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Socialist Party Proclaims Unalterable Opposition To War Just Declared By Government Of The United States

The Proclamation On War And Militarism Adopted By The Emergency National Convention Of The Socialist Party Held At St. Louis Was As Follows:

THE SOCIALIST Party of the United States in the present grave crisis, solemnly reaffirms its allegiance to the principle of internationalism and working class solidarity the world over, and proclaims its unalterable opposition to the war just declared by the government of the United States.

Modern wars as a rule have been caused by the commercial and financial rivalry and intrigues of the capitalist interests in the different countries. Whether they have been frankly waged as wars of aggression or have been hypocritically represented as wars of "defense", they have always been made by the classes and fought by the masses. Wars bring wealth and power to the ruling classes, and suffering, death and demoralization to the workers.

They breed a sinister spirit of passion, unreason, race hatred and false patriotism. They obscure the struggles of the workers for life, liberty and social justice. They tend to sever the vital bonds of solidarity between them and their brothers in other countries, to destroy their organization and to curtail their civic and political rights and liberties.

Pledge All To Labor

THE SOCIALIST Party of the United States is unalterably opposed to the system of exploitation and class rule which is upheld and strengthened by military power and sham national patriotism. We, therefore, call upon the workers of all countries to refuse support to their governments in their wars. The wars of the contending national groups of capitalists are not the concern of the workers. The only struggle which would justify the workers in taking up arms is the great struggle of the working class of the world to free itself from economic exploitation and political oppression, and we particularly warn the workers against the snare and delusion of so-called defensive warfare. As against the false doctrine of national patriotism we uphold the ideal of international working-class solidarity. In support of capitalism, we will not willingly give a single life or a single dollar; in support of the struggle of the workers for freedom we pledge our all.

Why This Orgy Of Death

THE MAD orgy of death and destruction which is now convulsing unfortunate Europe was caused by the conflict of capitalist interests in the European countries.

In each of these countries, the workers were oppressed and exploited. They produced enormous wealth but the bulk of it was withheld from them by the owners of the industries. The workers were thus deprived of the means to repurchase the wealth, which they themselves had created.

The capitalist class of each country was forced to look for foreign markets to dispose of the accumulated "surplus" wealth. The huge profits made by the capitalists could no longer be profitably reinvested in their own countries, hence, they were driven to look for foreign fields of investment. The geographical boundaries of each modern capitalist country thus became too narrow for the industrial and commercial operations of its capitalist class.

The efforts of the capitalists of all leading nations were therefore centered upon the domination of the world markets. Imperialism became the dominant note in the politics of Europe. The acquisition of colonial possessions and the extension of spheres of commercial and political influence became the object of diplomatic intrigues and the cause of constant clashes between nations.

The acute competition between the capitalist powers of the earth, their jealousies and distrusts of one another and the fear of the rising power of the working class forced each of them to arm to the teeth. This led to the mad rivalry of armament, which, years before the outbreak of the present war had turned the leading countries of Europe into armed camps with standing armies of many millions, drilled and equipped for war in times of "peace."

Capitalism, imperialism and militarism had thus laid the foundation of an inevitable general conflict in Europe. The

ghastly war in Europe was not caused by an accidental event, nor by the policy or institutions of any single nation. It was the logical outcome of the competitive capitalist system.

The six million men of all countries and races who have been ruthlessly slain in the first thirty months of this war, the millions of others who have been crippled and maimed, the vast treasures of wealth that have been destroyed, the untold misery and sufferings of Europe, have not been sacrifices exacted in a struggle for principles or ideals, but wanton offerings upon the altar of private profit.

The forces of capitalism which have led to the war in Europe are even more hideously transparent in the war recently provoked by the ruling class of this country.

When Belgium was invaded, the government enjoined upon the people of this country the duty of remaining neutral, thus clearly demonstrating that the "dictates of humanity", and the fate of small nations and of democratic institutions were matters that did not concern it. But when our enormous war traffic was seriously threatened, our government calls upon us to rally to the "defense of democracy and civilization."

Our entrance into the European war was instigated by the predatory capitalists in the United States who boast of the enormous profit of seven billion dollars from the manufacture and sale of munitions and war supplies and from the exportation of American food stuffs and other necessities. They are also deeply interested in the continuance of war and the success of the allied arms thru their huge loans to the governments of the allied powers and thru other commercial ties. It is the same interests which strive for imperialistic domination of the Western Hemisphere.

The war of the United States against Germany cannot be justified even on the plea that it is a war in defense of American rights or American "honor." Ruthless as the unrestricted submarine war policy of the German government was and is, it is not an invasion of the rights of the American people as such, but only an interference with the opportunity of certain groups of American capitalists to coin cold profits, out of the blood and sufferings of our fellow men in the warring countries of Europe.

It is not a war against the militarist regime of the Central Powers. Militarism can never be abolished by militarism.

It is not a war to advance the cause of democracy in Europe. Democracy can never be imposed upon any country by a foreign power by force of arms.

It is cant and hypocrisy to say that the war is not directed against the German people, but against the Imperial Government of Germany. If we send an armed force to the battle fields of Europe, its cannon will mow down the masses of the German people and not the Imperial German Government.

Our entrance into the European conflict at this time will serve only to multiply the horrors of the war, to increase the toll of death and destruction and to prolong the fiendish slaughter. It will bring death, suffering and destitution to the people of the United States and particularly to the working class. It will give the powers of reaction in this country the pretext for an attempt to throttle our rights and to crush our democratic institutions, and to fasten upon this country a permanent militarism.

The working class of the United States has no quarrel with the working class of Germany or of any other country. The people of the United States have no quarrel with the people of Germany or of any other country. The American people did not want and do not want this war. They have not been consulted about the war and have had no part in declaring war. They have been plunged into this war by the trickery and treachery of the ruling class of the country thru its representatives in the National Administration and National Congress, its demagogic agitators, its subsidized press, and other servile instruments of public expression.

We brand the declaration of war by our government as a crime against the people of the United States and against the nations of the world.

In all modern history there has been no war more unjustifiable than the war in which we are about to enter

No greater dishonor has ever been forced upon a people than that which the capitalist class is forcing upon this nation against its will.

Our Course Of Action

IN HARMONY with these principles, the Socialist Party emphatically rejects the proposal that in time of war the workers should suspend their struggle for better conditions. On the contrary, the acute situation created by war calls for an even more vigorous prosecution of the class struggle, and we recommend to the workers and pledge ourselves to the following course of action:

1. Continuous, active, and public opposition to the war, thru demonstrations, mass petitions, and all other means within our power.

2. Unyielding opposition to all proposed legislations for military or industrial conscription. Should such conscription be forced upon the people, we pledge ourselves to continuous efforts for the repeal of such laws and to the support of all mass movements in opposition to conscription. We pledge ourselves to fight with all our strength against any attempt to raise money for the payment of war expenses by taxing the necessities of life or issuing bonds, which will put the burden upon future generations. We demand that the capitalist class which is responsible for the war pay its cost. Let those who kindle the fire furnish the fuel.

3. Vigorous resistance to all reactionary measures, such as censorship of press and mails, restriction of the rights of free speech, assemblage, and organization, or compulsory arbitration and limitation of the right of strike.

4. Consistent propaganda against military training and militaristic teaching in the public schools.

5. Extension of the campaign of education among the workers to organize them into strong, class-conscious, and closely unified political and industrial organizations, to enable them by concerted and harmonious mass action to shorten this war and to establish lasting peace.

6. Wide-spread educational propaganda to enlighten the masses as to the true relation between capitalism and war, and to rouse and organize them for action, not only against present war evils, but for the prevention of future wars and for the destruction of the causes of war.

7. To protect the masses of the American people from the pressing danger of starvation which the war in Europe has brought upon them, and which the entry of the United States has already accentuated, we demand—

(a) The restriction of food exports so long as the present shortage continues, the fixing of maximum prices, and whatever measures may be necessary to prevent the food speculators from holding back the supplies now in their hands;

(b) The socialization and democratic management of the great industries concerned with the production, transportation, storage, and the marketing of food and other necessities of life;

(c) The socialization and democratic management of all land and other natural resources which is now held out of use for monopolistic or speculative profit.

These measures are presented as means of protecting the workers against the evil results of the present war. The danger of recurrence of war will exist as long as the capitalist system of industry remains in existence. The end of wars will come with the establishment of socialized industry and industrial democracy the world over. The Socialist Party calls upon all the workers to join it in its struggle to reach this goal, and thus bring into the world a new society in which peace, fraternity, and human brotherhood will be the dominant ideals.

Recommendations

1. We recommend that the convention instruct our elected representatives in Congress, in the State Legislatures, and in local bodies, to vote against all proposed appropriations or loans for military, naval, and other war purposes.

2. We recommend that this convention instruct the National Executive Committee to extend and improve the propaganda among women, because they as house wives and as mothers are now particularly ready to accept our message.

3. We recommend that the convention instruct the National Executive Committee to initiate an organized movement of Socialists, organized workers, and other anti-war forces for concerted action along the lines of this program.

Work For Greater And More Powerful Socialist Movement, Delegates Resolve As Convention At St. Louis Adjourns

AFTER eight days of intensive work the National Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party at St. Louis adjourned, Saturday, April 14, amid great enthusiasm. The delegates all resolved to go back home and build for a greater and more powerful Socialist movement. The opening days of the convention were reviewed in last week's issue. The report on the remaining days is as follows:

CONVENTION DEBATE ON WAR BEGINS

ST. LOUIS, MO.—Declaring that the majority report took an absolute, uncompromising position against war, Morris Hillquit opened the debate against the two minority reports championed by Louis B. Boudin and John Spargo.

"I honor Spargo for being sincere in taking the position that he does," said Hillquit. "It requires some courage to take the position that is not favored by this convention. I cannot with the same for Boudin," continued Hillquit. "He submits minority reports on all occasions. He has a minority report in him and it has got to come out."

All Reports Hit. Hillquit denounced Boudin's minority report as being utterly un-Socialist, utterly pro-ally and pro-war.

Spargo and Boudin both attacked the majority report claiming it was a compromise between such extremists as Berger and Shipley, Lee and Midway, a compromise between the nationalist, Berger and the un-nationalist Shipley.

Hillquit replied that the eleven members of the committee signing the majority report had resolved to be done with hair-splitting for once and pleaded with the convention also to be done with hair-splitting.

"I'll speak for myself," declared Hillquit. "Berger, when Boudin asked Hillquit how Berger could sign the report and still hold his nationalist views."

The report of the committee on war and militarism did not come until the fifth day of the convention. Many of the delegates had become restless over the delay. Kate Richards O'Hare, chairman of the committee, in making a general report, said the committee had been working day and night ever since being elected. The committee had received 41 resolutions in all, 22 of which suggested practical programs, most of these coming from the agricultural states and having to do with the control of the supply and distribution of food.

The majority report was signed by O'Hare, Berger, Harriman, Hillquit, Midway, Quinlan, Ruthenberg, Shipley, Spiess and Lee; the Boudin report, by Boudin, Sadler and Dillon, while Spargo signed his own report.

Delegates Applaud Liberally. In presenting their reports Hillquit, Spargo and Boudin were listened to with great earnestness and liberally applauded.

Spargo declared there was a minority in the party holding the views he had set forth. He said they were small and weak numerically. "I am appalled by the intolerant spirit manifesting itself in some of the resolutions that have been introduced and in some sections of the convention," he said, in attacking those who wanted to expel from the party everyone not taking the orthodox position on the question of war and militarism. He declared this was an attempt to establish mob autocracy. He attacked the majority report as evading principles and substituting phrases. He said that Ber-

FAVOR CONSCRIPTION OF INCOMES

ST. LOUIS, MO.—One of the real struggles over the majority report on war and militarism came after the preamble had been adopted and the program was under discussion. "Conscription of incomes," brought up by Dan Hogan, Arkansas, because the matter had not been mentioned in the majority report, started the debate that forced the fifth roll call on the convention, since the majority report came up for discussion.

The convention finally went on record, by a vote of 101½ to 69, in favor of conscripting incomes over \$5,000 and putting the financial burden of war on the class that profits from war.

King Substitute Lost. The matter of conscripting incomes first came before the convention in a substitute for the majority's King, offered by Delegate Cameron King, of California. King's substitute contained matter brought before the convention in a statement by Allan I. Benson, recent candidate for president, and which had been previously offered by Delegate Williams, California, but ruled out of order. The King substitute was lost on a roll call vote by 117 to 47.

Delegate Hogan again started the ball rolling on the conscription of incomes by offering his motion. "The capitalists involve us in war and they ought to be compelled to pay for it," he declared.

Delegate A. Wagenknecht, of Ohio, was among those who took up the matter against the Socialist Party going on record in favor of conscription of incomes.

Capitalists Aid Idea. He pointed out that numerous societies were already in existence promoting interest in the propaganda of the conscription of incomes, and that prominent among the contributors to these societies were big capitalists.

He declared that Socialists would not conscript their lives under any circumstances. He said that advocacy of conscription of incomes would justify conscription of lives. "Let us not show," the capitalists how to carry on wars," he said. "The

ger claimed there were two schools of Socialism, the historical school and the hysterical school, and that the majority report belonged to the hysterical school.

"This convention should throw open its doors for constructive work all along the line," said Job Harriman, in speaking for the majority report.

Benson Hits Incomes. Allan I. Benson, recent candidate for president, read a statement to the convention declaring for the conscription of incomes in excess of \$5,000.

"Money is not more sacred than man," he said. He insisted that the voluntary system be adhered to, but that if conscription was demanded that the people be allowed to vote on the proposition.

Delegate Prevey, Ohio, supported the majority report, and Delegate Dillon, New Mexico, who signed the Boudin report, said he also agreed with the majority report, except that he thought it contained too much verbiage.

Delegate Henry, Indiana, was for the majority report, saying it was well worded, that it was revolutionary enough, that it was working class enough.

Delegate Hoehn, Missouri, spoke for the majority report, stating that the rank and file of the working-class would applaud it.

Delegate Holt, West Virginia, turned his guns on Spargo's report, claiming that if adopted it would bring a smile to the faces of the capitalists of the country.

Steel Workers Oppose Conscription. Delegate McKeown, Pennsylvania, said that the steel workers, among whom he worked, are opposed to conscription and that they would resist compulsory military service.

Delegate O'Hare said the workers are looking to the Socialist Party to state the true working class position against war.

Delegate Caldwell, Rhode Island, charged that the majority report was an academic dissertation. He spoke in favor of the Boudin report.

It was decided after the convention had carried on the discussion for hours that when the delegates were through with their preliminary discussion, they would then vote on the three reports, to select a basic report, which would then be further discussed and amended until it satisfied the convention.

The majority report was adopted as the basic report by a vote of 140, compared to 31 votes cast for the Boudin report and five for the Spargo report.

The convention decided to take up the majority report. An addition was immediately presented to the first paragraph declaring the Socialist Party to be opposed to "all wars, offensive and defensive, prosecuted by the capitalist class". It was admitted that this statement was made later in the report but those supporting this amendment wanted it in the first paragraph. It was defeated.

Hillquit Speaks in Favor. Morris Hillquit, New York, made the closing argument for inserting a declaration for the conscription of incomes in the party war declaration.

"I am heartily in favor of the substitute," he said. "We do not offer to trade conscription of lives for the conscription of incomes. We are merely holding out an idea to the people. If you would confiscate all incomes over \$5,000 there would be an end to war in 48 hours. It is childish to say that we would be telling the capitalists how to run the war. They know how to run wars now. They are skinning the great masses of the people to pay for their wars. They are skinning us to death."

The Hogan substitute carried by a show of hands. This was then followed by a demand for a roll call and the vote showed 101½ to 69.

One Change in Preamble. The entire preamble of the majority report carried after hours of debate with only one change being made in the form of an addition to the fourth paragraph. The addition was offered by Delegate O'Hare, Missouri, and declared that "We particularly warn the workers against the snare and the delusion of so-called defensive warfare."

This addition was fought on the grounds that the original draft of the majority report already covered this question. Some delegates argued that it wouldn't hurt to have it in the preamble twice and so it was inserted by a vote of 81 to 51.

The preamble of the majority report was carried by a vote of 104 to 39. Efforts to insert extra statements on defensive and offensive warfare in the first two paragraphs of the majority report, previous to the motion offered by Delegate O'Hare were defeated by votes of 111 to 62, and by 105 to 63.

One of the substitutes offered for the majority preamble was that by Delegate Emil Seidel, Milwaukee. It was defeated.

"Declaration Of War Policy" By The Dissenting Fifty

Fifty delegates to the Emergency Convention, who could not agree with the war declaration adopted by the majority of the delegates, drew up the accompanying declaration and had their signatures affixed to it. This makes it possible to send this "Declaration of War Policy" to referendum along with the declaration adopted by the convention. The declaration of the convention will be published in leaflet form, in the meantime, and sent out for general distribution. The declaration of war policy of the dissenting fifty is as follows:

DECLARATION ON WAR POLICY.

CONGRESS has declared that a state of war exists between this nation and Germany. War between the two nations is a fact.

We opposed the entrance of this republic into the war, but we failed. The political and economic organizations of the working class were not strong enough to do more than protest.

Having failed to prevent the war by our agitation, we can only recognize it as a fact and try to force upon the government, thru pressure of public opinion, a constructive program.

Our aim now must be to minimize the suffering and misery which the war will bring to our own people, to protect our rights and liberties against reactionary encroachments, and to promote an early peace upon a democratic basis, advantageous to the international working class.

Furthermore, we must seize the opportunity presented by war conditions to advance our program of democratic collectivism. Every one of the other belligerent nations has discovered thru the war that capitalism is inherently inefficient. To secure a maximum of efficiency, whether for military or civil needs, it has been found necessary to abandon the essential principle of capitalist industry. The warring nations have had to give up the organization and operation of industry and the primary economic functions for profit, and to adopt the socialist principle of production for use. Thus the war has demonstrated the superior efficiency of collective organization and operation of industry.

Guided by this experience, we would reorganize our economic system as to secure for our permanent domestic needs the greatest possible results from the proper utilization of our national resources.

In furtherance of these aims, we propose the following

WAR PROGRAM.

1.—We propose that the Socialist Party shall establish communication with the Socialists within the enemy nations, to the end that peace may be secured upon democratic terms at the earliest possible moment.

2.—We demand that there be no interference with freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of assemblage.

3.—We demand that dealings between the government and the workers in all of the industries and services taken over and operated by the government shall be conducted thru their organizations, with due regard for the right of organization of those not yet organized.

4.—We demand that conscription, if it come at all, shall begin with wealth. All annual incomes in excess of \$5,000 should be taken by the government and used to pay the current expenses of the war. If it is just to conscript a human being, it is just to conscript wealth. Money is not as sacred as human life.

5.—We demand that there shall be no conscription of men until the American people shall have been given the right to vote upon it. Under the British Empire the people of Australia were permitted to decide by ballot whether they should be conscripted. We demand for the American people the same right.

6.—We demand that the government seize and operate for the benefit of the whole people the great industries concerned with production, transportation, storage and marketing of the food and other necessities of the people.

7.—We demand that the government seize all suitable vacant land, and have the same cultivated for the purpose of furnishing food supplies for the national use.

8.—We demand that the government take over and operate all land and water transport facilities; all water-powers and irrigation plants; mines, forests, and oil-fields; and all industrial monopolies; and that this be done at once, before the nation shall suffer calamity from the failure of their capitalist direction and management under war pressure.

Defeat Radical Change For Party Constitution

ST. LOUIS, MO.—One of the most radical changes in the policy and tactics of the Socialist Party, proposed in an amendment to the party constitution, was defeated by a vote of 59½ to 100½. The proposition was embodied in a change in Article X, Section 3, reading as follows:

"The platform of the Socialist Party shall be the supreme declaration of the party and all state and municipal platforms shall conform thereto. No state or local organization shall under any circumstances fuse or compromise with any other political party or organization, nor shall any candidate of the Socialist Party accept any nomination or endorsement from any other political party."

Leaves Members Free. "Whenever, because of high filing fees, or lack of suitable candidates, or because of elimination in the primary contest, the Socialist Party has no candidate in the field, no other candidate shall be endorsed or supported by the Socialist Party organization; but individual members of the party shall be free to vote or not to vote as they deem best under such circumstances."

"State organizations and any of their sub-divisions shall be free to cooperate with other groups to secure more liberal state constitutions, and the passage of initiative and referendum measures in the interest of the working class."

The discussion showed a much larger sentiment in favor of this change than had been expected. Several delegates stated openly that in great economic struggles of labor, where much depended on the outcome of elections, and where the Socialist candidate didn't have a chance, they had urged the election of non-Socialists.

Delegate Mahoney, New York, said he was opposed to putting all members of the party in the same groove, to put them in a straight jacket. Speakers pointed out that the government was changing, that there were various forms of primaries, that eliminated Socialist candidates, that nonpartisan laws made it impossible to always have a Socialist as second choice.

This led Delegate Cannon, New York, to declare, "Theories must give way to facts". Opposing delegates charged this change in the constitution would open the door to fusion and trading with the old parties. Delegate Jane Tait, Pennsylvania, admitted there might be honest people outside the Socialist Party in her state, but said they were not in politics.

Opposes All Non-Socialists. She was opposed to voting for non-Socialists under any circumstances. In Pittsburgh, she pointed out, when the Socialists did not qualify for the final elections, they used stickers with good effect.

Delegate Kennedy, Chicago, on behalf of the constitution committee majority, opened the fight for this amendment by claiming the Socialist Party was only fighting the class struggle on paper, that it was not fighting the class struggle in fact.

"In every other country on earth our comrades are allowed to make their second choice," he said. "We feel that where such circumstances arise, individuals should be allowed to do as they choose. If we deny our members that right, we shall drive large numbers of our members out of the party. Are we going to do things or are we going to step aside and let others do them. The trouble is not with our theories but with our tactics."

Refuse To Recommend. Delegate Algernon Lee, New York, wanted to recommend this section to the constitution committee, to have them bring in a more favorable draft. This was voted down.

John Spargo, on behalf of 50 delegates who were not satisfied with the majority report on war and militar-

ism adopted by the convention, presented a minority report to be submitted to the party membership thru referendum, along with the report adopted by the convention. This report appears in another column.

By a vote of 78 to 42, however, the convention voted to have the report adopted by it printed as a leaflet and distributed over the nation. It was pointed out that the emergency to meet which the convention was called, would probably pass by the time the membership could act on the proposed program against war and militarism. The convention then took up the question of abolishing the national committee as it exists at the present time and increasing the size and character of the national executive committee.

In bringing this change in the constitution to the attention of the delegates, Kennedy declared that the present national committee was a fifth wheel in the Socialist Party organization, and that its abolition would result in getting more efficient service. The convention after considerable discussion voted to abolish the national committee and increase the national executive committee to 15 members.

N. P. League Up Again. An effort to change the party constitution so as to admit members of other political organizations to the party was also defeated.

The amendment was considered as one of the moves to solve the problems arising from the existence of the nonpartisan league, considered a political organization and not a political party.

Those who argued against letting down the bars declared this change would destroy the Socialist Party.

"The Socialist Party must live by its deeds and not by its creeds," declared Alderman John C. Kennedy, of Chicago, of the constitution committee that proposed the change.

"You must strike this out of your constitution or make hypocrites out of your members," he said. Kennedy pointed out that labor unions are entering more and more into politics, that they endorse candidates of all parties, and that if the amendment was not adopted Socialists would be barred from carrying on their activities in the unions. The convention, however, voted against the proposition by a show of hands and when a roll call was taken voted 50 to 114 to turn it down.

Fight N. P. League Is Advice Given Delegates

ST. LOUIS, MO.—Resolutions declaring against fusion or compromise of the various state organizations of the Socialist Party with the state organizations of the National Nonpartisan League were adopted by the Emergency Socialist convention here by a vote of 114 to 56. The resolution submitted to the convention on this question was as follows:

"Whereas, a new political party called the National Nonpartisan League, that according to the report made upon the same by Comrade John Spargo, to this convention, offers promise of speedily acquiring political power for a certain division of the Industrial Class of the United States, viz.—the toilers of the soil, and

"Whereas, in North Dakota and other states it appears that large numbers of comrades have affiliated with the league in the hope of speedy economic reforms thru political victory under the banners of the league, and such movement being already at work in many other states with a fair promise of success in all, and it being apparent that the National Nonpartisan League presents a problem for solution that must be met and must be solved if the Socialist Party is to continue as a political or a social force in such states as are being furthered by the league; it being further manifest that many of the comrades in such league states, propose to affiliate with the said league, merely for the reason that they mistake the mission of the Socialist Party.

"It, therefore, becomes the duty of this convention to reaffirm the principles of Socialism, and declare the principles of the party in the performance of its historic mission.

"Now, therefore, be it resolved, that the Socialist Party being the political arm of the working class in its fight for industrial freedom, and its power resting mainly in its clear cut, specific declaration of political and economic principles, rather than in the number of votes cast for party candidates, and the purpose of the Socialist movement being the emancipation of the working class from economic servitude, by the abolition of the entire system of capitalist exploitation, rather than the election to office of candidates, for the purpose of speedy economic reform, it is, therefore, declared to be the sense of this convention, that all state organizations facing the solution of this question be urged to remember that to fuse or to compromise is to be swallowed up and utterly destroyed; that they be urged to maintain in the utmost possible vigor the propaganda of Socialism, unadulterated by association of office seekers, to the end that the solidarity of the working class, the principles of international Socialism, may continue to lay the foundations for the social revolution.

LeSueur For Resolution. "The social revolution, not political office, is the end and aim of the Socialist Party. No compromise, no political trading."

Arthur LeSueur, former member of the national executive committee, drew up the resolution for the committee on resolutions and made the principal speech in support of the resolution before the convention. In spite of the fact that he is the legal counsel for the Nonpartisan League he urged Socialists to fight the league.

"Treat the league like any other political party," he said. The convention received a telegram that Rev. Wm. Prosser had been arrested in Pittsburgh, Pa., and held

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under \$10,000 bail for making a speech against war.

Resolutions were adopted by the convention urging support of the organization of Young People's Socialist Leagues.

Demands Free Speech.

The five labor prisoners in San Francisco sent their greetings to the convention, declaring that "The Socialist and labor movement can save us as they did John W. Lawson in Colorado. Liberty or death is our motto." The message was signed by Tom Mooney.

The convention sent a telegram to President Wilson protesting against the suppression of free speech and free assemblage. It was as follows: "Constituted authorities in various sections of the country are suppressing the right of free speech and assemblage by preventing the holding of meetings called to protest against war and militarism. Socialist Party National Convention assembled in St. Louis, enters its protest against this procedure and urges you to see to it that constitutional rights are preserved and the laws faithfully executed."

The convention voted that the National Executive Committee be instructed to compile a statement of the total indebtedness of the national organization, including the expenses of the Emergency Convention, and apportion same to the respective state organizations on the basis of their present membership, and that each state organization be required to make final report and payment within 90 days.

Resolutions were adopted by the convention urging a congressional investigation in the Mooney case, and a reprieve of Mooney pending such investigation. Resolutions were also adopted on the Everett, Wash., cases, demanding of congress a federal investigation and instructing Meyer London to present this petition to congress at the earliest possible moment, and to do all in his power to secure favorable action.

Prof. Maffi, one of the leading Socialists in Italy and a member of Parliament, is to be prosecuted, a la Liebknecht, for opposing the government's war policy. Maffi is a distinguished scholar and member of the faculty of medicine in the University of Padua. He is said to have committed the crime of explaining the physiological retrogression of peoples due to war.

Signor Bissolati, the Socialist member of the War Cabinet in Italy, visited Paris a short time ago and was outspoken in his denunciation of the plan to hold an international conference of party representatives from the Allied countries, to which had been invited delegates from the majority factions of Socialists in Italy, who have been consistent opponents of the war. Bissolati belongs to the minority side, or what is termed the reform wing, which received no invitation to participate in the conference.

The Russian revolution occupies the place of importance in the current issue of Pearson's Magazine. The article is by Frank Harris, who has a first hand knowledge of men who overturned the Russian despotism.

This is followed by an interesting series of interviews with some of the leading foreign ambassadors, who have signed interviews on the war especially for Pearson's. Senator La Follette contributes a signed article on the senatorial filibuster giving some facts which he was not permitted to tell on the floor of the senate. A. M. Simons has the barbers for his subject in the union series. "Gene" Debs writes his personal reminiscences of Wendell Phillips. Bourke Cochran, the noted New York lawyer who defended Mooney, sends a clarion call to all right-minded people to save Mooney from judicial murder.

Latest reports from Russia are to the effect that the demands of the organized workingmen and Socialists that the Grand Duke Nicholas and others of that tribe be not only relieved of their army commands, but be placed under restraint as well have been complied with. The workers charge that none of the nobility are to be tried and that they are constantly plotting to re-establish the monarchy, which seems doomed beyond resurrection. Refugees now in America declare there is now being perfected an alignment of all the forces known as the bloc with the labor and Socialist groups until the end of the war. After that it will be a fight between the bourgeois and the Socialists, the agrarians and the peasants, with the capitalist class conceding to the reactionaries as much as possible to prevent a complete working class revolution.

Colorado Coal Miners Win Big Victory At Last

By DANTE BARTON.

Peace has come to the troubled Colorado Coal fields. Almost certainly a lasting peace has begun between coal miners and coal mine owners in the very districts where the terrible things happened, culminating in the Ludlow massacre.

The United Mine Workers of America have signed a contract with the Victor American Fuel Company of Colorado which recognizes the union, grants the closed shop, and meets every other union demand such as prevails in the most strongly organized districts of the country.

The contract on behalf of the United Mine Workers was made by the same men who directed the strike of two and three years ago for the miners. Frank J. Hayes, vice-president of the organization, who signed the present contract, was the chairman of the policy committee of the strikers. And the president of the Victor American Fuel Co., who recognizes the union is the same John C. Osgood who was the chairman for the coal operators during the strike.

The Victor American Fuel Company is the second largest coal mining company in Colorado. It operates in the same two counties of Colorado, Los Animas and Huerfano counties, in which the two Rockefeller companies, the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and the Rocky Mountain Fuel and Iron Company, operate. Its president, Mr. Osgood, spoke, thru the great strike, for the Rockefeller companies as well as his own.

Scholarship Contest News

How They Stand:

Name	Address	Points
M. K. Freidman	Kokomo, Ind.	...809
B. J. S., Gary	Ind.	...183
M. Maginsky	New York City	...138
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Miss E. W., Holyoke	Mass.	... 20
J. N. Carter	Omaha, Neb.	... 17
Mrs. C. Schase	Youngstown, Ohio	4
Ida Biestock	Hartford, Conn.	2
Robert H. Wilson	Brattleboro, Vt.	—
Wm. Heino	Wilkeson, Wash.	—
Harold F. D. A. Jackson	Los Angeles, Cal.	—
Ernest Leo	Seattle, Wash.	—
M. L. Lehman	N. Glendale, Cal.	—
Maurice Levine	St. Paul, Minn.	—
Mrs. H. J. Grigsby	Great Falls, Mont.	—
Abraham H. Fein	Bronx, N. Y. City, N. Y.	—
Tony Morrello	Youngstown, O.	—
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News From Nowhere

OR An Epoch Of Rest? By William Morris is a romance of the successful Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth. What becomes of the State, Jails, Poverty and Millionaires? Read this story of Socialist Dreams Come True and see. Price \$1.00. Published by CHARLES H. KERR & CO., 347 E. OHIO ST., CHICAGO.

Three Reports Gave Views On Militarism And War To The Emergency Convention

THREE different reports came out of the Emergency Convention committee of fifteen on war and militarism and were submitted to the delegates. The majority report was first adopted as the basic report and then, with a few changes, adopted as the proclamation of the convention. It appears in its final form on page one. We herewith publish the Boudin and Spargo minority reports as well as a statement made to the convention by Allan L. Benson.

Sadler and Dillon Sign Boudin Minority Report

The Boudin minority report, written by Delegate Louis B. Boudin, of New York, and also signed by Kate Sadler, of Washington, and Walter B. Dillon, of New Mexico, was as follows:

In this grave hour in the history of this country, we, the representatives of the Socialist Party of the United States, in special Convention assembled, deem it our duty to place before the membership of the Socialist Party and the working class of America a succinct statement of our position on the questions involved, and to outline a program of action which we believe to be in the interest of workers of this country to follow.

At the very outset we desire to declare our unalterable opposition to all wars declared and prosecuted by any ruling class, no matter what the ostensible purpose. We believe that the interests of the great toiling masses cannot possibly be served by any such war. And we particularly warn the workers against the snare and delusion of so-called defensive wars and wars for the alleged furtherance of democracy.

Not Wars of Subjugation.

Modern wars are not—except under very exceptional circumstances—waged for the purpose of subjugating free peoples which have achieved such a degree of civilization as to have a modern working class as one of its component elements; and none of the great civilized nations are in danger of being subjugated by any other nation. There can therefore be no question—at least in so far as the great civilized nations are concerned—of any nation being defeated against actual subjugation. The defense needed—even in the case of a genuine defensive war—is almost always of some interest of the capitalist class, usually a trade interest or the right and privilege to subjugate or exploit some "backward" race or country.

In the few and exceptional cases where the danger of actual subjugation may exist—the case of the few small civilized nations occupying a sea-coast coveted by their stronger neighbors—the right of self-defense is unavailing, and they would never dream of asserting it against one of the great powers but for the help which they may expect from some of the other great powers. This makes of the small nations mere pawns in the game of world-politics played by the big modern nations—a game in which the working class has nothing to gain and considerable to lose whenever it attempts to play it in partnership with its ruling class.

Socialism Based on Liberty.

This does not mean that we are indifferent to the independence of small nations; or to the right of all nations, great or small, to live their own life in their own way, and to work out their own destinies. On the contrary—we feel very strongly on the subject. Socialism can only be brought about by the efforts of free men, and must be based on the fullest liberty of all races and nations.

But we believe and assert that the only security for the independence of small nations, lies in the ethical concepts and economic interests of the revolutionary proletariat.

The same is true of the progress of democracy. We are not indifferent to the fate of democracy. On the contrary, we believe that the Socialist movement is particularly charged with the duty of preserving and extending all democratic institutions. But we also know that the revolutionary working class is the only social force either willing or capable of doing it.

We deny that any of the nations engaged in this war fight for democracy, or that the ends of democracy will in any way be served by either side to the conflict winning a complete victory. This war is primarily the result of the economic forces which have brought about the imperialistic era in which we live, and of the general reactionary trend which is one of the most essential characteristics of this era. Modern imperialism is a world-wide phenomenon, altho it may be more pronounced in one country than in another. Similarly, the reactionary trend which accompanies it is as broad as our "civilization," altho for the time being it may assume in some countries more obvious forms than in some others. The only hope of democracy, therefore, lies in those revolutionary elements of each country which are ready to fight imper-

ialism in all its manifestations and wherever found.

War for Capitalism. The entry of the United States into this world-wide war does not in any way change the situation. On the contrary, it proves conclusively that no capitalist government, whether monarchial or republican in any form, can be depended upon to fight for democracy, or, indeed, for anything but sordid capitalist interests.

When the great war opened with one of the most lawless and ruthless acts in history, the invasion of Belgium by Germany, an act not merely abhorrent in itself, but striking at the very root of those international arrangements for which we have contended so long and which must lie at the foundation of any international order that will put an end to all wars, the President solemnly enjoined upon the people of this country the duty of remaining neutral not only in deed but also in thought. By that declaration President Wilson officially and authoritatively announced to the people of this country as well as to the world at large that the existence of international law, the dictates of humanity, the fate of small peoples, and of democratic institutions, were matters that do not concern "us."

And they did not concern "us" so long as "our" trade was not interfered with. But when the enormous export trade which "we" have enjoyed during the past two and one-half years, was seriously threatened, our rulers suddenly recalled the solemn duty resting upon "us" to come to the defense of democracy, civilization and international law.

We therefore brand as a piece of monumental hypocrisy President Wilson's statement to the Congress that in this war "we wish to serve no selfish ends," and we emphatically declare that our participation in the great world-war can serve nothing but the selfish and sordid ends of the capitalists of this country. We enter this war for the sole purpose of upholding the basic law of capitalist society that every consideration of humanity must be made subservient to the greed of the capitalist class, concretely represented in this instance by the sacred right of American capitalists to fatten upon the misfortunes of war-stricken Europe. And in defense of this sacred right the capitalists of this country are ready to sacrifice the lives and limbs of its workers.

Fasten Militarism on Nation. We must also remember that the war will have the incidental effect of fastening upon the people of this country, a permanent military establishment of a character quite unknown in its previous history, as a result of the military tyranny which will prevail while it lasts,—all to the great detriment of the democratic institutions of this country and the moral and material interests of its toiling masses.

The working men and women of this country will pay for this war while it lasts—in blood and suffering, only to inherit, when it is passed, a world in which the contrary struggle for existence will be harder and the road to their final emancipation much more difficult.

All of these reasons lead us to the conclusion that we must oppose this war with all the powers at our command.

Spargo Only Signer Of Second Minority Report

The Spargo minority report, which was only signed by its author, Delegate John Spargo, of Vermont, was as follows:

THE Congress of the United States has declared that a series of illegal acts on the part of the German government constitute war against this nation. We are now actually at war with Germany and her allies. The great struggle which for nearly three years has been waged between the principal European nations, a war of unparalleled magnitude and frightfulness, has at last drawn in this republic, until now the greatest of neutral nations.

The Socialist Party is compelled now to state, with greater definiteness and precision than has been done heretofore, the position of our party toward the war and upon the problems which the war inevitably presents.

In the presence of this dire calamity we proclaim our unflinching allegiance to the principle of internationalism. We have no quarrel with

the people of Germany or of any other nation.

Our guiding principle in all that concerns our relations to the people of other lands is internationalism. We are internationalists and anti-nationalists.

But internationalism does not mean for us anti-nationalism. Nor has it anything whatever to do with the vague doctrine of world-organization, for which no accurately descriptive name exists, symbolized by the picturesque ceremony of flag burning. This much exploited ceremonial was a crude attempt to symbolize a conception of a nationless world.

We repudiate the claim made by some that loyalty to this nation is inconsistent with true internationalism. Those who say that Socialism involves the view that the working class has no nation to call its own, that all nations are alike, that there is nothing to choose between a militarist autocracy and a democratic republic, do not preach Socialist internationalism but pernicious reactionary nonsense.

Hits Political Imbeciles. To say that there is no difference between governments is at once demagogic and untrue. Between the old Russian regime and the new is a vast difference, even tho the new regime is not a fully developed Socialist republic. Not to have a choice between them is to be a political imbecile rather than a Social revolutionist.

Internationalism pre-supposes nationalism. It is the inter-relation of nations. The maintenance of national integrity and independence is an essential condition of internationalism. This principle has never in the past been seriously questioned in our movement. It has been the guiding principle of our policies in the Socialist International.

Upon that basis we have always defended the small nationalities and supported their struggles for independence. We have championed Ireland's struggle for national independence; we protested against the denationalization of Poland and aided the Poles in all their struggles and revolts; we supported the Finns in their resistance to Russian despotism; we vigorously protested against the destruction of the national independence of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Bulgaria. Our international policy has been uniformly consistent with this record.

From this point of view, the wanton invasion of Belgium early in this war was a crime against Socialist principles of fundamental importance. It was, furthermore, a blow at international law and good faith, the basis of whatever internationalism in world organization yet exists.

Socialists And Defense. As internationalists we unequivocally assert the right of nations to defend themselves, their institutions and rights.

As a corollary to that statement, we assert the right of Socialists to participate in such defense. Marx, Engels, Bebel, Liebknecht, and practically all the great founders and teachers of our movement, have taught this.

We do not mean that Socialists MUST defend their nation in all circumstances. We have no tolerance for the false patriotism which cries "My country right or wrong" nor for the equally false attitude that Socialists owe no loyalty to their nation, even when its cause is right and just.

In some circumstances it might be a Socialist duty to defend some other nation against one's own. We believe it was clearly the duty of the Social-Democrats in Germany to defend Belgium's sovereignty against their own government's brutal and lawless assault.

That nations exist is a fact. That they will long endure is certain. It may be that at some remote time there will be no separate nations. With that we are not concerned here and now. Our present interest lies in promoting goodwill and understanding among nations. We aim to develop in each nation friendship and respect for all other nations and a scrupulous regard for their rights. To bring about a federation of independent and free nations in the Socialist ideal.

We accept the fine declaration of the martyred Jean Jaures, that a petty nationalism leads away from internationalism, while a profound nationalism leads to internationalism; a petty internationalism leads to a petty nationalism, while a profound internationalism leads to a profound nationalism.

The theory of national rights which we have outlined leads to the question of the means of national defense. Admit the rights of a nation to defend itself, and the right of Socialists to join in that defense, and it follows that we must admit the right of Socialists to create the means of national defense. National defense with dynamite for armaments is impossible!

Surrender To Shoddy Pacifism. To bind the representatives of our party not to vote for any kind of defensive armaments, regardless of existing circumstances, and to provide rules for expelling a representative of the party who votes for such armaments, no matter what the conditions, is in direct opposition to Socialist internationalism, and can only be explained as a surrender to a shoddy pacifist philosophy quite distinct from and unrelated to Socialism.

This is not a concession to militarism, by which we mean the organization of the human and material resources of a nation primarily to serve military purposes. A defensive system of armament is not necessarily militaristic.

GREETINGS TO FINLAND AND RUSSIA

THE EMERGENCY Convention sent greetings to the Socialist members of the Russian Duma and the Socialist majority in the government of Finland. The message to the Russian Socialists was as follows:

"The Socialist Party of the United States in National Convention assembled, sends fraternal greetings to the Socialists and workers of the Russian republic, and hearty congratulations upon their glorious victory in behalf of democracy and social progress.

"We feel confident that you will take advantage of your newly acquired political liberties to join hands with us comrades Socialists of the world in a concerted movement for the establishment of a speedy and lasting peace on the basis of democracy, justice and progress, so that the workers of the world may resume their struggle for the economic and political emancipation of their class. Long live the International Solidarity of Socialism!"

Chairman O'Hare, of the war committee, reviewed the success of the Finnish Socialists in securing control of the government of Finland, pointing out that one hundred and three members of the Finnish diet of 200 members are Socialists, that the premier of Finland is a Socialist, and that six of the eleven members of the cabinet are Socialists.

The message of greetings sent to the Finnish Socialists was as follows: "The Socialist Party of the United States sends greetings and cheer to the first Socialist parliament of the world, now in session as the representatives of a free nation.

"Fully realizing the difficulties of the task which confronts a young Socialist national government in the midst of a deep-rooted capitalist civilization, we are confident that you will meet and solve your great problems with wisdom and courage as you have done in the past.

"May you, the pioneers and forerunners of a new civilization, succeed in the establishment of the first Socialist commonwealth, which will serve as a model for the Socialist world-republic to come."

shown too great an interest in the war to make such a belief tenable. But even if it is conceded that the war of the United States against Germany has been brought on by the capitalists of this nation in their own interests, we must still desire that in the struggle this nation shall be victorious. Regardless of the capitalist motives involved, it is a fact that on one side are ranged the greatest and most powerful reactionary nations, while on the other side are ranged the most progressive and democratic nations in the world. To this fact we cannot be indifferent.

Our Interests Require Victory. We do not, as Socialists, subscribe to the doctrine that once war has been declared in spite of our opposition, we must cease all opposition to it. We do say, however, that when, as in the present case, it is clear that the victory of one side is against the other would promote freedom and democracy, an intelligent application of Socialist principles to the existing situation leads inevitably to the conclusion that the interest of our movement requires the victory of that side.

To profess indifference to the RESULT of the war now being waged, to desire either that the war end in a draw or in the defeat of the entente powers with which this nation is allied, is treachery to the principles of international Socialism.

Furthermore, it is treachery to the democratic principles and institutions of America. The identification of Socialism with this disloyalty to the essential principles of Americanism would destroy every hope of ever winning the great masses of the American people to our cause. We assert that Socialism is not disloyal to the interests of this nation.

Now that the war is an accomplished fact, for the reasons stated we hold that it is our Socialist duty to make whatever sacrifices may be necessary to enable our nation and its allies to win the war as speedily as possible.

In accordance with this statement of the principles which we believe must guide the action of Socialists at this time, we recommend to our members and sympathizers the following program of action:

Active agitation against the suppression of free speech and other popular rights, and to all the reactionary movements which arise in war time.

Agitation in favor of submitting the question of universal compulsory military service to a popular referendum vote of all citizens.

The creation of public opinion to enforce the demand that conscription of wealth accompany any conscription of man for military service.

Demand that for the purpose of paying for the war the United States government shall sequesterate all incomes in excess of \$5,000.00 a year.

Co-operation with the labor unions and other working class organizations in an organized effort to secure the popular democratic control of all governing bodies instituted for the war, and the representation of the labor unions in the direction of all industries which are or may be placed under government control.

Limitation of profits in all private industrial and commercial enterprises. Government ownership of railroads, mines, industries upon which the efficient prosecution of the war, and the well-being of the civil population, depend.

Active efforts to promote the restoration of the Socialist international, especially to establish friendly intercourse with our comrades in enemy countries, with a view to co-operation in efforts to bring about a peace which will be to the interest of the international Socialist movement.

Special activity to promote humane treatment of prisoners of war and interned aliens, to oppose all violations of international law by this nation, and to limit the area and the terrors of war in all possible ways.

Energetic action, thru political and economic organization, to raise the income of the working class to meet the almost inevitable increase in the cost of the necessities of life.

tween the United States and the imperial government of Germany. This war is a fact. We worked to prevent its coming, but it is here. We regard it as the greatest calamity that ever befell the American people, but it is the calamity with which we are face to face. What is our position with regard to it? What should we do about it? Can we stop the war that has already begun? If we cannot stop it, what do we propose to do while it is in progress? Is it likely that the war will offer us tremendous opportunities for service to the American people that will also serve to ingratiate the Socialist Party in their hearts? If so, do we propose to accept these opportunities? If so, how do we propose to accept them?

Have no Illusions. We hold no illusions with regard to our power to stop the war. We cannot stop it for the same reason that we could not prevent it—because we have not the power. But we have people—never before had the American people—in this hour of their great calamity, and in all the darker hours that are to come, our hearts will beat with theirs, as we believe their hearts will beat with ours; for here in America, we are all Americans, in the sense that here it is that we live and work and strive for happiness, regardless of the lands in which some of us were born. We shall therefore consecrate ourselves to the American people as we have never before had an opportunity to consecrate ourselves. To the extent of our power and ability we shall safeguard their interests, by sparing them from avoidable misery and promoting their well-being. And, as examples of what we shall try to do, we mention the following tasks to which we have set our heads, our hearts and our hands:

We demand that conscription, if it is to come, shall begin with money. We demand that the American capitalist class, which brought on this war, shall pay for it as it proceeds, rather than loading a colossal bonded debt upon both the living and countless generations of the unborn. To that end, we demand that all annual incomes in excess of \$5,000 shall be confiscated by the government and devoted solely to discharging the current expenses of the war. If it be just, in any circumstances, to conscript a human being, it is just in all war-time circumstances to conscript money. Money is not more sacred than man—money so sacred. This we affirm, and upon this we shall insist.

Vote on Conscription. We demand that the volunteer system shall be adhered to. We insist, however, that if conscription be considered, that the American people be given the poor privilege that the British government, in the midst of this great world-war, accorded to its Australian colonists. England permitted the Australians the right to decide by ballot whether they should be conscripted. We demand that the American government accord to the American people the same right.

Furthermore, we demand that no man over 21 years of age, but not more than 18 years of military age be permitted to vote on the question of conscription, and that if the majority shall so vote, each and every one of the men constituting the majority shall be required to go to the front and attempt to subdue the enemy before a single man who voted against war shall be conscripted. If there be any worth or value to the principle of democracy it is more valuable in great things than in small and more valuable in war than in peace.

We also demand that the government actively and vigorously intervene to prevent the robbery of the people in the matter of the necessities of life. We demand that this intervention shall consist, first, in the prevention of the exploitation of the people by speculators of every kind; in the limitation of profits of manufacturers and dealers and ownership of government acquisition, ownership and operation at the earliest possible moment, of the great basic industries of the nation.

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OUR NATIONAL KITCHEN. By Anna Agnes Maley, Minneapolis: The People's Press. Price, 16 cents. Many thousands of times the query has been put to us: why do people starve in the midst of plenty. That haunting question is again answered here, exhaustively but very plainly. The pamphlet is an excellent piece of Socialist propaganda and admirably adapted for circulation among women, especially housewives.

BOOK REVIEWS

Discusses the "kitchen" of the past, of the present, and of the future as it will be under Socialism. Of course, the term "kitchen" is not literally and exclusively applied to the apartment where women prepare food. The author discusses the evolution of the "kitchen" from the time when the things necessary to physical subsistence were produced by hand labor and mostly in the homes, to the present time, when their production has passed into the hands of great private industrial combinations, working with the highest developed machinery. The conditions under which society attempts to appropriate these products, the difficulties in the way of sufficient appropriation, lead to the discussion of a vast change in the methods of distribution, which in turn leads up to Socialism. In the short space of 62 pages, however, the author manages to work in a multitude of details regarding production and distribution, so that the pamphlet becomes a very fair primer on Socialism.

We highly recommend this little work to Socialist propagandists as one of the best mediums for reaching the masses of the toilers, and especially the women among them. J. W.

Morris Winchevsky, the pioneer Jewish Socialist agitator, author and poet, was accorded a rousing ovation recently by a gathering of Socialists, Arbeiter Ring members and trade unionists that crowded Carnegie Hall, New York City, in celebration of his 6th anniversary and his 40th year of activity in the labor movement.

Allan L. Benson outlined his views on the question of war and militarism to the convention in a statement as follows:

WE ARE here in response to a call for an emergency convention. The fact that it is an emergency convention is sufficient proof that we are here to consider the present emergency rather than to reaffirm parts of our philosophy that we have often affirmed and which we still believe. We are here to consider the emergency of war be-

AMERICAN SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of the United States.

J. L. ENGAHL, Editor. Entered as second-class matter, July 21, 1914, at the post-office at Chicago, Ill., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Published every Saturday by the Socialist Party National Office, 803 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

BUNDLE RATES.—Single Rates One Year to one address: 4 copies \$15.00; 8 copies, \$30.00; 10 copies, \$35.00; 25 copies, \$90.00; 50 copies, \$187.50; 100 copies, \$385.00. Bundle Rates of Any Issue: 1,000, \$7.50; 500, \$3.75; 200, \$1.50; 100, 75 cents.

SATURDAY, APRIL 21, 1917.

IN THE WORLD OF LABOR.

THE PENNSYLVANIA Railroad recently shipped a score of Mexican laborers from Waco, Tex., to Barberton, O., to solve the scarcity-of-labor problem. A beautiful picture of shower baths, clean rooms, good meals and an opportunity to attend school was shown to the greasers, but that has been dispelled by a rate of \$1.80 a day, dirty bunks, no baths, no night schools and an exorbitant rate for meals. The Mexicans have refused to work under these conditions, and the State Industrial Commission is investigating their grievance. What surprises us is that some of the war organs did not discover an invasion of the Villistas about the time that the Mexicans hit Barberton and shriek for a million men to repel the enemy. But perhaps the Pennsy put on the soft pedal in the hope of retaining its cheap labor.

NOW it is reported from Washington that the railroad lines to the Supreme Court in the Adamson case when they assured the court that they were complying with the terms of the eight-hour act by setting aside the money which the law required should be paid under the basic eight-hour-day plan. Now the railroads blandly come to the front and show the official reports that they never did set aside any money, and are, in fact, planning to spread the expense of January, February and half of March over the succeeding months of the year. And these are the people who are clamoring for higher rates—after having mulcted the public out of \$1,100,000,000 profits during 1916, plus all sorts of fancy salaries and wasteful expenditures to keep down the profit showing.

IT IS estimated that 90,000 lives will be saved yearly and a money loss of \$1,500,000,000 prevented if plans now completed for accident prevention by representatives of medical colleges, industrial plants and the Pennsylvania Bureau of Labor and Industry prove successful. The project is based on investigations of industrial conditions that have been going forward for several years.

RAMSAY MacDonald, labor member of the British Parliament, declared in an address at a public meeting that the war will leave Great Britain with a debt of \$20,000,000,000, which will mean an interest bill of \$1,000,000,000 annually. "The two hundred million will go to the patriotic investors who are real winners of every war," said MacDonald.

City Councilman Schwab, of Stuttgart, has been sentenced to two years in the penitentiary for issuing a leaflet denouncing the imprisonment of Karl Liebknecht for 30 months. Editor Hoffman, of the Elberfeld Free Press, got six months for doing the same thing, and a number of other Socialists were also jailed for six months or less on similar charges, including a soldier who distributed "treasonable literature" among the troops.

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WORKMEN'S SICK AND DEATH BENEFIT FUND OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Table Showing Status of the Society at the End of Years stated, in 5 Year Periods

Year	NUMBER OF MEMBERS		Amount of Benefits Paid Since Organization		Amount Saved in Cash Reserve
	Men	Woman	Sick and Accident	Death	
1885	116	—	\$525.90	\$150.00	—
1890	2,919	252	35,014.57	3,600.00	\$6,062.57
1895	10,992	1,924	310,846.07	75,581.00	35,265.38
1900	21,616	4,123	1,002,398.32	253,731.35	89,773.35
1905	28,470	5,912	1,962,960.82	587,740.96	220,323.38
1910	37,743	7,524	3,236,004.12	1,087,845.77	438,501.72
1915	43,650	8,347	4,876,761.11	1,762,706.87	865,200.00

For further information write to Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund, Entrance on 7th St., No. 1, THIRD AVE., NEW YORK, Second Floor.

Organization Column.

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

SENSE AND STABILITY.

Shortly after the declaration of war with Germany, the writer, as secretary of Local Omaha, issued an open letter to Omaha Socialists, suggesting the following:

"Let every Socialist remain true to his convictions. Let all be tireless in pointing out the cause of this and other wars, all the while demanding the removal of the cause and the active participation in war of those who profit from it and agitate for it.

"Let every Socialist abstain from giving aid and comfort in any way to the enemies of the United States Government. There is nothing Socialist in Prussian militarism. To co-operate with it would only be to invite the disaster that must be avoided. Whichever side wins, the workers lose. To help either side is not to help the workers or to advance in the least the cause of Socialism.

"Finally, I urge the greatest possible self control. Moderation in speech and action is imperative. It will not be easy. It is hard to keep quiet simply because brute force and wild hysteria is in the ascendency. We all feel intensely and deplore most earnestly the greed and malice and stupidity responsible for this war. We must be big enough and broad enough, however, to maintain great calmness in the face of great provocation, and so lay a foundation for a movement which after the war will sweep everything before it."

It seems to me that this is the correct position for American Socialists to take. It involves no desertion of principle. It leaves the way open for effective work when the war is over.

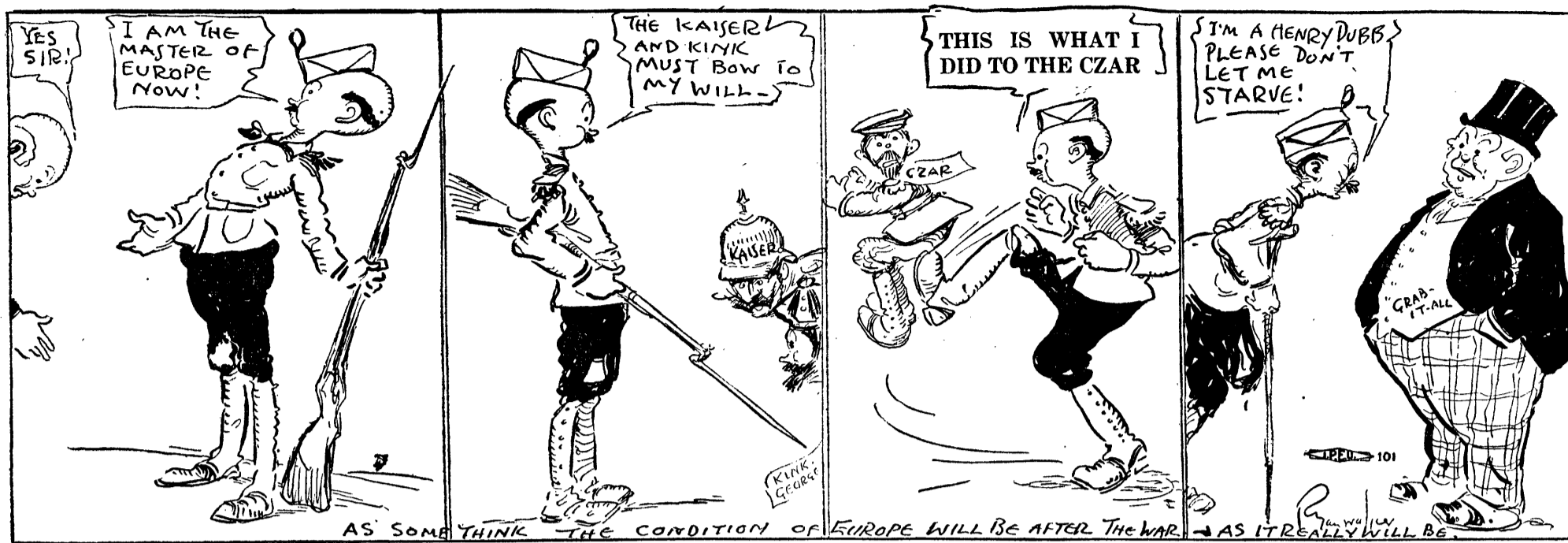
Sense and stability are closely allied just now so far as the Socialist movement is concerned. Keeping quiet is "playing safe." A few of the comrades may be "hungering and thirsting for martyrdom" but the majority are ordinary human beings, and would like very much to avoid it. The jingoes are in the saddle. Let them alone for a while, and they will destroy themselves.

After the war our turn is coming.—Edmund R. Brumbaugh, Omaha, Neb.

Due Stamp Dater.

EVERY Local Secretary should have a Due Stamp Canceller. We furnish dater with the necessary rubber dates for 60 cents. If you want a check on dues payments, the only method is by dating the stamp when it is pasted on the card. The dater just fits the stamp.—Socialist Party, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago.

Will Dubb Bow Before Grab-it-all After The War?



By RYAN WALKER.

Lone Socialist In Congress Battles War To The Last

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Meyer London, Socialist, never pleaded for the ideals of the international Socialist movement as he pleaded on the day that the house of representatives voted to join with the senate and the president in declaring a state of war with Germany.

His cry for "a nation strong enough to forbear to kill" was heeded only for a passing moment in the storm of chauvinistic passion. His ringing challenge to the House to set a historic example by refusing war could not prevail.

His frank appreciation of the difficulty of the German situation, and his urgings that the United States do not sentence to death in battle the Social Democracy of the German nation, were met with anxious silence or with the scattered applause of the few men who refused to join the militarist stampede.

Congress' Big Opportunity.

London told the House that it had an opportunity. European parliaments had been permitted to discuss their share in the war only when war was an accomplished fact.

Not one of these bodies had been given the chance to say beforehand whether their respective peoples were to stay outside or be drawn into the maelstrom of ruin and death.

"Free America had this chance to renounce the ideal of brute force, to cast down the sword, to forego revenge

choice to express itself on the question of war. In the other countries it was forced upon them by the crowned heads. Let us not follow in their footsteps and declare war because the president asked us to do so.

"If this Congress, the only one that had the choice, indorses war, then all hopes for world peace in the near future may be abandoned. Remember, you are not called upon to defend our country. Our country is in no danger. You are asked to go to war in order to change the government of another, a foreign country.

"A legal fiction has been created—a fiction that Congress has the right to declare war. In reality, Congress is only perfunctory in performing the dictates of the executive of this government.

"The president said that we have no animosity to the people of Germany, but to autocrats of that country. Yes, but we are not going to fight the autocrats, but the people. The Kaiser is not in the trenches, but the innocent German, with whom we have no quarrel.

"We are going to fight the 4,000,000 Social Democrats of Germany, who are just as anxious as we are to get rid of the Kaiser, and who are really the bulwark of the democracy of the world.

Germany Will Free Itself.

"In Russia new democratic forces have been liberated. It already has had its effect. For the first time since war was declared the German Socialists voted unanimously against the war budget, and remember this, in Russia the change in the government did not come thru outside forces, but from within. Let the German people work out their own methods of liberation.

"That the American people are against the war craze is self-evident by the lack in enthusiasm for recruiting as volunteers. The president evidently knew that and found it necessary to recommend immediate conscription. Australia and Canada have nobly assisted their mother country, Great Britain, but neither of them has yet enacted conscription, while we are to start with it.

Calls War Greatest Crime.

"There is no use denying that this country has natural sympathies to the allies. We are an Anglo-Saxon people by heritage, by language, by literature, by political institutions, by all our customs and manners.

"There may also be some economic reasons why we should crave the friendship of the greatest naval power of the world, but this should not blind us, this should not lead us to commit the greatest crime of the centuries.

London attacked the so-called national honor, declaring there is no national honor that has to be obtained by physical force.

THE CALL OF THE WILD

By JACK LONDON.

Copyright By Jack London.

(Continued from last week.)

SYNOPSIS OF PRECEDING CHAPTERS.—The gold rush for Alaska is on. Dogs are needed to haul the sleds over the northern snows. Buck, King among dogs, is stolen from his home in the Santa Clara Valley, in California, shipped to Seattle, beaten into submission and sold to Perazult, agent for the Canadian government. Then he is taken aboard a steamer bound for the Northland. As the boat arrives at its destination, he is brought on deck and experiences his first snow. He is soon put ashore and to work with other dogs where he soon learns the law of club and fang. He is suddenly jerked from the heart of civilization into the heart of things primordial. Life becomes a struggle for life and mastery. The dominant primordial beast gradually asserts itself in Buck and he makes his first kill in a death struggle with Spitz, the leader of the team. Buck is sold several times, finally becoming the property of John Thornton, whose life he saves on two different occasions. He performs another exploit that put his name several notches higher on the totem pole of fame by starting a sled carrying one thousand pounds and incidentally winning a \$1,000 bet for his owner. Now go on with the story.

And closely akin to the visions of the hairy man was the call still sounding in the depths of the forest. It filled him with a great unrest and strange desires. It caused him to feel a vague, sweet gladness, and he was aware of wild yearnings and stirrings for he knew not what. Sometimes he pursued the call into the forest, looking for it as though it were a tangible thing, barking softly or defiantly, as the mood might dictate. He would thrust his nose into the cool wood moss, or into the black soil where long grasses grew, and snort with joy at the fat earth smells; or he would crouch for hours, as if in concealment, behind fungus-covered trunks of fallen trees, wide-eyed and wide-eared to all that moved and sounded about him. It might be, lying thus, that he hoped to surprise this call he could not understand. But he did not know why he did these various things. He was impelled to do them, and did not reason about them at all.

Irresistible impulses seized him. He would be lying in camp, dozing lazily in the heat of the day, when suddenly his head would lift and his ears cock up, intent and listening, and he would spring to his feet and dash away, and on and on, for hours, thru the forest aisles and across the open spaces where the niggerheads bunched. He loved to run down dry watercourses, and to creep and spy upon the bird life in the woods. For a day at a time he would lie in the underbrush where he could watch the partridges drumming and strutting up and down. But especially he loved to run in the dim twilight of the forest, reading signs and sounds as man may read a book, and seeking for the mysterious something that

called—called, waking or sleeping, at all times, for him to come.

One night he sprang from sleep with a start, eager-eyed, nostrils quivering and scenting, his mane bristling in recurrent waves. From the forest came the call (or one note of it, for the call was many noted), distinct and definite as never before,—a long-drawn howl, like, yet unlike, any noise made by husky dog. And he knew it, in the old familiar way, as a sound heard before. He sprang thru the sleeping camp and in swift silence dashed thru the woods. As he drew closer to the cry he went more slowly, with caution in every movement, till he came to an open place among the trees, and looking out saw, erect on haunches, with nose pointed to the sky, a long, lean, timber wolf.

He had made no noise, yet it ceased from its howling and tried to sense his presence. Buck stalked into the open, half crouching, body gathered compactly together, tail straight and stiff, feet falling with unwonted care. Every movement advertised cunningly threatment and overture of friendliness. It was the menacing truce that marks the meeting of wild beasts that prey. But the wolf fled at sight of him. He followed, with wild leaping, in a frenzy to overtake. He ran him into a blind channel, in the bed of the creek, where a timber jam barred the way. The wolf whirled about, pivoting on his hind legs after the fashion of Joe and of all cornered husky dogs, snarling and bristling, slipping his teeth together in a continuous and rapid succession of snaps.

Buck did not attack, but circled him about and hedged him in with friendly advances. The wolf was suspicious and afraid; for Buck made three of him in weight, while his head barely reached Buck's shoulder. Watching his chance, he darted away, and the chase was resumed. Time and again he was cornered, and the thing repeated, though he was in poor condition or Buck could not so easily have overtaken him. He would run till Buck's head was even with his flank, when he would whirl around at bay, only to dash away again at the first opportunity.

But in the end Buck's pertinacity was rewarded; for the wolf, finding that no harm was intended, finally sniffed noses with him. Then they became friendly, and played about in the nervous, half-coy way with which fierce beasts belie their fierceness. After some time of this the wolf started off at an easy lope in a manner that plainly showed he was going somewhere. He made it clear to Buck that he was to come, and they ran side by side thru the sombre twilight, straight up the creek bed, into the gorge from which it issued, and across the bleak divide where it took its rise.

On the opposite slope of the watershed they came down into a level

country where were great stretches of forest and many streams, and thru these great stretches they ran steadily, hour after hour, the sun rising higher and the day growing warmer. Buck was wildly glad. He knew he was at last answering the call, running by the side of his wood brother toward the place from where the call surely came. Old memories were coming upon him fast, and he was stirring to them as of old he stirred to the realities of which they were the shadows. He had done this thing before, somewhere in that other and dimly remembered world, and he was doing it again, now, running free in the open, the unpacked earth underneath, the wide sky overhead.

They stopped by a running stream to drink, and stopping, Buck remembered John Thornton. He sat down. The wolf started on toward the place from where the call surely came, then returned to him, sniffing noses and making actions as tho to encourage him. But Buck turned about and started slowly on the back track. For the better part of an hour the wild brother ran by his side, whining softly. Then he sat down, pointed his nose upward, and howled. It was a mournful howl, and as Buck held steadily on his way he heard it grow faint and fainter until it was in the distance.

John Thornton was eating dinner when Buck dashed into camp and sprang upon him in a frenzy of affection, overturning him, scrambling upon him, licking his face, biting his hand—"playing the general tom-fool," as John Thornton characterized it, while he shook Buck back and forth and crushed him lovingly.

For two days and nights Buck never left camp, never let Thornton out of his sight. He followed him about at his work, watched him while he ate, saw him into his blankets at night and out of them in the morning. But after two days the call in the forest began to sound more imperiously than ever. Buck's restlessness came back on him, and he was haunted by recollections of the wild brother, and of the smiling land beyond the divide and the run side by side thru the wide forest stretches. Once again he took to wandering in the woods, but the wild brother came no more; and tho he listened thru long vigils, the mournful howl was never raised.

He began to sleep out at night, staying away from camp for days at a time; and once he crossed the divide at the head of the creek and went down into the land of timber and streams. There he wandered for a week, seeking vainly for fresh signs of the wild brother, killing his meat as he travelled and travelling with the long, easy lope that seems never to tire. He fished for salmon in a broad stream that emptied somewhere into the sea, and by this stream he killed a large black bear, blinded by the mosquitoes while likewise fishing, and raging thru the forest helpless and terrible. Even so, it was a hard fight, and it aroused the last latent remnants of Buck's ferocity. And two days later, when he returned to his kill and found a dozen wolverenes quarrelling over the spoil, he scattered them like chaff; and those that fled left two behind who would quarrel no more.

(To Be Continued.)

The first revolutionary exile that will return to Russia to take up his work as a leader of the Socialist party will be Leon Trotsky, the writer and lecturer, whose short residence in New York has been a series of personal triumphs. Trotsky was given a big personal reception last week and presented with a well-filled purse to be used in starting a Socialist paper in Petrograd or Moscow to champion the cause of Socialism. It has been reported that Trotsky and other Russians were seized, while returning to Russia, by the British government at Halifax, Canada and interned.

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