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AMERICAN SOCIALIST

OUR TICKET THIS YEAR For President ALLAN L. BENSON For Vice-President GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK

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LABOR'S OPPORTUNITY HERE! MAKE THE MOST OF IT!

Unite! Today! Force Higher Price of Blood And Sweat of Toilers

By J. L. ENGDahl.

LABOR'S biggest opportunity is here! Let labor unite and make the most of this grand opportunity! There were never so many workers in the land demanding more bread for their families, more hours of leisure, better conditions under which to labor.

There was never such a demand for organization on the part of the men, women and children who toil, as now.

The desire to struggle for something better is in the heart of labor, TODAY! It is a struggle full of life and hope.

THIS struggle must be crowned with success. It can be crowned with success because: Never before has the army of the unemployed been thinned to its present proportions; its ranks so depleted. Never before have the masters of industry been bidding for the brain and brawn of labor as they are doing now. Never before has the voice of labor been as commanding as now; sounded so threatening to the ears of the master class.

LABOR must make a big step in advance now because: When the war is over, as it soon must be, the hordes of the hopeless will leave the shores of Europe and come to the United States looking for jobs, to compete in the labor market.

When the war is over the munitions industry will collapse, hundreds of thousands of workers will be thrown out of employment, the unemployed army will be recruited again to its full strength; the workers will be bidding against each other for the jobs.

When the war is over the millions of soldiers in Europe will return to their jobs across the sea, and there will be no call for the products of American labor.

THE LABOR situation in this country today is the product of 21 months of bloody slaughter in Europe. In the early months of the war, the skilled labor needed in the munitions plants demanded and received increased wages. The eight hour day was won almost overnight, especially by the machinists, where previous years of unremitting struggle had not brought it about.

WORKERS were drawn to the war industry from other industries. The opportunity to fight and win grew and grew. Note the rebellion of labor in the Pittsburgh district. See the thousands leaving the gates of the International Harvester Co. and other huge corporations in Chicago and Milwaukee.

These docile battalions of labor had often been condemned and reviled for their servility to their masters. Now they are in revolt.

There were no unemployed to take their places, no freshly arrived hordes of immigrants from Europe hungry for jobs. Labor went on strike and factories and mills closed. The solidarity of labor was irresistible.

LABOR is losing its fears and forebodings. It is willing to fight. Winter is gone. Spring is urging the mass of toil to take up the battle for its rights.

When the Milwaukee munitions manufacturer warned labor to stick to its sausages, sauerkraut and black bread, for the present prosperity would soon be a thing of the past, he was merely voicing his own fear. Labor intends to have something better.

When the Chicago money monarch, from the bottom of his granite heart, advised the workers to "Cut out the nickel shows and SAVE!" his advice fell on deaf ears.

TAKE A look at the picture, "THE STRIKE! THE PARADE!" on this page. This is not an artist's dream. This picture was snatched from life by the film in a camera, the camera perched on top of a railroad viaduct as 10,000 striking, cheering men and women marched beneath it.

This revolt is a reality. It was such a reality that the big magnates of the harvest trust offered the strikers the nine hour day with 10 hours' wages the moment the strike began.

I walked with this parade for hours thru that section of Chicago where the sweat and blood of labor has been a cheap commodity upon the market.

Every city has its similar industrial hell—where the myriads of homes crouch in the shadow of towering mills, or feel the heat of blazing furnaces close by.

But the price of the sweat and blood of labor is going up. Let it mount higher and higher. Let it rise until it has absorbed all the profits of capital.

Labor's biggest opportunity is here.

Let labor everywhere unite and make the most of this grand opportunity.

Coal Miners Win As Railroad War Looms Bigger Than Ever

While the coal miners have forced the mine owners to grant concessions in the signing up of new wage scales, the great struggle on the railroads, "Eight hours work, eight hours sleep, eight hours relaxation" is nature's law, looms bigger than ever.

The United Mine Workers has just obtained concessions for the 176,000 anthracite mine workers. The hours are reduced from nine to eight and an increase in pay is granted. Even more important in its final effect is the recognition accorded for the first time to the United Mine Workers of America. That agreement is signed in the name of that organization, where in previous years the mine barons refused to admit that it had any existence.

Continued Growth Seen.

Agreements are being reached with the soft coal mine owners that insure better working conditions and increased wages. These victories won by this great organization insure its

continued growth, leaves the way open for the organization of non-union fields and permits it to lend its aid to other workers to build up their unions.

Another chapter in labor's history is being written in blood in the Pittsburgh district where two workers have already been martyred in the struggle at the Westinghouse and other plants. Labor in the Pittsburgh district strikes and strikes again without making any seeming progress. Let us hope that the present struggle will show a big advancement of the cause of the working class in this section of the country.

Chicago faced its nineteenth strike called in the last few weeks when hundreds of men walked out in various departments at Armour's in the stock yards district. It is believed that this strike, like that at the International Harvester Co. and other big corporations will gradually grow un-

Arthur E. Reimer, Boston, Mass., has been nominated for president by the Socialist Labor Party, with Caleb Harrison, of Chicago, for vice president.

HIT CENSORING OF DEBS.

The San Diego, Cal., branch of the Socialist party, thru a committee composed of J. R. Cochran, Marcus W. Robbins, and N. L. Crist, has issued a statement bitterly arraiging the treatment given Eugene V. Debs upon his recent visit to the city by the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of the Panama-California exposition.

In spite of the fact that Theodore Roosevelt and William Jennings Bryan made speeches on behalf of their particular propaganda, the committee in charge of the Debs meeting was refused permission for him to address an audience at the exposition on the ground that he was voicing a special propaganda.

"It is said," adds the committee, "that the members of the committee who blocked Debs' speech were either members of or in complete sympathy with the vigilantes whose brutal treatment of labor here a few years ago disgraced San Diego in the eyes of the thinking world."

The eyes of millions of wage-slaves await to be opened. Don't waste time splitting hairs, but make every bit of your time and every atom of your energy count in awakening the slumberers and arousing them to action.



Here is a view of a section of the parade of 10,000 striking men and women at the huge plant of the International Harvester Co., the Harvester Trust, in Chicago. These men and women were unorganized. They walked out in an effort to secure increased wages and better working conditions from this ruthless aggregation of wealth.

It is the International Harvester Co. that is held responsible for part of the trouble in Mexico. Its part in the expropriation of the "Slaves of Yucatan", Mexico, has already been written. This huge trust has been investigated and busted on numerous occasions. Still it is bigger, stronger and more rapacious than ever. One of its chief officials is George W. Perkins, one of the big men in the steel trust and chief backer of Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Party.

The first money raised during this strike was a ten cent assessment to pay for the service of the band leading the parade. When the striker paid his assessment, an indelible stamp was put in the palm of his hand, and he immediately became a member of the union.

In spite of page ads placed in all the capitalist foreign language papers, in an effort to lure the men back to work, the strikers are standing solid for victory. These misleading advertisements were also presented to the three

foreign language Socialist dailies in Chicago, but they refused to publish them, or to accept the blood money that was offered. There are three foreign language dailies in Chicago, Polish, Bohemian and German. The editors of these publications, with the officials of the foreign language federations of the Socialist Party, have been active in the work of organizing the strikers in this strike, as well as in a number of other struggles now being waged in Chicago.

Opposition United. Opposed by the united old parties, Shiplacoff was unable to get any labor bills passed. The Legislature passed a resolution for the printing of 50,000 Sanitary linen, which was passed in Yiddish. Everything else he proposed was killed in committee. A resolution calling for the appropriation of \$10,000 for an investigation of attempts to crush labor organization on the Interborough and Brooklyn Rapid Transit lines was killed in committee. A resolution to establish a commission to investigate the consolidation of the five New York City counties to save millions of dollars was killed in committee. A resolution calling on Congress to vote against the Burnett immigration bill was killed after opposition by Majority Leader Adler.

Three bills providing for fire and safety provisions in factories were killed in committee. These bills were prepared with the assistance of Dr. George M. Price, director of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control in the cloakmaking and waistingmaking industry of New York City; George Hall, secretary of the American Association of Labor Legislation, and other famous experts. The Committee on Labor and Industries, of which Shiplacoff is a member, is packed with manufacturers and others hostile to labor, so the bills were reported unfavorably.

Four or five bills providing just the opposite conditions demanded by Shiplacoff were slipped into the Assembly without going to committee. On the floor of the Assembly Shiplacoff denounced this trick. He made it so hot for the politicians who engineered this trick that the bills were killed.

He Fights Mackey Bill.

One of the most important fights Shiplacoff waged was against the Mackey Bill, which repealed the one-day-rest-in-seven statute in the case of dairy and creamery employees. When the bill came up in Shiplacoff's committee he put up such a hot fight that the others held a conference and the bill disappeared. It bobbed up later in the Senate, where it was passed by unanimous vote. Then the bill came to the Assembly. Shiplacoff fought against it and was on the watch so closely that it was laid over for action twelve times because the politicians feared a record vote. On the last time it appeared in the Assembly an amendment which provided that only those who worked 54 hours or less a week should work seven days a week. Then the bill passed with just enough votes. Shiplacoff charges there was crooked work on the vote tally, but

TEACHERS AGAIN VICTORIOUS.

Another victory has been won by the Chicago school teachers. The appellate court has upheld the teachers' injunction against the school board preventing it from breaking up the teachers' union affiliated with the Chicago, the Illinois and the American Federations of Labor. The big business members of the school board, of course, are planning to fight the case to a higher court. But the teachers feel their fight has been won. It is this fight that has brought about the organization of the school teachers in a large number of other cities.

THE STRIKE! THE PARADE!



EVERY now and then we read an article in a Socialist publication which implies that the transition from capitalism to socialism must necessarily be accompanied by a terrific war.

THE TRANSITION

By JOHN M. WORK.

Exploiters Plead Poverty Again. The big exploiters are unlisting the aid of the subsidized press in an effort to persuade the workers not to strike at this time. They claim they cannot pay the wages received by workers in the munitions industry. This comes with rather bad grace from the beef barons in the stock yards who have received some of the biggest war orders placed in this country. This is in addition to the fact that food prices have been sent sky high in this country.

During the past week there has been organized in Chicago the American Federation of Teachers, which will start out immediately to organize all the school teachers in the nation. Organization work is now under way in a score of cities.

MUST FILE VOTES HIGHER. Two election contests have just been decided against the Socialists of Milwaukee. The elections committee of the house of representatives at Washington has declared the republican candidate seated and thrown out of court the contest of the Socialist, Winfield R. Gaylord. The Wisconsin supreme court decided against Martin Plehn, Socialist, and seated the non-partisan declared elected county clerk. The Socialist candidates, in these close contests, had the evidence showing fraud and corruption, but the anti-Socialists are in control of the courts and congress.

Gaylord gave his opponent a close race for congress. If the five precincts in which fraud was charged had been excluded, the seat would have been Gaylord's by a majority of 281 votes.

Plehn was defeated by Widule for county clerk of Milwaukee county by 27 votes in the fall election, 1914, and contested the election. The recount proceeded as far as the 15th ward, when it was halted by the supreme court. The court has now refused to have the count continued.

The Socialists have one recourse. They can go ahead, build up their organization, plan for a greater Socialist propaganda than ever, so that when the next election day comes around the votes for the Socialist candidate will pile up so high that all of the opposition candidates will be completely snowed under. And that is exactly what is happening in Milwaukee.

HELP HOAN WAKE UP THE DUBBS!

Have you taken advantage of the great subscription offer that appeared in our Henry Dubb Edition last week? A copy of that great book by Daniel W. Hoan, the Socialist mayor of Milwaukee, FREE with a six month's subscription at 25 cents.

This book, "REGULATION—A FRAUD AND A FAILURE", tells you how Comrade Hoan fought the big public utility corporations of Milwaukee during the six years he was Milwaukee's Socialist city attorney. This book is an exposure of the idea, that a government can regulate big business. It is the book you have been looking for to wake up the Henry Dubbs for the fall elections. Send your orders to The American Socialist, 803 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

KARL LIEBKNECHT IN PRISON?

Nothing definite has been heard concerning the fate of Karl Liebknecht since he was arrested by the German police while addressing a May Day demonstration. It is declared that a resolution has been introduced in the Reichstag demanding his release, which would indicate that he has been thrown into prison.

If he now languishes in prison, Liebknecht takes the place of Rosa Luxemburg, lately released after serving a prison term for her part in the great struggle against German militarism.

It is declared that May Day in Germany was marked by food and peace demonstrations in all parts of the empire. The real extent of these demonstrations, however, is very indefinite.

Battle For Labor In New York Legislature

A. I. Shiplacoff, Socialist member of the New York legislature, put up such a strenuous fight for labor at the session just closed, that the hirelings of capitalism spent most of their time watching him when laws against the working class were framed and the job started of "putting them over".

Assemblyman Shiplacoff was on the job from the opening of the Legislature until the close, always fighting for the working class against the Republican and Democratic machines.

Gifted with the analytical mind of a student, this lone Socialist was able to knock holes in many anti-labor bills. Also gifted with a sense of humor and a pleasing way of making friends, he soon was recognized as a man to be feared by the retainers of the manufacturing and exploiting interests. The politicians of the old parties thought they would have a but for their jokes when they learned a Socialist was to be with them. Instead, they were forced to admit that this fighter was taking the aggress-



ive against a hopeless proposition to prove his case. Shiplacoff's bill to open courts for naturalization purposes at night was killed in committee. His bill providing for the punishment of employers who did not stipulate in newspaper advertisements that strikeworkers were sought was killed in committee. There were three hearings on this bill, and organized labor of the State backed it solidly. Shiplacoff amended the bill to meet all objections and showed the committee members that the law exists in nine States, in some more stringent than the one he prepared. Yet the committee killed it.

Cossack Bill Beaten.

The vicious Cossack bill, which would have established a State constabulary to break strikes, was defeated by a narrow margin largely thru Shiplacoff's persistent agitation against it. Backing him were all the labor organizations of the State. He warned the lawmakers that the Cossacks were sought by the capitalist interests to crush the workers who tried to rebel against intolerable conditions. The vote came at the end of the session of the Legislature. The Democrats, with the few independents won to his cause, made sufficient votes to beat the bill.

"My term in the Legislature has been an invaluable experience," said Shiplacoff. "I now know better than ever what the working class must contend with. There must be a working class majority in the Legislature or there will always be class legislation against the workers. The average legislator does not consider the merits of a bill. He votes for a big name that in return the others will vote for his bills. It's a case of 'You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours.'"

"There are three kinds of men in the Assembly. There are the stuffed dummies. As I told an audience in a New York Assembly district, their Assemblyman probably does not beat his wife or get drunk and sleep in the gutter, but they might as well have stuffed a coat and a pair of pants and sent the dummy to Albany and saved the restaurant bill. He is no good. He does not even know enough to vote and follows the majority leader like a sheep."

"Then there are the vicious fellows, the representatives of the big capitalist interests of the State. There is one man who needs only a monocle to complete the picture for a Fifth Avenue swell. He came to me one day and said, with his Dunderberg affectation: 'Don't you know you introduce class legislation?'"

"It is you who introduce class legislation," I replied. "Your bills are for the associations of manufacturers."

They Are "Nice Fellows."

"The majority of the Assemblymen are nice fellows, well meaning chaps, but unable to think for themselves. They vote the way the majority leader tells them to vote and never worry what it is all about. We were friendly always and often the farmers men would come to me when I was tallying their votes on bills and ask, 'Have you got me down straight, Ship?'"

"They have a beautiful library in connection with the Legislature, but so far as I have been able to find out I was the only one who took advantage of it."

"The legislators do as little work as they can. On Monday night there is a quorum. On Tuesday there are fewer. On Wednesday there usually was a quorum, and then the rush for home began. On Thursday there never was a quorum. On Friday the chaplain prayed to vacant seats. Even in the last weeks, when the delinquents were threatened with arrest, they hurried for home when the middle of the week approached."

WORLD PEACE CONFERENCE.

Plans are now being made for the calling of an international Socialist peace conference to be held at The Hague, June 29. The gathering will be in a general conference, as indicated in recent cable dispatches, as only representatives of neutral countries will attend.

Morris Hillquit, international secretary of the American Socialist Party, has announced that he will not be able to make the trip, owing to his work in the strike of garment workers in New York City. The Socialist Party national executive committee is choosing an alternative in case Hillquit is not able to attend.

Three prominent Swedish Socialist editors, Hoeglund, Ojeland, and Hedon, have been sentenced respectively to three years, 18 months and one year's imprisonment, according to dispatches from Copenhagen. The charge was that they had advised soldiers to strike if Sweden became involved in the war.

Drastic resolutions against war and condemning the military defense of neutrality were adopted by a conference of young Socialists held recently at Stockholm, Sweden. The conference recommended mass actions, culminating in a mass strike to offset the agitation and plans. Should a mass strike be insufficient, more energetic measures are recommended in support of the slogan with which the resolution concludes: "Peace at any price."

The conference asked the party executive to call extraordinary conventions and to organize steps against a war. It was following this meeting that the Stockholm authorities initiated a prosecution against the three comrades who have now been sent to prison.

While Strikes Rage, Rep. London Battles For Labor In Congress

By LUCIEN SAINT.
WASHINGTON.—Strongly pleading in the House of Representatives for a national system of social insurance, Socialist Congressman Meyer London characterized human society as "a mere aggregation of bipeds, each seeking to devour the other." "The workers," said London, "should not be asked to assume all the burden, all the risks, all the hazards of modern industry, with its accidents, occupational diseases, life-sapping intensity, with its sudden rushes and its long slacks, with its constant fears and anxieties. And in the end the worker will pay for it all."
 "I know," he continued, "that the struggle for bread will continue to be bitter, and that the emancipation of the masses can become a reality only with the abolition of the competitive system of society in which the propertyless are at the mercy of the class which controls the land and the means of production."

ARGUES FOR COMMISSION.
 London argued for his commission to investigate social insurance and formulate plans for the organization of a thoroughgoing national system. "We have learned," he said, "that society owes an obligation to compensate the worker against loss due to industrial accident. We are slowly coming to understand that occupational disease must be brought within the purview of compensation laws. Health insurance, which forms such a prolific source of profit to insurance companies and of waste to the insured should be organized on a national scale, and as a national function."
 "There is no reason why profit should be made out of misfortune. The poorest strata of society now pay to the various industrial insurance funds \$1 in order to get back 40 cents. Insurance against loss by unemployment, sickness, invalidity, and old age must be undertaken by society and not left to private corporations."
 Rep. London's speech in full was as follows:

LONDON'S SPEECH IN FULL.
 MR. LONDON. Mr. Chairman, on the 19th day of February of this year I introduced a resolution in which I asked for the appointment of a commission to investigate and formulate plans for the establishment of a national insurance fund and for the mitigation of the evil of unemployment.

We had a most interesting hearing on the resolution before the Committee on Labor in the House. Men of all political faiths appeared in support of the resolution and urged the need of a comprehensive study of the subject.

Up to 1912 there was only one political party which grasped the importance of dealing with the problem of unemployment, with health insurance, and old age pensions from a national standpoint and as national conservation measures.

THE PHRASES "SOCIAL LEGISLATION," "SOCIAL CONSCIENCE," "SOCIAL INSURANCE," are rather new to America. There is no country in the world in which the spirit of individualism is so strong as in the United States. Individualism is the narrow application of the doctrine of self-help.

"Help yourself, and never mind at whose expense," is the slogan of this philosophy. This kind of individualism assumes that every man can improve his conditions and take care of himself and his family and can rise out of poverty and destitution by personal effort.

Any effort on the part of the individual to invoke the aid of the community, and particularly of the law, is considered as repugnant to the American ideal.

Before our very eyes men have risen from poverty to opulence, from positions of insignificance to positions of prominence. We have financiers who started at shipping clerks. We have lawyers, judges, statesmen, who started in office boys with them.

What a practical example of what America and Americans can do, social legislation, social insurance, social problems, are to many utterly unintelligible expressions.

The Republic had its birth in a rebellion against an oppressive Government. Jefferson's theory that that government is best which governs least expresses perhaps better than all the books on liberty the theory of American individualism.

When this doctrine was proclaimed there were some rich in America, who were richer than others, but there were no extremely rich nor extremely poor. At least, everyone had a chance. The resources of the country were untouched. There were new lands to be occupied; opportunities were unlimited; a strong and energetic man was bound to succeed. It was a fair contest and a fair race, in which the man with ability survived.

CONDITIONS CHANGE.
 NO ONE will seriously argue that we have the same state of affairs today. Some industries have reached a stage of monopoly. No matter how able, how energetic, how self-reliant, the individual may be, he can not hope to succeed in the race against a powerful aggregation of capital. He is no longer competing with an individual who is a little richer than he is. He is called upon to compete with an aggregation of power in the form of organized capital, a tremendous, overwhelming force beyond the power of any individual to successfully contend with, and surely beyond the power of the individual to overcome.

The doctrine of self-help must be revised in the light of this new phenomenon. Instead of the good, sound philosophy which spurred on every man to exert himself to the utmost for himself and his family, so that he might some day, thru thrift and intelligence, reach a state of independence and be his own boss, there has come another kind of self-reliance. Many an able man finds that he can help himself only by placing himself in the service of organized capital. It has come to be the highest ambition, and this ambition is being fostered, to become a corporation manager, the editor of a paper backed by a powerful corporation, a corporation lawyer—in short, some kind of a corporation tool. And there is growing up a peculiarly servile and contemptible type of man, and the most contemptible of them all is perhaps the corporation lawyer.

Who is the great lawyer nowadays? Is it the man who has contributed a new thought to jurisprudence or a higher ethical conception? Is it the man who has thru the channels of legal activity enlarged the liberties of the people? No. Our great lawyers are the men who have received big fees in the service of organized capital. They are the men who guide the destinies of corporations and promote

their interests as against the interests of the people.
 Mr. McCracken, Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?
 Mr. London, Yes.
 Mr. McCracken. Would the gentleman apply that to Mr. Brandeis?

LAWYER OF THE FUTURE.
 MR. LONDON. Mr. Brandeis is one of the few lawyers who have tried to make the profession of the law nobler. He has applied his talent to plan the constitutionally of law regulating the hours of labor for women. He has tried to bring the spirit of life into the dead letter of the law. He has broken away from the old traditions of the corporation lawyer and has acted as the lawyer of the people, as the lawyer of the future.

Mr. Huddleston. Will the gentleman yield?
 Mr. London. I will.
 Mr. Huddleston. Is not that fact the reason why Mr. Brandeis is being opposed for confirmation?

Mr. Brandeis. That is the principal reason; and not on his own merits Brandeis should be confirmed because of those who oppose him. (Applause.) When Taft and Choate and Root oppose a man, be sure that man represents a noble idea, and noble principle, and a noble function for the country.

But enough of this. Modern industry is organized on such a gigantic scale that in most industries the individual capitalist must combine his capital with that of others in order to make his capital productive. He has to make more and more difficult to fight singlehanded the battle of life.

While capitalist and capitalist are forced to join in corporations, worker and worker are irresistibly driven to join in unions, farmer and farmer into granges, and the most intelligent men of all classes into the Socialist Party.

It is this new kind of self-help which seeks to accomplish the salvation of the great masses thru cooperation on the economic and on the political field that is forcing to the front a new notion, translatable into the phrases "social legislation," "social conscience," "social insurance."

SOCIAL INSURANCE PROGRAM.
 I INTEND to present to you a program of social insurance, which is part of the constructive program of the Socialist movement. Broadly speaking, the subject of social insurance can be subdivided into the following branches:

1. Unemployment insurance.
2. Sickness and disability insurance, which takes in sickness, industrial accidents, and occupational diseases.
3. Invalidity and old-age insurance.
4. Provision for widows and orphans.

The ultimate analysis social insurance carries with it obligatory insurance against the hazards of unemployment, sickness, old age, and death.

Social insurance had its origin in Germany in the eighties. The Socialist movement had not only gained a foothold there, but threatened to engulf both the capitalist class and the Monarchy. Prior to that the Iron Chancellor had hoped to crush the rising movement of the Social Democracy by repressive measures.

These repressive measures, however, were suspended; the Socialist organizations were outlawed. The Social Democrat was declared an outlaw. These repressive measures failed.

A new policy was then adopted by the Iron Chancellor and the Imperial Government. The Imperial Government undertook to wean away the masses from the Social Democracy by a series of national measures calculated to mitigate the evil conditions in industry. A comprehensive program insuring the worker against old age, sickness, invalidity, and accident, which continuously held out the promise of more thoroughgoing improvements, was offered to the workers.

The Imperial Government has again failed to check the growth of the Socialist party, numerically in Germany, but it has contributed to the development of the most efficient, most intelligent, and most healthy working class of modern days. The German Imperial Government has been spurred on by the Social Democracy. Now the whole world talks of German efficiency.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.
 LET US take up first the subject of unemployment insurance. It has long been contended by the Socialists that our present method of production and distribution involves the presence of a large army of unemployed. This army of workers ready to take any kind of a job.

There has been an average of 15,000 bankruptcies every year, and every bankruptcy means a tragedy in the home of the employee.

The creation of a new market, the disappearance of the demand for an article by the substitution of another in its stead, the springing up of a new industry, the decay of an old one—all of these things have the effect of shifting the workers from their jobs.

Unemployment, then, is not an accidental thing, but an incident of industry. It is sure to come with the application of every invention. It is sure to follow a change of the tariff. We are dealing with the effects of involuntary idleness, for which the individual worker is not and should not be held responsible.

BRASS BANDS AND CLUBS.
 AND VERY often, while tens of thousands of men walk the streets of our cities in search of work, you will hear the farmer imploring the city laborer to come and help him in gathering the harvest.

Mr. Buchanan of Illinois, Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?
 Mr. London, Yes.
 Mr. Buchanan of Illinois. Is it not a fact that in many instances the amount of money that the laborer re-

ceives while employed in the harvest field is taken up in the charges of transportation to and from the place of work?
 Mr. London. Undoubtedly. The farmer who pays the city laborer \$3 a day while he works, out after the rush is over the city laborer must fall back upon his own resources—which are nil—and finding himself without means of transportation, he only helps to glut the labor market.

Somebody has recently expressed it in this way: "The city laborer is invited to the farm with a brass band, and is driven out with a club as soon as the harvest is in."

We can not meet the problem of unemployment with spasmodic relief in temporary public works, nor by relying upon the kindness of employers who, under competitive conditions, very often can not afford to be kind, nor upon vagrancy or poor laws. Unemployment is an ever-present hazard of industry, and must be dealt with as such.

The Department of Commerce sends out daily consular reports, giving information as to trade, manufacturing, and finance all over the world. A system of unemployment exchanges covering in a complete network the entire country could be made to perform the same function for the laborer. In order that it should be successful it must be organized on a national scale and by the National Government. It must be made sufficiently elastic to enable the widest possible cooperation with the labor unions, municipal and State labor exchanges. The employment exchanges established by employers' associations are for the most part ordinary strikebreaking agencies.

NOT JOBS BUT INFORMATION.
 A NATIONAL system of unemployment exchanges will not of itself furnish jobs. It will furnish information as to the chances of work, and centralize the labor market.

The 80 public employment exchanges scattered in about 20 States offer but scant assistance. A majority of the civilized countries of Europe have come to recognize unemployment as a chronic feature of modern industrial life. Of the various methods dealing with unemployment on a permanent basis, I will just say one word about the Ghent system. The system which has its name from the city of Ghent, in Belgium, the first city to introduce it, is chiefly a subsidizing labor unions which pay out-of-work benefits. It is a purely voluntary system.

The boldest step in the direction of introducing a national system of unemployment insurance was taken in England in 1911. It may be worth while to give a brief outline as to how the English law works. The law was first made compulsory in reference to seven industries embracing about 2,400,000 workers. Each employer is required to pay into the insurance fund 2 1/2 pence a week for every worker, one-half of which he deducts from the wages of each employee. These payments are made by affixing stamps to an insurance card. The cards are obtained by the workers at the post offices or change offices. The State treasury contributes 3 1/2 cents, so that employer, employee and the Government each contribute to the insurance fund.

At the end of the first year of the operation of the insurance law there was a surplus of \$8,000,000. Six hundred thousand workers in industries to which the law was not made compulsory, applicants came voluntarily within the provisions of the law. The most remarkable thing about it all is that 30 per cent of the men who applied for aid out of the unemployment fund were in England had a short time before that established a system of unemployment exchanges—and that only 1 per cent of the total applications for relief were rejected. As the law now stands, the worker is entitled to not more than 15 weeks' unemployment benefits during any one year, 7 shillings each week. Of course, the amount is very small as compared with the American standard of living, but, as was said at the hearing, it is just 7 shillings more than nothing.

To encourage trade-unions to provide unemployment insurance the British act grants a subsidy to every union which pays a certain amount of out-of-work benefits. The entire act is based upon the fullest possible recognition of the trade-union as the agency which is best adapted to carry into effect the provisions of the law.

The unions practically act as agents for the fund. The individual member of the union makes his payments to and receives his benefits from the union, and the union is reimbursed by the national unemployment fund.

COMPULSORY ON INDUSTRY.
 It goes without saying that it would be extremely unwise to adopt in toto any European system of unemployment insurance. It must be made to conform to the higher standards of American life; it must not be permitted to destroy the individuality of the worker; it must be founded upon the broadest possible cooperation with the labor unions. Instead of being compulsory upon the individual it must be made compulsory upon industry and upon the unit of industry—the employer.

We are dealing with the effects of involuntary idleness, for which the individual worker is not and should not be held responsible.

Mr. Haugen, Mr. Chairman, I desire to yield the balance of my time to the gentleman.

Mr. Chairman. The gentleman from Iowa has five minutes remaining.

Mr. London. I thank the gentleman. We are dealing with the problem of unemployment on a national scale. Mr. Davis of Texas. Will the gentleman permit a question?

Mr. London, Yes.
 Mr. Davis of Texas. Does not the gentleman think that if we could forbid monopoly of natural opportunities

that that would solve a great deal of the unemployment in the country?
 Mr. London. Undoubtedly. I will come to that a little later. In the discussion yesterday the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Overmyer) said that we used one-fourth of the available land and the other-fourth of the land we used yielded only one-half of what could be produced by intensive farming. In the course of his remarks he also said, "We have the land and we have the brains." Yes the trouble is we have the land but utilize only one-eighth of it, and we have the brains and do not seem to use any part of them. To come back to the subject of compulsory unemployment insurance.

Upon examination, unemployment insurance will not appear as novel as it appears to be at first sight. Look at our workmen's accident compensation legislation. For years the people of the United States were indifferent to the problem of the worker injured in industrial accidents. It seemed to be such an elementary proposition that a worker injured in the course of his life should be compensated without any further discussion of agitation, and only after almost every country of Europe had introduced a method of compensating employees disabled in industry 31 States became reconciled to the principle that industry owes an obligation to the worker to at least partially compensate him for loss sustained by accident. The burden in these cases falls upon the industry itself, or upon the employer.

In less than 10 years, 31 States have adopted the principle of workmen's compensation. In New York—the announcement of the publication of a textbook consisting of six or eight volumes and upon which the author had spent many years of his life. He dealt with the fanciful theories of some of the corporation lawyers to defeat the claims of the workers for compensation.

These volumes of the old-fashioned lawyer were so much waste paper now, because of the advance of social thought in America. He had been working in the same old-fashioned decisions while the minds of the people were working in the direction of a nobler method of dealing with the victims of industry.

DEFECTIVE AND INADEQUATE.
 MOST OF these compensation laws are defective and inadequate. In most jurisdictions they still distinguish between disablement due to an industrial accident and disablement due to occupational disease.

We now all understand that employers have been forced to insure themselves in a fund, out of which the injured worker shall be paid, has resulted in a reduction of the number of accidents and in better methods of safety. In the same way inclusion of occupational diseases will work in the direction of compelling employers to improve the most sanitary conditions in industry, the health of the worker will become the concern of the employer.

It is not, then, a new theory that I am advancing when I seek to apply the principle which has been recognized in accident compensation to unemployment. Both are risks and incidents of industry.

While we provide for unemployment insurance we must not forget that the primary object is to minimize unemployment and to prevent it as much as possible. Let us make a start and we will find that no order may be introduced in industry.

EXTEND PUBLIC WORKS.
 WHY NOT begin with the extension of public works? Why not force the lands now held for speculative purposes out of the hands of the absentee landlords and put them in the hands of land sharks? Why not get busy conserving the natural resources? Conservation occupies a prominent place in the platforms of all political parties.

It is a sad reflection on the statesmanship of America that we have been thus far unable to save millions of acres of land from inundation by floods; that we have permitted the forests to be destroyed; that the building of public roads in agricultural and industrially backward sections of the country has not been organized on a systematic basis. Year in and year out river and harbor appropriations are made, all without plan, without order, without system.

Work which is essential to the very life of the nation is conducted in a haphazard manner, to the great amusement of newspaper writers, who charge Congress with "pork-barrel" legislation.

I urge that simultaneously with insurance against unemployment there should be taken up the problem of organizing the public works of the country, such as the reclamation of arid lands, reforestation, the exploitation of our natural resources, work for the prevention of floods and inundations, for the reclamation of swamp lands, the building of public

roads, canals, and similar undertakings. The present free and easy method of spending millions of dollars without any plan, with only local and temporary conditions in view, should be replaced by a permanent and national development scheme.

It is a conservative estimate that the unappropriated natural resources of the United States exceed \$30,000,000,000 in value, an average of \$300 for every man, woman, and child in the United States. But this is a commercial way of valuing things. The worth of the natural resources still in the possession of the Government of the United States is incalculably more than thirty billions.

Who can estimate the worth of natural resources which, when utilized by our Nation and not thrown away in dribbles to private owners, will give the means of life to millions of men and for generations to come? It would be like attempting to figure out in dollars and cents the value of the sun.

TWO KINDS OF VETERANS.
 I HAVE given so much time to the subject of unemployment that I will have to be brief in dealing with the other branches of the subject of social insurance—old age and sickness. Old age and invalidity insurance, just like that of our Nation and not throwing away in dribbles to private owners, will give the means of life to millions of men and for generations to come? It would be like attempting to figure out in dollars and cents the value of the sun.

We have long ago become accustomed to treat with reverence the veterans of our wars who are in need. I ask you now to treat with the same consideration the veteran of industry who is in need. There is no substantial reason why a distinction should be drawn between the man enfeebled by old age who has been rendering useful service to the country in industry or in agriculture and the former soldier.

The morality of the Bible is supposed to lie at the basis of our moral system. Respect for the aged is a precept which is inculcated in every school child. Can we afford to repudiate one of the fundamental principles of our moral system by regarding the aged? And do not forget, please, that so far as industry is concerned, men become superannuated before they become old.

It is not an unusual occurrence, to meet old professors, old teachers, and old statesmen, and the older they are the higher are they regarded by the community.

It is not so in industry. The man becomes old for the purposes of industry when for the ever-quickening processes of production make it impossible for him to exert his physical exertion with the younger man.

The very term "superannuated" shows a cynical contempt for the dignity of a human being. It conveys the notion that the superannuated has had too many years of life, more than that which he is capable of utilizing for purposes of exploitation.

If industry were conducted with some regard for human life and not (Continued on Next Page)

The American Socialist

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of the United States.
 J. L. ENGBAHL, Editor
 WALTER LAMPERSIEK, Business Mgr.
 RYAN WALKER, Cartoonist
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SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1916.

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Here in all the week's news worth while boiled down for workers so busy fighting for Socialism they do not have time to read the daily capitalist papers.

FRIDAY, APRIL 28.
 British battleship Russell sunk by mine in Mediterranean; Turks annihilate four British cavalry divisions in east of Suez Canal; fighting on French front confined to aerial and artillery combats, there being still no infantry combats, are being on.

Rising in Dublin, Ireland, continues with fighting in streets with rebels, from trenches and barricades, are being on.

International Harvester Co., in Chicago, following example of other big corporations, offers small wage raise, to lure strikers back to work.

SATURDAY, APRIL 29.
 Ten thousand British at Kut-el-Amara, Mesopotamia, surrender to Turks; move made by Gen. Townshend to prevent his troops being cut off.

"President of Irish republic" surrenders and commander, said to be James Connolly, well known Socialist, is being held in Dublin being crushed.

Thompson, Roosevelt continuing his campaign for presidential nomination, demands universal military service in speech before Illinois Bar Association.

SUNDAY, APRIL 30.
 Main body of Sinn Fein rebels in Ireland surrenders to British.

Secret diplomatic exchanges between United States and Germany indicate Kaiser has no desire to break relations with this country.

MONDAY, MAY 1.
 President Wilson suffers overwhelming defeat when house of representatives, by vote of 213 to 185, declares aimed withdrawal from Philippine Islands within specified time.

Germany in confident break with U. S. will be avoided and friendly settlement of submarine issue reached.

Europe's purchases of war materials in United States totaled \$346,000,000 at end of first 20 months of war.

TUESDAY, MAY 2.
 British claim revolt in Ireland is at an end, but martial law will be maintained; bill for immediate conscription to be introduced in British house of commons.

French take first line trenches of Germans at Dead Man's Hill and southeast of Fort Douaumont.

New South Wales minister resigns owing to unwillingness of members to put into effect abolition of upper house as demanded by Labor Party.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 3.
 United States troops remain in Mexico for month or two and then will be withdrawn; hunt of Villa by Americans to cease at once, army being withdrawn north and concentrated at Colonia Dublan.

Negotiations practically concluded for purchase of West Indies by United States for \$5,000,000.

Germany completes draft of reply to American note; answer defining exact position on submarine warfare to be sent immediately.

Four leaders in Irish revolt executed in Tower of London; three others sentenced to prison.

THURSDAY, MAY 4.
 J. M. Sullivan of New York, former American minister to Dominican Republic, arrested in Dublin for complicity in Irish revolt.

Congress said it would cost \$800,000,000 to make United States second rate naval power.

Reports from Germany indicate Kaiser's reply to Pres. Wilson's note on submarine warfare may open path to peace; note makes considerable concessions.

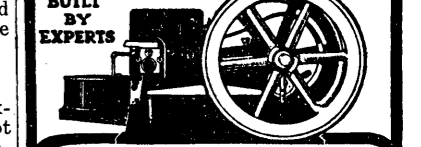
Four more Irish rebels executed and 15 given prison terms; Dublin under martial law.

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 N.B.—SEND FOR CATALOGUE ON SOCIALIST LITERATURE.

London Urges National Plan Of Insurance For Workers

(Continued from Preceding Page)

not insoluble. Accident insurance has been established throughout Europe and in 31 States of the Union. Compulsory sickness insurance has been introduced in about half of the countries of Europe, and voluntary subsidized sickness insurance in five or six other countries of Europe. Compulsory old-age insurance exists in 10 European countries, including Great Britain, France, and Germany. Unemployment insurance is rapidly spreading in large European cities and exists by national law in three countries of Europe. A beginning has been made in some countries in introducing widows' and orphans' pensions.

BOSS NOT INTERESTED.

THE QUESTION which will become of the aged is no concern of the employer. All that the employer is concerned about is that his overhead charges will be increased if he maintains in his establishment a man who turns out less than others. Nor is the fact that some railroad companies and other large corporations have introduced old-age funds of much avail. When the private corporation establishes an old-age fund it practically says to the employee: "As long as you will be submissive during the days of your vigor and virility, when you are capable of demanding and enforcing your rights, and as long as our will will be law for you in your days of youth and strength, we will give you a little something when you reach the age of 50 or 60—after 15, or 20, or 30 years of continuous employment with us." This is not an old-age pension. This is a tuft of hay held out to a mule.

Other civilized countries have attacked this problem with the result that the treatment of the aged exists in Germany and France; old-age pensions in Denmark, Great Britain, France, Australia, and New Zealand; and a subsidized system of old-age insurance in Italy, Belgium, Serbia, and Spain.

In England, when the old-age pensions law was adopted, it was found that the treatment of the aged in the past had been so inhuman that fully one-half of the aged were entitled to pensions under the new system. I wonder if the statesmen of the United States will wait until a similar condition confronts us here?

SICKNESS insurance.

covering every form of disability, whether due to industrial or to nonindustrial causes, is again a problem which is soluble only by the community as a whole. We have learned that society owes an obligation to compensate the worker against loss due to industrial accident.

We are slowly coming to understand that occupational disease must be brought within the purview of compensation laws. Health insurance, which forms such a prolific source of profit to insurance companies and of waste to the insured should be organized on a national scale and as a national function.

Insurance against loss by unemployment, sickness, invalidity, and old age must be undertaken by society and not left to private corporations. I have given a brief outline of the subject of social insurance, which is part of the constructive program of the Socialist Party. I have not by any means exhausted the subject. The Balkan States. Their anti-militarism is unlimited.

"KILL THE BOY SCOUT MOVEMENT" SHOULD BE THE SLOGAN OF EVERY SOCIALIST

Through the instrumentality of this movement capitalism is preparing a mail fist with which to crush the rising proletariat. A booklet by Sam Gilleland—"The Boy Scout Movement a Menace to Civilization" is dealing death blows to this internal organization. What others say of the booklet: "Send me up fifty copies of the Boy Scout exposure. You certainly struck a real nail in the middle of the snake's head when you wrote that booklet." Dr. S. A. Herington, Plummer, Ida.

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National Executive Committee
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ADOLPH GERMER, Mount Olive, Ill.
GEORGE H. GOEBEL, 14 Bridge St., New York, N. Y.
EMIL SEIDEL, 1154 Twentieth St., Milwaukee, Wis.
ARTHUR LE SUEUR, Fort Scott, Kans.
Address all communications to The Socialist Party, 909 West Madison St., Chicago. Address all mail to departments and not to individuals. Make remittances payable to the Socialist Party.

Proposed National Referendum.
By Branch Austin, Local Orange Co., Cal. As an amendment to the National Constitution of the Socialist Party, to be known as Article II, Section 7.

Any Socialist may be admitted to the branch as a social member without the payment of dues. Upon the membership of the branch, social members will have voice only in local matters.

Seconded by: JUDSONIA, ARK.: (Proposing that the Socialist Party of the United States be reorganized on the basis of the universal language, preferred by the Executive Committee, March 4, 1916.)

By RICHMOND, WASH.: (Proposing that the Socialist Party of the United States be reorganized on the basis of the universal language, preferred by the Executive Committee, March 11, 1916.)

By BR. No. 1, SUPERIOR, WIS.: (Proposing that the party publish a bulletin to contain official business and an open forum for the discussion of party affairs. First published March 18, 1916.)

By ALBANY, N. Y.: (Proposing that the party publish a bulletin to contain official business and an open forum for the discussion of party affairs. First published March 22, 1916.)

By WOMEN'S BRANCH, POLISH COOK CO., ILL.: (Proposing that the national organization issue a special stamp for women, to be sold at 10 cents. First published, April 1, 1916.)

By WINNIE, MINN.: (Proposing that all disagreements between party members, especially those nominated for office, be taken up and investigated and the facts made public through the party owned paper. First published, April 15, 1916.)

By GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.: (Proposing a semi-annual assessment of dues upon all party members, to cover the expense of publishing The American Socialist, the paper to be sent to every member in good standing without further charge. First published, April 21, 1916.)

By LOCAL OMAHA, NEBR.: (Proposing that the party publish a bulletin to contain official business and an open forum for the discussion of party affairs. First published, April 14, 1916.)

By LETTICH BR., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.: (Proposing that the party publish a bulletin to contain official business and an open forum for the discussion of party affairs. First published, April 14, 1916.)

By LOCAL ATTICA, IND.: (Proposing that the party publish a bulletin to contain official business and an open forum for the discussion of party affairs. First published, April 21, 1916.)

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Proctor, Vt., 18; Gardner, Mass., 230; San Francisco, Calif., 17; total membership represented, 1243.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE BUSINESS.

Comment on Pleading No. 12.
On Motion No. 12.

"That in the event Motion No. 11 is lost, the National Committee shall meet in special session on the 15th of May 10 A.M. Des Rocher: The party at large elect a National Committee to meet once a year with the specific duty of looking after the general affairs of the party and that only by doing so by meeting in a body to discuss all issues. It cannot be done properly through sub-committees and referenda. Let us get together and do business and as co-committees who are retarding the will of the majority by either voting on important questions, they should either resign or be recalled.

Goebel: I vote "NO" because of a conviction that a meeting means simply a gabfest at a cost of five thousand dollars, with nothing to show for it. I would rather have a still bigger gabfest several months of the campaign period. Let's wait until we have the qualifications of either Thompson or Germer. Other members of Local Missoula are just as much at sea. I venture the assertion that more than half voted on this referendum that have no idea of the meaning of the word "referendum" and are in total ignorance regarding the qualifications of these two comrades to conduct this most important office.

That kind of work is a travesty on democracy. To require the membership to vote on men and measures of which they are ignorant and where they cannot inform themselves foredooms the experiment to failure.

The Executive Committee meets at the National headquarters in Chicago. The members of this committee are in a position to conduct the Executive Committee of the national office. It is their business to know. They can vote for an Executive Secretary with some degree of knowledge as to what they are doing. Besides, the Executive Secretary at all times works in harmony and accord with the other departments. That is a necessary condition, even with the most competent officials, if results are to be accomplished.

The membership will still be in a position to safeguard the interests of the party. They elect the membership. They have the right at all times to recall the Executive Secretary and any or all members of the Executive Committee. They can require the National Office to carry out their will.

Our hope is in the party membership. By our democratic method of a workable instrument.—JOHN H. McGUFFEY, Missoula, Mont.

REMEMBER THE PARTY.—By the time this gets to the press the voting for members of the N. E. C. and National Secretary will be over though the results are not known. Do not let us take over the party. Let us make it to influence votes not to bid for favor.

As one who was a candidate for National Secretary, whether elected or not, I hope that the pronounced feeling injected into the election will end with the election. Let every member will work zealously for the party, not only to score a sweeping victory at the coming Presidential election, but to build up a strong organization for the battles that will be fought thereafter, until our final goal is achieved.

I should rather not be elected National Secretary if that would keep the membership active and harmonious. I would rather have an active, militant, harmonious Socialist Party than be National Secretary.

In the interest of our cause we must elect a National Secretary. Carl D. Thompson or Adolph Germer and remember that there is a Socialist Party, a working class political organization, that is infinitely more important than any member in it.

No National Secretary nor National Executive Committee can conduct the affairs of the Party successfully unless they have the hearty support and co-operation of the membership.

Whether it be Thompson or Germer as Secretary, and Hillquit, Berger et al. as Executive Committee, we must work on consistently and persistently to make the future belong to us.—ADOLPH GERMER, Mount Olive, Ill.

AN APPEAL TO PREJUDICE.—Please allow me to call the attention of your readers to an editorial which appeared in the Milwaukee Leader, April 15, which brings out certain facts that all our members should know, and expresses the views I wish to present.

In an editorial in the New York Volkszeitung of March 23, that paper attempts to prejudice the party members against Carl D. Thompson on the ground that he is an ex-preacher, and prohibitionist and to boost in his stead Adolph Germer for being a class-conscious working man.

Now, as a matter of fact, Comrade Thompson is not a prohibitionist, and he has never tried to commit the Socialist party to prohibition. He has merely as a member of a socialist party committee stated the two sides of the question. That in his opinion more sound arguments can be given in favor of temperance than in favor of drinking.

The records of the party are open. We challenge the Volkszeitung to prove from the party records that Comrade Thompson ever tried to commit the Socialist party to the position, that the church is a friend of the working class, or that the introduction of prohibition would be for the benefit of the community.

The Socialist party has refused to endorse national prohibition, but it has not declared that a man must use liquor or any beverage before he can become a member or officer of the Socialist party.

Thompson is as class-conscious as Germer. His being an ex-preacher does not make him less of a class-conscious proletarian. The overwhelming mass of preachers outside the Catholic church are worse paid than a wage worker receiving the lowest union scale. This is a matter of common knowledge.

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Letters from "American Socialist" Readers

DEMOCRACY.—The controversy over the election of our Executive Secretary has been a disgrace to the party. It has done harm to the cause. It has stirred up strife and bickering that will not soon be forgotten.

One lesson that I get, is that the Executive Secretary should be elected by the National Executive Committee and not by the party membership. I confess that I voted without knowing anything definite about the causes of the trouble and I know nothing as to the qualifications of either Thompson or Germer. Other members of Local Missoula are just as much at sea.

I venture the assertion that more than half voted on this referendum that have no idea of the meaning of the word "referendum" and are in total ignorance regarding the qualifications of these two comrades to conduct this most important office.

That kind of work is a travesty on democracy. To require the membership to vote on men and measures of which they are ignorant and where they cannot inform themselves foredooms the experiment to failure.

The Executive Committee meets at the National headquarters in Chicago. The members of this committee are in a position to conduct the Executive Committee of the national office. It is their business to know. They can vote for an Executive Secretary with some degree of knowledge as to what they are doing. Besides, the Executive Secretary at all times works in harmony and accord with the other departments. That is a necessary condition, even with the most competent officials, if results are to be accomplished.

The membership will still be in a position to safeguard the interests of the party. They elect the membership. They have the right at all times to recall the Executive Secretary and any or all members of the Executive Committee. They can require the National Office to carry out their will.

Our hope is in the party membership. By our democratic method of a workable instrument.—JOHN H. McGUFFEY, Missoula, Mont.

REMEMBER THE PARTY.—By the time this gets to the press the voting for members of the N. E. C. and National Secretary will be over though the results are not known. Do not let us take over the party. Let us make it to influence votes not to bid for favor.

As one who was a candidate for National Secretary, whether elected or not, I hope that the pronounced feeling injected into the election will end with the election. Let every member will work zealously for the party, not only to score a sweeping victory at the coming Presidential election, but to build up a strong organization for the battles that will be fought thereafter, until our final goal is achieved.

I should rather not be elected National Secretary if that would keep the membership active and harmonious. I would rather have an active, militant, harmonious Socialist Party than be National Secretary.

In the interest of our cause we must elect a National Secretary. Carl D. Thompson or Adolph Germer and remember that there is a Socialist Party, a working class political organization, that is infinitely more important than any member in it.

No National Secretary nor National Executive Committee can conduct the affairs of the Party successfully unless they have the hearty support and co-operation of the membership.

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PROPOSITION GOOD ONE.

The proposition of separating the official business from the propaganda and making two papers is a good one and we believe that it will help build up The American Socialist. My own experience shows that the official business is very seldom read by even the membership. It would be a good plan to allow the membership to subscribe, say 10c a year for the Party Builder and issue it monthly. Half of the Washington Party Builders that are published are never read and it is only a waste of money publishing something that somebody does not want. On every application card should be printed the proposition of whether the applicant wishes to subscribe to the Party Builder or not. If they do then the money can be collected by the secretary and forwarded to the National Office. A sub card attached to the application card should be convenient.—HENRY W. WATTS, Northwest Worker, Everett, Wash.

FAVORS NATIONAL KICKER.

It is to be hoped that the attempt to do away with the Open Forum in our National organ meets with defeat. I fully agree with the opinion that a paper, in which not only the minutes of the executive business of the party, but also the rows between the factions and the unstinted criticisms of one another is published, makes a poor propaganda paper to distribute among the proscribes. But then, why

MAKE EVERY SOCIALIST VOTER AN AMERICAN SOCIALIST READER

THE LAST TIME. This week the order blank for the HENRY DUBB EDITION is being published for the last time. This edition is good for distribution as long as there is a Henry Dubb left in the land. A supply of this edition will be kept on hand to fill your order if it arrives soon. So get on the job! Send in your order!

ROLL OF HONOR

Comrade William F. Greene, of Moline, Ill., subscribes for six months and gets that book by the Socialist mayor of Milwaukee, Daniel W. Hoan, entitled, "Regulation—A Fraud and a Failure"

The Great Struggle

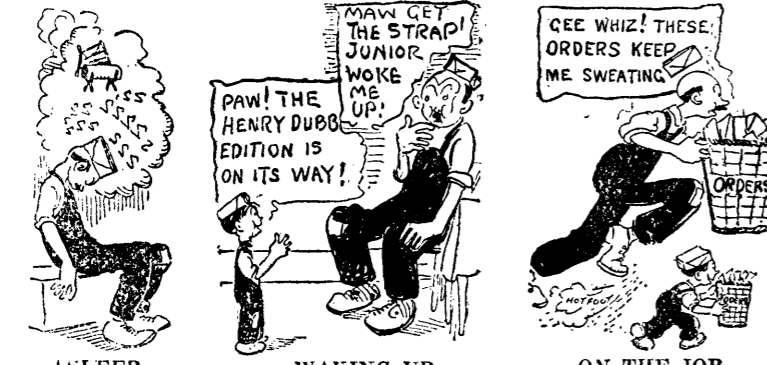
By EDMUND R. BRUMBAUGH.

The class struggle is the great struggle. None other can compare with it. Most other struggles are parts of it or are governed by it. Great issues are involved in it; great principles are at stake. Upon the outcome depends the further development of our civilization.

IN STRUGGLE is the secret of racial advancement. Much of it in the past has been accompanied by trial and hardship and suffering untold, but such have not been essential to advancement; the principal work of the trial and hardship and suffering has been but to hinder. Starvation is never the secret of character and achievement. Poverty does not promote efficiency in the highest sense of that word.

THE DOCTRINE of the class struggle has been much denounced. Theodore Roosevelt called "class consciousness" "a hateful thing." But out of this "hateful thing," notwithstanding, will blossom the loveliest flowers of heart and mind and soul. Out of the class struggle will come the end of classes, out of an imperfect industrial system a more perfect one, out of discord harmony, out of strife peace.

Wake Up The Henry Dubbs!



Henry Dubb Edition Order Blank

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago.

I'm with you in your campaign to get one million Henry Dubbs to read the HENRY DUBB EDITION of The American Socialist. I am enclosing \$..... to pay for the following:

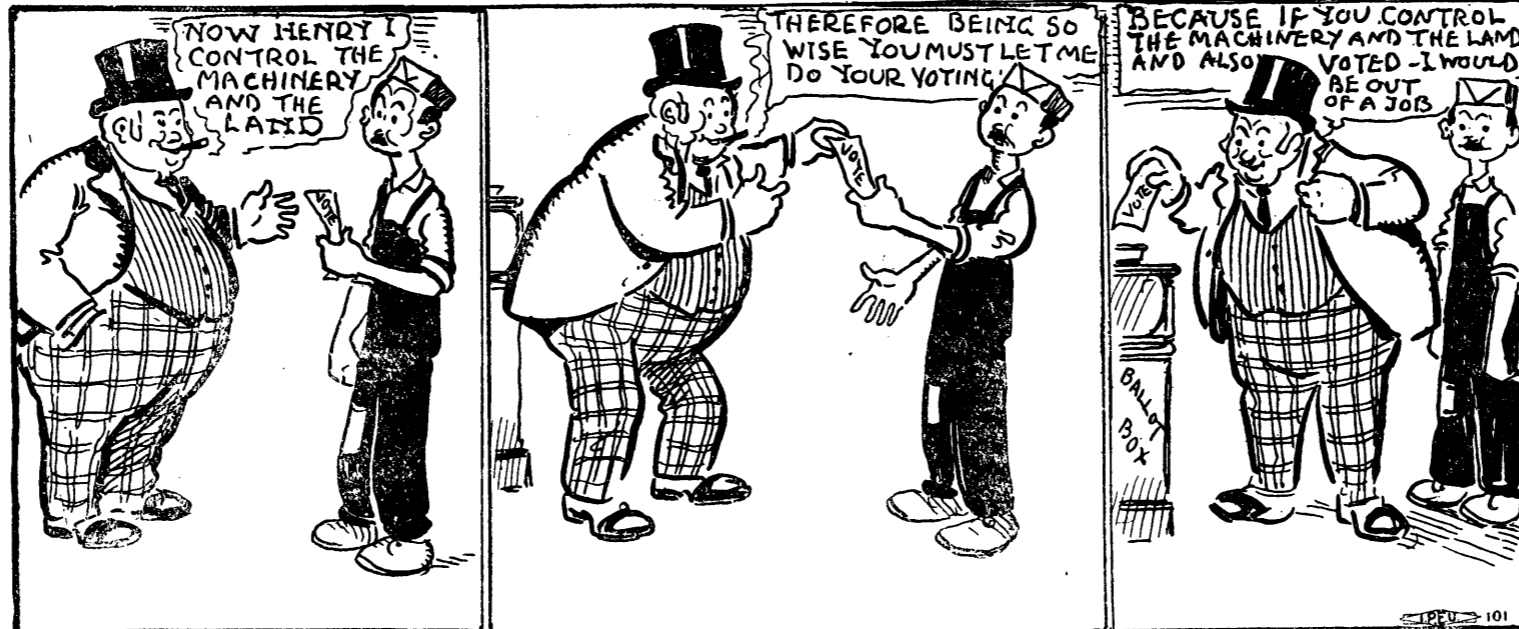
PLAN NO. ONE. copies of the HENRY DUBB EDITION to be sent to the address below at the rate of one half cent a copy.

PLAN NO. TWO. copies of the HENRY DUBB EDITION to be sent to the list of names and addresses enclosed at the rate of three-fourths of a cent a copy.

PLAN NO. THREE. copies of the HENRY DUBB EDITION to be distributed by The American Socialist's volunteers where they will do the most good.

NAME ADDRESS CITY STATE NOTE.—Fill in the above carefully and mail at once.

Henry Dubb And His Ballot



By Ryan Walker

The Million Dime Column

Conducted by MAX SHEROVER. Total number of dimes received up to and including Saturday, May 6: 20,001

This makes a gain of 1,119 dimes for the past week. DIME BANK DIVISION ORGANIZED. Over 200 banks are already in the hands of gunners and new applications for membership in this division of the army come in with every mail.

879,999 Dimes Needed. We are that many dimes short of the million. And this shortage in munitions must be supplied between now and the start of the campaign. You can't fight without munitions. Don't expect the party to put up a rip roaring, sky-rocket and victorious campaign unless you are willing to do your full share in furnishing the munitions to do it with.

Additional Recruiting Officers of the 1,000,000 Dime Army:

- G. Boling, St. Louis, Mo. F. Tate, Toledo, O. W. S. Galt, Amherst, N. Y. M. L. Darbour, Pittsburgh, Pa. Charles Cathart, Santa Barbara, Cal. Dan Carson, Buell Lake, Cal. E. W. Bauer, Tulsa, Okla. Chas. Stringer, Dinuba, Cal. Alex. Padarowski, Elsie, Mich. Simon Esndahl, Minneapolis, Minn. Oscar Munson, Stillwater, Minn. John Gunka, Detroit, Mich. H. S. H. Bryan, Ohio. Joseph H. Gerch, Bradford Hills, N. Y. Edwin Stoo, Buxton, N. D. Wilbur Woods, Brainerd, Minn. Mrs. Nora Gillespie, Huntington, W. Va. W. J. Conarty, Huntington, Ind. James A. Mussetter, Los Angeles, Cal. C. Bonnickson, Briggsdale, Colo. Mrs. V. Watson, St. Francis, Kan. R. Goodman, Rochester, N. Y. Geo. W. Hira, Calexico, Cal. Edward Joossar, Fort Worth, Tex. E. M. Fairport, Ohio. S. J. Volger, Alameda, Cal. N. Sokol, Revere, Mass. W. C. Galt, Amherst, N. Y. P. Tomlinson, South Bend, Ind. W. C. Corbin, Troy, N. Y. M. L. Phillips, McDonald, Kan.

L. E. Katterfeld will be available for lectures in June, en route from Everett, Wash., to Omaha, Neb., and from Kansas City back to Portland, Ore. Locals should write to him at Box 491, Everett, Wash.

The Carpenter And The Rich Man.

A FEW copies of this book left. This was a regular dollar book, but we will send you one or more copies at the price of 50 cents postage paid.—Socialist Party, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago.

IN THE WORLD OF LABOR.

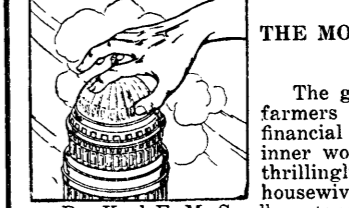
By Max S. Hayes.

WHAT with U. S. troops doing strike duty in Alaska, the militia on guard at Hastings-on-the-Hudson, the Pennsylvania Cossacks busy at Wilkesbarre, several companies of militia and hundreds of deputies active in the Pittsburgh district and elsewhere, the advocates of "preparedness" ought to be dwelling in a state of heavenly bliss at these manifestations of patriotic vigilance. The one thing lacking now to make the cup of happiness overflow is to appoint T. Roosevelt commander-in-chief of the combined field-forces.

According to El Imperesto Ilico, the platform of the Socialist party of Buenos Aires, Argentine Republic, demands a revaluation of property, exemption of buildings from taxation, withdrawal of the powers given to local authorities of taxing articles of consumption, and the abolition of various taxes which restrict industry.

A bitter fight occurred in the Glasgow, Scotland, City Council, a few days ago, when the combined opposition tried to force thru some measures that were obnoxious to the Socialist and Labor members. Ten of the latter were suspended one by one and there are 14 left, who will continue practicing less majesty against the combine of 50.

The King of the Money Kings



The great mass of people, business men and farmers are the victims of a gigantic financial conspiracy, yet are unable to trace its inner workings. This book makes it so clear, so thrillingly interesting, even the girls and the housewives see it. Dr. Karl F. M. Sandberg, specially detailed by the N.E.C., Soc. party to recommend measures and literature on the money question for the party, says of the Money Kings, after reading carefully: "I like the book. Courage and determination speaks from its every page. Read it! It will make you feel better braver; will dispel the hopelessness of despair and inspire to action. Will give you a far better understanding of our social problems and how to solve them. They 'way out' IS SHOWN. * * * Enough romance and jollification to make entertaining and fascinating reading. Pleasure and time well spent to read it."

Beautifully illustrated; 288 pp., price postpaid, \$1.25. — Address, SOCIALIST PARTY, 803 WEST MADISON STREET, CHICAGO.

WHAT CONGRESS OUGHT TO DO

Four page leaflet. We have 100,000 left and will clean them out at 50c per 1000, which will hardly pay more than express or parcel post charges. FIFTY CENTS PER THOUSAND

SOCIALIST PARTY 803 WEST MADISON STREET - - - CHICAGO

Taxes Trouble Donks

(Special Correspondence)

WASHINGTON.—Revenue for the federal government from taxing the ordinary products of industry will be the policy of Congress shortly to be announced in the form of a bill in the House. Coupled with this scheme will be a proposition to raise more money from the income tax law—not too much to scare the rich, and not enough to do much with.

Any way they turn the Democrats are up against it on the revenue proposition. On one side they run into the Republicans who tell them that if they hadn't fooled with the tariff, there would be plenty of money for the expenses of the Government. This is the fact, for imports are larger than ever before, but no revenue is derived from them. On the other side they run into the radicals who tell them that it spells economic disaster to tax things like beer, gasoline, telephone calls, checks, and so forth, merely adding burdens to the cost of living.

Dodge Inheritance Tax.

Between these two fires the Democrats are dodging a stiff inheritance tax, which would easily give plenty of money, a rigid enforcement of the income tax, which, experts reckon, would bring in hundreds of millions of hidden funds, and government ownership schemes, which would reduce the cost of living and bring in steady streams of supply money.

Even a moderate extension of the parcel post would not only boom farming and cut into the distress in the cities but it would produce some \$20,000,000 for Uncle Sam's depleted treasury. Instead of doing this, Congress is actually trying to prevent any extension at all.

A government-owned merchant marine would not only cut freight rates in two, but it would bring in millions of dollars of profits to the people of the country.

Government development of the water-power resources of the country would not only reduce the power of the Power Trust, but it would result in hundreds of thousands of dollars of revenue for Washington.

Government development of the oil and gas resources of the public lands would deal a staggering blow to Standard Oil, and would also bring in revenue.

Can Easily Get Revenue. On every hand lie plenty of opportunities for revenue without cost to the people—except to the few exorbitant—and yet Wilson is going ahead obstinately to conjure up funds for his salary and the operations of the government by means of stamps stuck onto common things of daily use. But this is Democratic policy from time immemorial—taxation and issuing bonds.

The interests of the working class are being jeopardized by the Democrats in this respect.

STALL ON SUFFRAGE QUESTION

WASHINGTON.—In vain the women suffragists are working on Congress to secure action on the amendment to the constitution enfranchising women. Neither the Democratic nor the Republican parties, neither the House nor the Senate will consider suffrage seriously. Each and every politician, from the President down does nothing but stall, stall, stall.

Two active lobbies have been engaged in Washington for more than three years. These lobbies are composed of women, are financed by women, and their object is to secure the vote for women thru the passage of a Joint Resolution enfranchising women in exactly the same way the negroes were enfranchised after the Civil War.

Southern sentiment and states rightism has been aroused against this amendment, for the reconstruction days and the menace of federal power are still fresh in the memories of many politicians. The women however, are declaring that if the negro should be given the vote, they should be given it, and this answer is unanswerable.

Senate More Progressive. The amendment has been reported to the Senate, and every time it has come up under the regular rules for debate, some bright-eyed servant of reactionarism in the shape of a portly old solon always have their hand raised and the women watchfully waiting in the gallery, go back to their homes or offices and try it all over again.

As a matter of fact, the Senate is more progressive on woman suffrage than the House is, and there is more chance of passage by the Senate than by the House.

As a threat which they plan to

Current Comment By Walter Thomas Mills. AUTHOR OF "DEMOCRACY OR DESPOTISM"

THE IRISH REBELLION. IN THE midst of the unutterable European darkness, there is seen but a single ray of light.

THE ONLY war which is ever justifiable is a war for liberty. And, even then, it is justifiable only as a last resort. Slavery is worse than death. To die, even in a hopeless battle for freedom, is not so pitiful as to submit to slavery. Liberty is better than life, for without liberty life itself is a misfortune. Slavery is worse than death, for slavery means the loss of all the blessedness of life, while all its burdens and misfortunes still survive.

A WORLD-WIDE SURRENDER. ALL OVER Europe Democracy has been surrendered at home in order that the oppressor might retain or extend his power to oppress, away from home.

Even the special provisions made for the housing and the feeding of the families of the absent soldiers have been made with the distinct understanding that they are temporary concessions, made by the masters, and to remain in force only so long as the soldier is needed away from home. They have been granted with a standing notice that they are to last only until the soldiers return, when they are to be made again the victims of industrial exploitation, to suffer again in the future from industrial disaster and social neglect as they have suffered in all the past.

The patriotic fervor which has led many millions of European workers to walk without faltering into the open grave, has been on the part of the workers a blind devotion to a great ideal; but on the part of the masters of men it has been the deliberate slaughter of the many to promote or to defend the private interests of the few.

NOT SO IN IRELAND. THE REBELLION in Ireland is not an incident of the war, originated in Germany to embarrass an enemy by fostering rebellion in an enemy's country.

The struggle for liberty in Ireland has been an age-long struggle. The constructive Home Rulers on the one hand, and the exploiting reactionaries on the other were organized, equipped and ready to fly at each others throats. Then it was thought that the war in Europe had diverted attention from the situation in Ireland and by uniting the British people in a war away from home had averted civil war at home.

The street fighting in Dublin is not part of the infamous butchery on the Continent. It is another chapter in the long struggle for the deliverance

are Home Rulers. While among the masters the Edward Carson rebellion was nourished and supported by a combination of the old exploiters of Irish labor in Irish factories and on the Irish docks by both Catholics and Protestants alike neither seeking for the glory of religion, but all seeking for the power to exploit the workers, Catholics and Protestants alike.

The old flag of Ireland was a Green Flag; the flag of the rising Industrial Democracy, the flag just hoisted in Ireland over her public buildings, and defended not by her rabble but by her best and most devoted sons, bore the three stripes of the green, the orange and the white. The disinterested devotion of the white, the industrial independence and Irish solidarity of both the yellow of the Orangemen and the green of ancient Ireland proclaim the nature of this contest in a banner never before equalled in its exact expression of the idea for the sake of which it gave itself to the free air above scenes of bloodshed.

HOME RULE. SINCE the old time struggle for Irish deliverance from the consequences of British conquest the whole world has learned the better way of promoting the extension of social solidarity by federation rather than by conquest.

In keeping with this general worldwide movement the growing demands for Irish independence naturally shifted to the more moderate and more rational demand for Irish Home Government. It had been discovered that Scotland, Wales and the larger British Divisions within England itself were quite as much in need of Home Rule as was Ireland. During the last few years the movement had taken root by which all of the great ancient subdivisions of the British Isles were to be restored the rights of local self-government.

The historic special powers inherent in the special privileges of British landlords had been overthrown in a series of British elections and the House of Lords had just been denied its power any longer to delay the advances of British Democracy.

THE RISE OF LABOR. IN ALL of the British Municipalities, in Scotland and Wales, as well as in Ireland, the chief instrument in the delay of progress is the lack of power in any of these municipalities to build a sewer, to improve the schools, to enlarge the parks, or to provide for rational housing conditions without in every instance waiting for an Act of Parliament.

Home Rule for Ireland came to mean Home Rule for all the rest of the British Empire. And Home Rule meant the final and absolute loss of the power to defeat Democratic proposals thru the dilatory tactics of pretending to do nothing for lack of time and in that way continuing to do the wrong thing.

Home Rule had been finally achieved by Parliamentary action. The power of the House of Lords by legal authority to veto the National Will had been abolished. But in Ireland the Labor Party had arisen and in Ireland to a more marked degree than almost anywhere else in the English speaking world the Labor Movement was so serious, too determined and too intelligent to be trifled with.

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY. THE LABOR movement in Ireland was becoming at one and the same time both Industrial and Political. The same organization which spoke for Labor at the ballot box, spoke also for Labor in every industrial controversy. Over and over again, having no other means of defending their interests, the labor organizations had fought out their battles in great Industrial Uprisings and had achieved great victories.

Immediately following the final adoption of the Home Rule legislation, the Irish Labor Party started a campaign of organization which in the number of added memberships was never before equalled anywhere. It was this organization which in the first time the party of Labor, was able absolutely to eliminate in an Industrial dispute sectarian controversies. In its ranks the Irish Methodist, the Irish Presbyterian, the Irish Catholic and the Irish agnostic were all of them Irish workers, united in the defense of their political and industrial rights, known at last to be of equally vital importance to them all.

INSURRECTION ORGANIZED. IT WAS at this time that Edward Carson started his famous military organization to defy the power of the British armies to establish in Ireland Industrial Democracy when at last it was plainly seen would be the certain result of the Home Rule measure if put into actual operation.

Following the challenge of Mr. Carson, the Irish Labor party proceeded to equip itself with rifles, not in an effort to defy the British Government, but to offer Irish assistance by force of arms if necessary, in enforcing in Ireland the laws already enacted by the British Parliament but indirectly in behalf of Irish Industrial Democracy.

It is only by a misunderstanding of the facts, a misunderstanding which has been deliberately promoted by a reactionary British propaganda, that this dispute has been misunderstood to involve a warfare between the Catholics and the Protestants. The overwhelming majority of the Protestants even in the Belfast District

E. R. Meitzen, Socialist candidate for governor in Texas, and W. S. Noble, will make an automobile tour of central and western Texas during May and June.

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