

Fifty Thousand Cheer Campaign's Start

WE HAVE entered the fight for this year. Fifty thousand throats cheered the beginning of the 1916 Socialist national campaign at Riverview Park, Chicago, Sunday, June 18. While the throngs were applauding the Socialist candidates, at Chicago's big amusement resort, the party national executive committee was working on the 1916 national platform and making ambitious plans for the campaign. It may be possible to publish the proposed draft of the platform next week, in addition to the details of the work outlined for this year's gigantic struggle against the political forces of capitalism.

ADDRESS OF ALLAN L. BENSON, Socialist Candidate For President.

CITIZENS of Chicago: A few moments ago I met a very insistent young man, whom I am compelled to believe is a typical citizen of the United States. He came to me while I was doing some work, and in less time than I can tell it had gotten me out of the meeting where I was, and whisked me out here in a machine, nearly running down four or five persons in the process. I say that he is a typical American, because I think it is a characteristic of the American citizen that he wants results quickly when he starts out. He is impatient of delay, and must have results.

I think that desire to get quick results is shown particularly in our political activities. No American, if he knows himself, will ever engage in any political undertaking that he is not, in his own mind, confident will produce the desired results in a very short time. That is why the great majority of the American voters will have little or nothing to do with the Socialist Party. They want speed—they want results. Socialism, is too slow.

The other day I ran across some very significant information with regard to that form of political rapid transit that we get from the Republican and the Democratic parties. Down in Washington there is a Public Health Bureau. That Bureau from time to time issues bulletins with regard to the physical condition of the people of the country. A few weeks ago Bulletin Number 76, signed by one of the doctors under the Surgeon General, was issued, which declared that investigations made by the government proved that no family can keep in physical condition—that is to say, avoid physical deterioration—unless it is in receipt of an annual income, of at least \$800. This report goes on also to state that more than half of the workingmen's families in the United States have an average annual income of less than \$750; one-third of the families of American working men have annual incomes of less than \$500; and one family out of twelve among the families of the American working men, has an annual income of only \$300 a year.

WORKERS DON'T GET FOOD ENOUGH.

NOW, we have been voting in this country for about 127 years. We have never elected a Socialist administration. We have always elected one or another of the capitalist rapid-transit political routes. These various administrations who have served us have always assured us at the expiration of their periods of service that they have performed miracles of service for the American people; that they have done this, that and the other thing, in the way of serving us.

Now, let us do a little calculating here. In what condition was the working class of this country 127 years ago, if we have been constantly improving by our rapid-transit political methods for 127 years, and more than half of us cannot get enough to eat, and one-third of us have only \$500 a year for our whole families, and one family in twelve has only \$300 a year? The physical deterioration which is produced by insufficient and poor food produces its

inevitable effects upon our physical structure. Proof of it—very concrete proof of it—is furnished in the experience of our medical examiners in considering applicants for admission into the United States army. A few months ago Congress passed a law providing for the increase of our standing army to the extent of 20,000 men. In the first 57 days during which enlistments were in progress there were 50,000 applications for admission into the army. Those applicants were examined by the medical examiners—who are not Socialists—nor had they anything to do with the drawing up of the report of which I have spoken, which shows that more than half of the families are not getting enough to keep their bodies in good condition. Yet, what did those medical examiners find? They found that four out of every five of those young men of this country were in such physical condition that they could not pass our army requirements. That is the kind of rapid transit we have got from the old parties.

NOTHING TO BE PROUD OF.

NOW, YOU do not want to stop to consider Socialism, because you are in too much of a hurry to do that. How long do you think it is going to take you to get anywhere politically along the route you are taking? If we could go back and consult our great grandfathers now—and I presume that most of us here had at one time great grandfathers—do you suppose that they would look upon us with pride if they were to learn that in 127 years, during which there had been the most wonderful progress in invention and science, the most wonderful progress in those methods and processes which enable us to produce wealth cheaply, we had only reached a point where less than half of our working men could get enough to eat? What would our great grandfathers say of our wisdom and our success if we were to tell them that? Would they be proud of us? Would they have any reason to be? In those days, the days of our great grandfathers, if we can take the word of men like Benjamin Franklin for it,—they had enough to eat. Franklin tells us that times were good during the period of the Articles of Confederation, which immediately preceded our Constitution; and that men had at that time enough to eat. True, they did not have the conveniences and luxuries; but they did have one thing which was at that time a necessity, but which is becoming now almost a luxury; and that was food and shelter. (Applause.)

DEMOCRATIC PROMISES FRUITLESS.

NOW, I would like to say this in conclusion, before I go back to my job: The Democratic platform, if you will look at it carefully, cites the fact that all of the measures for which Mr. Wilson stood four years ago, when he was first a candidate, have been enacted into law. I may say, in a parenthetical manner, that I believe Mr. Wilson, so far as carrying out platform pledges is concerned, has kept faith in a manner in which few presidents have kept faith. But I think that the extent to which he has kept faith is the best possible proof of the impotence of his program. He has put his program into practice, but we have the demonstration before us that it is worthless. Times were bad and continued bad, notwithstanding his political program, until that awful calamity in Europe presented such a market to American goods that we were surfeited with wealth, and business was compelled to go ahead. If you can get an assurance from him that you will live so long that Methuselah will seem like a child beside you, go on voting as you have been voting, and you may get what you want before you get thru. I thank you. (Applause.)

in Pullman the same thing took place. Men there had Pullman cars placed at their service, and they rode down town to join the parade. They had been building those cars for countless years, but most of them never had ridden in one until the day of that event. They at least now know how those cars look inside while they are in motion.

BREED PATRIOTISM WITH THREATS.

THE Socialists protest against a condition where great manufacturing concerns, industrial concerns and business concerns have to threaten to take their positions away from men and women for the purpose of arousing in them a love of country. If conditions do not bring about an affection, a regard and a loyalty, then we believe that conditions should be so changed that the great mass of men will have a real interest in their country, to fight for it and maintain it.

We realize that the only party which stands for peace is the party that makes peace profitable. The only party that can make peace pay is the party that stands for a system where there is no profit in warfare.

We realize that the old parties, making dividends and profit the logical and natural result of warfare, stand as potential and silent advocates of wholesale murder.

We realize that they cannot talk peace, and at (Continued On Page Two, Column Five.)

FREEDOM FOR THE WORKING CLASS, THE ISSUE, VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE POINTS OUT IN GREAT SPEECH

ADDRESS BY GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK Vice Presidential Candidate.

COMRADES and Friends: It is most important that at this early stage in the present campaign we should with all possible clearness get in mind one matter, the one matter, of supreme importance in the conduct of a political campaign such as we always propose, a campaign, not of obscurity, but of education; and that one thing is this, precisely this, the issue. In all our speeches, editorials, leaflets, and pamphlets, the one big thing of superlative importance to be ever boldly and clearly thrust to the front is: the issue, a clear idea of the issue.

And thus I would announce my theme for this occasion. Later in the campaign I hope to have opportunity to speak more at length, but on this occasion, having been preceded by several speakers, I dare speak but briefly. Long or short, my speech shall be on the issue.

WHAT IS THE ISSUE?

WHAT I wish to discuss is: an answer to this following question; namely, In this campaign of the year 1916, here in the United States, what is the issue?

What indeed is the issue? I am thoroughly convinced that when the working class clearly understand what the real issue is they will utterly demolish those shameless political betrayers of the working class known as the Democratic party and the Republican party and the Progressive party, and march straight into the light and welfare of a new order and a new era.

I have here in my hand a newspaper containing the platforms of the Democratic party and of the Republican party. It seems that that piscatorial creation, the Progressive party, conceived at Oyster Bay in the brain of a shark, and built on the architectural lines of a cr-wish, with the deserved fate of a sucker, is not likely to have a platform at all. So these highly elaborated paragraphs, covering a large newspaper page, constitute the platforms of those aged political bunk-pedlars that will be opposed to the Socialist party in the present campaign. I have read these platforms carefully. I have done so to the end that I might, if possible, discover what the Democratic party and the Republican party conceived to be the issue in the present campaign. They are truly wonderful documents in respect to this particular matter, for with perfect cunning they successfully avoid any statement of the issue—indeed they do not even mention the issue. The truth is that they are documents for the concealment of the main issue.

SEES THEM DOWN AND OUT.

I SINCERELY believe that the managers, of the Democratic Party and the Republican Party, and the Progressive Party—and the capitalist class in general, are, themselves, quite convinced that if anything were done that would distinctly reveal to the working class what the issue really is, the Democratic Party and the Republican Party and the Progressive would promptly be put out of business by the working class. (Applause.)

In all of the editorials in the present campaign appearing in the old party papers, and in all of the news items covering many pages, week after week, there will not be at any time a statement of what the real issue is. I believe that the leaders of the capitalist class and of these capitalist parties know very well what the issue is. They will not permit their editors to reveal the issue. Under no circumstances must the real issue be made perfectly clear to the working class in this campaign, or any other campaign. That is the unanimous judgment of the ruling class of America.

Because of that situation, I want to talk on this question: What is the issue?

Assume that you (pointing) are a Socialist—as you probably are,—and assume that a Democrat or a Republican is standing right beside you,—a Democrat or a Republican or perhaps a Progressive. Personally that man is probably just as nice a man as you are, and that is putting it rather strongly. (Laughter.)

He may be just as excellent physically, mentally, socially and morally, and he may be just as good a mechanic as you are, and just as fine in his personal relations at home and with his neighbors; but until he sees as distinctly as you do what the issue is, or as distinctly as you ought to see what the issue is, he will never go with us, but with perfect gullibility he will continue to support those candidates who stand upon these platforms that are written primarily to conceal the issue. In other words, there will be "nothing doing"—nothing effective doing—in the politics of the United States, for the working class, until the working class understand just what the issue is. We shall have the trouble and expense of all our meetings and the strain of all our labor all for nothing, unless our literature, and our speeches, our

conversations in politics, our platforms, and all of our instruments, agencies and methods, are employed to make perfectly clear what the issue is.

SOME FAKE ISSUES.

NOW, another word on these platforms of the gold brick twins: (Don't be frightened—for I am not going to read these platforms—I want you to stay awake.) I wish simply to call your attention to what the Democratic Party and the Republican Party suggest as some of the so-called issues upon which you are invited to vote. They suggest that you vote on a whole sheaf of such questions as these: This country's policy toward Mexico; civil service reform; economy and budgets; rules for the United States Senate; Pan-American affairs; the army, the navy; merchant marine; "Americanism"; territories; international relations; and the Lord knows what else. (Laughter.)

Well, perhaps that is overestimating omniscience. I doubt whether God knows what the old party politicians would willingly propose to the American voters. (Laughter.) This bundle of bunk is simply things offered to the American people for the purpose of confusion. You and succeeding generations can vote on the Philippine question for a thousand years, and your lives will continue to be just what they are now. You can vote on civil service reform and a host

struggle, if our industrial interests are fundamentally, all the same, then there is no excuse for the existence of our working class political party.

FREEDOM FOR LABOR.

But regarded from the point-of-view of the working class the issue is: FREEDOM FOR THE WORKING CLASS. Because there are two classes and one of them is an enslaved class, and the issue for that class—our class—is Freedom.

Now, let me explain a little more fully, please, what I mean by that. A farmer producing wheat has as his main issue, as a farmer, the production of a higher quality of wheat, wheat of a larger grain, wheat of a greater number of grains—more grains to the head and more heads to the acre.

The man who is raising horses as a horse breeder has as a horse breeder, for his main purpose, or his main issue, the production of a horse of finer form, more speed, more power, better disposition, better color, and so forth.

But what are the working people most interested in? What is our chief interest? Well, I will tell you what I want, and I hope you will agree with me. I WANT MORE LIFE.

I want my life to be conducted and supported by the results of my own labor that I may live more years; and I want to live more each day. In addition to labor, I want leisure before I get sleepy. I want to enlarge my life and refine my life; I want to make my life deeper; I want to make it more wholesome; I want to make it more sociable; I want to know the big things; I want to experience the finest emotions; I want my nature pleased and pleased daily by the finest products that the greatest women of all time have contributed to what they call civilization. I want life, and I want all of it, and I want it for a long time. I assume that is what you want. In contrast with this, let me tell you

Protest Against Exchange of American Blood for Mexican Gold Sent to Wilson

Here is the protest sent by the Socialist Party national executive committee in session in Chicago to President Wilson on the Mexican situation, declaring that American blood must not be sacrificed for Mexican gold:

MEXICO'S national wealth amounts to seven billion dollars. Of this wealth, four billions is owned by Americans. The Socialist Party sees a connection between these facts and the fact that American interests for several years have been trying to force your administration to embroil the two countries in war, the evident purpose being the subjugation and annexation of a part of Mexico. We protest against the exchange of American blood for Mexican gold. We have what we believe is reliable information that Mexican raids upon American territory are inspired by and paid for by American interests. We believe our frontier should

be protected, but we believe it should be protected by troops stationed upon our side of the Rio Grande. The Mexicans are a proud people. They have but to read the memoirs of our own General Grant to learn that in his opinion the United States once waged an unrighteous war against them and robbed them of half of their country. Naturally they resent the presence of Americans on their soil now. Naturally they are suspicious. The Socialist Party believes they have abundant reason to be suspicious. We demand the protection of our frontier by soldiers stationed only on the American side of the Rio Grande, but we also demand the capture of the Americans who have inspired Mexican raids across our border.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST PARTY, Walter Lanfersiek, Secretary.

of such things for a thousand more years, and your condition in life will continue to be just what it is now,—if you should live a thousand years. You can vote on any one of these things, or on all of them, as long as you live, and you will not change your essential condition in even the slightest degree.

These platforms do indeed suggest something here about economic freedom; but I have read those two paragraphs containing what the Democrats say and what the Republicans say, and in neither platform in the plank on economic freedom is there any mention of the working class. Is that not strange? Well, no. It is not strange. These parties do not contemplate, they do not plan, freedom for the working class. They there discuss freedom, not for the working class, but for the business men,—which means larger opportunities for the organization of greater units of capital to the end that exploitation may be more effectively accomplished. The workers are not even mentioned under the head of economic freedom. When a paragraph headed "economic freedom" is found as a plank of the Democratic platform or of the Republican platform or other capitalist platform a large and handsome hope is instantly produced—in the mind of the gullible. But some knowledge of the history and purpose of those political parties, always serving the ruling class, removes the possibility of being so easily deceived. So I was not surprised at all when I found that the workers are not discussed at all,—not even mentioned under that heading.

OUTLINING THE ISSUE.

NOW, what is the issue? Let us just for a moment look at it historically. Some thousands of years ago chattel slavery was the industrial system—and freedom from slavery was the issue. From the standpoint of the ruling class the issue was to continue as a ruling class, based upon the slavery of a working class. That was true ten thousand years ago, five thousand years ago, two thousand years ago, and the same thing is true now. From their point of view, taking into consideration their interest, the issue with them was—and is—how to continue as a ruling class, having all the good things, and getting them out of the labor of the working class. But, of course, I am not here to talk about the issue as viewed by the ruling class. Ours is a working class movement. Ours is a working class effort. The victory that we seek is a working class victory. The issue, from the standpoint of the working class under slavery and under serfdom, was FREEDOM FOR THE WORKING CLASS; and the same is true today.

The capitalist class know this very well. They know it so well that they try to make us believe that there are no classes at all. That is a cunning way of obscuring the issue. If there are no classes, then there is no class struggle. If there is no class

now what the creed of the capitalist class is for the working class. Please remember it, will you?

CREED OF RULING CLASS.

THE CREED of the ruling class for the working class is: A bare living is a fair wage. Let me say it again: A bare living is a fair wage. That means what? It means that when you working people are given sufficient wages for your labor to provide yourselves with cheap clothing, cheap food, cheap shelter, and cheap furniture, you are getting what you ought to have, and all that you ought to have, and that the life you live, struggling and toiling week after week, month after month and year after year for a bare livelihood, getting cheap clothing, cheap food, and cheap shelter for all the labor of your lives and your children's lives, is the life that you deserve, and when you get that you are getting all you ought to have. That is the view of the capitalist class.

That was the same view held by the Egyptian masters of slaves: A bare living is sufficient. That was their view,—that a bare living was sufficient for the ancient Egyptian slaves.

That was the view of the slave-holding Greeks, the most highly cultivated people of ancient times,—that a bare living, cheap clothing, cheap food and cheap shelter, was sufficient for slaves.

That was under serfdom, the view of the landlord who lived in a castle on the hill, while his serfs dwelt down in the valley in huts,—the view that when a serf was permitted to have,—pardon me, for I must repeat it again—cheap clothing, cheap food and cheap shelter, he was getting all he ought to have.

And that is what the masters of the wage-earners believe now. The idea as to what a working man ought to have, or a member of the working class ought to have, has not essentially changed since the origin of the working class and of the ruling class. And more than that, IT NEVER WILL CHANGE UNTIL YOU CHANGE IT. (Applause.)

KEEP THIS IN MIND.

I WISH you would keep this in mind. MASTERS NEVER PLAN GREAT LIVES FOR SLAVES. Never. I know that may sound platitudinous, it sounds self-evident to all who are acquainted with human history, but at the risk of annoying some of you who know it better than I do, let me say it again: Masters never plan great lives for slaves, and they never will. The wage slave must plan his own life if he is ever going to have a life much above that of the horse, the ox, or the chattel slave.

Now that brings me to the next thing I want to talk about. Three ideas, three concepts, taught by the ruling class thru the press, and the school, and on the platform, three concepts offered to the working class, have got to die. Until these three ideas—I might call them by courtesy ideas,—until these three notions are destroyed, the program will remain the same for the working class.

What are these three ideas? They are:—The capitalist's idea of life for the worker, the capitalist's idea of justice, and the capitalist's idea of freedom. The fact is, as I have just explained somewhat, the capitalist's idea of life for the worker, the capitalist's idea of justice, and the capitalist's idea of freedom, are now high enough. It is rich enough. You—the working class—have reached the level that you deserve.

The capitalists do not plan anything more for (Continued On Following Page.)

Two Congressmen and Six Legislators, the Ambitions of Illinois for November

ILLINOIS Socialists started their state campaign at the same time the national campaign got under way. For two days preceding the Riverview Park demonstration the Illinois Socialists had met in state convention and outlined plans that they hope will result in a much strengthened party, the election of two Socialists to congress this fall, and the sending of six state legislators to Springfield. Seymour Stedman, elected to the state legislature in 1912; candidate for mayor of Chicago in 1915, and at the present time engaged in defending Pittsburgh, Pa., Socialists and unionists against the Westinghouse Electric Co., the Steel Trust and other huge corporations seeking to crush labor in Western Pennsylvania, is the Illinois candidate for governor. Here is what he said at the opening of the campaign:

ADDRESS OF SEYMOUR STEDMAN, Illinois Candidate For Governor.

COMRADES of the Socialist Party: The people of the United States have been highly entertained during the last three weeks. The entertainment started with a tremendous procession in New York. Gay patriots walked up and down the streets. At the head of that procession were millionaires, so old that they could not possibly be called upon for military duty. They were the greatest patriots in the procession.

One of them was a lawyer who, during the War of the Rebellion, hired a substitute to go to the front in his place. At the present time he is far over sixty years of age, far past the time when he can be called upon for military service, and now he believes in ammunition, in preparedness, and upon slight provocation, he believes in war.

RIDE IN PULLMAN CARS AT LAST.

WE HAD a tremendous procession here in Chicago. There were clerks from Siegel, Cooper & Company in line. Their shoes were poor, badly worn, and many of them were poorly clothed.

I think we might suggest to Siegel, Cooper & Company that their first step in preparation should be to make proper clothing accessible to their help. Marshall Field & Company lined up also their paid brigade.

That was also true of the Stock Yards, and out

Preparedness Is An Armed Guard To Serve The Rulers In Holding Down The Workers, Kirkpatrick Shows.

(Continued From Preceding Page.) you than you have now. And what does your life consist of now? Well, I never saw what you do before. A few of you I know personally. But this one thing I know about all of you: Your lives yesterday, your lives last week, your lives ten years ago, were composed of toil, toil, toil, on and on, giving up all your labor-power, all your energy, except just about enough—about sufficient—to get home from your place of labor. And that will be your life to-morrow. Toil, toil, toil. That was the slave's life in ancient Egypt. That was the slave's life in ancient Greece and Rome. That was the ruler's idea of life for the working class. And that is the capitalist's idea of life, appropriate life, for the worker to-day. And that will continue to be the idea of life taught by the rulers to the workers for another thousand years, so far as they are able to accomplish it,—until you and you and you (pointing) help the workers get a different idea of what life ought to be. Until that time you will continue to have the life you have now— toil, toil, toil, until you die.

AND IN THE public schools of Chicago the teachers teach your children that that is what the workers' life ought to be, essentially that. The school, the Church, the lecture platform and the drama are all used to perpetuate this idea of life for the workers in the minds of the working class. As long as this idea is accepted by the workers as appropriate for the workers—there will be nothing more on the program for the working class. One part of the work of our present campaign is to help clear up this idea from your minds perfectly clear the viciousness of the idea, utterly destroy its helpful power over the working class.

Now the second idea we must clear up—and by clearing it up destroy it—is the capitalist's idea of justice. What is the capitalist's idea of justice? He says that you are being treated justly now; that what you get from day to day in your industrial life constitutes industrial justice for the workers. I want to illustrate the capitalist's idea of justice. The illustration will do more perhaps to clear it up than an hour's talk.

We will go down here to State Street, inside of the loop, to a great big department store. That department store is operated for profit, and for profit only. The welfare of the clerks is not considered. The welfare of the clerks' families is not considered. The purpose of conducting a big department store is profit for the ruling class. An advertisement is put in the paper for a clerk, a girl. She reports Monday morning for work in an endeavor to secure the job—and thus obtain some measure of life. She inquires of the man in charge what the work is and what the wages are. He tells her what she must do, and what the wages are.

You know and I know that in many of these department stores in this country girls, even many grown women, are working for \$2 a week. They work working for less than that in big stores in Buffalo not long ago. Fifty cents a day is what he will offer a girl of twelve or thirteen years of age in a store inside of the loop in Chicago to-morrow morning, even tho it is known that grim poverty has forced her to misrepresent her age—when she reports for work.

HERE'S THE SITUATION. LOOK thus at the situation: A Christian capitalist worth millions of dollars—a girl of thirteen up against a corporation, a corporation of ten or fifteen million dollars. Starvation behind her. She is helplessly poor, helpless because of her age, helpless because of her size, at a disadvantage because of her sex, helpless because of her ignorance, helpless because of her lack of experience—in every way she is helpless, and the capitalist, Christian Jew, takes the lash of starvation, drives her in the corner and lashes her, so to speak, on the bare shoulders with this whip of starvation, and compels the child to surrender. And if you ask him about it he will defend himself by saying: "A thing is worth just what you can get for it when you go to sell it."

IF YOU LIKE THAT? IF YOU like that sort of thing, vote the Democratic party ticket, or the Republican party ticket, or the Progressive ticket, for they all stand for the capitalist system, and this is the idea of justice. The issue is: Destruction, the utter destruction of that idea of justice. (Applause.) There is another capitalist idea that must go—must be destroyed; namely, the capitalists' idea of freedom. If you ask the average capitalist in America about freedom, and tell him that the Socialists are struggling for the freedom of the workers, he will say: "What is the matter with you? The workers of America are free now."

freedom. If you ask the average capitalist in America about freedom, and tell him that the Socialists are struggling for the freedom of the workers, he will say: "What is the matter with you? The workers of America are free now." And he will go on to explain that if you contrast or compare the condition of the working man of America to-day with the condition of the working man in ancient Rome or Egypt, you will find that as compared with the working man in that day he is free. He will say, "Why, certainly we will admit that the ancient slave did not have freedom." He will say: "The chattel slave did not have human rights. He did not have even the right to live, the first right of all. The ancient slave-holder could legally kill a slave at will. He, the slave, did not have even human rights. He did not have civil rights; he could not sue and he couldn't hold property. And he did not have political rights. He could not vote."

LET US EXAMINE TOILERS' RIGHTS. BUT LET us examine these rights a moment. You say the American working man has a right to live? Yes, he has the right to live—if he can get a job. (Laughter and applause.) With this damnable restriction he does indeed have the first of all rights, the right to live. He also has civil rights—he can sue and be sued. You bet he can. (Laughter.) And he has the right to hold property—if he can get any. And he has the right to be a witness in court—unless there is a millionaires on trial. So the capitalist will reiterate: "The worker is free now, the American working man is free indeed since he also has the great political right, the right to vote."

Yes, the American working man, it is true, has the right to vote. Of course, he doesn't know how to use it yet. (Laughter and applause) but he has the right to vote if he wants to. So your American capitalist, with the audacity of a creature I do not like to describe, will boldly argue that the American wage earner not only has life and justice but that he is today a free person. Well, some of you may have heard and seen me give this illustration before, but I am hoping there are a few hundred non-socialist men there in the audience. I want to illustrate how free the American wage earner is. Suppose this chair here, or this table, be a large factory. Suppose five thousand men have to work in this factory—or starve.

That is not an unfair illustration. Millions of men, women and children in America to-day have to work in the mills and mines and factories, or starve. All right. This is a large factory. Five thousand men have to work there or starve, and I own the factory. If I own that factory I will have back of me to defend me in my absolute control of that factory, in my absolute private ownership and control of that factory, I will have back of me the laws, courts, the Constitution, the President of the United States, the Governors of the States, militia, standing army, Gatling guns, Krag-Jorgensen rifles,—all the powers of government—back of me to defend me in my absolute private mastery of this factory. And I alone, I alone, could keep five thousand men out of this factory, even tho it meant starvation to five thousand men and twenty-five thousand women and children!

Oh, don't you see that the private ownership of some kinds of property makes a man a master? And don't you see why the Socialists are always urging industrial democracy, industrial freedom? NO MAN IS FREE UNTIL HE IS FREE IN THE ACTIVITY OF GETTING A LIVING. Until the capitalist's idea of freedom is destroyed in the minds of the working class, there will be nothing more on the program for the working class in America than there is there now. And the future for you and the future for me, and the future for the scores of millions of the working class will continue to be toil, toil, toil till death, for a bare, cheap living.

RULING CLASS UNDERSTANDS. NOW THE ruling class understand these things very well indeed. They also note that in proportion to the growth of the working class political party, with its powerful propaganda, the working class grows increasingly restless and uneasy because they begin to see. They begin to see the meaning of the capitalist system; they begin to see the falsity of the capitalist system and teaching. The capitalist class note that in the most highly educated nation on earth—Germany—the working class has built up a political party composed of four million three hundred thousand men, voters; the capitalists see that in Italy the working class political party has been built up to the extent of several hundred thousand voters; and that the same thing is going on elsewhere throughout Europe; and that the working class, with its powerful press, is educating the masses of the people, the working people, and that there is a movement, a real movement—a world movement—in consequence, a movement—the working class in the direction of freedom—the capitalist class, I say, noting this in Europe, noting also the remarkable progress of the working class movement in America, prepare for the day when the working class will demand more and more of life, genuine justice and freedom—the real thing.

When we come to the end of an era in industrial evolution here in the United States. I will tell you what I mean. The first business is to stay alive. To stay alive in this world we have to use the earth. To use the earth effectively we must have machines, factories and so on. So, for thousands of years mankind has labored to increase machinery, tools, shops, factories and so on, to the end that we might have life. But we have come to the sunset of an era, and the sunrise of a new time. I have now developed the machinery, tools, shops, factories, and so on to the extent that the capitalists dare not permit all the workers to work all the time that all the workers are willing to work with the modern machinery, modern tools, modern knowledge, modern equipment,—because if all the workers are willing to work, they would produce goods so much more rapidly than their wages would permit them to buy them, so much more rapidly than the capitalist class could consume them, that, if all the workers were permitted to work all the time that all the workers are willing to work, there would speedily be a disastrous over-production.

BEFORE the war broke out over in Europe a panic was setting down over this country. At that time I traveled, east, west, north and south. Working men in the factories and business men told me everywhere I went: "Business is getting worse—worse and worse." A panic unquestionably was setting down upon the United States just before the war broke out, and there were probably two millions unemployed. When the war broke out it stimulated American industries, thus absorbing a large part of the unemployed. But after the war is over in Europe there will come down upon this country a panic that will make a panic of 1907 look like good times, a panic will fall upon us that will make the panic of 1907 fade away, fade out of memory. We are going to have a real panic soon after the present war closes. If I had plenty of time I would tell you why. Let me indicate just briefly, will you?

The warring nations in Europe are exhausting themselves of gold with which to buy abroad. They are exhausting themselves of gold with which to pay balances in international trade. Not very many factories in Europe have been destroyed by this war. Thousands of factories in Europe have been increased in capacity for the production, not only of war munitions, but of the other things—standard goods of consumption. Moreover, many new factories have been built in Europe during this war, and those factories that are primarily used, many of them, for the production of war munitions, can be quickly converted into plants for the production of standard goods of consumption.

Again, millions of children have been brought into industry in Europe, and have learned the trades in advance of their time. Millions of women have come into industry during the war, and have learned trades. There will be fifteen to twenty million men home from the war when it closes. They will have to have work. Moreover, hundreds of thousands of small business men in Europe have been ruined by this war, and driven into the working class. And what is more, hundreds of millions of dollars of profit have been made in the United States on this war.

Now, these hundreds of millions of dollars constitute a surplus-capital. This capital cannot be invested profitably in the American industries. If you had twenty million dollars now where would you build a new railroad in the state of Iowa or the state of Illinois? Where would you build a new flour mill in Minneapolis? Our productive plants and our transportation facilities are now so completely full that we dare not use all of them. We cannot find a market for what can be produced. Millions—yes, scores of millions—of these profits made in America on the European war, will go to South Africa, North Africa, some of the states in Europe, eastern Asia, southern Asia, to South America and Australia. Every million dollars sent abroad to promote industry outside of the United States, means that much more competition outside of the country with our own industries here in this country.

MARKETS NOT TO BE FOUND. THERE CANNOT be found after the war, markets for the goods that the workers are able to produce. The European capitalists will cut wages immediately, and in proportion as they cut wages they will cut the last penny—they must. They will move heaven and earth to reorganize industry in such fashion as will enable them to be powerful competitors in the world market, and for their own market. Thus the foreign market—most of the things that we ordinarily sell abroad in normal times—is going to shrink disastrously within six months, or even ninety days, after the war.

I have been emphasizing this for a year. I was glad to have the greatest man in America confirm my judgment on this matter in one respect, at least. This business, in one respect the greatest business man in America, is the president of the United States Steel Corporation. Five months ago he sent out a warning that amounted to this: "Look out, you business men, beware, for immediately at the close of the war there will be a violent change in American industry." There is a panic coming, the harshest that the working people in America have ever known. The ruling class are preparing for that time.

And to-day, all over the civilized world, the ruling class have an armed guard ready—ready for you. And if, when the panic comes, you object, stoutly object, standing up vigorously

ly and objecting to the things that will come into your lives, the capitalist class propose that you shall be STARVED, JAILED or SHOT. That is the program now. It is distinctly the capitalists' program for the working class. You shall be starved, jailed or shot in the panic that is coming. And the issue—what is it? The freedom of the working class from a system so unjust as to require an armed guard to operate it and compel the workers to submit to it, that is the issue. (Applause.) Capitalist political parties stand for preparedness. Preparedness is the program for the working class. Talk about the issues! The Philippine policy is not the issue. Civil service is not the issue. Tariff is not the issue. The things that are pompously set forth in these pretentious platforms of the capitalist political parties, are not the issue.

TAKES UP PLATFORM. JUST before I started for this picnic to speak to you I urged the Platform Committee of our party to put in bold faced type in clear propositions, a brief statement of the FUNDAMENTAL THINGS we want. What are they? THE SOCIALIZATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL FOUNDATION OF SOCIETY. (Applause.) They can make the platform of so-called demands a yard long or three yards long, but I will not object if they put in BOLD FACED TYPE: FIRST: Social Ownership of the industrial foundations of society. (Applause.) SECOND: Social control of the industrial foundations of society. (Applause.) THIRD: Equality of opportunity to use the industrial foundations of society. (Applause.) FOURTH: The workers to have the results of their labor, undiminished by rent, interest and profits. (Applause.)

These four propositions state the fundamental, revolutionary, industrial reorganization of society proposed by the Socialist Party. And this revolutionary reorganization of society will secure the freedom of the working class. AND THAT IS THE ISSUE, the supreme issue, of the campaign. Other things pale into petty insignificance when contrasted with this issue. This part of the program of the Socialist Party will NEVER BE DUPLICATED OR STOLEN by the Democratic Party or the Republican Party, or by the shameless demagog and egotistic ass of Oyster Bay. Be not deceived. This is the issue: The freedom of the working class from the capitalist system of industry and from its vile creed, "A bare living is a fair wage."

DEFINES POLITICS. NOW I shall close in just a minute. Politics, since the origin of the working class and of the ruling class, has been controlled by the ruling class. And what is politics, as conceived by the ruling class? Just this: the chicanery, the machinations, the trickery, by means of which the ruling class control legislatures, courts, presidents, kings, sheriffs, armies, navies for the benefit of the ruling class! Politics has meant the processes by means of which the ruling class legally ruled and robbed the working class. (Applause.)

And the biggest thing as to the significance of the Socialist movement is this—the working class is putting a new meaning into the word "politics". And from now on in this campaign, and from now on in all the campaigns, politics is to mean, for the working class, those processes, those teachings, those laws, those organizations, those efforts, by means of which the working class is to free itself and have life—life, justice and freedom. (Applause.) On the streets of Chicago years ago I used to say—and I have said it a thousand times since, and I am going to say it again, substantially—When you talk to your neighbor tomorrow at the shop or in the mine, or wherever you work, and next Sunday when you sit down to a fresh chicken dinner when you usually do (laughter), and next Sunday afternoon when you get into your automobile (or Ford) and take your usual Sunday spin down on the boulevard, and next fall when you get into the polling place and get your pencil in your hand ready to vote, take hold of the lever to vote, to use your chief power in self-defense, then remember, solemn and the sad and tragic history of the working class. (Applause.)

Remember, too, the condition of the working class today—in spite of all our prosperity, in spite of the booming and boasting, in spite of the cheering, in spite of the handclapping—the working class today, and forever, on and on, have only their bare cheap and cheerless living. And remember, too, that the future holds nothing else for the working class. Remember all these things, before you pull the lever to start your motor balloting. Remember this also: Socially you belong to the working class. Economically you belong to the working class. Historically you belong to the working class. Financially (laughter) you belong to the working class. Industrially you belong to the working class. In opportunities you belong to the working class. In every important respect you belong to the working class. Well, then, you in this campaign ought to get into the political party of your own class—the Socialist Party, the party that always clearly and boldly announces THE ISSUE and stands by the issue—and will never surrender; the political party that proposes: ALL OF LIFE FOR EVERYBODY, the fundamental issue and the dominant problem for all time for all the world.

N. E. C. VOTES \$500 TO SEND DEBS TO CONGRESS. The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party appropriated \$500 to the Fifth Indiana Congressional District where Eugene V. Debs, is the Socialist candidate for Congress. Noble C. Wilson, Campaign Manager for the Debs' District, appeared before the committee and assured it of the splendid chance for victory. He reported that the people of that congressional district were thoroughly disgusted with the old political parties and there is a sufficient number of these to assure Debs' victory by an overwhelming majority. There is only one thing, he said, that can stand in the way of victory, and that is lack of funds to enable the Socialist Party to reach all the voters in the district. Additional funds are needed, however. See the plan outlined on Page Three whereby you can help.

TWO CONGRESSMEN AND SIX LEGISLATORS, ILLINOIS HOPE. (Continued From Page One, Column Two.) the same time show us that the railroads have made a billion dollars; that we had a banquet in New York for billions as a result of the war. They cannot tell any man with the appearance of intelligence that those men whose profits have been so large will ever believe in anything else except that which pays them most; and if war pays most they will sacrifice every man and woman to increase their profits and the returns from their manufacturing.

PITTSBURGH IS PATRIOTIC. NO RELIGION and no hypocrisy, no religion and great hypocrisy, are all closed. You cannot have the Mecca of American patriotic method at its center. Pittsburgh you will find to be surrounded with wonderful villages. I mean, those which are wonderful in name. For instance, there is Bethlehem. Bethlehem is a city in which they are manufacturing arms and munitions. It is a name that is historically linked with peace, but there it is associated with war.

Another suburb of Pittsburgh is the Holy City, and there they are making munitions of war. Pittsburgh is the ripe product of the munitions instinct, intellect and soul of the American preparedness movement. You cannot go into a nickel-show there on Sunday. They are all closed. You cannot have a game of baseball in Pittsburgh on Sunday, for it is against the state law and the law of God. You cannot play lawn tennis in its parks on Sunday, because playing lawn tennis in Pittsburgh on Sunday is a crime. You can go to two places; you can go to church, or you can go down into the munitions factories. It is a name that is historically linked with peace, but there it is associated with war.

PEOPLE DON'T WANT WAR. THERE IS nothing there but churches and munitions factories. There is some logic in that arrangement, tho, for they are making munitions to increase the heavenly host, and they have the churches there to tell the people where they are going when they get thru with the munitions. At every turn you read of preparedness, stating that this country is supposed to be in great danger. It is expected that the Germans will eat up New York and that the Japanese will bite off a corner of California. We are told that a large navy is necessary for defense, but we know absolutely that a large navy is merely an instrument of aggressive conquest.

The people of this country do not believe in warfare, and the great mass of them will not be deceived by some of the term "preparedness" to disguise something else. We have our domestic issue; we have our state platform. We Socialists believe in a preparedness that means the abolition of the injunction. We believe in old age pensions. We believe in sick and disability pensions; we believe in making this state one in which the people are relatively well provided for.

Let me give you one concrete example, and then I will close. Down in the southwestern part of a state is a vast amount of land known on the map as the Kaskaskia River Bottom. Do you know that that land is in such shape that it is not worth \$5 an acre today? According to the Rivers and Harbors Commission of this state it can be drained for less than \$5,000,000. I have figured out that if that land was drained by the state at a cost of \$5,000,000 and rented out at a reasonable rental value, it would pay an old age pension of \$10 a week to every man and woman in this state over sixty years of age. (Applause.)

NOW, if this state would take that land, drain it, rent it and pay an old age pension, increasing the benefit and extending the educational system of the state, it would be engaging in a form of preparedness in socialism in its to be found the remedy for want; that makes me a Socialist." Allan's son created something of a sensation not long ago by announcing himself as pronounced a Socialist as his father.

HERE'S ANOTHER TRIBUTE. Another tribute to the work of the Socialist aldermen in the Chicago city council is contained in "Industrial Arbitration", by Carl H. Mote, a valuable book on this subject, just issued by the Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, Ind., \$1.50. In speaking of the street car strike in Chicago last year Mr. Mote declares, "The Chicago street railway strike of 1915 was adjusted quickly because the strikers were well organized and capable of acting as a unit. But the Chicago strike was settled promptly for another reason. A city ordinance passed after the strike began forbade the company to employ inexperienced workmen. Strikebreakers were out of the question." It will be remembered that the anti-strikebreaker ordinance was John C. Kennedy, a Socialist alderman.

James A. Allan, "the millionaire Socialist," died at Glasgow a few days ago. Allan was a director of the Allan Steamship line. In 1907 Allan became prominent as Socialist candidate for the City Council in one of the "gentle" wards of Glasgow. On that occasion he was asked what prompted him to become a Socialist,

The Million Dime Column. do your share by addressing one of the chain letters to some of your friends. You can join either division: Dime Bank Division (over 2000 members now) Chain Letter Division (over 15,000 members now). When writing just state which of the foregoing regiments you want to join and by return mail you will receive full particulars. Here's just a partial list of what the men and women out on the firing line are doing. Get in, get a gun and get out where things are doing. It's great fun collecting dimes to fight the plutes. Total number of dimes received up to and including Saturday, June 17: 33,086 Gained since last Saturday 2,891. Banks are kept in circulation pretty steadily. The dime letters, coin cards and envelope outfits are being sent out as the requests for same come in. If you are not in a position to use one of the banks then you can be sent at a much lower rate and can be insured for three cents. In case of the bank being lost in the mails we can collect insurance from the P. O. just as well as if it were registered. Sending it by PARCEL POST INSURED will save all of our hustlers and this office dollars in postage. When you are ready to return the bank remember to send it PARCEL POST INSURED. Total number of dimes received up to and including Saturday, June 17: 33,086 Gained since last Saturday 2,891. Banks are kept in circulation pretty steadily. The dime letters, coin cards and envelope outfits are being sent out as the requests for same come in. If you are not in a position to use one of the banks then you can

Conducted by MAX SHEROVER. NOTICE TO BANKHOLDERS. It is not necessary to return the bank by registered mail. You can send it parcel post insured. To register the bank necessitates mailing it first class at a cost from 14 up to 24 cents depending on the weight of the bank and contents, whereas by parcel post it can

Table listing names and addresses of contributors to the Million Dime Column, including D. L. Beck, Bannum, Minn., and others.

Table listing names and addresses of contributors to the Million Dime Column, including M. J. Masell, Philadelphia, Pa., and others.

and he gave this answer: "The knowledge of the suffering and misery caused to numbers of the population by want is a burden which oppresses us all, whatever our circumstances may be, and it is my conviction that in socialism is to be found the remedy for want; that makes me a Socialist." Allan's son created something of a sensation not long ago by announcing himself as pronounced a Socialist as his father. A movement is being formed within the Labor party of Australia to combat the reactionary elements that are attempting to dislodge that organization from its fundamental principles. The group stands for the abolition of capitalism, for peace, for anti-militarism, internationalism, for freedom of thought, expression, action and so on. By the use of a militant fight and propaganda it will force the right on class lines, thru unions, and branches of the political labor bodies, and will invite radicals who have held aloof from the Labor party to join it and assist in cleaning out the self-confederate and capitalist imitators, and confine the party to its original mission as a labor organization.

"Everything is looking good for us everywhere and this is going to be a great year for the Socialist movement."--Message from EUGENE V. DEBS.

Legislature Meets To Stop Rising Tide Of Socialism

NOTE.—Here is the second of the inspiring series of articles on the magnificent battle being waged by the Oklahoma Socialists against the predatory interests of that state. The cry in a hundred thousand throats in this southwestern state is, "We are going to carry Oklahoma for Socialism in November." This series of articles will tell you why and how.

By GEORGE GILBERT HAMILTON. (Second Article)

THE EXTRA session of the legislature was called and the registration law was passed for no other purpose than to stay the rising tide of Socialism in Oklahoma by enabling a corrupt political machine to perpetuate its own power by disfranchising enough of the working class voters and intimidating others to accomplish that end. Agents of the machine have themselves confessed as much both before and since the passage of this, the most iniquitous measure to be written upon the statute books of any southern state since the days of reconstruction. This is saying much. The Republican state chairman very fittingly described it when he said: "There are honest registration laws and Oklahoma registration laws, just as there are honest election laws and Oklahoma election laws."

FIRST SOCIALIST MAYOR IN VIRGINIA ELECTED.

B. F. Ginter, Managing Editor of the Union Star and Virginia State secretary of the Socialist Party has been elected Mayor of Brookland, Virginia, by a majority of four votes over his democratic opponent. All other offices went to the Democrats.

No State Registrar. In this state the secretary of the state senate is secretary of the state election board (ex-officio), an exceedingly convenient arrangement for the machine to have its creature directing the election machinery of the state. What better could they do than to put this same gentleman in charge of the registration and to confer upon him arbitrary power? So the law was made to read: "The secretary of the state senate shall within sixty days after this Act becomes effective, appoint one qualified elector in each county as county registrar, which office of county registrar is hereby created." After prescribing the duties of the county registrar, the law proceeds: "The county registrar shall hold office at the pleasure of the secretary of the state senate, and the precinct registrars shall hold office at the pleasure of the county registrar."

Democratic press bureau and chief apologist for the Williams' administration, has the nerve to declare: "The registration act, passed by a two-thirds majority and more of each branch of the legislature, is the fairest and most progressive act of that nature ever adopted in any state."

From what has already been seen of this law, and the discussion has been confined so far solely to section 3—there are twenty-two sections in the law—it must be evident to even the dullest mind that a nefarious purpose inspired this damnable infamous law, and that purpose was to enable the machine absolutely to control the franchise in Oklahoma.

"Satisfying" The Boss. Only ten days were allowed for registration, May 1st to 10th, inclusive. But the law provides that, "If any elector should be absent from the county of his residence during such period of time, or is prevented by sickness or unavoidable misfortune from registering with the precinct registrar within such time, he may register with such precinct registrar at any time after the 10th of May, 1916, but the precinct registrar shall register no person under this provision unless he be satisfied that such person was absent from the county or was prevented from registering by sickness or unavoidable misfortune, as hereinbefore provided."

The voter must "satisfy" this king, the precinct registrar, but the law does not specify what shall constitute "satisfaction" or "to his majesty—that is left altogether to this agent of the machine. If the voter registers "right," of course it will be easy to "satisfy" the registrar that he is legally entitled to register. If he does not register "right," as a devotee of the machine, it might be very hard to convince the registrar that he is legally entitled to register. Yet Senator Barrett has the nerve to tell us that: "Registration is to be a matter of local self-government, and the precinct registrars are responsible to the voters in the precinct and subject to the supervision of the courts."

But this administration mouthpiece fails to tell wherein is contained the principle of "local self-government" and in what the "responsibility" of the registrars to the people consists. The machine has placed in the hands of these registrars arbitrary powers. They are the creatures of the machine, responsible only to it, and they are in office to do the will of the machine in disfranchising and intimidating working class voters who are inclined to break the shackles of Bourbon democracy and vote the ticket of their class. As one of the speakers at the recent Democratic state convention said, "The law was passed to keep the Democratic party in power in Oklahoma."

On the boasted "right of appeal" to the district court referred to by Senator Barrett, let a lawyer speak. Says Nagle: "One of the most vicious clauses in the bill is the so-called 'right of appeal.' This cuts the elector out from proceeding by mandamus. He must take his appeal within ten days. If

he fails to take his appeal within that time he is disfranchised. An appeal will cost from \$75 to \$150. This appointed precinct registrar can arbitrarily refuse to register the tenant farmer and wage-worker. And an appeal is burdensome that the majority will allow themselves to be disfranchised."

We Had to Chase The Boss. The ten days were allowed in which to register, you did not know where to find the registrar. You simply had to go out and hunt him up. The law did not provide for his having an office where anyone might go during certain hours and register. The early days of May are a busy time with farmers in Oklahoma. The purpose of so short a time in which to register at the busiest season of the year was revealed by the Chicago Chronicle, a machine sheet, when it said:

"If we were a registrar under the new election law, we don't know any decent white Republican that we would dislike to register, but believe a Socialist or negro would have a healthy chase to find us. We don't believe a man who would register stars and stripes choiced instead the red flag is recognized by the constitution as a citizen worthy of the ballot."

The Intimidating Feature. It is a well known fact thruout Oklahoma that in many places Socialists are discriminated against by landlords, bankers and credit store merchants. The writer knows personally of many such cases of discrimination. He knows of one county precinct in Grady county where at the last election more than seventy straight Socialist voters were cast a majority over both old parties. In this particular precinct fully eighty per cent of the farmers are tenants. Members of the Socialist local in that precinct could not positively count more than half that number of open and avowed Socialists. Why? Because the others feared to let it be known that they were Socialists. The writer further knows that at least eight farmers moved out of that precinct last winter, forced to leave the farms they had occupied, for no other reason under heaven than that they were known to be Socialists.

Imagine then what it means to many to go before this precinct boss and under oath state that they are Socialists and give the names of the land owners as witnesses to the truth of their sworn statement. But such is the law in happy (?) proud (?) free (?) Oklahoma! Not only is this the law, but this information becomes a matter of public record and is filed by the secretary of the county election board with the county clerk, where it is open to the inspection of whomsoever will, including of course the machine politicians and the interlocked parasites.

But this information does not become public until July 10, 1916, and we are unable to secure at this time any authentic report of the registration, tho the Socialist registration at all points from which we have been able to secure reports is much above our vote at the same points in 1914. Secretary of the names from scattering reports from over the state that our registration is at least 70,000. It is safe to say that our vote will exceed our registration by from 25 to 50 per cent.

That the machine is taking advantage of the time intervening between the close of registration, May 10, and the filing of the books with the county clerks of the several counties of the State, July 10, to pad the rolls in the interest of the machine, there seems no reason to doubt. The case of one county (Keweenaw) reported by The Otter Valley Socialist will suffice to show what is doubtless taking place in many.

In this county in 1914 our average vote was 1250 and that of the Democrats about 1600. The registration is unofficially reported to be 1300 Socialists and 2504 Democrats. We the Socialists want to know is this 1100 new Dorks that were not in sight less than two years ago?

The Emergency Clause. The height of infamy was reached by the machine when it attached the emergency clause to the registration law, declaring that: "It being immediately necessary for the preservation of the public peace, health and safety an emergency is hereby declared to exist by reason whereof this Act shall be in full force and effect from and after its passage and approval."

The peace of the pie-eaters was disturbed, the health of the interlocked parasites was endangered, and the safety of a desperate band of consummate scoundrels was jeopardized. The people were rising in their power and in their righteous wrath to hurl these rascals from power.

The provision for the emergency clause in any constitution was never supposed to be for any other purpose than the one stated—"the preservation of the public peace, health and safety"—yet these scavengers dared to resort to this in order to preserve and perpetuate their own wicked rule in the State of Oklahoma. To save themselves they had to make this law "immediately effective". They reckoned without their host, for the time is at hand when an outraged public will hurl them from power and banish them from the walks of decent men into the night of political oblivion.

Nearly all the laws passed by the special session were passed with the emergency clause. The anti-union law, so-called, does not contain it. Why?

Other Vicious Features. This law of twenty-two sections contains many other vicious features—too many to enumerate all here. Besides, my purpose in these articles is to reveal to our comrades in other states the kind of fight they must expect when the movement reaches a point where it begins seriously to menace old party supremacy, which

Politicians And Preachers

By EUGENE V. DEBS.

"BIRDS have their nests and foxes have their holes but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head." Capitalism has its politicians and militarism its preachers and both are fully described in the scriptures: "His watchmen are blind; they are all ignorant; they are dumb dogs; they cannot bark; sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber." "Yea, they are greedy dogs, which can never have enough, and they are shepherds that cannot understand; they all look to their own way, every one for his gain, from his quarter."

THE politicians and preachers of capitalism are set up as the shepherds of the flock, the politicians holding aloft the banner of patriotism and the preachers arrayed in the livery of religion.

These are the real betrayers of the people, the hypocrites that Christ denounced and for which he was crucified; the slimy, oily-tongued deceivers of their ignorant, trusting followers, who traffic in the slavery and misery of their fellow-beings that they may tread the paths of ease and bask in the favors of their masters.

"YEA, THEY ARE GREEDY DOGS, WHICH CAN NEVER HAVE ENOUGH, AND THEY ARE SHEPHERDS THAT CANNOT UNDERSTAND; THEY ALL LOOK TO THEIR OWN WAY, EVERY ONE FOR HIS GAIN, FROM HIS QUARTER."

A FEW days ago one of the most prominent capitalist preachers in New York City issued a frenzied appeal from his pulpit for military preparedness. This particular dog awakened just long enough to bark furiously at the command of his plutocratic master. He may not have received his thirty pieces of silver at the time; the reward of his apostasy comes in gold and flows into his capacious receptacle that connects with his master's bank vault all the year around.

Beware of capitalism's politicians and preachers! They are the lineal descendants of the hypocrites of old who all down the ages have guarded the flock in the name of patriotism and religion and secured the choicest provender and the suggest booths for themselves by turning the sheep over to the ravages of the wolves.

BEWARE of the liveried hypocrites of the landlords, the usurers, the money-changers, the stock-gamblers, the exploiters, the enslavers and despoilers of the people; beware of the ruling class politicians and preachers and mercenary menials in every form who are so profoundly concerned about your "patriotism" and your "religion" and who receive their thirty pieces for warning you against socialism because it will endanger your morality and interfere with your salvation.

means when it becomes strong enough to really threaten the overthrow of the present ruling class. We have reached that point in Oklahoma.

We Accept the Enemy's Challenge. We have boldly accepted the challenge our enemies made in the passage of this infamous piece of legislation. We have said to them that they might put over disfranchising measures in other states and the people might stand for it, but not so in Oklahoma. We are a cosmopolitan people here. Our citizenship comes from all states of the nation and from all nations. We came to this state for greater freedom, for more abundant opportunities for ourselves and for our children, and these Bourbons made a terrible mistake if they think for one single moment that they can do here all that they have done in some other states which shall be nameless here.

We met their vicious election laws by initiating a fair and honest election law that would give each party oversight in the casting and counting of the vote. A criminal executive, in violation of both statute law and constitution and with a total disregard of his oath of office, has failed to submit this initiated measure to the people. We initiated a measure for the repeal of this obnoxious registration law and for substituting therefor an honest registration law. We have registered 15,000 to 20,000 more voters than we had in 1914. We have challenged the machine politicians to come out from under cover and defend their record, but none have come, nor will they ever come. You can hire criminal lawyers in Oklahoma to defend midnight assassins and negro rape fiends, but not even a criminal lawyer can be found to defend the dirty record of the Democratic machine.

Unwittingly the machine has played into our hands. We have been able to take advantage of all that they have done. True to its traditions the Democratic party never fails to play the donkey. There are no factions in the Oklahoma movement, no "reds" and no "yellows", no "radicals" and no "conservatives". It is one great unified and harmonious movement, all the members of which are too exceedingly busy in the great work of hammering on capitalism and preparing the way for the Co-operative Commonwealth to fight among ourselves. We are not expecting to lie down some night and wake up the next morning to find that Socialism had come while we slept. We realize that we must fight for it, even to the point of resorting to "practical politics", as we are doing and shall continue to do.

The Idle Rich. By Nona Zeigler. The summer and the rich wear furs As tho' to mock the babes who die, And swelter in the City's heat! The fox, the ermine and the seal Must yield its life to idle ones Whose soft white hands have never toiled, Or one thing given to the world! The summer and the rich wear furs, Ah! God! and but a little ice Would save the baby at my breast. They swathe about their worthless throats A costly fur! The sun we die Of hunger! And the sun beats hot And fierce upon our aching heads. Oh! Teller! workers, earth's despoiled, How long, Good God, how long are we To bow our necks beneath the yoke? And feed a bunch of parasites Whose brains are few, the idle rich, That for a furly have their lives Warm furs in balmy summer time.

For the first time in the history of the State, the Socialists of Kentucky will have a nominee in every Congressional district. It is reported that many fraternal as well as labor organizations have taken up the dissemination of the principles of socialism.

The Road To Power. MANY thousands of Kautsky's great book, "The Road to Power," have been sold. The original price was 25c per copy. We bought a lot at a cheap price and can let you have them at 1c cents each. This is a classic and should be read by every Socialist. Order now—Socialist Party, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago.

IN THE WORLD OF LABOR.

By Max S. Hayes.

THE PLANS to form a Labor's Citizen Army initiated by the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly are said to be maturing favorably, a large number of members having volunteered to enlist. Bids are now being secured for 1,000 rifles and 100,000 rounds of ammunition. The movement has been taking shape since Congress voted down several amendments to the military bills that sought to prohibit the troops from being used for strike-breaking purposes. Another incident that incited the workers to discuss the labor army idea was that of starting a proposed "rooky" camp for business men near Minneapolis. It was pointed out that the business folk had no notion of going to war, but were simply preparing to go to the front against workingmen in case a big strike broke out.

IT IS reported from Mexico City that the Mexican labor union officials favor the proposition made to them by A. F. of L. officials recently that the bodies of men who happened to live beyond the mountain or across the valley, while today shot and shell shatter the bodies of men who happen to live on the other side of some boundary line. It had been the hope of internationalists that the solidarity of the Socialist movement had obliterated the tribal instincts of primitive man, but the world war has demonstrated the fact that nationalism still presents a formidable obstacle to the realization of the most cherished hopes that have been the inspiration of such dauntless souls as Karl Liebknecht, Jaures and Keir Hardie. "Oh, patriotism, what crimes are committed in thy name!"

BRITISH Miners' Federation held a convention in London, and, after again declaring their opposition to conscription, demanded that the government refrain from calling boys of 18 years to the colors. The operators are urging that the miners consent to work nine and ten hours a day instead of eight during the period of the war, but the rank and file oppose such proposals, saying that the employers should pay more wages to meet the increased cost of living. Union officials estimate that 300,000 miners have left Great Britain to join the army or to enlist in the special trenching and tunneling corps.

PRESIDENT James H. Maurer, of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, called on President Wilson last week and expressed the view that the people of the country did not desire an increase in the army and bigger navy, and urged that Wilson oppose expansion of the militaristic powers. Wilson informed Maurer that he did not share his views, but did not offer to explain why he believed that the masses of the people approved an increase over the normal expenditures to feed the hungry military Moloch.

THE organized labor forces of Petrograd have issued a manifesto denouncing the alleged liberal majority in Parliament for quashing the interpellation that was brought in by the Labor and Socialist members to call to account those responsible for antisemitic program that has been used by the police department. The laboring police department of the reactionary regime and grafters who have plunged the country into war and dragged it to the brink of ruin.

PATRIOTISM. By WILLIS ANDREWS. A famous author has said that "patriotism is the first delusion of a simpleton and the last refuge of a knave." Whether this be true or not it offers no elucidation of the real meaning of patriotism. While patriotism denotes love of native land, it also signifies fear of other lands beyond the borders. This feeling in the breast of man is a survival of conditions that prevailed in early tribal society. The hunting grounds of each tribe were bounded by some mountain, river or valley. Naturally, each tribe loved the land that yielded

Following the slump incidental to the beginning of the European war, Armin Loewy, translator-secretary of the Hungarian Federation of the Socialist Party, now reports that a steady growth of the federation membership is being registered in all industrial cities where there are Hungarian settlements. The Hungarian daily, Elöre, is also making gains.

THE PEOPLE'S COLLEGE. Dear Comrades—Please send me full particulars concerning your Course in Law. Name..... Address.....

DO YOU WANT THE TWICE-A-MONTH SUPPLEMENT?

AS A result of the motion just passed by the national committee, the official business, open forum and other features of The American Socialist of interest exclusively to party members will be published in a twice-a-month supplement. The first supplement will appear with the July First issue. The supplement will thereafter appear in the first and third issues of The American Socialist each month. The subscription price of this supplement is one cent a month or 10 cents a year in addition to the subscription price of The American Socialist. In other words, the subscription price of the paper with the supplement, will be 30 cents for six months, 35 cents for 40 weeks (in clubs of four or more) and 60 cents for one year. In order to get the supplement with your paper, if your sub has not expired, send in one cent for each month (in stamps is the best way) for the period the your sub has to run. Send all orders to The American Socialist, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago.

\$100 From Across The Sea.

GEORGE D. Herron, prominent American Socialist who is now living in Switzerland, has just forwarded \$100 to be added to the DEBS CAMPAIGN FUND. The letter containing the money was opened by the French Military censorship but it was permitted to go thru. Comrade Herron writes: "I want to contribute something to Eugene's election. I wish I could contribute myself as well. "If I were in America I should come to Terre Haute and give myself personally to the cause. I think Eugene's election is so far the best thing that could happen to the Socialist movement, if not to America as well." There are thousands of Socialists all over the land who would like to contribute themselves to the campaign to elect Debs. But they can't do that. But they can follow Comrade Herron's example and make as liberal a contribution as possible. This is how you can do it:

SEND DEBS TO CONGRESS!

THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST, 803 W. MADISON ST., CHICAGO.

Here is \$..... which is my contribution to help send Eugene V. Debs to congress from the Fifth Indiana Congressional District. I understand that for every 25 cents sent in, the Fifth Indiana Socialist Campaign Committee will be allowed to put one voter on the subscription list of The American Socialist for six months and that five cents will be contributed to the Fifth Indiana Socialist Campaign Fund.

NAME..... ADDRESS..... CITY.....STATE.....

THE PEOPLE'S COLLEGE, Fort Scott, Kansas.

1,000 Delegates Applaud Capitalist Control of Democratic Party

St. Louis Circus Repetition of Moose and G. O. P. Shows

By G. A. HOEHN.

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—The political circus is over. The political Barnums who managed the performances at the St. Louis Coliseum last week may congratulate themselves upon their success. In the words of ancient Caesar of mighty Rome they may proudly announce: "Veni, Vidi, Vici!"—I came, I saw, I triumphed!

The National Democratic Convention was the third national political circus of American capitalism, following the Republican and Progressive circuses that gave their performance the week before.

It was very similar to the two Chicago conventions. In name it was a democratic gathering supposed to transact business in a democratic manner. In reality there was nothing democratic about it. It was as little democratic as the Chicago Republican convention was republican, or as the Chicago Progressive convention was progressive. The same capitalist interests that permeated and controlled the Republican and Bull Moose conventions guided the destinies of the Democratic national convention.

Everything had been prearranged. The presidential candidates had been selected before the circus reached the St. Louis Union Station. The platform came ready-made from the White House. And from the White House also came the order as to who should be nominated for Vice-President. During the last two months most of the political influences have been at work in Washington, D. C. In both houses of Congress and in the White House the invisible government of high finance, industrial monopolism and commercial piracy became firmly enthroned. Its voices carried the sound of absolutism, its merciless hand threatened ruin and destruction for those who would not submit to its dictates.

Neither the United States Senate, nor the House of Representatives, nor the White House could escape the despotism of these influences. The invisible government. Imperialism—this highly developed state of modern capitalism—made the entire federal governmental machinery subservient to its desires and interests. This was again clearly and conclusively demonstrated by the Democratic national convention.

Delegates There To Applaud.

There were over 1000 delegates in attendance, but 99 per cent of them may not have realized the fact that they had practically nothing to say concerning the business of the convention. They were there to applaud the chief performers, to shout, to make noisy demonstrations whenever the official clown on the stage gave the signal, and, for the rest, to enjoy themselves and have a good time.

On the first day of the convention the temporary chairman, Martin H. Glynn of New York, made the keynote speech. Glynn came over from

Washington, D. C., and what he said during the very first hour of the convention contained both the nominating address and the platform. From the moment Glynn had concluded his arguments it was clear to everyone who listened to him that the convention's work was already done and the delegates might as well retire to their rooms and go home.

But circus performances are necessary to entertain the masses. At every good circus there is also some legerdemains work, the prestidigitator is on hand to play his clever tricks, to amuse, to mystify, to astonish the crowds. So it was at the St. Louis Coliseum. As a matter of form the convention remained in session for two days. While the men behind the scenes did the real work and prepared for the main performance leading "guardians of democracy" kept the delegates and visitors in continuous excitement by means of flag, etc.

Wilson And Marshall Nominated.

Ex-Governor Glynn, in his keynote speech, made it clear to every delegate and visitor that Woodrow Wilson and no other mortal in Uncle Sam's vast domains was worthy of leading the Democratic party in the coming presidential campaign. And at the same time the daily press published the news that Woodrow Wilson insisted on having Tom R. Marshall as his running mate for Vice-President.

Hence Woodrow Wilson and Tom R. Marshall were nominated by acclamation.

When Glynn made his keynote speech during the first hour of the convention Woodrow Wilson's Secretary of War had already arrived in St. Louis and brought with him the platform as drafted by President Wilson. Hence the 1000 or more delegates of the convention had nothing to say about the platform except to vote for it, shout for it, applaud it. The platform was also adopted by acclamation after some hot discussion on the woman's suffrage plank. The Platform Committee had in its report the clause, "recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of the country by the States upon the same terms as men."

Translated into plain English this clause means that the National Democratic Convention refused to sanction woman's suffrage as a national issue, but leave the entire matter to the several States to settle.

Trying To Catch Votes.

But even this vague, evasive plank was too much for some of the delegates who were trying to hide their opposition to woman's suffrage behind the subterfuge that the adoption of such a clause was to interfere with State autonomy and State's rights. Governor Ferguson of Texas insisted that the clause of the Platform referring to woman's suffrage was simply a political trick to catch votes. Ferguson offered a substitute the object of which was not to make any mention of woman's suffrage in the platform. The substitute was voted down and the above quoted plank was adopted.

Time and Space Not Permitted.

The great body of the platform is devoted to boasting about the alleged achievements of the democratic administration, and boosting for nationalism, preparedness and foreign markets.

The platform says that the life, health and strength of the men, women and children of the nation are its greatest asset.

This is true.

If the platform stood for principles which would give the utmost life, health and strength to the men, women and children of the nation, it would be all right.

But it does not.

On the contrary, after boasting about the achievements of the administration—which all the good ones were frightened out of them by the rising Socialist vote—they proceed to say that they must now remove, so far as possible, every remaining element of unrest and uncertainty from the path of the business men of America and secure for them a continued period of quiet, assured and confident prosperity.

DO YOU GET THAT?

If the democratic party had ever been anything else than a political representative of capitalism, one could say that this plank is a complete surrender to the capitalist class. But how can a party surrender to those who already own and control the party?

It shows that the party is body and soul the property of the capitalist class. It stands for the continuation of capitalism with all its long and hideous train of woes.

In order to abolish evils, it is entirely necessary to cause unrest and uncertainty among the big business men who profit by the continuance of these evils.

To paraphrase something which I said in my previous article, the democrats are fully aware of the fact that hundreds of Americans die of starvation each year. They know that millions of Americans are underfed all the

The Gold Dust Triplets Again - - - By JOHN M. WORK.

THE THIRD gold dust triplet—the democratic party—has now held its convention, nominated its candidates, and adopted its platform. I may be compelled to change the title and say triplets, for the progressive party seems to be on the brink of the grave.

Anyhow, the democratic party has demonstrated again that it is a genuine brother of the republican and the progressive parties. Its platform, like theirs, breathes the spirit of capitalism and of exaggerated nationalism.

These planks are minor matters to the democratic party. Their purpose is merely to catch votes.

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Henry Dubb

By D. W. Guiles.

(Tune "Old" Tobacco Box)

There's a fellow that I know
His name is Henry Dubb,
He estimates that he has brains
Enough to fill but where he's sold,
Election day, he votes away
His opportunity.

Henry Dubb there's a horn every minute
That's a great long list, and I wonder if
Do you vote to own the tools that you must
Or die to earn your grub, and I wonder if
Or die to earn your grub, and I wonder if
Or die to earn your grub, and I wonder if

Once Henry got a good long job,
Which he was thankful for,
They took the most of what he made
From his hard-earned money,
They built a fine torpedo boat,
That he was in the lead,
Said Henry when he was in the lead,
You are a noble chap,
You are a noble chap,
You are a noble chap

Now Henry got some papers
From the Chamber of Commerce,
He had the Western fever,
He was turned on his head,
He said his stuff for nothing,
Like a lot of other chumps,
Time he read the second verse,
That was covered with big stamps,
He was turned on his head,
So he to the City went,
Six months upon the rock pile,
Where he nearly starved for grub,
He turned on his head, and wired ahead
"Look out for Henry Dubb."
He saw the battle cry of Peace,
And that's what made him scared,
So he went and joined the army,
Time he read the second verse,
To give his life defending some,
Rich rascals prosper,
It is he doing his best,
Old Villa heard of John D. and his Ladlow
He did almost as bad down there two weeks
ago or three

HOW STATISTICS ARE MADE.
(Special Correspondence.)

WASHINGTON.—Labor statistics years old and of no value except to professional statisticians and manufacturers have just been published by the well known and inadequate Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Honorable Royal Meeker, Commissioner. The figures in question are heralded as showing a tendency toward shorter hours and higher wages in the cotton, woolen and silk industries. They show this, but they do not show anything about extra dividends, profits increased out of proportion to increased wages, speeding up, or the rise in the cost of living.

This bulletin, which is No. 190 in a series of equally useless bulletins, is another piece of evidence that the Bureau of Labor Statistics under the Democratic Administration has decided not to make a single investigation with teeth in it. Had the owners of the cotton, woolen and silk industries hired the Bureau to make this study for them, they could not have got a better advertisement. In spite of the revelations of long hours and low wages, in spite of disclosures of unemployment, the bureau cheerfully declares that—

Profits Not Given.

"For several years there has been in the three industries a general tendency toward shorter hours and higher wages."

Roosevelt, The Betrayer, Is Down And Out, Says Gene Debs

(Special Correspondence.)

TERRE HAUTE, IND.—"Of course Roosevelt is out of politics. There was nothing left for him to do but withdraw, leaving nothing."

"Roosevelt has been repudiated by the republicans and by the real progressives, whom he betrayed. This biggest of four flushers, this Dr. Cook of politics, has shown the American people have found him out."

Thus spoke Eugene V. Debs, who has himself been a candidate before the people for the office of president of the United States, and is now the Socialist candidate for congress in the Fifth Indiana District.

Debs is home for a brief visit. He leaves on a lecturing tour of the north-west in a day or two.

"Mr. Roosevelt has been chasing the nomination for the presidency up hill and down ever since Mr. Taft displeased him," said Debs. "And in his pursuit he has violated all the recognized methods of political decency. At Chicago, the republican leaders beat him to it by treating him with cold contempt. He doesn't have to eliminate himself. He has already been eliminated. The man he recommended to the Chicago republican convention got seven negro votes. If Roosevelt felt that he had the ghost of a show of being elected on the progressive ticket he would never have dreamed of refusing the nomination."

Debs brought the republican party by his leadership to a position of almost commanding importance. He has been telling his followers what the republicans "must do—that there must be no compromise on the part of the progressives. And when he had already been elected to the presidency he deserted the party he helped create—left it without a candidate."

"But I believe the progressives will nominate another candidate for the presidency. They can't avoid doing so without destroying the party they have created. Roosevelt is a traitor. There's no room for him in any party. For years he has been backed by the trusts. He has been fated by the plutocrats while at the same time posing as the great champion of the common people. This past month in the art of demagoguery has been the most atrocious of our public men—the arch dictator who branded as liars and crooks those who dared differ with him. His treatment of Harriman was characteristic of him. After accepting financial aid from Harriman and being accidentally caught at it, Roosevelt turned on Harriman instead of acting the part of a man and acknowledging his part in the transaction."

"As for Justice Hughes, he is a stand-patter of the stand-patters, the representative of big interests, and the foe to organized labor in a declaring organized labor to be a trust in the Danbury haters' case he robbed many a poor man of his home."

PREDICTION COMES TRUE.

Our prediction that if the proposed subsidy to the National Guard went into effect, the country would be confronted with a political-military machine organized to carry on a determined campaign for more funds and still more funds, has been confirmed with startling promptness. We have come into possession of an artless letter written by General A. B. Critchfield of the Ohio National Guard, congratulating the members of the militia on the victory won for them in the passage of the Hay-Chamberlain bill and urging that the guardsmen make it their business to rally around the candidacy of congressmen and senators who are pledged to aid the National Guard in getting what it wants. The letter especially urges that Gen. Dick, author of the infamous "Black Bill," be re-nominated and re-elected United States Senator. Workers: Get behind the Socialist ticket in Ohio and elsewhere and see that it is elected.

RESOLUTIONS WERE PASSED BY THE recent Ohio state convention urging the national organization thru the national executive committee to call a Pan-American Socialist Conference

What the War Really Means-

(WAR is a pitiless revealer of motives.)

(The present war is a struggle for economic supremacy between the capitalist interests of various nations.)

(But—what are the deeper economic causes? The law of material driving the nations to slaughter?)

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The English Labor Year Book

A MINE OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE ENGLISH LABOR MOVEMENT.

The first Labor Year Book for England has just been published and a few copies have been secured by the National Office for the benefit of our readers. It covers conditions in England only but is of great interest to all students of labor conditions.

The Year Book is issued under the auspices of the Trades Union Congress, the Executive Committee of the Labor Party, and the Fabian Research Department. Thus all the forces of labor, political and industrial, have co-operated in publishing the book. This makes it unique and especially valuable.

Besides special articles by Bernard Shaw, Arthur Henderson, J. A. Seddon, Philip Snowden, Emile Vandervelde and others, the book contains chapters on the following subjects: Labor and the War, 78 pages; The Industrial Labor Movement, 219 pages; The Political Labor Movement, 80 pages; The Co-operative Movement, 20 pages; The International Working-class Movement, 38 pages; The Imperial and National Government (of England) 21 pages; Local Government, 61 pages; Social Insurance, 47 pages, making a total of 697 pages, with complete index.

If you want to understand the relationship between the English Socialist and Labor movements, or the Co-operative movement, or if you want a digest of the political conditions in the other large countries of the world, this book gives it. We can only hint at the information in the 700 pages.

Price, paper-bound, only 50 cents, prepaid.

A Brief Compilation of the Industrial Commission Report.

This compilation is in vest pocket form and contains extracts from the report of the Commission. These extracts were made by Fred Warren. The booklet is issued by the People's College.

The report of this Commission is one of the most striking documents ever issued by the United States Government and the gist of it should be in the possession of every socialist.

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EVERY Local Secretary should have a Due Stamp Canceller. We furnish dater with the necessary rubber dates for 60 cents.

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