that you make the regulations as clear, as concise, and as definite as you can conceive."

It is the hope of all socialist editors that such a clear, concise and definite statement will be issued by these two departments of the government, the Department of Justice and the Postoffice Department.

ference were reticent, it transpired that there was some heated discussion of the steel question.

"More than one veiled charge was made that the producers have boosted the price of steel to an inexcusable degree."

"There has been a good deal of talk, chiefly promoted by Secretary of the Navy Daniels, that the government would commandeer the steel plants if the steel producers failed to come to terms."

IT IS inconceivable to us that the profit-makers in steel, nor the big profiteers in any other industry will separate themselves from their precious dividends during this war. Profit is the life's blood of the capitalist system. Take that away and the system dies.

It will not die without a struggle. Talk is easy, but to break an organization like that of the Money Kings, united by the lust of gold, — a strong organization, held together by the love of life itself, is needed. There is no possibility of "Patriotism without Profit" save in the triumph of Socialism.

Join us—make the iridescent Presidential eloquence a prophecy of fact! That must come—is coming—thru the Socialist Party!

Kaiser's Promised Vote Reform May Mean Another Red Republic Socialism Dominant in Germany

As we go to press chaos seems to prevail in Germany. Bethmann-Hollweg's resignation was followed by the appointment of Dr. Michaelis, a bureaucratic reactionary. The Kaiser, willing to grant vote reform, is unwilling to agree on peace without annexation or indemnity, and the Reichstag insists on this. Michaelis' appointment seems to be a blow in the face of the progressives. If so, it seems likely to produce a vast explosion.

The Crown Prince, now in power, is hated. But one thing seems clear in the confusion; Socialism is gaining the upper hand!

By the Kaiser's vote reform, granting the full, secret and equal ballot to all citizens of Prussia, the Socialist majority in Prussia will become the controlling factor in the German Federation.

Then the fall of Kaiserdom cannot be long delayed. This vote grant is but an attempt to stave off impending fall. The cry "Long live the German republic" has already echoed in the halls of the Reichstag. When that Republic does come, it will be a Socialist republic, even as Russia is now.

Rising thru the black clouds of disaster, the red sunburst of the new day first bathed Russia in its crimson rays. Spreading westward the dawn has broken in Germany. On westward it will roll; France, now a capitalist republic, with a strong Socialist tendency, will clasp hands with a Commonwealth of Britain in which there is no crown, but a President or Protector of the united commonwealths. Ireland will become a Republic, and in the seat of Padraic Pearse a new President will sit. Then on westward!

The whole world turns slowly out of the black wreckage of the universal disaster into the bright sunlight of the great new day—the triumph of Universal Peace in the Co-operative Commonwealth of the World.

How It Started.

At Easter time the Kaiser delivered an Imperial rescript in which he promised sweeping reforms to take place after the war. The general idea was to be the establishment of a "Volkskoenigtum"—"People's Kingdom of the Hohenzollerns". With this yielding to feed upon, the radical papers began to shout for more definite terms. A specific demand for the statement of the war aims of Germany and especially for an answer to the demand for peace without annexations and without indemnities was raised. Several times the Chancellor promised to reply to this demand. When he finally gave his answer on July 10, it was with a flat refusal to accept any such terms.

Immediately the upheaval began to shake the throne. Over in Saxony, the country of Luther, Erzberger, a clerical deputy, raised again the cry of revolution. The main committee of the Reichstag held stormy session after session, with each session proving more and more plainly that the anti-government forces were in the majority.

Socialist and Catholic forces were united for internal reform. The Socialists are a majority in number, and with the Catholics or Centrists constitute an overwhelming preponderance, numbering some 225 of the deputies.

On July 12 the Socialists and Catholics united in refusal to vote any further war credit unless the war aims of the empire were defined, and were satisfactory when so defined. This was a body blow; for the war cannot be prosecuted without money, and if the Reichstag refuses to vote money, it cannot be collected without withdrawal of the whole army from the front and employing it against the recalcitrant citizens at home.

The Kaiser immediately replied with an order, issued by him in his capacity as King of Prussia, giving the full, equal and secret vote to all citizens of Prussia, but without stating when this vote will begin.

THIS WILL MEAN THAT PRUSSIA WILL BECOME A SOCIALIST STATE: FOR THE SOCIALISTS HOLD AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE VOTERS. They have been held in subjection only because of the three-class system of franchise and the "circle system" of voting, by means of which the landed proprietors known as "junkers" have dominated Prussia; and since Prussia is constitutionally the head of the Empire, they have dominated the Empire. Since the German Empire is head of the Teutonic alliance, they have dominated the alliance.

By this vote reform therefore, the Teutonic Alliance will be dominated by Socialist votes in Prussia. Whenever the vote reform is put into effect, Prussia will take its place beside Russia as a Socialist State—doubtless in course of time to become a Socialist Republic.

Abolition Of All Profits Is Urged By President Wilson In Condemning Business Interests

"PROFITS must go!" is the only interpretation that can be put on President Wilson's edict to the big business interests of the country issued Wednesday, July 11.

The heart of the president's declaration is found in the paragraph in which he outlines what he means by "A just price". He says:

"A just price must, of course, be paid for everything the government buys. By a just price I mean a price which will sustain the industries concerned in a high state of efficiency, provide a living for those who conduct them, enable them to pay good wages, and make possible the expansion of their enterprises."

NO Socialist could demand more. We certainly believe in maintaining industry at a high state of efficiency. We certainly believe in paying a living wage, a good living wage, to all engaged in industry. We certainly believe in making possible the expansion of industry.

This leaves no room for profits. This is the "War Socialism" that so many of the warring countries of Europe have already adopted.

"FORGET profits!" the slogan of this presidential proclamation to the money changers, will take its place beside those other happy phrases that have come from the White House at Washington, "A War For Democracy" and "Peace Without Victory".

As in the past every Socialist in the land will hope for the substance to follow the sound of these inspiring enunciations.

There is no possible way of realizing this definition of the President's other than confiscating the coal, iron, copper, lead and zinc mines and oil wells, and operating them without profit for the good of the nation. This is the first step toward Socialism.

It will be this fear of "War Socialism" becoming "Real Socialism" that will force the big business interests to oppose the president's program. Their protests can even now be heard in Washington.

THE president's declaration on the abolition of profits for the period of the war shatters some of the most beautiful dreams entertained by our industrial overlords.

The president's declaration that there must be but one price for the government and the public, is dream shatterer No. 1.

Even before the war started, and every day since then, the market letters of Wall Street have gloated over the fact that altho the government would force a "just" price for the things needed, the business interests would be left free to rob the public to their heart's content.

"The public is now as much part of the government as are the army and navy themselves. WE MUST MAKE PRICES TO THE PUBLIC THE SAME AS PRICES TO THE GOVERNMENT."

"Prices mean the same thing everywhere now. They mean the efficiency or the inefficiency of the nation, whether it is the government that pays them or not."

"PATRIOTISM has nothing to do with profits", says the president's dream shatterer No. 2.

And all the time big business interests were complimenting themselves on their patriotism when they cut down profits to a bare 10 per cent or 20 per cent. "A patriotic profit," they called it, altho they did not all agree as to just how much this profit should be.

THE president scores these patriotic profiteers as follows:

"I hear it insisted that more than a just price, more than a price that will sustain our industries, must be paid; that it is necessary to pay liberal and unusual profits in order to 'stimulate' production; that nothing but pecuniary rewards will do—reward in money, not in the mere liberation of the world."

Capitalists have always preached that the hope of acquiring riches is the big incentive under the competitive system of society. They have preached that Socialism would destroy this incentive. Now the president takes up the cudgels of Socialism and berates the money monarchs and their false incentive.

With its incentive gone, capitalists must also go, and on its ruins Socialism will rise with a new incentive—the liberation of civilization from wage slavery.

HAVING taken this decided stand against profits, the president lashes the ship owners

of the United States for the exorbitant freight rates they have been exacting.

Let us remember that the shipping trust is the International Mercantile Marine Co., at the head of which is J. Pierpont Morgan, who has without doubt profited more by this war than any other one man. In referring to Morgan and other ship owners, the president said:

"They are doing everything that high freight charges can do to make the war a failure, to make it impossible."

In this Morgan and his fellow plunderers are merely repeating their record during peace times and during past wars. The Morgan fortune, as has often shown, was built on the graft that the late J. Pierpont Morgan was able to get away with during the Civil War.

It just happens that all of the big steel producers, who control the American steel supply, constitute the entire committee on steel and steel products of the council of national defense.

We quote from an article by Arthur Sears Henning in the Chicago Tribune, telling of the meeting of the steel producers to fix steel prices, as follows:

"The steel producers present were Elbert

H. Gary, chairman of the executive committee, and James A. Farrell, president of the United States Steel corporation; Charles M. Schwab, chairman, and E. G. Grace, president of the Bethlehem Steel corporation; J. A. Burden, president of the Burden Iron and Steel company; E. A. S. Clarke, president of the Lackawanna Steel company; H. G. Dalton, president of Pickands, Mather & Co.; A. C. Dinkley, vice president of the Midvale Steel and Ordnance company; W. L. King, vice president of the Jones & Laughlin company; and J. A. Topping, president of the Republic Iron and Steel company.

"While these men were invited to the conference as the individuals who control the steel supply of the country, it happens that they constitute the entire committee on steel and steel products of the council of national defense."

"One cabinet member thought that from the burden of their arguments the steel men appeared exclusively as producers. One of the manufacturers, however, waxed indignant at this insinuation and asserted that he and his associates were acting primarily as patriotic representatives of the government in their capacity as defense council committeemen."

"Altho all of the participants in the con-

Making For Socialism

By MORRIS HILLQUIT. SOCIALISM is distinctly a modern movement. Contrary to prevailing notions, it has no connection, historical or intellectual, with the Utopias of Plato or More, or with the practices of the communistic sects of former ages.

AS AN illustration, let us take the economic condition of the United States in the early days of the republic. The main industry of the country was agriculture, and land was plentiful and accessible to all.

Mass production, division of labor and specialization of functions have largely superseded individual effort, general efficiency and acquired skill in industry.

THIS economic evolution has brought about a most thorough change in the social conditions and relations of the people.

For the first time in history free producers found themselves divorced from the tools of their labor. The modern worker cannot revert to the simple tool of his forefathers.

The most gruesome picture of physical and mental torture ever evolved by the human brain is probably the familiar fable of Tantalus. The victim of divine wrath stands in water up to his chin with the choicest fruit hanging over his head.

THE morbid imagination of Greek antiquity has become a social and economic fact in modern America. Our country abounds with natural wealth. Millions of workers yearn for the necessities of life.

With the loss of their tools the workers have lost their economic independence. They work and they live or they die and starve according to the convenience of the powerful tool-owners.

Urge Draft Of Wealth

Agitation for the conscription of wealth and organization of a labor party along Socialist lines among the labor unions is making great progress in Canada.

The main work of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada now is to bring the same burden on wealth that is being placed on labor.

This registration card asks the enumeration of the income derived from land or property, from interests, annuities or dividends and from other sources as well, and finally takes a census of the amount of land and buildings, jewels and plate, automobiles and other possessions of the individual wealth possessor.

"Do you claim exemption from placing at the disposal of your country the whole of your income and possessions? (Specify grounds.)"

"We give all we have. Why shouldn't the rich, who have something to give, turn theirs over to the state," is the naive way the labor men put this proposition.

Refuse To Work For Profit.

J. C. Watters, president of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, makes this view perfectly clear in a statement that has been sent to the labor unions of Canada, in which he says:

"I am strongly of opinion, then, that the greatest and most patriotic service we can render to our country, our motherland and our allies in the struggle to preserve our liberties and our democracy is, on the day conscription of man power is put into force to supplement the pledge of the prime minister by forcing the government to conscript material wealth."

"If our liberties and our democracy are at stake, the government will gladly and courageously conscript the material wealth of the nation to permit of work being executed for the nation by eliminating the last vestige of profit."

"If such is not done, then we have either been deceived, as the existence of the state is in danger, or betrayed, as the whole power of the nation is not being consecrated to the task of winning the war."

Socialists Supreme

A returned Socialist traveler from Yucatan, Mexico, describes the remarkable supremacy of the Socialists in that state. The workers have control. The stevedore's union, with the aid of Gov. Salvadore Alvarado, has complete control of the shipping.

The revolutionary government encourages cooperative trading establishments, the free distribution of land to the natives, and is rapidly building schools. In a recent election in Meriden, 99 per cent of the vote went to the Socialist candidates—all the rest going to the capitalists.

Plea From Russia

The latest pronouncements of the Petrograd council of workmen and soldiers' deputies makes the formal declaration that the onward policy of the Russian provisional government "can only be fruitful if supported by the democracy of the whole world."

"All depends on this support," the pronouncement continues. "Our delegates will visit the neutral countries, as well as England and France, and in the name of the revolution directly address western Europe's proletariat, telling them the Russian revolution bleeds to death and awaits from them help in the struggle for the speedy ending of the war on the basis of complete renunciation of indemnities and annexations by all the governments—neutral and belligerent."

Imperialists Now Active.

"The explanation to western Europe's proletariat, of the great problem the Russian revolution must solve will meet with obstinate resistance from imperialistic circles in allied and hostile countries and from the capitalist newspapers in Germany, Austria-Hungary, England and France, because the press has distorted the significance of the Russian events."

"The governments of England, France, Germany and Austria-Hungary have done all in their power to prevent the Russian revolution's voice penetrating into other nations."

"Without the support from the democracies of the entire world the Russian revolution will never achieve the ending of the war on its platform."

Must Overcome Capital.

Defining the aims of the revolution, the extremists declare that the only way to gain them is to sever all connections with the capitalist elements, seize the supreme power, and subject all capitalistic elements to revolutionary democracy's rule.

"The workers and soldiers' council, commenting on this suggestion, say, 'though in general agreeing with those aims, we think the time is not ripe for enforcing them decisively, because the democracy is not yet sufficiently organized and consolidated. Furthermore, we believe co-operation with the capitalistic elements, which slightly incline to certain democratic tendencies, still is possible. Consequently, breaking with those elements and seizure of the power by the council at the present time, would cause civil war in the near future, in the storm of which all the successes gained by the revolution would perish.'"

"The correctness of the political line thus indicated by the councils is verified by events of the last three months. Revolutionary Russian democracy, represented by an overwhelming majority of organized forces, has now only to follow that line."

"If it does, the constitutional assembly will bestow upon the democracy powers on a legal basis and will reduce the danger of a civil war to a minimum."

A Word For The Poor

WISH to make a plea for the further conservation of garbage for the worthy poor.

A short time ago I saw a news item in a daily paper, which told of the noble efforts of some ladies in New York City, in accumulating quite a number of bushels of potato parings from hotels and restaurants, for the worthy poor. (None but the worthy need apply.)

It gave me a glow of pride to think of members of my own sex willing to devote themselves to so beautiful a cause. We all know the satisfaction we derive from digging up a lot of old clothes, (which personally we wouldn't wear to a dog fight) and unloading them on the worthy poor.

But the food question opens new avenues. Who of us would not be willing to save our tea and coffee grounds, for distribution among the humble ones! Think of the corn cobs which will go to waste, that would make nourishing soup.

Indeed the possibilities are limitless. But these are merely a few sug-

gestions to the good ladies who are so uniring in their efforts toward that long suffering class, "the worthy poor."

BOOK REVIEWS

A GERMAN DESERTER'S WAR EXPERIENCE, translated by J. Koettgen. B. W. Huebsch, 225 Fifth Ave., New York, 192 pp. \$1.

Imagine yourself a Socialist in Germany, hating war, militarism, and exploitation, serving your second year of military service and about to leave the barracks in six week's time, eagerly waiting for the time to leave the hated service, and then—a declaration of war. This is the experience of the author of this book who finally escaped to America after fourteen months service.

It is in the account of the horrors of war, the feelings of the soldiers, their quiet talks among themselves, the insane lust for blood once the most humane of them were thrust into battle, and the longing for peace among the soldiers that the reader will find the greatest interest. His description of the fighting is a plain recital without any attempt to stir the feelings of the reader, yet for sheer horror it rivals anything ever recorded in fiction.

Yet there is hope. He tells of the hatred of the men for the officers who remain in the rear and direct the firing, of their comfortable automobiles and food accommodations in contrast with the treatment of the soldiers. What is more, there are German officers lying "somewhere in France" who received a bayonet in the back or a knife in the stomach at the hands of German soldiers. How many of these professional auto-car warriors have thus fallen there is no means of knowing. But discontent is ripening among the German rank and file and this is no doubt true of the other armies. It is the one hopeful item in a dreary waste of blood and muck.

A GERMAN DESERTER'S WAR EXPERIENCE.

Revelations of Real Conditions in the German Army—Frightful and True. Four Editions Already Exhausted. Price \$1.00. National Office Socialist Party, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

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FREE SPEECH UPHELD. According to a Baltimore dispatch to the Chicago Examiner, "The right of free speech was upheld by Federal Judge Rose, who discharged a man brought before him for opposition to the draft law. He stated a person may express disapproval of any law passed by the government."

Henry M. Hyde, writing in the Chicago Tribune, says that, "At the stockyards alone, it is reported on excellent authority, about 1,000 Negroes who apply for work each morning are turned away. Many of these people—and the number increases—are brought to Chicago the result of what are actually false representations."

Ten Socialists are now serving terms of one year each in the house of correction at Detroit, Mich., for failure to register. The cases of Ellwood B. Moore and Morris Frucht, University of Michigan students, are still to be heard on the same charge.

Members of the group of 13 suffragists who were arrested on July 4th for picketing the White House and sentenced to jail for "obstructing the traffic" and "holding unlawful meetings" were welcomed back into the suffrage fold after their release by a committee of the National Woman's Party and by an audience that filled the ball room of the Ritz-Carlton Hotel in Washington. "It was terrible" was the description of the jail given by the women.

"It is of the utmost importance that there shall be no lowering in the efficiency of our system of education," says Dr. P. P. Claxton, United States commissioner of education, discussing education and the war.

The demand that the rich province of Quebec secede from the Dominion of Canada and set up a new republic on the banks of the St. Lawrence river is made in a sensational editorial in L'Ideal Catholique, generally regarded as the semi-official spokesman of the French Canadian Catholic clergy. The paper is violently fighting the draft law. LaCroix, another Roman Catholic organ published here, also makes a frank attack on the conscription law.

Henry Jager, New York Socialist speaker, who was released from Blackwell's Island recently, after serving a three months' sentence for holding a meeting in Madison Square, New York City, has issued a letter voicing his appreciation of the splendid assistance rendered to Mrs. Jager and to himself during the term of his incarceration.

Jeanette Rankin, congresswoman from Montana, has won her fight to stop working women more than the legal number of hours in the government bureau of engraving and printing at Washington. She has been spurred on by this victory to ask the house labor committee for a general investigation of the hours of labor for all women in government employ throughout the country.

Walter G. Mathewson, member of the California Industrial Welfare Commission, announces that the commission of which he is a member will establish \$10 per week as the minimum wage for women.

Prof. Edward de Valera of Dublin university, a Sinn Feiner, has been elected to parliament from East Clare. He received 5,010 votes against 2,035 for Patrick Lynch, the nationalist candidate. Prof. De Valera is one of the Sinn Feiners arrested at the time of the revolution last year and recently released from prison.

John M. Baer, of Fargo, N. D., supported by the Nonpartisan League, has been elected to congress in the face of opposition from both old parties. This is the first entry of this farmer's organization into national politics.

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BIRTHDAY WEEK EXTENDED. Because of the unsettled state of mind of many of our best workers we have been requested to extend the Birthday Subscription Week for another issue. Here is the blank; make good use of it!

Help Celebrate Our Birthday Week! The American Socialist, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. Here is the result of my efforts during "BIRTHDAY WEEK" of OUR PAPER to help increase the list of our readers up to the Million Mark. NAME ADDRESS CITY STATE TIME OF SUB. 6 MOS. ONE YEAR. Name of Sender. Address. City. State. Our Subscription Rates:—50 cents per year; 25 cents for six months.

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Sweatshops Favored, Union Labor Scorned, By Council Of Defense, Charges Wilson Organ; Labor Will Revolt And Establish Own Party Is Threat; Gompers Hands Unions To Despoilers

Labor, Sold, Bound And Gagged Into Hands Of Its Enemies, Must Form Own Party, Says New Republic

The New Republic, one of the strongest Wilson organs in the country, in its issue of July 9, makes a bitter attack upon the manufacturers and business men who have been placed in power on the Committee of National Defense. This attack preceded by a few days the President's terrific assault on the "dollar patriotism" of these same men. The facts shown by the New Republic prove that labor has been delivered, bound and gagged, into the hands of its foes.

The New Republic states that such treatment as labor has received will give rise to an independent Labor Party, unless prompt action is taken to discipline the "business men" whom it so unmercifully scores. This means, and can only mean, the Socialist Party.

THIS is quoted from the New Republic: "Weeks before the President asked Congress to take formal action against Germany, Mr. Gompers called a Conference of the executive heads of the principal trade unions, and by his parliamentary skill induced them to pledge themselves unanimously to the service of the country.

"Many of the men who attended this conference had been passionately opposed to America's entrance into the war; some of them were on record as believing in the general strike as a justifiable means of thwarting the prosecution of hostilities.

"Mr. Gompers was able to persuade them that the President had done everything in his power to keep this country out of war, and that by her revocation of the submarine pledge, Germany was threatening the existence of democracy not only in America, but in the world. The resolution adopted by this conference dispelled some of the gravest anxieties of the administration and the country."

Mr. Gompers was made chairman of the committee on Labor of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense. He made up his committee of an equal number of employers and trade unionists. He invited to its membership the President of the National Civic Federation, the General Manager of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and a representative of the National Association of Manufacturers, the bitterest opponents of organized labor in the country. In organizing the sub-committees the same line was followed. Employers were given equal representation with labor on the Committee on Mediation and Conciliation, the Committee on Wages and Hours, and the Committee on Women in Industry.

He thus placed the bitterest foes of union labor, of any sort of organized labor, in control of the situation. For with half of a committee consisting of enemies of labor, no steps favorable to labor's organization can possibly be taken. Thus labor was sold out of its only chance; for all the other departments almost without exception are composed of enemies of organized labor, only a few representatives of the miners being placed on the Committee on Coal.

GOMPERS thought that the enemies of organized labor would show the same spirit that he showed toward them. But, to quote the New Republic further:

"But nothing of the sort happened. The Committee on Supplies and its sub-committees on cotton goods, on woolen manufactures, on shoes and leather are made up exclusively of manufacturers and business men. Contracts are let with great regard for economy and speed of production, but without any consultation with representatives of the workers as to the probable effect of economy and speed upon them.

"The Committee on Transportation and Communication is likewise without labor representation. The sub-committees on shipping, on steel and steel products, on nickel and mica and lumber and copper and lead and every other commodity for which the government has entered the market are made up exclusively of bankers and merchants and manufacturers.

"The same is true of the General Munitions Board, which has received special governmental recognition. By this one-sided arrangement it is made to appear that Mr. Gompers has patriotically pledged himself to restrain the workers from agitating for the conditions of a decent life without securing any guarantees for the protection of labor in return.

"Heightened color is given to this appearance of things by the attitude of the various committees and the departments of government to the complaints of the trade-union men and to their attempts to secure fair cooperative arrangements for the adjustment of grievances. The Executive Board of the Metal Trades Department of the Federation of Labor offered to enter into an arbitration agreement with the Navy Department for the prompt and democratic adjustment of any disputes that might threaten to interfere with the work of the department. Their communication was not even acknowledged.

"Seventy-five miners who had been employed in certain southern mines were discharged for the sole reason that they were members of the United Mine Workers' Union. The matter was brought to the attention of the chairman of the Committee on Coal Production, with the request that he should make an effort to bring about a fair settlement. With a shrug of the shoulder, the chairman regretted that there was nothing he could do inasmuch as "those mines do not belong to me." It was at about this time that President White of the United Mine Workers protested that unless his organization was given adequate representation on the Coal Production Committee they would feel compelled to withdraw from the industrial trust. His protest was heeded, but without establishing a precedent for other organized industries. Last week Mr. Gompers and the Executive Council of the American Federation addressed a letter to the Council of National Defense in which they demanded "direct representation by workers, coequal with all other interests, upon all agencies, boards, committees and commissions entrusted with war work." If America was England this demand would receive serious consideration. There the government has entered into an open collective agreement with the trade unions, the unions are officially "recognized," and they expect representation on all war work affecting the standard of labor as a matter of course.

"BUT THE ENGLISH LABOR MOVEMENT HAS ITS OWN POLITICAL PARTY; IT HAS ITS OWN REPRESENTATIVES IN PARLIAMENT; IT HAS BECOME AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE INDUSTRIAL AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF THE NATION.

"It remains to be seen whether the business men of America and the administration at Washington will so deal with labor as to compel the organized labor movement to resort to independent political action to protect its proper dignity and its just interests.

"Take the situation in the men's clothing industry. The government has gone into the market for tens of thousands of uniforms. The contracts for these uniforms are let thru the quartermaster's department in Philadelphia. For some unknown reason, the quartermaster's department has followed the practice of placing most of these contracts with unorganized factories where the cheapest labor is employed and with factories so ill equipped to do the work that their owners have resorted to subcontracting which in turn has spilled over into the tenements.

a conspicuous recrudescence of the old sweat-shop conditions which the best manufacturers and the unions have struggled for years to abolish.

"The quartermaster's department has taken the position that the government is not concerned whether or not union labor is employed. Most of the clothing on government account is manufactured in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, and it happens that in these cities approximately 85 per cent of the industry operates under protocol agreements which provide not only for the maintenance of decent labor standards in the establishment of which the manufacturers, the workers and representatives of the outside public have had a voice, but which also provide a highly developed and effective machinery for the modification of standards in times of emergency and the adjustment of industrial disputes. With few exceptions, the factories which have remained outside the scope of collective agreements operate under sub-standard conditions of wages and hours, give the workers no voice in the control of the shop and provide no machinery for the correction of grievances.

"YET IT IS SUCH FACTORIES THAT APPEAR TO BE GETTING MOST OF THE GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS TO-DAY WITH THE RESULT THAT UNREST AND RESENTMENT IS RAPIDLY SPREADING THROUGHT THE INDUSTRY.

"Would not the government be following a wiser course if it called into consultation the representatives of the manufacturers' association and the union which control 85 per cent of the industry, made preferential arrangements with them for the execution of government work and made them jointly responsible for the maintenance of uninterrupted production? Why should not the same thing be done in all other industries operating under collective agreements? And where unions exist but are 'not recognized,' why should not the government lend its influence to the creation of collective agreements in the industry of industrial peace and efficiency? Until something of this sort has been done, the recognition which has been accorded to organized labor by the appointment of Mr. Gompers to the Advisory Commission will remain an empty compliment, a thing of no substance or practical effect."

THESE charges come down to this; that labor has been sold by Mr. Gompers into the hands of its enemies, and that the only solution is an Independent Labor Party—Independent, that is of the present dominant parties. There is only one such party possible for workingmen—that is the Socialist Party. Workingmen are ready to be convinced. There is great unrest in organized labor. The Socialist Party stands ready for them, and they for it. OUR DAY HAS DAWNED!

Welcome To The Band-Wagon!

Now comes the Chicago Tribune and demands "Peace Terms." For months the Tribune has been reviling the "Peace Terms seekers" in unmeasured language both editorially and in its news columns. On July 14 it turns a complete flip-flop and joins in the chorus for a clear statement of Peace Terms. Thus saith the Tribune:

MAKE CLEAR OUR AIMS.

"No more important step has been taken in the recent diplomatic conduct of the war against German imperialism than that just announced in the house of commons by the parliamentary under secretary of foreign affairs, Lord Robert Cecil. He reports the British government has notified the Russian government that it is ready to enter into negotiations looking to a revision of the war aims of the entente.

"If this revision is made we assume the United States will be invited to take part in it. The results of such a revision, we may hope, will be the elimination, so far as the allies are concerned, of the least justifiable obstacles to peace—namely, objects of unfair imperial aggrandizement—which neither the American nor the Russian republic will shed its blood to obtain and which the German people would be most justified to oppose.

"England, and France to a less degree, have been charged with cherishing imperial designs, we trust, unjustly. It would help to clear the air of much distrust and would strengthen the democratic alliance if these suspicions could be laid and a concrete program of minimum terms be agreed upon among the allies.

"The effect, not only in Russia but in America, would be to drive indifference and opposition out of camp. Many Americans who have no liking for German pretensions fear that America may be exploited by British imperial ambition. The war spirit would grow rapidly if a definite agreement on peace terms could be formulated at this time. We have, indeed, a clearer right to act than that this be attempted than Russia, which, however it may be inclined to throw off responsibilities fixed by the imperial regime, nevertheless is not without special moral responsibility for the defense of Serbian independence, which precipitated the war.

"We shall never desert our allies in the defense of legitimate purposes of defense and reparation. In that we believe the Russian people will stand with us. But we ought to ask for a clear definition of common ends, so that we may prevent being drawn into enterprises which cannot concern us, and for which we are not ready to expend blood and treasure."

This, dear brother, is what The American Socialist has been saying for quite a while. Welcome to the band-wagon!

Organization Leaflets Popular

"Send me The American Socialist for one year. I think it is a great paper. Have been reading my neighbors' papers and leaflets. Send me the monthly organization leaflets. 'Boost the Socialist Party, is my slogan'."—Edgar Fogleman, Indiana.

"The American Socialist has been good from the first, but it is getting better every issue."—J. C. Harkness, Washington.

"This is the time to grow, and we are growing," says Comrade Nelson Billings, of San Francisco, as he orders a bundle of July leaflets.

"Keep going, we're on the way to victory," says M. M. Floren, Dell Rapids, S. D., as he orders a bundle of July leaflets.

"People in this community are beginning to look for some light—after economic depression. The stomach seems to be the dominating source of brain supply." A. C. Brooker, of Pittsburgh, makes the above comment when sending in an order for July leaflets. Wrap your name around a dime, send it in to the National Office, and get 100 leaflets.

What's Matter, Sweden?

Sweden is complaining. She says that the United States went into the war to protect the right of a neutral nation to sell munitions to a belligerent. She says further that the moment we entered the war we began to prevent neutrals from trading with our enemy, Sweden, Norway, Holland and Denmark are brought face to face with starvation by the embargo, which is intended to prevent what we went to war to secure.

Sweden has our sympathy; but she should understand that the needs of war make mock of logic. We are in to avenge our country's wrongs. If we step on anybody else in the process, that's always the fault of the Germans.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of the United States.

J. L. ENGDALH, Editor

Entered as second-class matter, July 21, 1914, at the post-office at Chicago, Ill., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Published every Saturday by the Socialist Party National Office, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

SINGLE SUBSCRIPTIONS.—Fifty cents a year. Twenty-five cents for six months.

BUNDLE RATES.—Bundle Rates One Year to one address: 4 copies \$1.50; 8 copies, \$3.00; 10 copies, \$3.50; 25 copies, \$9.00; 50 copies, \$18.75; 100 copies, \$35.00. Bundle Rates of Any Issue: 1,000, \$75.00; 500, \$37.50; 200, \$15.00; 100, 75 cents.

SATURDAY, JULY 21, 1917.

Buy Our Books!

Twelve thousand Socialists have joined the party since the declaration of war. They need more than a party card; they need a careful grounding in the principles of Socialism. In this issue we are advertising many old and many new leaflets, pamphlets and books. The imperative NEED at the present time is STUDY. Be prepared to give a reason for the faith that is in you. Read over our book lists carefully; order them in quantities large enough for generous and general distribution. Stand by the National Office thru the time of stress and strain; the future is surely ours! Buy our books!

Outrages in Arizona.

At the time when the American people are being roused to anger over the atrocities against Belgian workmen perpetrated by German soldiers, word comes from Bisbee, Arizona, that turns our accusations against ourselves.

Twelve hundred men and women, comprising mine workers, attorneys, business men and clerks, were rounded up from their homes at dead of night, placed in cattle cars under armed guard and shunted for 24 hours over the blazing sands of the Arizona desert, without food, without water and with no possibility of rest or relief. This was done under the orders of two officials of the Copper Trust, as an act of vengeance for the strike of copper mine workers for more pay.

The Associated Press dispatches telling of this outrage were censored at the pistol's point by these same two officials, who exercised all the power of United States officers with no shadow of warrant of authority.

The 1200 deported men and women have been placed under heavy guard in a stockade at Columbus, N. M., and are there being fed by United States troops, who prevent on pain of death any attempt of the imprisoned ones to escape.

President Wilson wired a protest to the governor of Arizona against the inhumanity of this proceeding, and received an insolent reply, since which time no further steps have been taken. Back of the outrage lies the remains of the copper workers for sufficient pay to meet the increased cost of living, and the determination of the copper mine owners to permit no interference with the exorbitant profits they have been wringing from the government. Altho rebuked by the President and by the secretaries of war and of the navy, for their greed in "coining the lifeblood of our soldiers and sailors into dollars" the copper mine owners have continued in violation of every law of the land or of humanity in safeguarding their wealth.

It is true that they offered control of the mines to the government, but on terms which were characterized by a cabinet member as "The government stands the loss, if there is a loss; the government pays us the profit, if there is any profit." On these terms the government refused the offer.

To such outrages there is but one adequate answer; it is the immediate confiscation by the government of all natural resources, including copper, coal, iron and lead and zinc mines and oil wells, and their operation without profit for the benefit of all the people, in time of war as in time of peace.

This must be done sooner or later. If it is not by this administration then by the next one. For if this administration fails to meet the issue in this way, the next administration, likely enough to be a Socialist one, will certainly be so.

France Demands Freedom of American Press.

(From the Chicago Herald)

Paris, July 10.—The events of the last fortnight show that the American military authorities have still to find a satisfactory solution of the censorship problem, which the French and British leaders now realize is of almost paramount importance in this war, not of armies but of peoples.

How the question strikes one of the Frenchmen best qualified to pronounce on it may be seen from a statement made by Joseph Reinach, who, as a deputy, one of the directors of the Figaro, and one of the foremost writers in France on military subjects, is in a position to speak not only from an expert but from a national standpoint.

Divided Into Three Classes.

Mr. Reinach said: "The wartime censorship—I refuse to admit any other—may be divided into three categories—military, diplomatic and political. The first I consider not only desirable, but absolutely necessary; the second, desirable in a certain degree; the third, quite undesirable and pernicious.

Regarding Diplomacy.

"As regards the diplomatic censorship, the question is somewhat different. Its importance to you lies in the fact that America now is one of the allies, and, in my opinion, it is essential to avoid anything that might lead to discord among them, to say nothing of the neutrals.

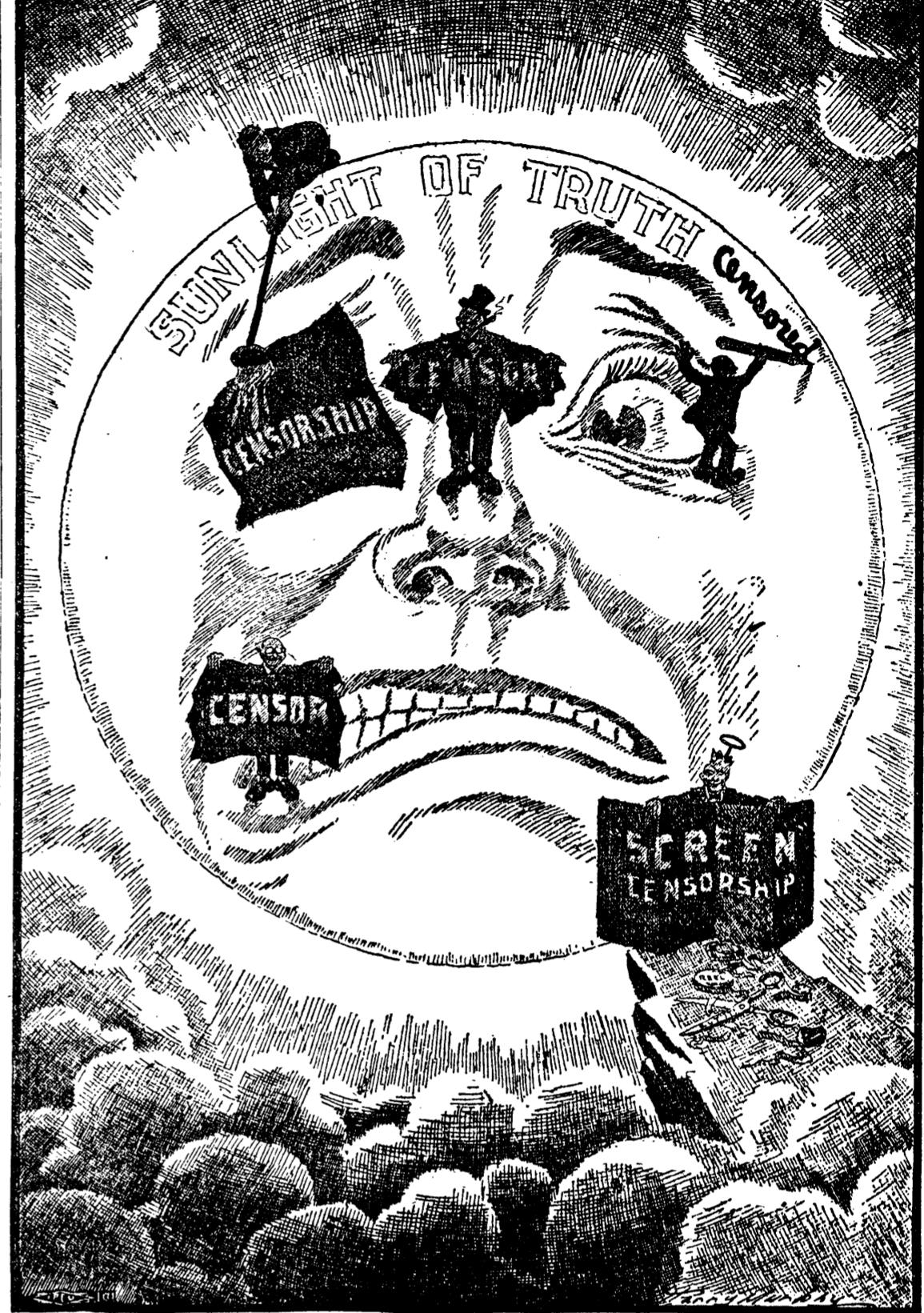
"Perhaps in both cases a general statement from President Wilson indicating what to avoid would be sufficient—that and the patriotism of the American newspapers and of enlightened public opinion.

"Political questions there ought to be coupled with freedom of speech. After all, that is one of the cardinal principles we are fighting for. As Germany has shown, there is no greater instrument of tyranny than a muzzled or too servile press."

The Labor Socialists of Australia in conference to discuss terms on which a lasting peace can be secured, made the following declaration: "That as the governments of Europe have failed utterly to preserve peace, or to bring the present war within measurable distance of a conclusion, we contend that only by an organized system of production for use, under democratic control, can a recurrence of such calamities be permanently avoided."

SUN SPOTS

(From the Chicago Examiner)



"Marse Henry" On Censorship Of Press

COL. Henry Watterson, editor of the Louisville Courier Journal, and one of the "original Wilson men" denounces the Washington idea of war censorship in unsparring terms. He writes of it, "There is treason to liberty in the very thought."

James Keeley, editor of the Chicago Herald, publishes a first page, first column attack on the war censorship, in which he tells of the extreme difficulty of knowing what is wanted by a government board which "does not appear to know its own mind" several minutes in succession.

The extracts below are republished verbatim from these two staunch upholders of the administration. James Keeley writes, under his own name, on July 7, 1917, in the Chicago Herald:

"It is in no carping spirit that the Herald asks Washington if there is any reason why the voluntary censorship should not be officially directed by some agency that can be relied on to know its own mind for several hours or even minutes in succession? The question comes out of the fullness of unnecessary and irritating recent experience.

"The Herald is willing to cooperate to the limit with the government. It is doing so every day. Even when the original censorship proposals were discussed, it offered no word of protest. It remembers the Spanish-American war and what some newspapers did then, the editor of the Herald being one of the offenders at that time. It felt censorship might be needed to curb certain publications. And it believed that if an oppressive law should be passed public opinion would quickly rally to the support of the press. So it awaited the course of events."

"A few examples of hodge podge official handling of information certainly justify the Herald, again speaking strictly for itself, in urging the powers that be in the voluntary censorship world at Washington to mean what they say the first time, to arrange things so that conflicting orders and requests will be abolished, to wipe out conflicting jurisdictions, and to put somebody—who don't give a last year's bird's nest who—in supreme authority who will end the present intolerable methods of handling the war news."

Marse Henry writes, referring to Mr. Keeley's complaint: "Why should we approach the little great man at Washington as if they constituted a throne of grace? And, finally, as a journalist—or even a plain citizen and just a common man—how can Mr. Keeley approve of an official censorship of the press?"

"There is treason to liberty in the bare thought of it. Conceived by the arrogance of power, it is bound to degenerate into petty tyranny. It never fails to become the plaything of the understrapping bureaucrat. By no possibility could it ever serve any good, wise or large purpose. At its best it is but a whip to be flourished over slaves.

"The press—the upright, self-respecting and free press—can hold out one attitude toward public men; they are the servants, not the masters, of the people, and if any lash is to be held and applied that press will hold and apply it."

A Dangerous Power

From The St. Louis Republic.
Representative London's call for an investigation, which shall reveal the methods and principles followed in the suppression of Socialist newspapers all over the country, should be approved and acted upon. The power of the Postmaster General over the mails is singularly liable to abuse. His right to refuse the use of the mails to what are deemed ob-

jectionable publications is a species of absolutism which needs watching by the representatives of the people. It would be possible for the Postmaster General and Attorney General to Kaiserize this country in a manner which would make the imprisonment of Liebknecht look like an amateur job.

This is not said because The Republic believes the Postmaster General entertains any such purpose, but to call attention, without mincing words, to the danger that lurks in the Postmaster General's power at a time when the country is hourly on the verge of hysteria over one thing or another and even the grave and reverend Senate is running around in circles instead of getting somewhere with the food bill.

The post-office authorities are no more immune from the unsettling effects of these abnormal times than other people. They may in an excess of zeal destroy the reputation of this country abroad as a land of free speech.

An investigation by Congress will have a sobering effect and will give the post office a chance to lay its cards on the table and show just what policy has been pursued and the reasons for it.

Don't Miss An Opportunity

Two congressional elections fought on the issue "support the president" have been lost by the democrats. In the sixth district of Indiana Robert N. Elliott, republican nominee, defeated Findlay H. Gray, democrat, by a majority of more than 4,000 votes. In the same district last November, Gray was defeated by less than a thousand votes. A feature of the campaign was a letter from the president urging that Gray be elected as an endorsement of his policies. This letter contributed to his defeat.

In New Hampshire in May, Sherman Burroughs, republican, won over his democratic opponent by 1,200 votes.

Senator Harding of Ohio on the floor of the Senate hailed these elections as signs of a "return to the G. O. P." They are certainly signs of lack of confidence in the present administration. If the Socialist organization in these two districts had put up a determined fight, we might have taken advantage of the situation. Comrades take warning—use every opportunity. Do not let the reactionary Republicans become dominant again for lack of our seizure of our chance.

Recall Ban On Letters.

(From the Chicago Herald)

Washington, July 10.—There will be no prohibitive legislation against innocent communication between a citizen of the United States and a relative in an enemy land, if the correspondence is not hurtful and ways can be found to forward it.

A storm of protests against drastic legislation forbidding such correspondence broke in the House today and two sections of the trading with the enemy act dealing with such correspondence by letter, document, radio or cablegram, except under license, were stricken from the bill.

East St. Louis.

The massacre at East St. Louis had an economic cause. Negroes were being used to beat down the wages of white men and girls. Instead of uniting their wrath against those who had betrayed and cheated them, the two victims of these criminal speculators in human life slaughtered each other. Thus on a small scale the whites and negroes of East St. Louis repeated the spectacle of Europe.