

# Fight In Congress To Repeal Unpopular Conscription Act Will Soon Start

PLANS are under way in Washington for starting the fight in congress to repeal the unpopular conscription law. It is expected that a joint resolution will be drawn up for introduction at the same time in both the senate and house of representatives. It will be charged that the act is unconstitutional, congress having no power to draft an army to be sent out of the country in a war with a foreign foe. The American Socialist will keep its readers in touch with every move made in this great struggle.

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# AMERICAN SOCIALIST

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## Is Washington Back Of Indictment Of Germer And 12 Others At Grand Rapids? May Clear Mystery at Hearing, June 25

The indictment of Adolph Germer, national secretary of the Socialist Party, with 12 others, charged with conspiring to circulate Socialist literature that might hinder registration, in the federal courts at Grand Rapids, Mich., gives rise to the question:

"Is the attorney general's office at Washington back of these cases or were they only hatched by a local prosecuting attorney looking for notoriety on his own initiative?"

This mystery will no doubt be cleared up at the hearing set for Monday, June 25, on the demurrer to the indictment.

The demurrer has already been filed with the federal court for the Western District of Michigan citing 17 reasons why there is no basis for the indictment returned against National Secretary Germer and 12 others including Glenn G. Fleiser, Benjamin A. Faulkner, James W. Clement, Sr., Glenn H. Panghorn, Benjamin Blumenberg, Daniel Roy Freeman, Charles J. Gallahan, Charles G. Taylor, Klass W. Osterhuis, Martin E. Elziga, Viva Flaherty and Vernon Kilpatrick.

Among these are two clergymen, a member of the board of education and a woman social worker, while two are not even members of the Socialist Party. The first knowledge of the indictment received at the national office of the Socialist Party in Chicago, as reported in last week's American Socialist, was a telegram from Attorney S. Wessellius, of Grand Rapids.

National Secretary Germer did not wait to have the papers in the case served on him but immediately got in touch with Attorney Seymour Stedman, arranged for bail and went to Grand Rapids to answer to the charge.

While the legal papers from Grand Rapids were therefore being received in Chicago, for service on the Socialist Party's national secretary, Germer, accompanied by Stedman, arrived in Grand Rapids and voluntarily gave himself up to the court and bail was fixed by the much surprised Judge Sessions at \$1,000. This was immediately furnished.

The indictment contains six counts, complaining especially against the distribution of the Socialist Party Anti-War Proclamation and Program adopted at the St. Louis Convention, the leaflet, "The Price We Pay," and another leaflet containing extracts from speeches delivered by Sherwood, Vardaman and Huddleston in congress. This leaflet concluded with the words, "Repeal The Conscription Law."

Objections To Indictment. The various points set forth in the demurrer to the indictment are as follows:

1. Insufficient for want of a distinct and adequate specification of an overt act as required by law.
2. Fails to charge a crime.
3. Insufficient for want of a distinct and adequate specification of any overt act as required by law cognizable by the District Court of the United States for the Western District of Michigan, Southern Division.
4. Insufficient in that it fails to set forth the contents, the substance or the purport of the leaflet known as No. 5 of the series of organization leaflets to be issued monthly by the National Office Socialist Party of Chicago, Illinois, and entitled to wit: "Proclamation and War Program," and the leaflet entitled "The Price We Pay" purporting to be by Irwin St. John Tucker and bearing the imprint, to wit: "Subscribe to the American Socialist," and a printed folder ending as follows, "Repeal the Conscription Act."
5. Insufficient in that it fails to show that any person or persons who were requested, urged or solicited to refuse failed as a result of said alleged conspiracy to comply with the Registration Act, approved May 18, 1917, or the Proclamation of the President of the United States under date of the 5th of June A. D. 1917.
6. Insufficient in that they fail to set forth the nature and the cause of the accusation against the defendants with reasonable certainty.
7. Insufficient in that the offense purporting to be stated is by way of inference.
8. Attempts to state an offense by way of recital.
9. Insufficient for the reason that the offense is stated by way of conclusion.
10. That the first count of said indictment is insufficient in that it does not appear to have been founded upon the oaths of the grand jurors and failing to state an offense in the recitation of the purported title of certain printed documents whereby no offense is set up, the said count continues "and by other unlawful ways and means" and thereafter recites alleged conduct on the part of Daniel Roy Freeman without alleging the conduct of said Daniel Roy Free-

Act approved May 18, 1917, as alleged in said count.

14. That count 5 of said indictment is insufficient in that said count does not set forth in substance or in haec verba the contents of the written instrument, printed leaflets or literature therein referred to and fails to state the contents or meaning of the leaflets or literature to which said defendants are charged with unlawfully agreeing to carry out and consummate.

15. That count 6 is insufficient in that it charges an alleged offense of conspiring to resist by force or otherwise the execution of certain laws either before or thereafter enacted.

16. The 6th count is insufficient in that it is in the alternative, that is, alleges a purported conspiracy to defeat the execution of laws in existence or thereafter to be enacted; that said 6th count is insufficient in that it recites an attempt on the part of the defendants to interfere with the enforcement of a law providing for registration of Naval and Military Forces of the United States in a war then and therefore declared between the United States of America and the Imperial German Empire.

17. That said 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 6th counts are insufficient in that they are repugnant and are bad for duplicity.

Leaflets Do Not Violate Law. None of the leaflets complained of urge the violation of any law in any way. One million two hundred thousand of the anti-war proclamation have already been issued and distributed, in addition to having been published in full by practically every Socialist newspaper in the country. The war proclamation also appeared as the majority report on the 100,000 ballots sent out in the party referendum of the United States in a war leaflet, "The Price We Pay" have also been disposed of, in addition to being widely republished in the Socialist press.

Many additional orders are being received for both of these leaflets in every mail. The federal authorities in Chicago, as well as in many other parts of the nation, have had copies of these leaflets in their possession for weeks, without any arrests having been made, altho many Socialists distributing these leaflets have been detained and questioned but later released.

One of the first telegrams received by Germer upon his return to Chicago from Grand Rapids was from Henry M. Tichenor and Phil. Wagner of the

Social Revolution, of St. Louis, as follows: "We have just learned of the indictment against you. We are with you to the finish".

Attorney Clarence Darrow has offered his services in conjunction with that of Seymour Stedman, S. Wessellius and Julius H. Amberg in planning the defense.

Situation In Minnesota.

H. M. Harter, of St. Paul, reports the situation in Minnesota as follows: St. Paul two comrades arrested for passing anti-draft literature out on \$1,000 bail; five comrades arrested for failure to register, all out on bail; a defense committee of some of the ablest attorneys in the northwest organized. In Minneapolis, five comrades have been arrested and a defense organized. In Brainerd 60 are in jail for failure to register.

In Minneapolis the daily press reports that somewhere near 25,000 men failed to register.

This fight is now bringing scores to the Socialist movement in the Twin Cities.

Release Detroit Editor.

Nathan L. Welch, Editor of the Michigan Socialist, published at Detroit and Samuel N. Diamond, secretary of the Detroit Socialist local, are out on \$5,000 bail each furnished by friends. Every effort is being made to secure the release of others who are not already out on bail.

Hold Up Cleveland Paper.

Cleveland postal authorities are holding two editions of the Socialist News, a weekly paper published by Local, Cleveland, Socialist Party, on "instructions from Washington." Meyer London, Socialist congressman, has been requested by wire to enter a vigorous protest against attempted abridgment of the right of free speech.

An Appeal To Russia.

St. Louis Socialists have sent an appeal to the Russian government asking for help in its efforts to save American democracy sufficiently to allow 6,000 petitions to be sent out into the state of Missouri in the campaign to repeal the conscription law. The 6,000 letters are now being held up by the postal authorities under orders from Washington.

Question Six At Toledo.

C. V. Ulrich telegraphs from Toledo, Ohio, that six comrades were questioned by the district attorney for distributing the leaflet, "The Price We Pay," but were shortly released with no charge being placed against them.

### The Price Of War

What is less easy to formulate than the actual loss in killed and wounded are the incidental drains on the nation's vitality which a prolonged war has brought. Man's three great enemies—alcoholism, tuberculosis, and syphilis—have reared their heads on this battle ground and are sapping the race. This is not hysteria nor gossip. It is so publicly admitted that the French Government has appointed Parliamentary commissions to study the situation and recommended measures of prevention (which, if the commissions work with the usual Parliamentary languor, will not come into operation for another year.) Figures, of course, are impossible to get, and would be merely approximate, meaningless. Those who should know the truth admit the facts. And that the conditions are probably as bad or worse on the enemy's side of the lines makes it no better; it is an inevitable result of modern factory war.

Millions of men cannot be kept herded in the terrible conditions of trench life, not for weeks and months, but for years, without an undermining of physical and moral hygiene. The most terrible waste of manhood in modern war is not on the battlefields. The incessant hardships, exposure and ennui of trench life make a certain laxity of discipline inevitable in the quarters behind the lines.

Not only now but after the war France must fight for her race against these three frightful curses of humanity.—Robert Herrick in the New York Times.

Socialism and democracy point the way to the salvation of mankind.

Better go to jail a self-respecting rebel than to the mill a contented slave.

Democracy has been abolished in the United States that it may be instituted in Germany.

Capitalism lies disjoined and helpless in the midst of the wreck and ruin it has brought upon the world.

More than 100 years ago, King George III hired Hessians to fight Americans. Today King George V is conscripting Americans to fight the Hessians.

Our supply of democracy for home consumption is running short. How would you like to have a lot of foreigners come over and shoot some into us?

To think, aye, to think, is the vital need of the working class in this hour of the world's supreme tragedy into which it has been precipitated by the ruling classes of the various civilized and Christianized nations.

## Wake Up Washington!

### The People Do Not Want War, Conscription, Prussianism and Two Billion Dollar Loans; They Want Peace And Plenty! To Get It—Wake Up Washington!

IT IS now getting popular even here in the United States to predict a revolution for America—something that will make the overthrow of the czar in Russia look tame and insignificant.

These predictions do not come from Socialists. They are made by respectable democrats and republicans who have lost faith in their own parties and are looking elsewhere for hope and an escape from the present dilemma.

WHEN the situation has been boiled down it all amounts to this—Washington has been screaming to the nation, "Wake Up America!" when the cry should have been, "Wake Up Washington!"

Since Washington has failed to awaken itself, the people of the nation must awaken it. All the people must join in this campaign to "Wake Up Washington!"

"WAKE UP WASHINGTON!" The people didn't want this war. That is why our young men did not volunteer even under the spur of "Catch Villa!"

"WAKE UP WASHINGTON!" The people are not in favor of your Prussian conscription measure. That is why 10 per cent failed to register and two-thirds claimed exemption.

"WAKE UP WASHINGTON!" The latest and most crushing argument against war and the militarization of America was the failure of the masses to voluntarily subscribe for the Two Billion Dollar Loan. You had to drive them to buy, threatening to rob them of their jobs if they refused.

"WAKE UP WASHINGTON!" The people are starving. Mrs. Vanderbilt may save \$1,500 a month on her three-course breakfasts, but the breakfast tables of the masses are almost bare.

N. D. COCHRAN, editor of The Day Book, Chicago, who shouted long and loud for Wilson last fall, has been down to Washington.

He has sized up the situation and says it will take more than two years to put one million men into France. He has written an article telling Washington to forget about the big army because that isn't the big question. He says:

"The really big thing they talk about in whispers and don't print in newspapers is the FEAR OF REVOLUTION RIGHT HERE AT HOME—UNLESS THE HIGH COST OF LIVING IS KNOCKED DOWN QUICKLY.

"Men who see ahead are afraid of this winter, when people may be both hungry and cold. That means that the food problem is the most vital and important one congress has to tackle.

"If flour goes to \$20 a barrel wages will have to be doubled or we'll have food riots. Hoover says the Russian blizzard was one gigantic food riot. Warned the food hogs in a former story: 'WAKE UP REPEAT THIS WARNING. Armour and his pals ought to get busy two ways—raising wages and reducing food prices.

WHAT HAS this vicious system of rob and starve made of us—the millions of the American people. Let Dr. John H. Quayle, of Cleveland, sum it up:

"It would be impossible to get more than 2,000,000 from the 10,000,000 men who have registered. Between 5,000,000 and 7,000,000 would be barred for physical defects".

Dr. Quayle claims that \$100 for each man would be enough to reclaim these millions from the ravages of the capitalist system upon human health due to unwholesome conditions in tenements, factories, mines and shops everywhere, the inability of the great working masses to buy proper nourishment and take necessary precautions against the inroads of disease.

But Washington is not even dreaming of spending these dollars on the physically unfit who cannot help themselves because their wages cannot now purchase even the necessities of life. Washington is only trying to conscript the physically fit. "WAKE UP WASHINGTON!" to these horrible, brutalizing conditions.

"THE NEW REPUBLIC" is becoming greatly alarmed over some of the things it is just discovering. It declares that immediately the administration Shipping Board, headed by Goethals, decided on a steel construction program the stocks of the United States Steel Corporations, the steel trust, began to climb higher than ever. This publication finds its answer for this climb in the Wall Street Journal, which states that \$100 a ton will be paid for steel to build these ships, steel that could be purchased in 1910 for \$31 a ton. Then it concludes:

"It is hardly credible that far-sighted steel manufacturers of the type of Messrs. Gary, Schwab and Farrell should lend themselves to anything of this sort. At a time when the men of the country are being drafted into service, perhaps to be maimed or killed, for a paltry \$30 a month, it is inconceivable that the wealthiest industry in the United States should be willing thus to coin more riches out of the nation's peril. It would have a most sinister aspect.

"Socialists and radical labor leaders have for years preached to their followers that war was an institution designed by the capitalist class to enable it to extort more profits out of the sweat of labor; unrest among workmen the world over has been predicated on the supposition that while human beings were drafted for war at nominal compensation, property was allowed to exact what the market would bring.

"Would not hundred-dollar steel look like a startling confirmation of this charge? Politically, such a thing would be suicidal. It would supply deadly ammunition to those who have maintained that the President plunged us into the war at the behest of Wall Street interests".

"The New Republic" then pleads with the steel robbers to be good.

THE DAY FOR PLEADING IS OVER!

"WAKE UP WASHINGTON!" to a realization of the fact that the only solution is to have the nation take over the steel trust and every other trust in the land, and operate them for the benefit of all.

"WAKE UP WASHINGTON!" to a realization of the fact that instead of war, conscription, militarism, two billion dollar loans and starvation, we want peace and plenty for all.

"WAKE UP WASHINGTON!" to a realization of the fact that we know what we want and that we are going to get what we want.

THAT is going to be the battling and militant spirit of the Special Liberty Edition of The American Socialist, out NEXT WEEK, dated SATURDAY, JUNE 30, for distribution during the week of Independence Day, July 4.

This issue is going to "WAKE UP WASHINGTON!" to a realization of the new spirit of independence that is already showing its power the nation over. Help circulate this issue and "WAKE UP WASHINGTON!" Special attention will be given to the struggle now on to force congress to repeal the Conscription Law and to make America safe for real social-democracy. Join in this great effort!

### Order Blank For Special "Liberty Edition"

American Socialist, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

For the enclosed \$..... please fill the following order for The American Socialist special "Liberty Edition", dated Saturday, June 30, as indicated below.

\$..... for ..... extra copies to be sent to my address at the rate of ¼ cents a copy; 75c per 100; \$7.50 per 1,000.

Name .....

\$..... for ..... copies to be addressed and mailed directly by The American Socialist to the list of names attached to this blank at the rate of 1 cent a copy.

Address .....

City....., State.....

## Liberty Defense Fund!

PLANS for securing effective co-operation between the National Socialist Party and all the party state organizations, in the defense of all Socialists persecuted while voicing their legal opposition to war and militarism, are being worked out by the National Socialist Party Emergency Committee.

One of the first steps taken was the issuance of a stirring proclamation in the form of a letter to the 6,000 Socialist local secretaries throughout the nation calling for contributions to a huge LIBERTY DEFENSE FUND.

It is felt that the indictment of National Secretary Germer and many others may soon lead to the indictment of the party national executive committee. To be prepared is to have the battle half won.

Every letter sent out to a local secretary was accompanied by special "Liberty Defense Fund Contribution Lists." The letter read as follows:

Chicago, Ill., June 16, 1917.

To All Local and Branch Secretaries. Dear Comrades:—The contribution lists enclosed are to raise a defense fund for liberty. They must be circulated at once. If you do not have a meeting in the very near future, hand them to the most reliable members. Don't wait. The reasons for this hurry-up call are as follows:

The National Secretary of the Socialist Party, and others have been indicted for conspiracy. Comrades are also detained in different parts of the country. These persecutions are on the ground of the circulation of legitimate literature dealing with the war situation. Their case is your case, if you are a liberty loving American. Unless we put up a strong legal fight, no member of the Socialist Party, nor any other citizen who is opposed to militarism, is safe. We must have a fund for an effective defense. These men have fought your battles. They are entitled to a fair trial.

A bill to repeal the Selective Draft Law will soon be introduced in Congress. Whether it passes or not, we must organize now for the congressional election of 1918. If the conscription law is not repealed, it will undoubtedly become the big issue.

These are the reasons why we must have a Defense Fund. Get on the job. Don't delay a single hour. The Socialist Party calls every faithful lover of freedom into action—whether a member or not. Liberty and True Democracy are at stake.

Distribute these contribution lists. Raise every cent you can and send it to the National Office, Socialist Party, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Yours for Freedom, True Democracy and International Peace. The National Emergency Committee, Socialist Party.

The statement on the LIBERTY DEFENSE FUND CONTRIBUTION LISTS states that, "The Socialist Party believes the Selective Conscription Law is unconstitutional, that it is in violation of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution which prohibits involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, that its selective and exemption features give it the character of class legislation, and we propose to use all LEGAL means to have it repealed by Congress.

"To work effectively, we must publish and distribute literature, route organizers and speakers. If the law is not repealed before, it will no doubt become the great issue in the congressional campaign of 1918. We must have funds to carry on this work.

"Adolph Germer, National Secretary of the Socialist Party, and others have been indicted for alleged conspiracy to prevent conscription. These indictments have grown out of the circulation of legitimate literature dealing with the war situation. Their case is your case, if you are a liberty loving American. Unless we put up a strong legal fight, no member of the Socialist Party nor any other citizen who is opposed to militarism, is safe.

Contribute liberally. Money is needed at once. Don't delay. Send all funds to the National Office, Socialist Party, 803 West Madison St., Chicago, Illinois.

# The Flag Day Speech

By IRWIN ST. JOHN TUCKER.

ON FLAG DAY, June 14, President Wilson told us why we are going to war. It is partly to wrest the Berlin to Bagdad railroad from Germany, which built it.

It is partly to prevent Egypt, India and Persia, nations stolen, subjugated and conquered by Great Britain with treachery, fraud and force, from rebelling; to force them to remain content. A true American ideal!

It is partly to "free the proud states of Bohemia and Hungary, the stout little commonwealths of the Balkans, the indomitable Turks and the subtle peoples of the East" from the cruel yoke of Berlin. They have not asked us to do so; but that is an oversight.

The Germans attempted to prevent our shipping munitions of war to their enemies; hence they must be chastised.

The Germans attempted to influence our opinion in their behalf; hence, our blood must be shed to destroy them.

"From Hamburg to the Persian Gulf the net is spread," said he; the cords of that net must be broken by our armies; and the subtle nations caught therein are to be set swimming freely in seas of American blood.

IT IS certain that American youths are not wild with enthusiasm to die in order that the fires of independence in strangled Persia may be forever stamped out. They have read too often the Declaration of Independence.

No frantic anxiety exists in the breasts of American mothers to send their sons to bleed, that the self-government of Egypt may permanently be prevented. They have heard too often the Gettysburg speech.

We will not willingly suffer starvation and distress, in order that the three hundred millions of famine-stricken Hindus may remain forever stamped out. They have read too often the Declaration of Independence.

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against the great bulk of Americans by the fifty princely families who dominate this land.

Cruelties so black as to be indescribable; so wide as to be universal; so inhuman as to be incredible except one had seen or experienced them—these are practised upon Americans by Americans; they were described by the President's own commission, appointed and sustained by his power; yet in his five years of office he has done nothing to destroy them or break their grip.

ONE of the phrases of that Commission's report is, "A government which can be maintained only by the suppression of criticism should not be maintained."

Twelve bulky volumes contain the testimony gathered by this commission. They tell how the financial and industrial masters of this land, even as the military masters of Germany, look on men, women and children as cattle; as less than human; as tools for the enrichment of their owners. They tell how every endeavor of the people to benefit themselves by peaceful action of law has been thwarted by cunning and by violence.

They tell how machinery is tended with care and solicitude; how material is protected by tariffs and by commerce commissions; but how the human beings who tend the machinery and who shape the material are ignored as they did not exist; or else mown down with machine-guns, and bruised and blackened by horse-hoof and club.

In barbarous, bewitched Germany there are no slums; there is no involuntary unemployment; there are no filthy tenements; there are fewer uneducated children than anywhere else in the world.

Here, in America, our declaration of war has been made both the occasion and the cause of such wholesale robbery and starvation as has never been dreamed of in benighted Germany. The military masters of Germany have at least this much intelligence beneath their ferocity; they looked after their stock!

If these things you narrate justify war on Germany, Mr. President, they tenfold more justify war against our own industrial and financial overlords. SHALL WE DECLARE WAR ON THEM?

Mr. President, these are solemn words YOU HAVE UTTERED: A SOLEMN CHALLENGE YOU HAVE GIVEN.

We take it up!

THE Socialist party exists and has always existed for the destruction of just such governments as that you have described as the "military masters of Germany." The Socialists in Germany, in Russia, in Sweden, in France and in England are united for the destruction of just such cold-blooded vampires as you have pictured. They exist and have for half a century existed, to carry on the warfare to which you now summon the nation; except that we have discovered what you have not yet mentioned, that these men are international.

We know, by experience of bloodshed and prison, of manacles and of machine-guns, that the "military masters" of Germany and the industrial masters who pay your campaign funds are in heart and method one and the same.

We have found, by bitter encounter and suffering, the limitless cruelty of these American industrial and financial masters who applaud you now; not against subtle peoples of the East only; not against the stout little monarchs of the Balkans for whom your heart bleeds; but against fellow townsmen, fellow churchmen, fellow laborers in a common industry.

If it be just to plunge the nation into bloody war to end the merciless exploitation of the indomitable Turks and the subtle Serbians by the military masters of Germany;

Would it be right to plunge the nation into war to end the exploitation of the indomitable Persians, the subtle Hindus, and the immemorial Egyptians by the financial masters of Great Britain?

WOULD IT BE RIGHT TO PLUNGE THE UNITED STATES INTO AN INTERNAL REVOLUTION TO RID THE WORKERS OF AMERICA FROM MERCILESS EXPLOITATION BY THE INDUSTRIAL MASTERS OF THIS LAND?

Your words imply as much. From

that we differ. We, Mr. President, are waging a war that is not fought by bayonet and fire, but by intelligence.

The destruction of Kaiserism in Germany, the necessary, will be but the destruction of the system, not the disease.

Kaiserism is ugly; but it exists to safeguard industrial nationalism. The hereditary throne of the Hohenzollerns is a figurehead, behind which German capitalism hopes to achieve industrial mastery of the world.

To destroy the Kaiser and to leave Capitalism, would be to destroy a patient but leave the disease.

WE MUST MAKE A THOROUGH CAPITALISM MUST GO WITH THE KAISER!

The Kaiser, you say, is using the Socialists of Germany. So are you using certain American Socialists—and for the same purpose.

It is to repeat the Bismarckian move; to adopt semi-Socialism for the purpose of defeating genuine Socialism, and maintaining Capitalism in full power.

"We celebrate the day of the birth of our flag; and from its birth until now it has witnessed a great history, has floated on high the symbol of great events, of a great plan of life worked out by a great people." With these words the President began his utterance.

It was on June 14, 1776, that Betsy Ross made the first flag. It was on July 4, 1776, that the Declaration of Independence was adopted.

In the Declaration of Independence are set forth the causes which drove this nation to seek its independence.

On August 22, 1915, the United States Industrial Relations Commission rendered its report. It discovered that in this country, one hundred and thirty-nine years after its foundation, those same grievances exist against our present government as moved the Colonies to proceed against the Government of Great Britain.

In summoning us to war against Germany, the President has also summoned us to war against our own industrial masters.

In the Liberty Edition of the American Socialist, published next week, these likenesses will be traced. Phrase by phrase, paragraph by paragraph; the Declaration of Independence is paralleled in the Industrial Relations Commission report.

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IT is simply a matter of growth and of evolution. Yet we must not forget that the society is truly an organism, the evolution of society does not take place precisely like the growth of plants and animals.

The former is the result of efforts consciously put forth; the progress of man requires the co-operation of men. Therefore, while it is true that Socialism will be the outcome of economic conditions, if civilization is to survive, we must see to it that civilization does survive.

The idea that because Socialism is bound to come, we do not have to work for it, would be fatalistic, and might prove fatal to civilization. Carlyle is right, when he says: "The history of what man has accomplished is at bottom the history of the great men who have worked here."

An idea to be successful must be in harmony with surrounding conditions, but that alone is not enough. It must be propagated and made alive in men and women. There must be a few people, at least, who care a great deal about the idea and who feel a resistless impulse towards its propagation.

And in that respect the Socialists are eminently practical people. Since Socialism is to be the next phase of civilization—as the trusts, the centralization of property and every new invention seem to prove—the private act as the roadmakers and pathfinders for the new civilization do eminently practical work indeed.

OUR present civilization has gradually grown up, and the future civilization must grow out of this.

We know what we want. The Socialist party is essentially a constructive organization. Whenever and wherever we put out an old brick or take down a dangerous wall, we have something better ready in its place.

Now it has been shown that public ownership is better than private ownership. Who would have thought the post-office, for instance, although it is not an ideally managed institution, to Mr. Rockefeller or Mr. Morgan?

While "public ownership" is not Socialism by any means, it is a step towards it and trains the mind for Socialism. And it is not too much if we say that the idea of "Public Ownership" is in the air today and that the agitation of the Socialists is largely responsible for educating public opinion in that respect.

The Socialists are students of history, and know that sunken and degraded people lose the power to help themselves. Therefore, the Socialists welcome all efforts of the people to better their conditions right now by organization.

Are we a lot of "impracticals" and "idealists" for so doing?

How They Stand In The Rand School Contest.

Name Address Points

M. K. Friedman, So. Bend, Ind. 1447

B. J. S. Gary, Ind. 453

M. Maginsky, New York City. 234

# Are Socialists Practical?

By VICTOR L. BERGER.

SOME Democratic and Republican politicians sneer at the Socialists because we are "idealists."

The others claim that we are as a whole "pretty good fellows," but utterly "impractical."

Now what is Socialism? Socialism is defined as the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. It is the name given to the next stage of civilization, if civilization is to survive.

As a matter of fact, the centralization of the control of property in a few hands is increasing with a rapidity that threatens the existence of civilization.

WITHIN a short time we shall have two nations in every civilized country, and especially in America—both of native growth.

One nation will be very large in number, but semi-civilized, half-fed, half-educated and degenerated from overwork and misery; the other nation will be very small in number, but overcivilized, overfed, overcultured and degenerated from too much leisure and too much luxury.

AS long as the instruments of production—land, machinery, raw materials, railroads, telegraphs, etc.—remain private property, only comparatively few can be sole owners and masters thereof.

And so long as such is the case, they will naturally use this private ownership for their private advantage.

The present stage was a step in the evolution to freedom, but only a step—it has already resulted in making comparatively few the absolute masters of our daily bread.

There is but one deliverance from the rule of the people by capitalism, and that is the rule of capital by the people.

If so much of what has been considered private property is to be absorbed in great monopolistic ownership—and there is nothing that can stop it—then, if we are to remain a politically free people, the inevitable outcome will be that the people must take possession collectively of the production and distribution.

And this is called Socialism.

IT is simply a matter of growth and of evolution. Yet we must not forget that the society is truly an organism, the evolution of society does not take place precisely like the growth of plants and animals.

The former is the result of efforts consciously put forth; the progress of man requires the co-operation of men. Therefore, while it is true that Socialism will be the outcome of economic conditions, if civilization is to survive, we must see to it that civilization does survive.

The idea that because Socialism is bound to come, we do not have to work for it, would be fatalistic, and might prove fatal to civilization. Carlyle is right, when he says: "The history of what man has accomplished is at bottom the history of the great men who have worked here."

An idea to be successful must be in harmony with surrounding conditions, but that alone is not enough. It must be propagated and made alive in men and women. There must be a few people, at least, who care a great deal about the idea and who feel a resistless impulse towards its propagation.

And in that respect the Socialists are eminently practical people. Since Socialism is to be the next phase of civilization—as the trusts, the centralization of property and every new invention seem to prove—the private act as the roadmakers and pathfinders for the new civilization do eminently practical work indeed.

OUR present civilization has gradually grown up, and the future civilization must grow out of this.

We know what we want. The Socialist party is essentially a constructive organization. Whenever and wherever we put out an old brick or take down a dangerous wall, we have something better ready in its place.

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R. H. Lane, Aurora, N. C. 103

# THE CALL OF THE WILD

By JACK LONDON.

Copyright By Jack London.

(Conclusion)

Hunting their living meat, as the Yeehats were hunting it, on the flanks of the migrating moose, the wolf pack had at last crossed over from the land streams and timber and invaded Buck's valley. Into the clearing where the moonlight streamed, they poured in a silvery flood; and in the center of the clearing stood Buck, motionless as a statue, waiting their coming.

They were awed, so still and large he stood, and a moment's pause fell, till the boldest one leaped straight for him. Like a flash Buck struck, breaking the neck. Then he stood, without movement, as before, the stricken wolf rolling in agony behind him. Three others tried it in sharp succession; and one after the other they drew back, streaming blood from slashed throats or shoulders.

This was sufficient to fling the whole pack forward, pell-mell, crowded together, blocked and confused by its eagerness to pull down the prey. Buck's marvellous quickness and agility stood him in good stead. Pivoting on his hind legs, and snapping and gashing, he was everywhere at once, presenting a front which apparently unbroken so swiftly did he whirl and guard from side to side. But to prevent them from getting behind him, he was forced back, down past the pool and into the creek bed, till he brought up against a high gravel bank. He worked along to a right angle in the bank which the moon had made in the course of mining, and in this angle he came to bay, protected on three sides and with nothing to do but face the front.

And so he did face it, that at the end of half an hour the wolves drew back discomfited. The tongues of all were out and lolling, the white fangs showing cruelly white in the moonlight. Some were lying down with heads raised and ears pricked forward; and still others were lapping water from the pool. One wolf, long and lean and gray, advanced cautiously, in a friendly manner, and Buck recognized the wild brother with whom he had run for a night and a day. He was whining softly, and, as Buck whined, they touched noses. Then an old wolf, gaunt and battle-scarred, came forward. Buck writhed his lips into the preliminary of a snarl, but sniffed noses with him. Whereupon the old wolf sat down, pointed nose at the moon, and broke out the long wolf howl. The others sat down and howled. And now the call came to Buck in unmistakable accents. Over, too, sat down and howled. This over, he came out of his angle and the pack crowded around him, sniffing in half-friendly, half-savage manner. The leaders lifted the yelp of the pack and sprang away into the woods. The wolves swung in behind, yelping in chorus. And Buck ran with them, side by side with the wild brother, yelping as he ran.

And here may well end the story of Buck. The years were not many when the Yeehats noted a change in the breed of timber wolves; for some were seen with splashes of brown on head and muzzle, and with a rift of white centering down the chest. But more remarkable than this, the Yeehats tell of a Ghost Dog that runs at the head of the pack. They are afraid of this Ghost Dog, for it has cunning greater than they, stealing from their camps in fierce winters, robbing their traps, slaying their dogs, and defying their bravest hunters.

Now the tale grows worse. Hunters there are who fail to return to the camp, and hunters there have been whom their tribesmen found with throats slashed cruelly open, and with wolf prints about them in the snow greater than the prints of any wolf. Each fall, when the Yeehats follow the movement of the moose, there is a certain valley which they never enter. And when there are over the fire of how the Evil Spirit came to select that valley for an abiding-place.

In the summers there is one visitor, however, to that valley, of which the Yeehats do not know. It is a great, gloriously coated wolf, like, and yet unlike, all other wolves. He crosses alone from the smiling timber land and comes down into an open space among the trees. Here a yellow stream flows from rotted moose-hide sacks and sinks into the ground, with long grasses growing thru it and vegetable mould overrunning it and hiding its yellow from the sun; and here he muses for a time, howling once, long and mournfully, ere he departs.

But he is not always alone. When the long winter nights come on and the wolves follow their meat into the lower valleys, he may be seen running at the head of the pack thru the pale moonlight or glimmering borealis, leaping gigantic above his fellows, his great throat a-bellow as he sings a song of the younger world, which is the song of the pack.

(The End.)

In Hungary the two wings of the Socialist party held a secret congress in Budapest, which was attended by 167 delegates from 75 organizations. They issued a manifesto declaring that there is now less liberty in Hungary than there was in Russia before the revolution; demanding that free speech and press and the right of assembly be restored, and that terms of peace be announced to the world that would include as its program no annexation by force, progressive disarmament, international arbitration, abolition of diplomacy and publication of treaties. It was reported in the congress that the soldiers of Hungary are a unit on the principle that they won't permit themselves to be used to put down the Russian revolution and restore the monarchy.

Half a dozen Socialist papers have been established in Petrograd since the revolution despite the high cost of materials and they are all being enthusiastically supported. Nearly all favor ending the war as soon as possible and safety can be guaranteed to the new government.

# The Richest Nation

By WM. F. KRUSE.

This is the title of an article on the first page of "News Letter" sent as a confidential note to the speculators and investors in the Stock Market. The article goes on to show that since the beginning of the war the general stock of gold in this country has risen from \$1,887,000,000 to the stupendous sum of \$3,089,000,000. It is explained that the stock of gold now in the United States is nearly equal to the combined gold reserves in banks, government depositories, and elsewhere in all of the following countries: United Kingdom, Russia, France, Italy, Belgium, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Netherlands, Switzerland, and Spain. This country has almost twice as much gold as all of the Allies combined, more than five times as much as the "enemy" Central Empires, and more than twelve times as much as the six European neutrals. The net imports of gold metal alone have been over one and one-quarter billion—a sum equal to the total gold production of the entire world during this present year.

These figures should serve to throw considerable light on the "Why" and "Wherefore" of President Wilson's sudden discovery that we are in a state of war. The people of this country are to-day worse off economically than they have been for many years. While the war conditions have made work quite plentiful, the wages paid are so low that they cannot serve to buy a decent living for any class of workers. We are advised that we must do without potatoes, without meat, without "expensive" vegetables—without practically everything needed to sustain life. In addition to this our right to life and liberty is taken away from us by the conscription laws, and threats of military and industrial slavery are falling on our ears. All because of a war not of our making!

The people of the United States have but little of this enormous hoard of gold. The United States Government holds only one-fifteenth part of the hoard, and in exchange for this the bankers have taken their full share of treasury notes. But the masters of bread, the Morgans and Rockefeller, the Carnegies and Schwabs and McCormicks—they are the holders of this gold and they are getting nervous for the safety of their ill-gotten gain. They are getting even more nervous about the safety of vast paper loans that they have floated for the Allies. They are quaking in their boots lest a working-class revolution sweep the world from end to end, even as a temporary start was made in Russia; they are afraid that the workers of England, and Germany, and even of this country will achieve intelligence enough to repudiate the enormous war debts, be they measured in paper or gold.

We have worshipped at the shrine of gold too long. Inherent in the metal itself is nothing more powerful or more valuable than in any other metal. We merely use it as a yardstick for that infinitely divisible thing—human labor. Let us serve warning on our master class that they need not count the strength of their gold bags too strongly. Our labor power has given it value—and our labor power with intelligence, can take away that which we have given it. The ignorance of the working class is the thing that really enslaves mankind. This it is that gives power to the hoarded gold in the masters' hands. This it is that makes wars for gold and the power of gold possible in the twentieth century civilization. This is the ignorance of the workers—is what the Socialist is battling against. It is a bandage that blinds the eyes, and a chain that shackles the limbs of the giant Labor. We will yet tear off that chain—when that is done, O, Masters, your yellow metal and green and gold paper will not serve you to stem the tides of progress. Only intelligence can free Humanity.

THE BRITISH government's commission on sanitation and labor conditions in munitions factories has made a report showing that grave mistake was made when the government countenanced a 12-hour day, overtime and Sunday work in the plants. The British commission recommends that this error be corrected at once since present conditions in munition shops are "the reverse of everything that the most conservative deem necessary for the welfare of the worker." Aitha Balfour didn't mention this as one of the blunders that he came over to warn us against, and it is doubtful whether our government will have any effect on profiteers who are now clamoring for a longer working day.

FEDERATION of Labor in Brazil has filed notice on the government that none of its members will join the army or participate in the war. The Federation went further and declared that it would have been more just and sensible if the government, instead of spending huge sums for war preparations, had used its resources to prevent unemployment, poverty and misery among the people.

THE Russian soldiers at the front took up collections and made liberal donations from their scant pay to create a fund for the purpose of relieving the dependents of the revolutionists who were killed or seriously wounded during the fighting to overthrow the Romanoff dynasty. Men and women students also sold special editions of Socialist newspapers in the cities to increase the fund, and instances are recorded where as high as \$5,000 was paid for a paper.

THE demands of the workers in Roumania for universal suffrage, the abolition of land monopoly and other reforms will probably be granted, according to an announcement by Premier Brentana. Since the successful

revolution in Russia the Roumanian ruling class has been treading on thin ice and concessions are now promised in the hope of preventing an uprising among the people, who are tired of the war.

AT A great mass meeting held in Albert Hall, London, to celebrate the Russian revolution, every seat was taken and 5,000 were turned away at the doors. In the speeches by Israel Zangwill, members of Parliament and labor officials rang a call to action in behalf of British democracy and against the dangers of war-time restrictions. Demands were made for a free and unrestricted franchise, and the change was made that there is now more genuine democracy in Russia than in Great Britain.

PHILIP Snowden, the Independent Labor representative in the British Parliament, in a speech in that body, declared that another one of the Entente countries is "now on the verge of revolution." His remarks had reference to Italy, where internal conditions have been going from bad to worse and the present monarchical government seems unable to deal with them. Food riots are of frequent occurrence despite the attempts of the government to appease the cries of the people with promises of a speedy victory and the ending of the war. Demands for a republican form of government are now heard everywhere.

Having signed the petition circulated by the minority at the convention, and having signed for the same reason that at least twenty other comrades did whom I know, that is, simply to give a hearing to the minority opinion in the referendum, I would like to have it known that from first to last I favored the majority report. I spoke for it at the Convention of the Pennsylvania delegation, voted for it at the Convention, advocated it here locally and cast my individual ballot for it. The majority report is not pro-German, but distinctly pro-working class.—J. Mahlon Barnes.

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You don't need money to get an automobile. Let me give you one of my grand new cars, with a motor from an official U. S. Government Report, that the Morgan greed utterly unscrupulous. How Morgan (after the war) can manipulate a "panic" then buy cheaply control of all vital industries; how he keeps knowledge of this power suppressed; how newspapers are controlled; governments and legislatures corrupted. Price 41c cents—and your money back if not satisfied that the information given is well worth the price. Descriptive circular, with testimonials of U. S. Government agents and dealers on request. Address the author J. A. C. P. A. N. S. Y. P. O. Box 307-A. Grande Rapids, Mich.

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# \$1,000 For Subs In One Week Smashes All Records In History Of Our Paper

HERE'S good news for the comrades on the firing line. The receipts for subs for the week ending Saturday, June 16, totalled an even \$1,000—the biggest week in the history of the paper. COMPARE THIS TO THE \$660.78 RECEIVED DURING THE ENTIRE MONTH OF APRIL. The nation is waking up and reading Socialist literature as never before. In order to make up the \$1,000 the comrades in the office of The American Socialist stuck on the job last Saturday until the last mail was in. We just made it. We want to smash this record this week. We can do it easily. At their great annual picnic, Sunday, June 17, attended by 50,000 men, women and children, the Chicago comrades took in 1,000 subs to The American Socialist and 1,000 new party members. Let the comrades in every city, town and hamlet of the nation take up the pace set by our Chicago comrades. Do your bit and do it now!

## Autocracy Rules In America

THE AMERICAN PROGRAM, WILSON'S NEW FREEDOM, 1787.

1. "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist in these United States"—U. S. Constitution, Amendment XIII.
2. Freedom of conscience and opinion.
3. God-speed to peaceful travelers.
4. "No law abridging the freedom of the press"—Amendment I.
5. "The right of the people to peaceably assemble"—Amendment I.
6. "All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States"—Art. I, Sec. I.
7. The security of political asylum.
8. "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated"—Amendment IV.
9. "Private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation"—Amendment V.
10. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, of prohibiting the free exercise thereof"—Amendment I.
11. "The powers not delegated to the United States by this Constitution \* \* \* are reserved \* \* \* to the people"—Amendment X.

Draft Laws, compulsory registration, military and industrial slavery.

2. Jails and loss of citizenship for radicals.

3. Refusal of passports to attend neutral peace gathering.

4. Censorship of press.

5. Public meetings broken up by authorities; citizens beaten up by drunken soldiers and fined in addition by blackguard courts.

6. Congress, supposedly people's representatives, turned into rubber stamp at command of autocrat in White House.

7. Allies to be permitted to recruit their citizens in this country for military duty.

8. Secret service spies raid homes and offices, make arrests and searches without warrant, hold citizens incommunicado without preferring any charges.

9. Compulsory contribution to government bond issues.

10. Recognition of organized religious sectarianism and denial of unorganized conscience.

11. "What's the constitution between politicians?"

## Russia Enthrones Democracy

OLD RUSSIA, 1916. NEW RUSSIA, 1917.

1. Military, feudal and industrial slavery, compulsory registration and service.
2. Radicals sent to Siberia, deprived of all political rights.
3. Restriction and red-tape on pass-ports. "Yellow ticket" the price of freedom for young Jewesses. Refusal to recognize passports of American Jews.
4. Censorship of press.
5. Public meetings forbidden and broken up by authorities. Citizens beaten up by brutal soldiers and punished besides in the courts.
6. The Duma a mere rubber stamp for the palace or else prorogued.
7. Perfect man-hunting system for radicals of all nationalities.
8. "Okhrana," (Secret Police), raid homes and offices, make arrests and searches without warrant, hold citizens incommunicado without preferring any charges.
9. Compulsory contributions to government loan issues.
10. A state church with headquarters in the palace.
11. A Tsar rules by divine right.

"My Country, 'tis of thee, Sweet Land of—what?" It depends on which "Land" you mean.

## Fight The Jingoos With Literature

Three of the greatest anti-war books ever produced by the Socialist movement are the following:

**WAR—WHAT FOR!**  
By George R. Kirkpatrick.  
All paper bound copies sold.  
\$1 each! — CLOTH BOUND COPIES ONLY.

**THINK—OR SURRENDER!**  
By George R. Kirkpatrick.  
Single Copies, 15 cents.

**WAR!**  
This book contains articles by Walter Thomas Mills and Charles Edward Russell, pointing out the economic causes of war.  
\$6 per 100 and 10 cents per copy.

Send all orders to the  
**NATIONAL OFFICE, SOCIALIST PARTY,**  
803 WEST MADISON STREET, CHICAGO, ILL.

## Prussian "Kultur" Wins

NOTE—Registration Day, June 5, in the United States is given special attention in the current issue of "The British Columbia Federationist," official organ of organized labor in Western Canada. The Canadian workers have successfully resisted conscription for nearly three years and can not understand how the people of this country feel such an easy victim to it. If there is going to be any conscription in Canada, the workers insist that they should have the same right as their brothers in Australia, to vote on the question first. It is because they know that conscription would be overwhelmingly defeated that the authorities are bitterly opposed to the referendum idea. In commenting on the elaborate preparations made to resist opposition to registration on June 5, in the United States, The Federationist's editor writes:

It is quite interesting indeed to read of the elaborate preparations made by the United States authorities to cope with any possible break that might occur upon the day of registration, June 5.

Policemen, militia, machine guns and other paraphernalia of human butchery were amply in evidence, evidently as a guarantee of good faith upon the part of the aforesaid authorities in their pretense of putting the conscription cinch upon the sheeplike multitude in the name of democracy and liberty.

Uphold Purity Of Motives.

The threatening display of a powerful repressive force armed to the teeth with suggestively wicked instruments of mutilation and death, quite clearly established the bona fides of the authorities and removed all doubt as to the purity of motive lying behind the entire conscription scheme.

But the way the noble sons of the republic came thru on registration day showed quite conclusively that the authorities had failed to properly size up the mental and moral fibre of the material they set out to conscript. No threat was necessary to make them come thru. Police, soldiers, machine guns and other murder stuff was entirely uncalled for. The slaves came of their own volition.

It was not even necessary to shake a hand of them before them, as we were often compelled to do when sent to the pasture to catch a mule. The American slave has evidently been too well trained to even think of dodging when he is ordered to stick his neck into it. He is like a well-trained ox. He knows that his neck was made for the yoke, instead of the yoke for his neck.

Embrace Prussian "Kultur".

We are pleased to record that the sheep-like docility with which they embraced "Prussian kultur," thus pledging themselves to the "goose step" and the swagger of the true faith, was almost unanimous among the Americans on Tuesday last.

The only notable exceptions were those of about 600 foreigners in Butte, Mont., and a bunch of Indians down in Arizona. The former had evidently not been long enough out of the clutches of the "Prussian kultur" of Europe to have gotten over being cloyed with the peculiar richness of its flavor.

This should be their excuse, and the assurance may be safely given, that if they are allowed to remain in America, their association with the rest of the docile bunch of braves will in time make them as tame as the rest. The unseemly conduct of the Arizona Indians, however, is probably due to the fact that they have no European blood in their veins to dull their spirit and so pollute their manhood, that they will no longer gaze at slavery and puke from the stench of its "kultur." These Arizona Indians—the only genuine Americans—chased the Indian agent who tried to register them for the slaughter house of "Prussian kultur," off the reservation. For this they are entitled to receive, and eminently worthy to accept, the congratulations of the Russian revolutionists.

These insignificant incidents constitute all that is lacking to make the victory of "Prussianism" absolute and complete in the United States. The Kaiser is slated to hearty congratulations. He wins. That silly piece of castiron at the gates of New York representing a rather comely washerwoman called "Liberty," engaged in the senseless occupation of "enlightening the world," should be recast into an heroic figure of William II, goose stepping the world from puerile and decadent democracy to the "kultur" level of Prussian super-civilization.

Land and industries stolen from people restored by government.

Freedom of conscience.

The Tsar shovels snow.

## Show The Flag!

Dip the flag to half-mast! Liberty is dead! Conscription is the order now—Freedom has fled! Let the eagle fold his wings, Let him droop his head! Dip the flag to half-mast! Liberty is dead!

Dip the flag to half-mast! Liberty is slain! Stricken by one dastard blow, That Wrong may reign! Sound the Dead March slowly now—Chant funeral strain, And dip the flag to half-mast—Liberty is slain!

She of whom we boasted, She who was our pride, By the hands of Huns foul, And traitors died! Let the eagle fold his wings, Let him droop his head! Dip the flag to half-mast—Liberty is dead!

LYDIA M. D. O'NEIL

Emmet L. Adams, an organizer of the International Machinists Association, after a trip thru Indiana declares that the United States will soon see a revolution that will oust the one in Russia unless the government takes radical measures to safeguard the interests of the workers of the nation.

## Plan To Double Our Army Of Readers Now!

By J. L. ENGAHL, Editor of The American Socialist.

WOULDN'T you like to help double the size of the reading army of our paper NOW! I know you would.

I have been thinking over the plan suggested by Comrade H. E. Keas, of Dubuque, Ia., published in last week's paper. The more I think of it the more it appeals to me.

His plan is simply this—to have boys sell our paper each week in every city, town and hamlet of the nation. They can be sold on the streets or from house to house. One comrade in Arizona sold more than 200 copies of one week's issue going from house to house.

Comrade Keas says he is ready to take 1,000 papers for Dubuque, Ia., organize a selling squad of five boys to sell the paper for two cents a copy, allow the boys to keep one cent and to use the other cent to buy more papers and build up the business.

We hope to get some one to develop this plan in 10,000 cities and towns. We would like to have some grown-up comrade direct the work. Where this is impossible we are sure boys will be found to take charge of it.

IN ORDER to get this work started NOW; in order to double the reading army of our paper NOW; we will send 25 copies FREE to anyone who will promise to give this plan a tryout in his town.

You can sell these 25 copies for two cents each and with the 50 cents order a second week's supply. Our regular bundle order rate is 75 cents per 100, \$7.00 per 1,000.

While this is being written a letter comes from Comrade Ernest Malott, secretary-treasurer of the Marion, Ind., Socialist local. He orders 100 copies a week saying, "I intend to put them in the newsboys' hands and give them all they make. This will make them push our propaganda with greater zeal."

If you are interested in this plan, if you want 25 COPIES FREE as a starter, rush in your order to help double the reading army of your paper, The American Socialist, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

YES, thank you, we smashed another record on Monday, June 11. In last week's paper we told you that on Monday, June 4, the receipts for subscriptions were the largest in the history of the paper, totalling \$199.28.

Monday, June 11, went past this marked with flying colors. Our receipts on that day were \$236.08; the biggest in the history of the paper up to the present time. We are looking ahead to next Monday to smash this record.

## On The Firing Line

"Go to Hell You are 'going good work'!" writes Comrade Frank Martin, of Plattsmouth, Neb., and he helps by ordering a bundle of the paper containing Stedman's speech. He is going to use them to run a bundle of the

"It sure is enlightening to the common people," writes Vernon W. Lanning, of Wapakoneta, Ohio, as he subscribes for "The Great Enlightener."

"Long live The American Socialist!" cheers Comrade Frank Martin, of Cincinnati, Ohio, as he sends in a bunch of subs.

Comrade Henry Baer, of York, Neb., doesn't put his paper aside after reading it. He passes it on to someone else because, "The American Socialist has surely become a great factor in moulding the destiny of civilization. It is a nerve tonic; it is a comforter in the troubled times. It gives hope and assurance that justice may yet prevail and saves from despair millions of workers. Comrade, I earnestly hope for the final triumph of Socialist principles."

"We intend to get 25 subs every week for Comrade J. L. Engahl," writes Comrade Abraham J. Schwartz, of Fall River, Mass., speaking for the Young People's Socialist League at that place.

Astoria, Ore., writes Comrade M. Marquis, of La Grande, Ore. "Now is the time to work if you want a time for Socialism." He sends in \$5 for subs and sub cards.

Comrade J. L. Beyer, of Hout, W. Va., is a recent volunteer. He sends in a flag and expects to stick in the fight to the finish.

Comrade J. H. Dickson enlists a dozen at Springfield, Ohio.

"We are still in the harness and picking up the bits of the ultimate," writes Comrade John C. Knowlton, of Mason City, Iowa. "Our local will go to the hundred mark before winter."

"Our paper is certainly hitting the mark," writes Comrade M. M. Marquis, of La Grande, Ore. "Now is the time to work if you want a time for Socialism." He sends in \$5 for subs and sub cards.

Comrade W. W. Grove writes in \$2.50 to pay for sub cards for Hazelton, B.C., to drive the jingoism out of the town.

Comrade J. G. Gloging, of Beckemeyer, Ill., orders \$10 worth of sub cards. He is going out to wake up the Henry Dubs.

"Many of those to whom I have sent the American Socialist have joined our Bohemian-Slovak Socialist branch," says Comrade John Polesek, of Binghamton, N. Y., as he sends in another bunch of subs.

Jac Dynes, Ohio, is out getting subs to get "A change in the national administration at the next election."

"O. Ferguson, Minnesota, admits he is 'a long way from being a Socialist,' so he subscribes for The American Socialist to help him along the remainder of the journey."

Comrade Frank L. Springer, of Aberdeen, S. D., rounds up another bunch of 12.

"I am a mother of four boys. I have raised them to be men, not murderers. I am going to send more subs to you." is part of a letter that comes from Pittsburg, Kan. "O! For men of like you everywhere; men brave enough to be called a coward by Wall Street patriots," she writes.

One of our comrades got J. P. Mallory, member of the Arizona legislature to subscribe for The American Socialist, to get him posted on Socialism.

"I received a copy of The American Socialist today. I was pleased with it," writes a mother from Terre Haute, Ind.

"Five hundred thousand subs before the snow flies," is the slogan suggested by Comrade W. N. Koelling, New York.

## Plan To Double Our Army Of Readers Now!

By J. L. ENGAHL, Editor of The American Socialist.

WOULDN'T you like to help double the size of the reading army of our paper NOW! I know you would.

I have been thinking over the plan suggested by Comrade H. E. Keas, of Dubuque, Ia., published in last week's paper. The more I think of it the more it appeals to me.

His plan is simply this—to have boys sell our paper each week in every city, town and hamlet of the nation. They can be sold on the streets or from house to house. One comrade in Arizona sold more than 200 copies of one week's issue going from house to house.

Comrade Keas says he is ready to take 1,000 papers for Dubuque, Ia., organize a selling squad of five boys to sell the paper for two cents a copy, allow the boys to keep one cent and to use the other cent to buy more papers and build up the business.

We hope to get some one to develop this plan in 10,000 cities and towns. We would like to have some grown-up comrade direct the work. Where this is impossible we are sure boys will be found to take charge of it.

IN ORDER to get this work started NOW; in order to double the reading army of our paper NOW; we will send 25 copies FREE to anyone who will promise to give this plan a tryout in his town.

You can sell these 25 copies for two cents each and with the 50 cents order a second week's supply. Our regular bundle order rate is 75 cents per 100, \$7.00 per 1,000.

While this is being written a letter comes from Comrade Ernest Malott, secretary-treasurer of the Marion, Ind., Socialist local. He orders 100 copies a week saying, "I intend to put them in the newsboys' hands and give them all they make. This will make them push our propaganda with greater zeal."

If you are interested in this plan, if you want 25 COPIES FREE as a starter, rush in your order to help double the reading army of your paper, The American Socialist, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

YES, thank you, we smashed another record on Monday, June 11. In last week's paper we told you that on Monday, June 4, the receipts for subscriptions were the largest in the history of the paper, totalling \$199.28.

Monday, June 11, went past this marked with flying colors. Our receipts on that day were \$236.08; the biggest in the history of the paper up to the present time. We are looking ahead to next Monday to smash this record.

## This Week's Record

Comrade Henry C. Becker, of Elwood, Ind., ran away with this week's record. He sold 150 sub cards in half a day. He wore out his pencil and had to quit or he might have been going yet. Getting subs for The American Socialist is easier than breathing. Who can beat this record next week?

## Organization Column.

NOTE—We want the best brains in the Socialist movement to contribute ideas to this "Organization Column." We feel that the best organization ideas come from those who really do the work of organization, the rank and file of the membership who are always on the job. Let us hear from you. Send all communications to the Organization Column Editor, The American Socialist, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

## The Application Blanks

It is a prevalent practice in the party to distribute application blanks at large indoor meetings. This has led, to my mind, to the withdrawal of comrades from the movement after a short interval. We thought we had them, but we didn't. In the moment of enthusiasm and inspiration, after listening to stirring appeals, the man or woman is eager to serve in some way. He or she signs an application blank at a time, perhaps, when they are not fit to join, when judged by Socialist educational requirements. They do not fully understand the essentials for comradeship. They are not to blame. We are.

At the present time it seems justifiable to attack our practices on the ground that we seek numbers, even if many of these are not fit material. If we can manage to secure a person's signature to an application blank, we congratulate ourselves and the party. We have cause, it is true, to congratulate ourselves upon our salesmanship ability, but we cannot congratulate the party, for its strength is the strength of its weakest link, and we are constantly adding weak links.

I suggest that we should distribute, not application blanks, but acquaintance cards, upon which interested persons would write their name and address. They should be given for reference a card showing the meeting time and place of the branches within the district.

At every public meeting there should be a verbal announcement of the meeting time and place of the branches within the district, if cards are not available. An appeal should be made, urging sympathizers not to join, but to attend the meetings of the branch. They should be invited to state their criticism, favorable or unfavorable. In our movement there is too little of favorable criticism. There is need of encouragement of efforts, however humble.

Only Socialists should sign application blanks—those whose views are those of the party. This can be demonstrated only by an interview with the applicant, after he has attended several meetings. He should be made to feel the seriousness of the undertaking, and the amount of work necessary. Whatever is gained lightly is held in no esteem. When we admit an applicant by moving that we take the regular course, we do not bind him by chains that are indissoluble. Admission should be a consecration and not a convention.—HERMANN P. LEVINE, Brooklyn, N. Y.

One of the first Socialist encampments of the summer opens Saturday, June 23, and continues to July 2 at Exposition Park, Conneaut Lake, near Meadville, Pa. Among the speakers will be George R. Kirkpatrick.

Father, don't swear; Mother, don't cry and wring your hands. Just take a petition demanding a referendum on the conscription law around among your friends and get them all to sign it. They will be glad to do it.

## A Contribution

The letter published below may be taken as an indication of the spirit of the movement that is to be. The amount of money contributed by any individual is never the true measure of the spirit that moves the giver; the sacrifice entailed in the thing that makes a contribution significant. The letter printed below is from the Morgantown, W. Va., Y. F. S. L., and surely shows the right spirit in this crisis:

"Dear Comrade Kruse:—

"I am enclosing a sum for twenty-five dollars (\$25.00). Please add this to the Y. F. S. L. Defense Fund.

"This money was collected originally for a plan fund but the members of our league thought that it would be selfish for us, who are doing so little in the battle against militarism, while our loyal rebel comrades suffer and languish in prison.

"We still have a little money which we are carefully hoarding for an emergency which may overtake us locally at this uncertain time."

## Frisco Labor Prosecutor Caught Tampering Jury

ASSISTANT District Attorney Louis Ferrari struggled hard to get rid of Paul Postler, who had passed all legal tests as a juror in the trial of Rena Mooney, at San Francisco, Cal. His objection to Postler was that the latter belongs to a Labor Union. It is against the unwritten law of San Francisco for a union member to be allowed to sit on a jury. The prosecutor had spent his last peremptory challenge to discharge another union man, Joseph Downey. There was no way of legally getting rid of Postler.

The prosecutor's staff went into conference and then announced that there had been an irregularity in the selection of the jury and that the entire jury should be discharged and a new jury obtained. Newspapers flashed headlines, as they always do with the slightest excuse, accusing the defense of tampering with the jury.

In tense excitement an investigation was begun. The clerk of the court was suspended from duty. It developed that the name of Daniel Kelley had been written over the name of another man on the jury slip and that Kelley had passed examination and was then sitting on the jury. The clerk and bailiff were called to the witness stand and questioned.

The bailiff is Gaetano Malpiede, a close friend and constant companion of Assistant District Attorney Fred Berry. The handwriting in which the name of Kelley was written appeared to be that of Malpiede. Malpiede denied writing the name. With an air of righteous indignation, Berry questioned the bailiff as to whether he was sure that it was not his handwriting. "I don't think it could be; I have no recollection of writing it," said Malpiede. But the bailiff weakened under a fierce cross-examination by the defense, and finally admitted that he wrote the name over that of another man. Kelley is not on the certified legal list of jurors.

Malpiede ultimately admitted that Kelley HAD COME TO HIM AND ASKED TO BE PUT ON THE JURY SO THAT HE COULD "MAKE THE JURY FEE."

In the excitement, a question was asked of the clerk of the court, Butler, to which Butler replied THAT THE JURY SLIPS HAD BEEN GIVEN TO THE PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE FOR USE OVER NIGHT IN VIOLATION OF THE COURTS STRICT ORDER THAT NEITHER SIDE WAS TO BE ALLOWED TO KNOW WHO WAS TO SERVE ON THE JURY.

Had this scandal been brought to light against the defense, the result would have been a sensational story in every newspaper in the United States to the effect that the defense had been caught at jury-fixing. But the oily gall of the sinister influences in control of the city is such that the story was minimized or hushed up and the prosecutors proceed without a blush to try other devices.

Kelley was excused "on account of sickness" and both sides were allowed to renew their challenges. Immediately the district attorney discharged the only union man left on the jury.

Edward Cunha, who had not shown his face in the court since he had broken down and admitted that "the Rigall-Oxman affair" did not worry him as much as the jury situation in the (Tom) Mooney case, which situation was the thing that troubled his conscience," rushed back into court to aid in getting if possible a jury of sycophants of the Chamber of Commerce.

The jury is now complete and the taking of evidence is in full swing.

## BIG RAILROAD HELPS ELECT SOCIALIST MAYOR IN KANSAS

When Santa Fe railroad officials learned that John Schieldknecht, a switchman in the employ of the company, had been nominated as the Socialist candidate for mayor of Frontenac, Kans., they immediately wrote Schieldknecht a letter telling him that he was violating a rule of the company by running for a political office and that if he did not at once withdraw his name from the race he would be discharged by the company.

Schildknecht was elected by a good majority. The story of the Santa Fe's attempted intimidation got out and helped elect the Socialist candidate. The Santa Fe officials made good their threat and discharged Schildknecht.

## Conscription Of Labor Is Next Plot Of Plutocrats

(Special Correspondence)

WASHINGTON—It is conscription of labor next! The signs point that way, and at the same time the signs point to the very grave and very immediate steps upon labor of so perfecting its organization as to be able to deal effectively with employers when the day of this new and terrible kind of conscription does arrive.

The logic of the times points to conscription of labor. The necessities of warring capitalism point to the same conclusion. Here and there a frank representative of the existing system goes so far as to dare that such conscription must come.

Granted that we are all in the war, whether we like it or not, and granted, further, that military conscription is a reality, a fact, it follows that the State can easily oblige workers to toil for it, no matter whether in the field, farm or factory. All varieties of conscription became fact just as soon as military conscription action takes effect. Of course, if labor conscription against the wishes and protests of the laboring masses. But again, if it takes place, if the development of capitalism and the war forces it, it is not the part of wisdom, first to fight it by every legitimate means; and second, failing victory, to modify it to the best advantage of labor!

Shackle Men To Jobs. The word went out from Washington to the masters of industry before the war began that over twenty thousand corporations had agreed to hold their men in the shops if the government gave the word. This is the essence of conscription—force against free will. As yet except in isolated cases, there has been no practice with this circumstance. Still, the experiment may take place at any time. Let us be prepared.

What the capitalists desire is CHEAP LABOR. What the farmers desire is CHEAP LABOR. There is plenty of labor at a living wage. There is, unfortunately, plenty of labor at less than a living wage, but when capitalism pushes men to the breaking point, labor has common sense enough to prefer the breadline and the loafers' bench to toil.

If the capitalists will DIVIDE UP their profits they will not have to conscript labor. If the government will put the food speculators out of business, the people will no longer pay the majority of their wages out for food. If the state, the collective government that has conscripted men's bodies, will conscript the resources of nature WITHOUT PROFIT to private interest, it will not have to conscript labor. To conscript labor is to confess that slavery is necessary under "free institutions."

Force Lloyd George To His Knees. According to reliable accounts, the workmen of England forced Lloyd George to his knees—and the capitalists also—when the proposition to conscript labor arose. Labor struck. War work stopped. British capitalism told the world that British labor was a slacker and a drunkard. Labor came to bat. Labor said: "We'll see who are slackers. We will put in all our time and toil for nothing provided that the capitalists will turn in all their profits to the government. Otherwise we stand pat."

It worked. Lloyd George was forced down and down with him came British capitalism. Labor at that moment won more nearly a square deal than it ever had. This is the story as it is told here by a high official of this government.

The lesson for us is plain. If labor conscription comes, USE IT. There is no tool so poor but that labor may make it into its own weapon, for its own advancement, IF IT USES IT. The day for mere protests has passed. In the future protests must be backed by organized action, for in no other way can the exploited classes secure justice.

Remember Russia!

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# United Socialists Victorious In Petrograd Municipal Elections; Rout Liberals

UNITED Socialist Party has carried Petrograd, Russia, in the municipal elections, and controls the city council. The Socialists were opposed by the Liberals who ran a bad second. Those who voted numbered 700,447, equal to 70 per cent of the qualified electors, of whom 530,000 voted for the United Socialist candidates. All of the so-called bourgeois parties together received only 180,000, of which only 18,000 were cast for the reactionary counter revolution candidates. This momentous news was almost entirely suppressed by the capitalist press in this country. Women voted in the election—the first application of woman suffrage in Russia. A hot campaign was waged, with street meetings and demonstrations every night, and in some districts during the day. Pending the meeting of the Constituent Assembly and the framing of a national constitution, the Socialist Council of Soldiers' and Workmen's Delegates continues to rule Russia. Watch for inspiring news about Russia each week in *The American Socialist*.

## Wilson Places His Stamp Of Disapproval On Socialist Party

PRESIDENT Wilson, himself, finally placed his personal stamp of disapproval on the American Socialist Party, in his Flag Day Speech at Washington, D. C., Thursday, June 14, when he said: "They are using men, in Germany and without, as their spokesmen whom they hitherto despised and oppressed, using them for their own destruction—Socialists, the leaders of labor, the thinkers they have hitherto sought to silence."

The "they" refers to "the Military masters of Germany," the president thus repeating the charge, now so popular in government circles, of pro-Germanism against the Socialist Party.

WITH Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in prison and treason charges brought against Ledebour, Haase and others, we are led to believe that the German ruling class still despises and oppresses Socialists in Germany, and that President Wilson is not very well informed on the situation or purposely ignores the facts.

We do not intend, now or in the future, to excuse any of the wrongful acts of Scheidemann, Sudekum or any other member of the German majority group. Any German Socialist, however, who lends himself to the purposes of the military masters of Germany will soon find himself cast out by the great rank and file of the social-democracy. The same holds true in the United States.

SINCE when has the ruling class in America, either at Washington or in Wall Street, smiled with favor upon the American Socialist movement? Have we not always been despised and oppressed? It has never been the custom of Socialists, in any of the nations of the world, to court the favor of the ruling power. We in the United States have not departed from this high example nor do we intend to do so.

Socialism has struggled manfully and heroically against ruling class enmity in peace times. We do no less in war times, even in the face of the president's threat, toward the close of his Flag Day speech, of, "Stand in our way."

Years of ruling class denunciation has caloused our sensitiveness to all kinds of senseless prejudice and baseless criticism. We can stand up now and be counted true to our principles in the face of hostile hosts; diminishing hostile hosts we are glad to say, as we witness our own ranks hourly increasing and our principles winning new adherents.

Indications are that this month will see the greatest membership in the Socialist Party since the beginning of the war. The week just closing has been the greatest in the history of *The American Socialist* in new subscriptions received.

While increasing thousands rush to our standards it is inevitable that a few should become faint hearted, lose their grip on the great issue and slink away. We have lost nothing in their going because we never really had them. It has ever been thus.

IT is very evident to us that the government at Washington, irrespective of what is happening in Berlin, is trying to USE "Socialists, the leaders of labor," not because Socialism is now in favor, but because it will help to advance the aims and ambitions of the government at Washington.

George Creel, the government censor at Washington, is not a Socialist, but he is being "USED" as having been a radical. A paragraph from *The Masses*, edited by Max Eastman, one of the Socialists who inclined toward Wilson last fall and now regrets it, states the case as follows:

"One of our most esteemed contributors, George Creel, has been appointed chairman of the board of censorship of the war. Once George Creel wrote an article on 'Rockefeller Law,' which was censored by all his employers, including the most radical popular magazine in America. He brought it to us. We passed it. Our readers will remember. So will George Creel, we hope."

Every radical is now a "Socialist" for the purposes of the government at Washington and the capitalist press. Thus the staff correspondent of the Philadelphia Ledger, in a lengthy Washington dispatch, refers to Creel as representing "the progressive theoretical Socialists."

The only clew we have as to the identity of this new brand of government Socialists is the fact that Creel has allied with him several writers who have been playing hide and seek with Socialism for years as part of their profession.

Two of these assistant censors are Arthur Bullard and Ernest Poole, whose present jobs will no doubt keep them in line with the administration for a time at least. A third is Walter Lippman, one of the editors of "The New Republic" and before that private secretary to George R. Lunn, during part of the time that Lunn was Socialist mayor of Schenectady, N. Y. Lunn is now a democratic congressman who voted for the war and conscription. The Ledger also states that Creel has associated with him William English Walling, all of whose fawning did not land him a place on the Russian commission. Not one of this entire group is now a member of the Socialist Party.

THE nature of the Socialist movement in the United States has been such in the past that those who have been quick and ready, with tongue and pen, have too soon received place and power.

Thus, almost in a night, Joseph Medill Patterson, of Chicago, came into the movement, helped start the Chicago Daily Socialist, was elected to the national executive committee; but, almost before the morning came, he was again lost to us. The "revolution" he thought was coming over the horizon did not materialize soon enough, so he sank back into the old rut of reaction.

Now Patterson is one of the editors and part owner of *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, rabid jingo in war, republican in politics and staunch upholder of the system.

sympathy and respect of Socialist and non-Socialist alike. Their expulsion merely became a matter of party routine and the sooner they are forgotten the better.

THE resignation of John Spargo from the national executive committee and the party was expected long before he espoused the British cause at the St. Louis convention. His leanings were professedly pro-Ally from the day the war started.

If Gaylord and Simons had accomplished their "informing" before expulsion, Spargo accomplished his "misinforming" incidental to his retirement from the party ranks. Yet, it was no less cowardly. Spargo's vicious and baseless attack upon the party, charging it with being pro-German, was delicious food for the famished jingo press, hungry for a morsel of ammunition with which to accomplish its hope—the decimation of the ranks of the Socialist Party.

If Spargo gets any consolation out of hearing his phrases mouthed by all the subsidized, anti-Socialist editorial writers in the land, he is entitled to it. But as these same editorial writers again take up the cry of the munition makers, the populace intuitively turns to Socialism—knowing that what the war mongers attack should immediately be embraced as their only hope.

Thus, Spargo's going can only result in persuading those who remain to be truer than ever to the convictions for which they are struggling.

When the hour of opportunity strikes, Spargo will not, as Scheidemann did in the Reichstag in Berlin, proclaim an oncoming revolution unless the military masters bow to the demand for "peace without annexations and indemnities." Scheidemann and Sudekum have much to answer for. When the roll is called, however, at the first International Socialist Congress following the war, Scheidemann and Sudekum will be in their places in the German Socialist Democracy. We fear that Spargo will be in the "USE" of a Wall Street government in the United States, if such a government survives this world conflagration.

CHARLES Edward Russell remained true to his free lance instincts to the last. He readily accepted a place on the Russian commission after Victor L. Berger had refused to serve with Elihu Root, the American lackey of the former Russian czar.

President Wilson USED Russell in a worse sense than Scheidemann and Sudekum were ever used by the German government. The president and Russell may deceive themselves, the Russian Socialists are not deceived.

Practically all of the governments sent Socialist delegations to Petrograd to meet with the Russian Socialists. Russell was used to veneer an American commission made up of a Wall Street politician, several bankers and monarchs of industry, with a sprinkling of army and navy puppets. Such is the blindness of America's ruling class.

WE DO not fear for the future. The Majority Report, adopted so overwhelmingly at the St. Louis convention, will be adopted just as overwhelmingly by the party membership in the referendum now closing.

Two more "tongue and pen" Socialists have announced that they will have to desert this great majority and go their way—Allan L. Benson, of Yonkers, New York, and N. A. Richardson, of San Bernardino, Cal. Their promises to leave have already been copiously exploited by the capitalist press. They will no doubt signal their departure with long statements which will we hope, for their sakes, be given just as much publicity as the one issued by Spargo.

Benson, altho he was honored with the presidential nomination of the Socialist Party last year, speaks for himself alone. Richardson says the other members of the California state executive committee think as he does. Let them speak for themselves. Spargo speaks for himself now, even as he spoke for himself at St. Louis. As for Russell, Elihu Root will no doubt make a good reactionary republican out of him before his return from Russia.

THIS is the timber out of which the capitalist press is trying to manufacture a political organization to exterminate the Socialist Party, the present political expression of the enlightened toilers of America. The future, full of promise for labor, will record the dismal failure of the ill-starred enterprise.

## Let Us Say It Again

Ten million young men are registered, but only half a million are to be selected; this means that one out of twenty must go.

There is work for the remaining nineteen. That work is to see that the cause of democracy, for which the chosen one is summoned to kill or to die, shall be won at home.

It is a solemn charge upon the nineteen who are not taken, to see that whatever lives are lost will not be laid down in vain.

Without shedding of blood there is no remission of sins; and blood must be shed, to awaken your sluggish brains to the fact that the climax and summary of all sins is the worship of Money, and the sacrifice of life to Mammon.

If they must go, see that the purchase price of their lives is redeemed; and that Socialism, which is the end of tyranny, is established at home.

If they come back, see that they come back to a land purged and purified of the crime of human sacrifice.

Let the world democracy take shape; let human brotherhood become a reality; let the universal commonwealth take root here at home; Only so can this vast Sacrifice become an Atonement, and peace on earth, good will among all men, be the chorus of the voices of all the sons of men; For in Socialism lies the hope of the redemption of the world.

Herbert S. Bigelow, prominent single taxer, is out with a threat to organize "a new party" in the coming municipal elections in Cincinnati, Ohio. It is to be known as the American Social Democratic Party, copying the name used by the Socialist Party in some European countries. We agree with Bigelow when he says, "The old parties must die with the system." But he shows an evident lack of sincerity when he says, "The Socialist Party is a close communion affair." It has never come to our attention that Bigelow ever tried to join the Socialist Party. The doors of the Socialist Party are wide open to the workers of the nation. It is evidence enough to us to know that thousands are flocking to its standards in this crisis. Of course, if Bigelow can pick up a few stray members from those who seek to wander in narrow and secret paths of their own rather than stick to the broad highway, he is entitled to them.

A statesman is a fellow who offers your life to his country.

## AMERICAN SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of the United States.

J. L. ENGDALH.....Editor

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SATURDAY, JUNE 23, 1917.

## Workers Of All Lands Must Unite For Peace, Say Russian Socialists

One of the most interesting of the many remarkable documents issued by the Russian Socialist Council of Soldiers' and Workmen's delegates is the reply to the joint letter by Albert Thomas, the French minister of munitions, Arthur Henderson, British minister without portfolio, and Emile Vandervelde, Belgian minister of munitions, all prominent Socialists in their respective countries, expressing surprise that a call had been issued for an international conference to consider peace.

In straightforward and forceful language the Russian Council explains its position regarding the international Socialist conference as follows:

"The Russian revolution, which is a revolt of the people not only against the tyranny of Czarism, but also against the horrors of world war, has placed before all countries the urgent need of concluding peace.

"At the same time the Russian revolution has indicated to the nations a way for realizing this problem, notably a union of all the working classes to combat all attempts of imperialism to prolong the war in the interests of the wealthy classes and to prevent peace without annexations or indemnities.

"The working classes of all countries can easily come to a speedy solid agreement only if they are inspired with their own interests and remove the aspirations of imperialism from the means of the war. It is evident that the conference can become the turning point in the terrible epoch of fratricidal war only if the members of the conference are imbued with these ideas. And it is no less evident that all the questions you have raised cannot be the subject of discord or a motive for a continuation of the war.

"Having recognized the right of nations to dispose of their destiny, the members of the conference will come to an understanding without difficulty regarding the future of Alsace-Lorraine and other regions. Moreover, the working classes, relieved of the mutual distrust with which the imperialists have enveloped them, will agree regarding the means of granting compensation and the amount of such compensation to the countries devastated by war, like Belgium, Poland, Galicia and Serbia. But it goes without saying that such compensation must have nothing in common with the contribution which is imposed on the conquered country.

"Regarding your desire to obtain a complete agreement between the allied Socialists, the way in which we put the problem renders futile any such understanding. We consider that the conference can succeed only if the Socialists consider themselves not the representatives of the two belligerent parties, but the representatives of a single movement of the working classes toward a common aim of a general peace."

This is plain talk to those Socialists in all countries who have entered war cabinets and taken an active part in this imperialist-capitalist inspired slaughter.

This statement was issued as the Russian Socialist press was commenting rather unfavorably on President Wilson's note to Russia outlining the war aims and peace terms of the United States. Wilson's declarations for humanity and democracy were dismissed as high-sounding phraseology, while his war for victory ideas were received with indignation. Altogether, Wilson has succeeded in arousing considerable mistrust among the Russians. This was the situation when the Root Commission arrived in Petrograd.

ELIHU Root and fellow members on the Russian Commission have arrived at Petrograd. They might have slipped in thru the back door, in the darkness of night, for all the publicity they received in the American press. Greater attention is given by the press to Washington dispatches frantically attempting to prove that Root was a tried and true friend of the Russian exile. The state department at Washington has even taken the trouble to cable a version of the Rudowitz and Pouran cases favorable to Root to the American embassy in Petrograd. Root's record stands, however. It is a blot that cannot be wiped out. Root must have sweet dreams as he sleeps in the best chamber the former czar's Winter Palace affords. Root has arrived in Russia but he will never "arrive" in the minds of Russia's emancipated people.

RUSSIAN Socialist newspapers accuse President Wilson of using high toned language and vague phrases embodying principles unacceptable to the Russian democracy, and even hinting that the declaration of the United States government against a policy of imperialism and annexations is insincere.

The organ of the Council of Soldiers' and Workmen's Delegates says: "It is unnecessary to say much about this latest note. President Wilson is mistaken if he imagines such views can appeal to the people of revolutionary Russia. The Russian revolutionary democracy knows that the road to universal peace, so passionately desired by it, lies thru a united struggle by the working classes of the whole world against imperialism. No high toned or cloudy phrases can deceive us."

MAXIM Gorky's publication, the *Novaya Zhizn*, reflecting the views of the Bolsheviks, or radical socialists, cites "Germany's oppression in Posen and that of Belgium in the Congo," and asks, "Where is the guaranty that America is to take advantage of its 'disinterestedness' if it succeeds in bringing all the democracies to believe that it is its desire to give life and freedom to annexed territories?"

On the subject of indemnities the *Novaya Zhizn* says: "If you consider Germany alone responsible for the war and that it is necessary only to punish her, then be sincere and logical, but do not seek to deceive

the democracies—do not speak equivocally when clearness and perspicacity is necessary. President Wilson is appealing solemnly to all free nations to collaborate. We have heard these appeals from the imperialists of all countries and always they are followed by volleys from the guns of the fraternity of steel kings."

RUSSIA'S revolution is given as the big cause back of the fall of Constantine I, king of Greece, kicked from his throne by the three entente powers, Russia, England and France.

While the czar reigned in Russia he used his influence to prevent the overthrow of his brother-monarch Constantine, whose chief crime was being pro-German. He is a brother-in-law of the Kaiser. Since the Russian revolution put the czar in prison, the last prop fell from under the throne of Constantine and he will now journey to Switzerland to live as a private citizen.

The entente powers have put Constantine's second son on the throne as a temporary makeshift. There is a growing sentiment for a republic, however, and it will arrive in due time. The war has already unseated a czar and a king. NEXT!

SAMUEL GOMPERS, president of the American Federation of Labor, has suddenly raised a very interesting question by cabling credentials to James Duncan, labor member of the Root Russian Commission, to attend the International Socialist Peace Conference called by the Russian Council of Soldiers' and Workmen's Delegates.

Duncan can attend an International Socialist Peace Conference, without violating the law of the United States, why cannot the regular delegates of the American Socialist Party attend? Or will Duncan be the special envoy of President Wilson? Developments are daily becoming more interesting.

## Paying The War Bill

By JOSEPH E. COHEN.

THUS far the gentlemen of Wall Street who most desired this war have accomplished three things: They succeeded in having two billions of dollars worth of bonds issued instead of permitting the cost of the war to be paid out of their excess profits; They succeeded in having only a part of the total amount needed issued at this time;

They conscripted the poorer people into taking the bonds, so that the bankers were now in being subscribed for, thereby creating the impression that future loans must be offered at higher rates of interest—when the Wall Street crowd may buy more heavily.

WALL STREET decided to have this war. It decided to demonstrate its patriotism in any except two ways: Give up its life or its money. That no rich man or rich man's son will give up his life goes without saying. "Selective conscription" of men, unless by some mischance the selecting falls into the hands of such as are really democrats, will see to it that no scion of a wealthy family is made to go soldiering with common people. No craze will decorate the doorknobs of American palaces.

But it seemed quite another matter to put thru the financial program whereby the nation pays the bill in money as well as men, exempting Wall Street entirely.

FIRST of all, this war would have been a mighty cheap one for Wall Street even if it had to pay the whole cost.

During the last year Wall Street, and those whose grasp on the money situation oozes out from Wall Street, made no less than \$41,000,000,000 over and above what was cleared the year before. From which it can readily be seen that it would be but a drop in the bucket for Wall Street to be assessed two billion or even the whole seven billion dollar war budget.

Moreover, if the seven billion dollars were assessed against the business established by American concerns in South America owing to Germany's being driven from that field, it would not begin to tap the enormous profits cleared in the American republics by our own promoters.

Any sense of decency and fairness would dictate that the cost of the war be carried by those who reap the benefit. But our ruling class is especially distinguished for the absence of decency and fairness.

HAVING succeeded in foisting a war loan on the country, in order that future generations might help bear the burden of making the world a safe place for democracy, the Wall Street crowd next insisted that only a part of the amount to be raised by the loan be asked for in the beginning. Their demand was complied with.

It was then easy to set about making it appear that ready money was not to be had for the bonds. This was that much easier to do because the working people who were urged to do their bit, were never so much as right now concerned in keeping what little savings they have in such shape as to be able to get at their reserve when the cost of living requires it, or a panic after the war compels it.

So Wall Street set about drafting the poor for the Liberty Loan, by making the security of a man's employment dependent upon his subscribing for a government bond.

The stories that came from Washington on the "failure" of the Liberty Loan had only one purpose. That is, to urge the government to offer the next loans at a higher rate of interest. Then Wall Street will begin to buy more eagerly.

Until now what selling there has been to Rockefeller and other large capitalists has been in the nature of sparing them from the tax on excess profits, since the Liberty Loan bonds are free of taxation. The investment has been a good one for Rockefeller and his friends.

With our Millionaire's Club, known as the United States Senate, paring down the sum to be derived by taxation, making it indispensible for the government to offer another loan shortly, Wall Street is coming to the bat strong and is ready for a big inning.

WHAT has been done thus far in financing the war is on a par with the attitude assumed by Wall Street and the government with regard to the war. That attitude is that this is about the same kind of war as former ones, in which the rich reap the harvest and the poor pay the cost.

## Come On In, Mr. Easley! Take All The Tainted Cash You Find!

RALPH M. Easley, chairman of the executive committee of the National Civic Federation, has issued a suggestion to the Government that it investigate the sources of revenue of the Socialist party, to "find out how many of the millions spent in this country by the German Government are financing the party and its press."

"It is well known," says Mr. Easley, "that Germany is financing not only the Socialist and anarchist movements, but the various peace movements in this country, both real and spurious."

Mr. Easley is invited to come and investigate the finances of the Socialist party and its press at any time, or to send governmental representatives to any number or to any degree. If he finds one cent, one dollar or any other sum that has come into the Socialist party from the source he names, or from any other source except from the pockets of working men and those utterly opposed to the present capitalist system with all its attendant horrors so aptly upheld by Mr. Easley and his bosom friends—then we will cheerfully present such tainted money to Mr. Easley.

Will Mr. Easley so readily throw open the books of the National Civic Federation, so that we may get an insight into the donors of the funds that go to pay for the elaborate dinners where "labor leaders" are feted and furnished with scab cigars and scab bread? Perhaps Mr. Easley possesses special skill in handling "tainted money." Certainly the company he keeps has an ample supply of it.

The statement that the German government is financing the Socialist movement, or any of the peace movements with which the Socialist party is connected, is an unqualified lie, whether made by Easley, Spargo or Walling. The Socialist party's sole source of income is party dues, the sale of party literature and the sale of special stamps. Since war was declared subscriptions to *The American Socialist* have been pouring in at the rate of nearly a thousand a day. This money comes in lots of ten cents, 25 cents, one dollar, up to ten dollars. Very rarely are any larger sums received.

The peace movement owes most of its strength to the ardent championship of one Woodrow Wilson, prior to April 2, 1917. Up to that time he was, outwardly, the strongest champion of peace. His words and his writings are still the mainstay of strength to the peace movement.

We can not all of us change our most fundamental moral convictions with the shedding of a coat.

## Grab And Plunder

Joseph L. Bristow, former United States senator from Kansas, has set the prairies of his home state afire with discussion over his recent utterances in Washington.

Bristow is now chairman of the Kansas public utilities commission and went to the nation's capital to represent his state in the freight advance case pending before the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Following his arrival in Washington he wired back to his paper, the *Salina Journal*, his view of conditions in the national capital regarding the war. Washington, he said, was overrun with people who were trying to "get their share of loot in this period of grab and plunder." He discovered that "cupidity and greed, glowering appetites for pillage and plunder, vain desire for pomp and gold laced parade, unrestrained conviviality, which arouses the latent passion for rapine and destruction," were there.

This has resulted in the Kansas jingoes starting a movement to oust Bristow from his job as public utilities commissioner. Perhaps he will be made to crawl after the fashion of Mayor Thompson of Chicago.

Bristow airs his views on the conscription law in the *Salina Journal*, under the heading, "The Infamous It Should Be Obeied," as follows:

"We have no sympathy with the desperate efforts the administration and the munitions interests behind it are making to popularize this infamous law by proclaiming the day (Registration Day), of its execution as a holiday and a day of rejoicing. We feel it should be a day of mourning. It marks the day when our country departs from the time honored policy of appealing to the patriotism of the people to support the military necessities of their government. It is the day when military service is ordered by an imperial edict instead of being offered as a patriotic sacrifice by the citizen of a free country who loves his Nation."

"It is alleged we are fighting to destroy the tyranny of German militarism. Yet in so doing we are introducing the German military system into this country. The draft has been ordered by the legally constituted authorities and we must obey it. But in so doing we are not barred from exerting our greatest efforts to secure the repudiation of the men who have imposed this infamous system upon our country."

In a Washington dispatch to the *Topeka Journal*, May 31, ex-Senator Bristow was quoted as follows: "The President, only faintly for war before the election, became an ardent champion afterwards. The mass of the people in all sections are against it. They have been plunged into it against their will and when the full weight of the extraordinary burden of taxation falls upon them, as inevitably it must, the political upheaval that will sweep the Nation will stagger and astound us."

"In Kansas, the people do not believe the conditions 'for the emergency' justifies the imposing of taxes in such gigantic proportions as Congress has done. They do not believe conscription necessary."

If Bristow has any more sound sense of the same kind we shall gladly give space to it. We know that none of the jingo dailies will.

Where there's life there's hope, some optimist suggests that at any rate this is the last war a lot of us are going to have the pleasure of indulging in.

There was a time when war was fought with swords and lances and it was largely a question of heroism as to which side would win. Nowadays it is very much of a shell-game, as it were.

Strikes are the order of the day against the North American Packing Co., owned by big Chicago beef packers, notably J. Ogden Armour, at Buenos Aires, Argentina. The South American wage slaves seem to be less docile than their brothers in Chicago and other big food producing centers in the United States.

The Boston convention of the International Fur Workers' Convention adopted resolutions vigorously protesting against the action of Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, in refusing to send delegates to the Stockholm International Socialist Peace Conference. Let this voice of protest be heard.

"Why You Should Fight", by Irwin Tucker, will be issued as the July leaflet 10 cents per 100 Order Now! National Office, Socialist Party, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. 75 cents per 1,000