

ELEVENTH YEAR No. 35

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD

IN CLUBS OF FIVE, 10 WEEKS, 10 CENTS EACH, TO NEW NAMES.

A JOURNAL OF THE COMING CIVILIZATION

FOR SUBSCRIPTION PRICE SEE THE FOURTH PAGE

WHOLE NO.

543

PARLIAMENTARISM WAS NOT INTENDED TO REPRESENT ALL OF THE PEOPLE

By Victor L. Berger.

THE forms of government are nothing but forms. They are not the substance of society.

Or, to use another appropriate figure—forms of government are but the machines.

We are called a sovereign people—and every one of us is supposed to be a sovereign.

The simple and plain fact is that our boast of freedom is mere cant.

Every official, representative or alderman now-a-days may rightfully tell us: "You call yourselves sovereigns and think yourselves such."

Now was not Thomas Carlyle perfectly right when he sneered at that kind of "liberty"?

And even that talker—though he may be called my representative may not to that infinitesimal fraction represent me.

However, that does not matter. By voting at all I expressed my willingness to submit to anything he desires to do.

The simple and plain fact is that the boast of self government in our country is mere cant.

The result can be seen everywhere. It is conceded by leading men all over the country that we are taxed by private corporations—railroad companies, street car companies, gas companies, etc., at their will.

Various and manifold methods have been proposed by farmers, wage-earners and business men to restore to the people their sovereignty.

One of the most conservative is the suggestion of establishing, or rather re-establishing a system by which every voter shall have something to say about the enactment of laws whenever he so chooses.

Direct legislation can be had in two ways. First, the enactment of laws by the people themselves—as in old Greece.

Second, Direct legislation can also be had—like in New Zealand, and in the Austrian and in the Swiss Federations—through representatives who are controlled by the Initiative and Referendum and the Right of Recall.

What is the Initiative? The initiative is the right of the people to propose laws by means of a petition signed by a certain percentage of the citizens or legal voters.

The Referendum requires that proposed laws be submitted to the people for approval or disapproval.

Laws affecting banking or any change in the constitution must be submitted even now to the voters of Wisconsin at the general election after they had been passed by the legislature.

The voluntary referendum provides that any law shall not go into effect for a specified time until the people have had a chance to consider and discuss it.

Of course the initiative and the referendum has a strong tendency to disintegrate parties and to concentrate the attention of people upon the measures proposed.

However, direct legislation is not new in this country. In fact it existed to some degree not only in the New England towns but all

All capitalist countries are groaning under unemployed problems. This is true of Germany, it is true of England, it is true of France, it is true of Italy.

While the hunger conditions are not yet quite as acute in this country—although they are bad enough—our time is coming.

World-wide hunger pangs. The distress of the working class in London is simply appalling.

The British Social-Democrats are striving in all sorts of ways to force a change in the situation, and one really wonders at the moderation and patience exhibited by their speeches in the midst of conditions calculated to make most any sympathetic and humane person lose

over America up to 1832—when party caucuses and conventions took the place of the control of the voters.

And it was not even effected by any law or by any constitutional amendment, but simply by an order of the national committee of the Democratic party which was the ruling party of those days.

And this system was very soon taken up by the other parties and it is ruling until today.

Many states have sought to remedy it by the introduction of primary elections. However, five states and about one hundred cities in this country have gone further and have established direct legislation of various forms and degrees.

About the working of the Initiative and Referendum, and as to any possible objections, I shall speak in the next article.

A Happy New Year!

his head. There have, it is true, been one or two indications, or approaches thereto.

And yet, on a former occasion, at a time when capitalism had also done the masses to the starvation point by its exploitation.

While the hunger conditions are not yet quite as acute in this country—although they are bad enough—our time is coming.

The infamous Rudowitz decision by Commissioner Foote in Chicago is setting the whole country afire.

In the United States capitalism is most highly developed and the furthest advanced.

While he is yet wondering what to think of the matter, he hears that his immortal soul will be lost if he fails to vote for capitalism.

At such a juncture the Irish Catholic Socialist often rises up, goes out of the church and wipes its dust off his feet forever.

Some Sunday he goes to mass as usual, and he finds that at Gospel the priest launches out into a political speech and tells the congregation that the honest, self-sacrificing, industrious, clean men and women, whom he calls "comrades" are a wicked, impious, dissolute, sect, desiring to destroy the home, to diminish the earnings of the provident among the idle and lazy of the world, and revelling in all sorts of impure thoughts about women.

And as the Irish Catholic Socialist listens to this foul libel, what

protests are pouring in on the government in increasing volume.

He told of the efforts that had been made to prevent the passage of the treaty law and when he declared that the treaty must be abrogated there was wild applause.

The Socialists want to see industry taken out of private ownership as much as possible, and put into the control and management of the collectivity.

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SOME EDITORIAL OBSERVATIONS.

By Frederic Heath.

Samuel Gompers might appeal from the courts to the Civic Federation!

The Social-Democrats of Sweden have increased their representation in the lower house of the Swedish parliament from 13 to 33.

Socialists in Europe have given years of their lives to the prisons in the fight for the people.

Costa Rica has put a duty on bananas exported out of the country.

A Socialist paper, called the *Labourer*, has been established in Turkey.

According to the consular reports 5,397,450 acres of land in Ireland have been applied for and loans asked of the government.

The growth of the great corporations and trusts helps to show how easy it is to carry on industry by Socialist methods.

Antient the failure of the olive crop in Italy the United States consul at Messina asks this government to inform American business men that there is now a good chance to make money by sending cotton-seed oil to Italy for the purposes of adulteration!

The capitalist politician's stock of anti-Socialism stories are pretty far-fetched as a rule.

Members of the city council, men high in the city government, in official positions and dignity, members of the state government, representatives and senators mingled with the vast, cosmopolitan crowd, with men and women whom they would pass by with scorn at any other time except at a First ward hall and on election-day.

And we also read: "There were women by the thousands. One glance at the faces of these women was sufficient to tell from what district of the city they came."

And these women, every one of them a victim, for no woman who has had the chance has ever picked a brothel life from choice, simply represented Chicago's liberal quota of feminine wrecks—they exist in every city in the capitalist world.

Capitalism works powerfully against the purity of women and against the security of home life. It defiles the morals of an increasing percentage of the people as year follows year and as its mad race for profits grows fiercer and fiercer.

And while it is riding to a fall, it has still many years of hell-making before it, unless the people wake up and hasten the evolution which is toward the collective era.

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Social Democratic Herald

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Official Paper of the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee and of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor. Entered at the Milwaukee Postoffice as Second-Class Matter, August 20, 1901.

FREDERIC HEATH, Editor VICTOR L. BERGER, Associate

Bellingham, Washington, Socialists at the local election last week elected a councillor from the Sixth ward. The total Socialist vote in the wards exceeded the Democratic vote.

The People's party was so badly defeated in the recent election—Wat- (2) got under 40,000 votes throughout the country—that plans are now afoot to get the radicals composing and formerly composing that party to unite with the only other radical party, the Socialists, for concerted action in the future.

Socialists round the country should send for a specimen copy of the Manitowish Tribune, a daily Socialist paper published at Manitowish, Wis. Although a local paper and serving up local news as its principal function, it is edited and published by party members and is doing a big work toward making Socialist headway in its city.

A correspondent sends us the brief of the attorney for the Milwaukee...

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The Constructive Program of Socialism By CARL D. THOMPSON, Social-Democratic Member of the Wisconsin State Legislature.

Social-Democratic Publishing Co. 342-344-346 Sixth St., Milwaukee, Wis.

WALTER THOMAS MILLS, A.M. Author of "The Struggle for Existence" is again on the Lecture Platform and MAY BE ENGAGED FOR LECTURES.

AN ODD CASE--By Emanuel Julius.

LAST night, before going to bed, I had a very heavy supper and possibly that accounts for me having dreamed—a thing I rarely do.

The judge called on the prosecuting attorney to state his case, which he did in a few well-chosen words, saying that "the gentleman on the other side has, without one stroke of labor on his part, gotten possession of all the things needed by the whole of society, and continues to use that advantage as a means of robbing the whole of society, and now the working class, the only class in society worthy of existence on the planet is here to demand his own."

KIPLING'S "ATTACK."

To the HERALD: Rudyard Kipling, in a production that appeared on the 28th of November, has, by implication, called the Social-Democrats "Wax-Moths"; and I put the question to you, as a man of intelligence and information—what right have you on the earth after such a delivery?

Now, Mr. Editor, I ask you how are we Socialists to continue the fight after such a terrible reverse? We are continually refuted and annihilated to select audiences or constituencies of special interests where we have no voice, but somehow our vote does steadily creep up, but you cannot seriously think of recommending that we continue our activities after no less a person than Mr. Kipling has decided that there is an exact parallel between our relationship to the body politic and that of "wax moths" to a hive of bees.

The Social Revolution

By KARL KAUSKY, Editor of the Neue Zeit. Translated by A. M. and May Wood Simon. Price 50c, postpaid. Part I explains the difference between reform and revolution, and why Socialists are revolutionists. Part II tells of "The Day After the Revolution," and discusses the necessary measures to be taken by the working class upon first obtaining control of the government.

These of us who are familiar with Kipling, of course expected that when his much-trumpeted "Attack on Socialism" appeared that we should have something at least apparently damaging to our cause from such a powerful intellect.

As a piece of literary gymnastics his story is admirable; as the vehicle of a serious contribution to a great controversy I think most intelligent people, who have given any attention to the controversy, will agree that it is a most deplorable and contemptible piece of foolery.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD...Business Dept.

ADDRESS ALL COMMUNICATIONS, MONEY ORDERS, ETC., TO MILWAUKEE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PUBLISHING COMPANY Telephone Grand 2394. Private Telephone 7501. When operator answers, give name of person or department desired. 344 Sixth St., Milwaukee, Wis. H. W. BISTORIUS, Business Mgr.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION. National Edition, 4 pages—One year, 50 cents; six months, 25 cents. Wisconsin Edition (including Milwaukee) 8 pages—One year, \$1.00; six months, 50 cents.

THE DOINGS OF THE REDS

Well! Well! Well! Albert Flagg says: "Please discontinue my SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD without regard to my paid subscription at once."

Comrade H. J. Johnson sends in a list of ten from Kansas and this isn't Comrade Johnson's first list either. He is all the time at it. A few more workers like that and victory would be easy.

Comrade A. Coulter of British were brought forth, but it was plain to be seen that no effect was made on the jury.

Nothing was left to be done but listen to the judge's summary, which was impartial, and the retiring of the jury to decide on the merits and demerits of the case.

General expression of satisfaction and joy were given vent to from all parts of the room, and the defendant was almost paralyzed to think that he would have to go to work and then—I wke up.

Pocket Library of Socialism

- 1. Woman and the Social Problem, May Simon. 2. The Evolution of the Class Struggle, Hovey. 3. The Social Basis of the State, Robert Black-foot. 4. Postscript, A. M. Simon. 5. Reason in Literature and Art, Darrow. 6. Single Tax vs. Socialism, Hovey. 7. Wage Labor and Capital, Karl Marx. 8. The Man Under the Machine, Simon. 9. The Mission of the Working Class, Vall. 10. Morals and Socialism, Kerr. 11. Socialism, Simon and others. 12. After Capitalism, What? Brown. 13. Why I Am a Socialist, Hovey. 14. The Trust Question, Vall. 15. Science and Socialism, La Moine. 16. The Age of the Real, Brown. 17. What the Socialists Would Do If They Were in This World, Hovey. 18. The Fall of Being, Good, Kerr. 19. National Problems, Walter L. Young. 20. Socialism and Progress, A. M. Simon. 21. History of the Social Movement, Hovey. 22. Socialism in French Municipalities, Hovey. 23. Socialism and Trade Unions, Hovey. 24. History of the Working Class, Hovey. 25. The Real Religion of Today, Brown. 26. Why I Am a Socialist, Hovey. 27. The Trust Question, Vall. 28. Science and Socialism, La Moine. 29. The Age of the Real, Brown. 30. What the Socialists Would Do If They Were in This World, Hovey. 31. The Fall of Being, Good, Kerr. 32. National Problems, Walter L. Young. 33. Socialism and Progress, A. M. Simon. 34. History of the Social Movement, Hovey. 35. Socialism in French Municipalities, Hovey. 36. Socialism and Trade Unions, Hovey. 37. History of the Working Class, Hovey. 38. The Real Religion of Today, Brown. 39. Why I Am a Socialist, Hovey. 40. A Month of Social Revolution, Mackay.



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Milwaukee County Organization Department Address all communications to A. J. WELCH, county organizer, 344 Sixth Street, Milwaukee.

Talk about doing things! Branch 22 has sent in a list of 17 names for the West Side Young People's League. That's going some, isn't it? The success of the young people's organization is a foregone conclusion. Now let's make it a BIG success.

and constant touch with the party and will join the ranks sooner or later. Get a man to contribute to the party funds and he soon becomes a student of the movement and a sure voter. If you know of anyone who would be likely to subscribe, send in his name and Comrade Poor will get after him instantly.

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Table with names and amounts: A. Jandl, Albert Jutezinski, Ole Strath, Carl Metzler, etc.

Table with names and amounts: West Side Debs Tickets, L. Zastrow, J. Dietrich, etc.

Table with names and amounts: Branch Meetings Next Week, Bohemian Branch, Cudahy Branch, etc.

Table with names and amounts: State Campaign Fund, H. T. C., Brodhead, etc.

Table with names and amounts: Picnic Ticket Receipts, C. Hoepfer, Wm. Schult, etc.

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WISCONSIN OFFICIAL STATE OFFICERS E. H. THOMAS, Sec'y, 344 Sixth St., Milwaukee.

State Secretary's Financial Report for November. RECEIPTS. State dues: 23 of Milwaukee, 16 of Milwaukee, etc.

EXPENDITURES. C. D. Thompson, on salary, 232.35; W. A. Jacobs, on salary, 16.26; C. Sandberg, on salary, 3.00; etc.

Wanted—Six comrades, members of the Social-Democratic party, who are out of work, to help at the carnival Saturday evening, Jan. 30, 1909.

GAYLORD LECTURES Advertising matter in first-class and gratis. RICHARD ELNER, Milwaukee County, Wisconsin.

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CARNIVAL NOTES. Following is the schedule of cash prizes to be given at our big carnival. GROUP PRIZES. First, \$20; second, \$15; third, \$12.50; fourth, \$10; fifth, \$8; sixth, \$6; seventh, \$5; eighth, \$3.50.

THE "SMARTNESS" OF OUR BUSINESS MEN: Comrade Editor: If you will make converts, go directly into the camp of the enemy. According to that principle, I went to one of the principal photographers downtown to have family pictures made to the amount of \$28.

Members of the Social-Democratic party, readers and sympathizers who wish to help make the carnival a rousing success, will please help distribute flyers advertising the Carnival. Same are now ready and can be gotten at the office, 344 Sixth Street.

Admission tickets have been mailed and should be delivered by the same mail this paper arrives. If you fail to receive any, it may be because you were not on the list to whom tickets were sent.

LET ME HAVE YOUR NEXT ORDER FOR WOOD AND COAL. By giving me your order for fuel you not only get good coal and good weight, delivered by union teamsters, at the prevailing price—not a cent more—but will also help, without extra cost to you, the Social-Democratic press and party, who, in turn, are surely working for your best interest.

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