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# AMERICAN SOCIALIST

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## Socialist In Congress Points Way To Lasting Peace

### All Allied Countries Urged To State War Aims; Asks Parliaments To Send Delegates To Washington Conference.

(Special Correspondence) WASHINGTON, D. C., August 6.—Meyer London, Socialist representative from New York, has introduced a joint resolution in the House of Representatives calling upon the legislative bodies of the countries now at war with Germany to elect from their membership an "interparliamentary conference" to reach a common understanding of the basic principles upon which a lasting peace may be established. The resolution requests the president to convey the invitation to the governments of the nations to provide for the election of the delegates to the conference, which is to be held in Washington. London's resolution is the first concrete proposition yet presented to Congress plac-

ing upon the parliaments of the warring countries the responsibility of determining terms of peace. **TEXT OF RESOLUTION.** THE resolution follows: "Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that in order to promote democracy in international relations, and to reach a common understanding of the basic principles upon which a lasting peace may be established, a conference of representatives elected from the membership of the legislative bodies of the countries now at war with Germany be held at the earliest possible date, and be it further "Resolved, that the president of the United States be requested to convey

to the respective governments of the said nations the invitation of the Congress of the United States of America to elect delegates to an interparliamentary conference to be held at the city of Washington, District of Columbia, for the purposes above stated; and be it further "Resolved, that an appropriation of \$250,000 out of moneys in the treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated is hereby authorized to be made for the purpose of this resolution. "It is evident that thruout the world there is a growing demand that the principal issues of the war be made clear," said London, in explanation of his resolution. **A WAR OF NATIONS.** "THIS is a war, not of armies, but of na-

tions. The coercive principle which exists in armies cannot be applied to entire nations. A nation at war must be convinced of the justice of its cause, and when more than one nation is involved in a common war all of them must, at least, agree on one thing, that their objects shall not conflict. "A declaration by a conference of representatives of all of the Parliaments of the nations arrayed against Germany would constitute an appeal to the reason and to the conscience of the world. It would have an immediate effect upon the liberty and peace-loving elements in the central powers. "The value of the Reichstag declaration has been underestimated. It is, first of all, an assertion of the right to determine international relations by a Parliament which has heretofore been submissive to the government. Second,

it is a direct bid for peace. Third, it emphasizes the fact that the representatives of the German people have realized the danger of an economic alliance after the war. **EXPECT NO VICTORY.** "IT is evident that they do not expect to defeat the allies, that no matter how optimistic they may be about their military success, they have no hope that Germany will be able to force its terms upon the allies. "The best they can hope for is a stalemate from a military standpoint and an economic alliance against them after the conclusion of the war. "The United States is in the best position to initiate such a conference. The quarrel is comparatively young. We have not yet become embittered. We are still capable of dispassionate reasoning. "The calling of an interparliamentary conference will not weaken or separate, but unite."

### Clarence Darrow Takes Up Censorship Of Press With President Wilson

As we go to press word comes from Washington that Clarence Darrow, representing The American Socialist, has had an interview with President Wilson on the question of the press censorship. Full details in our next issue. Darrow has been in the east for the past two weeks exerting every effort possible to have the administration raise the censorship against the Socialist and labor press. We are hoping his efforts have been crowned with success.

### First Details of Great Peace Meet To Be Held At Stockholm

By BASSETT DIGBY. (Special Cable to The Chicago Daily News) STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN, July 30.—I am able to send The Daily News the first details of the great international socialist peace conference in August and to indicate the scope of the aims of all the delegates, who are expected to number 250, who will all sit in the same hall. Efforts were made to obtain the use of the chambers of the riksdag (parliament), but the Swedish government refused, averring that the grant would be construed in certain quarters as an unneutral act. It is now expected that the conference will sit in the old building of the Nordiska company (a department store), in the center of Stockholm.

### Senate Hears Plea For Strong Voice To Raise Itself For Peace

(From The Congressional Record) Mr. SMITH of Michigan, I have an editorial from the Detroit News of July 28. This paper holds a leading place in American journalism and represents a circulation daily of 234,800. The editorial bears upon the present international situation and deals with the question in a large and patriotic spirit. I should like to have it printed in the RECORD for the information of the Senate. There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows: **IS THERE NO VOICE FOR PEACE?** Is there nowhere in this world a strong voice that dares raise itself for peace? Has it become a crime to deplore the death of human beings? Is it cowardice to have a living hope that 600,000 young men of this land may be saved from death in the trenches? We, the people of the United States, thru our representatives in Washington, have declared that we must fight back at Germany. We are taking 600,000 of our best young men, picking them from the arts of peace, and pushing them to the front to fight our fight, if needs be to die for us. Theirs not to say aye or nay; theirs but to go forth to kill and be killed. There is civilization left in the world. Is it unpatriotic to say that all this slaughter is needless? Have Governments so failed that they can do naught but set men at each others' throats to take life? Does real service to humanity—to one's country—lie in taking life or in saving life? Has every last effort to secure an honorable peace been exhausted? Are any efforts at all being put forth now to secure an honorable peace? Are we so taken up with our preparations to kill that we give no thought to efforts to spare? Are we sure that we are right in the belief that there is nothing left to this nation but sacrifice—the sacrifice of 600,000 of our best young men, and 600,000 more to follow them, and they to be followed by still another 600,000, and each of these 600,000 to take a life for a life? Are we sure that we are doing our full duty to our God, to our country, and to ourselves when we accept it as settled that there can be a lasting peace only thru the shedding of more rivers of blood? Has it become a disgrace to love to live, to want to save those near to us? Is there nothing left that is ennobling except to pierce a man's heart, to gouge out an eye, or to blow off a leg or an arm? We, the people of the United States, are a self-governing Nation. We have the right and the power to have our Government conducted as we wish. Let us make our representatives at Washington understand that we have no hatred in our hearts, no false pride to be gratified, no desire but that of service to humanity. Hatred others may have, but it is not for them to say to us: "The killing must go on; this is no time to talk peace." Let our President and our Congress understand that they can have back of them an army of 600,000 men, or 1,200,000 men, or 1,800,000 men, or 2,400,000 men, but it must be an army that demands peace and is ready to back the demand with arms. Let the preparations for war go forward on even a greater scale, that the nation which understands the language of war better than any other language may know that our efforts toward peace are not efforts of weakness nor cowardice, but of a deep love for humanity. Let those who represent us understand that while we will give of manhood and money for war it is done only to secure a lasting and honorable peace, with the least possible sacrifice of manhood, let the cost in money be what it may. Is Germany ready for a peace that should be acceptable to other nations, a peace that means a drawing back of the German militaristic army? Germany started out with its Junkerism with its sea-German policy, a policy that would have Germany control to the sea every river that rises in Germany, with its hand of trade and commerce grasping everywhere for more. In the Reichstag Germany now declares that it wants peace without indemnity and without conquest. Let us reason it out. In Germany the family tie is as strong as in any

other nation. The love for father and son and brother is as great as in any other people. While Germany has been reducing the man power of France, the French fighters have been hitting blow for blow and have reduced the man power of Germany. England, too, has killed hundreds of thousands of Germans; so has Russia. Behind Germany are the rivers of blood that we see rising before us. With Germany are the dead, the maimed, and the blind. With three great armies and some lesser ones in the conflict Germany sees rising before it another nation that can send 10,000,000 men against its army, if need be, and furnish countless supplies. Sturdy young men in Germany have been killed or crippled to a number that runs into the millions. She must send her youth and her older men also against our Army, if they are not already in the trenches. Germany must be weary of the slaughter, of the privation and suffering, of the debt mounting higher and higher. We know in our hearts that we are not a blood-lustful people. We know in our hearts that we would not kill if killing could be avoided. Do we know in our hearts that we have done all we can do to avoid killing? Provocations? Yes. Patience tried? Yes. Time for calling to arms? Yes. Time to fight? Yes; if necessary. But while shouldering the arms should we not still let it be known that we would prefer to stop the flow of blood rather than to cause more to flow; that we would prefer to heal the wounds rather than to cause fresh wounds; that, rather than take life, we would prefer saving the lives of our enemy, as well as the lives of our own young men? We know that we would rejoice with all the world if peace were declared. While encouraging our officials in equipping armies and navies and ambulance corps, let us encourage them also in steps of peace, steps that will avoid the heavy toll of lives that war exacts.

### Kerensky Wins In His Fight To Establish New Russian Cabinet

More important than any developments on the field of battle in Europe are the cabinet upheavals in the governments of the various nations. Alexander F. Kerensky, Socialist premier of Russia, maintains his position in the great struggle to hold intact the fruits of the Russian revolution. As we go to press word comes that he has completed his new cabinet, which is stronger than ever from a Socialist and revolutionary point of view. Tseretoff again becomes Socialist minister of agriculture; the reactionary, counter-revolutionary forces having been compelled to withdraw their baseless charges that he had relations with the German government. One of the biggest cabinet changes of the war seems to be taking place in Germany. It is officially announced that Foreign Secretary Zimmerman and four secretaries of state have handed in their resignations. The oncoming International Socialist Peace Conference at Stockholm has been the cause of stormy scenes in the parliaments of both France and Great Britain. Albert Thomas, Socialist member of the French cabinet, who has been unyielding in his support of the war, threatens to withdraw from the ministry if the French government refuses to grant passports to the French Socialist delegates to Stockholm. It is also declared that all French Socialists will cease to have anything to do with the government. An uproar has been created in the British cabinet and parliament as a result of the fact that a member of the cabinet, Arthur Henderson, minister without portfolio in the war council, Socialist and spokesman for the organized labor, went on a mission to Paris with the anti-militarist James Ramsay MacDonald, member of Parliament; George James Wardle, chairman of the labor party in the House of Commons, and Russian delegates. The purpose of the journey was to confer with French Socialists in regard to the proposed conference of entente socialists at London and the subsequent international conference at Stockholm. The crux of the matter lies in the fact that Henderson since he returned from Petrograd reversed his attitude on the question of the British labor party and socialists meeting the German representatives at Stockholm and now advises them to rescind the former resolution against joining the conference with enemy delegates. Mr. Henderson has not publicly explained his change of views, but it is known to be the result of his visit to Russia. It is stated that the heads of the labor party officially accepted his advice.

### Russia Seeks To Unite The Friends Of The Revolution

By JAMES O'DONNELL BENNETT (Special Cable to The Chicago Tribune) STOCKHOLM, August 5.—At a plenary sitting of the central executive committee of the all-Russian congress of Workmen, Soldiers' and Peasants' council the following resolution offered by the Social Revolutionists and Mensheviks was passed by an overwhelming majority: "The country and the revolution are in supreme danger from the threatening military collapse, attempts at a coup d'etat by anarchists and counter revolution intrigues. These dangers are worse because of the steadily increasing economic disturbances and the food and financial crises, which have reached a desperate point. "Under such conditions the country's only salvation seems to be the creation of a strong revolutionary force, equipped with full authority to accomplish these democratic and social reforms proclaimed in the provisional government's declaration, because they will prevent economic disaster and cut the ground from under the feet of anarchy and counter revolutions. A passive resistance in some circles is manifest against all the provisional government's revolutionary measures. **MUST REORGANIZE GOVERNMENT.** "The boycotting of the government's efforts acts to delay the accomplishing of urgent political, agrarian and financial reforms and postpone the summoning of a constitutional assembly. This is nothing but an effort on the passivists part to use the country's difficult situation to their own advantage and to seize power for themselves. Such resistance only offers direct aid to the counter revolution's darkest elements and steers towards the country's utter collapse. A coalition government can only be formed by an organized bourgeoisie's recognition of the revolution's achievements and the bourgeoisie's agreement to carry out all labor and agrarian reforms and to sustain the provisional government's entire program of peace without annexation or indemnities and with recognition of the rights of nationalities to self-government. "Therefore it is necessary to reorganize the administration machinery and place it in charge of persons true to the revolution." **FACE UNDREAMED OF MISERY.** THIS pronouncement was followed by a speech by M. Tcheide, president of the executive committee of the soldier's and workmen's council. He said: "Revolutionary Russia's government must become the victim either of internal enemies, which means counter revolution, or of external enemies. "This extraordinary situation demands extraordinary measures to prevent a new anarchistic coup d'etat and the army's decay. Culmination of these disastrous conditions would threaten the country with undreamed of misery. "All members of the council, provincial officials, and army delegates agree absolutely that it is necessary to smash the counter revolution, because it is trying to twist to its own interests those measures necessary to take against anarchy." **SEE HAND OF IMPERIALISTS.** THESE utterances give special significance to the declaration by the committee on foreign affairs of the workingmen's and soldiers' council in Petrograd concerning the Socialist peace conference in Stockholm. This declaration says: "The impression is growing that, guided by world imperialists, hands of sabotage are working secretly to destroy the work of drawing together the toiling masses of all countries in behalf of peace. We declare with utmost emphasis that the revolutionary democracy of Russia, which writes upon its banner 'The Battle for Universal Peace,' cannot countenance such sabotage. "Under no pretext, however plausible, can the Stockholm conference be delayed if this struggle for the peace for which all nations are longing, is to be brought to victorious fruition. If this conference should be prevented the whole world shall know the names of the men responsible for its failure. **END REIGN OF BLOOD.** "THEY shall bear publicly before the toiling masses of the whole world the responsibility for the inevitable disastrous consequences. "At the beginning of the fourth year of the world war the watchword for peace must ring more clear than ever before. It is high time to bring the glad news of peace to the masses. It is high time, we think, to end this reign of bloody insanity, which is banishing from the world centuries of human culture and is devastating all civilized countries. "WITH THOSE WHO DO NOT UNDERSTAND THE NEED OF ENDING THIS SLAUGHTER AND SUFFERING OF INNOCENT VICTIMS, THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION CANNOT WALK IN THE SAME PATH."

### DELEGATIONS FROM END OF EARTH.

The call for the Stockholm conference has gone out to the most remote ends of the earth—to South Africa, South America, Australia and New Zealand. It is expected that a high percentage of delegations from even the outlying nations will attend. Delegations from all the warring powers already are assured. The joint Russo-Scandinavian-Dutch committee, which is acting as host, has assurances that even representatives of the German minority will come.

### CONFERENCE HAS TWO AIMS.

WHAT does this extraordinary gathering at the height of the world war of representatives of international socialism intend to accomplish? Mainly two things, both big. The first test will consist of an attempt to demonstrate to the world by a powerful appeal to the socialist spirit of the delegates gathered from five continents and seven seas their international solidarity and potentiality for action on behalf of democracy and for keeping the world stable and sane—in brief, the rehabilitation and demonstration of the socialist "Internationale" (international organization) as a world factor. Secondly, and more sensationally, the conference will aim to fix the blame for this war. The conference means to get to the bottom of this all important mystery. It is realized, as high persons connected with it told me, that it is no use talking peace terms until they find who is guilty of beginning the war. "Who applied the match?" Every delegation of belligerents will have to answer in the presence of the world's delegation an interrogation on its attitude during the war and render an account of its party stewardship. No belligerent delegation will be held to account for the deeds of its government, but all will be asked when, if at all, began its distrust of the government's catch phrases that plunged the country into war and kept it there, and how the socialist leaders can reconcile with their socialist consciences their toleration and even approval of the socialism of their countrymen who continue to fight.

### URGE WORLD SOCIALIST PROGRAM.

IF A unity of agreement can be brought out and maintained among all delegations it is expected that a practical socialist peace program approved by the world's socialists will be drawn up. An elaborate system of interpreters will be necessary in this Babel. The official languages of the conference will be French, German and English. An interpret will sit with every group. After each foreign delegate has spoken various group interpreters will explain the main points of the speech to those around them. In some cases speeches will have to be interpreted into German and French before the Slovak, Croat and Bulgar interpreters will be able to grasp the versions and translate them into their own tongues.

### Canada Forging Ahead

The Canadian government is getting ready to take over all the railroads in the dominion. It is thus putting into practice some of the advanced ideas of its people, a progressiveness that manifests itself in a stubborn opposition to conservatism. The government now announces its intention of taking over the entire Canadian Northern Railway system of more than 9,000 miles. When the negotiations are completed the people of Canada will own a railroad system from the Atlantic to the Pacific. "Who is going to run the railroad after the government takes it over?" asks some pessimist doubter, who always argues that all men with ability cannot possibly work for the government as well as for the privately owned railroad corporation. Finance Minister White, of Canada, answers this question immediately by declaring that the government will retain all of the present capable operating heads of the railroad. The transaction also involves taking over the subsidiaries of this great railroad system, including steamship lines, telegraph companies, express department, hotels and grain elevator systems, and terminal docks at Vancouver. Canada is already far in advance of the United States in municipal and state ownership. Now she is going to outstrip us in national ownership. This is the result of having a wide-awake, forward looking, thinking labor movement that has asked Socialism in at the front door and is applying its principles to the problems of every day life. Let the organized workers of the United States follow the example of their Canadian brothers. Speaking in behalf of a constituency of 1,800,000, which will be more than 2,000,000 when the People's Council is formed in Minneapolis September 1, the Organizing Committee of that movement began a new peace drive, when in an open letter to Congress it urged a concrete restatement of "terms upon which a just and permanent peace can be arranged," and urged in addition that in pursuance of this purpose a conference of representatives of the elected assemblies of all the allied powers be called in Washington to restate the war aims of the allies.

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### Appeal To Supreme Court

CLEVELAND, OHIO.—C. E. Ruthenberg, Edward Baker and A. Wagenknecht, prominent Ohio Socialists, Ruthenberg being organizer for Cleveland, and Wagenknecht state secretary, have been sentenced to one year in prison at Canton, Ohio, following their conviction for interference with the draft. The cases are being appealed to the United States supreme court.







# X RAYS

By JOHN M. WORK.

**C**APITALISM deprives the masses of the people of most of their earnings.

Capitalism deprives the masses of the people of most of their earnings.

This exploitation of the people out of most of their earnings is not a by-product of capitalism. It is not an accident. It takes place because of the very nature and essence of capitalism.

**U**NDER the capitalist system of industry, called capitalism, the great industries are owned by a comparatively few capitalists and combinations of capitalists known as corporations.

The fact that the capitalists own the industries gives them the power to exploit the wage workers out of most of their earnings.

The wage workers are dependent upon the capitalists for jobs, because the capitalists own the industries. The wage workers are therefore compelled to accept jobs at wages which amount only to a fraction of the value of their labor. The capitalists are not in business for the fun of the thing. They are in business to make money. They are in business to make profits. The only way in which they can make profits is by gouging others. They do not earn any money themselves, because they do not do anything useful. That is, in their capacity as capitalists they do not do anything useful. If any of them do anything useful, to that extent they are not capitalists, but workers. As capitalists, they do not perform any useful social function. They are parasites. The only way they can get money is by getting the earnings of others.

**Y**ET they are rich.

They get rich by keeping for themselves most of the earnings of the wage workers, the farmers, and the rest of the common people.

They accomplish this exploitation in several ways.

They gouge the wage workers out of part of their earnings by paying them less than they earn. They gouge all the common masses of the people, including the wage workers and the farmers, out of part of their earnings by charging them too much for the things they have to buy. They gouge most of the masses of the people out of part of their earnings by charging them exorbitant rent.

**I**T WOULD be interesting to know exactly what per cent of the earnings of the masses of the people are taken away from them by this exploitation.

But the capitalist system of industry is so chaotic in its nature that it is impossible to secure accurate information on this subject.

The problem is not a simple one. On the contrary, it is very intricate and complex. The solution cannot be reached by the mere subtraction of one sum from another.

To take the amount for which the manufactured products are sold, and deduct the demand of wages paid to the factory workers, and set down the balance as the amount of exploitation, is to reach an utterly illogical conclusion—a conclusion which cannot be sustained for a moment.

There are several factors which this method does not take into consideration.

The legitimate cost of raw material should be deducted.

The legitimate wages of superintendence should be deducted.

Salaries are often padded. Also, salaries are frequently paid to persons who do not perform any useful function. But, in so far as salaries are really earned by actual necessary service in the industrial process, they should be deducted.

The cost of new factory buildings and the installation of new machinery, if necessary and bone fide, should be deducted.

Furthermore, the amount of exploitation is not to be merely spread over the factory workers. It is to be spread over all the useful workers. Take the railroad workers, for example, and the teamsters, the school teachers, and many others who could be mentioned. They do not work in the factories. They do not produce any tangible product which can be weighed or measured. Nevertheless, they are necessary to the social process. Their pay necessarily and legitimately comes out of the total product of society. So do the other legitimate expenses connected with their occupations. The question cannot be properly approached from the standpoint of one lone group of workers. They cannot be divorced from the rest. All legitimate industries of society are interrelated. The whole social process must be taken into consideration.

**O**NLY a fraction of the total amount of exploitation takes place in the pay envelope. If all exploitation took place in the pay envelope, it would be necessary for us to instantly quit objecting to high rent and the high cost of living. We would, in that case, have no legitimate objections to these at all. But the fact of the matter is that a vast amount of exploitation does take place by means of rent and consumption. The average worker who has a family pays somewhere in the neighborhood of one-third of his income as rent for an alleged home. Sometimes he pays more than a third. If he got it at cost—as he should—it would probably cost him about one-third or one-fourth of what he now pays. Maybe even less.

This is one of the big forms of exploitation. Then, when he buys food, fuel, clothing, etc., he is again mercilessly exploited.

If he got these at cost—as he should—he would get them for a fraction of what he now pays. This is another big form of exploitation.

**T**AKING all these things into consideration, it is evident that the useful workers are exploited out of most of the value of their labor. But it is also evident that it is an impossibility to arrive at the definite and accurate percentage of exploitation.

**T**HE best way to prove that there is vast exploitation is just to point out the capitalists. They do nothing useful. Nevertheless, they possess great wealth. They have princely mansions, summer homes, automobiles, yachts, fine clothes, jewels, etc. They indulge in elaborate social functions, and they go globe trotting whenever they feel like it, etc.

These things show at once that they possess great wealth. Yet they perform no useful social function. Where, then, do they get this wealth?

Where could they get it, ultimately, except from the useful? This proves, without the possibility of successful denial, that the percentage of exploitation is large.

The precise figures are relatively unimportant. **A** GAIN, we must never lose sight of the fact that the workers are not only exploited out of most of the value of their labor but they are also deprived of most of their opportunity to produce. By its very nature capitalism is prodigiously wasteful and cannot utilize the elements of productivity which would immensely increase the total product. It also prevents millions from engaging in productive industry at all.

**S**Ocialism will make the exploiting industries collective property, owned by all the people and run for the benefit of all the people. This will give the people their full earnings. It will enable them to produce more. It will give them shorter work days. It will give them a chance to make their lives worth living.

President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, under cover of the pro-German hysteria, has inaugurated a campaign to kill Socialism in the labor unions of New York City. He'll remember with sorrow the day he started this dastardly attack. It happens that the Jewish workers in the clothing trades, Socialists to the core, practically dominate the New York trade union movement. Gompers evidently thinks he can discredit their Socialist officials by raising the false, moat eaten, cowardly cry of pro-Germanism. He will fail.

## Congress Is Stirred By Mail Tampering Charges

Charges made by Congressman Tague of Boston that post office inspectors had been systematically opening his private mail in order to "get something on" him to punish him for his stand in the pneumatic tube fight, has stirred Congress to its depths.

The hearings of the House Committee on Post Office Expenditures are crowded with congressmen and their secretaries, most of whom seem convinced that the Boston congressman has got the goods on the ring of postoffice inspectors who dominate the department.

These revelations, coupled with the vigorous fight initiated by The American Socialist on behalf of the twenty socialist and radical papers which Postmaster Burleson has held up, have kept the department under fire for the past two weeks.

The climax in the Tague case came, quite unexpectedly, from the defense. When Congressman Tague ventilated his charges, Postmaster John Murray of Boston hurried to Washington and demanded a hearing. He was given one and on the stand he passionately denied that he had opened Tague's mail or permitted any postoffice employe to open his mail. He carefully explained, however, that he had no control over the postoffice inspectors who are responsible only to the administration at Washington. The official transcript of the testimony from this point on makes piquant reading:

Chairman Keating: I want to know to what extent an inspector has the right to examine the mail of a citizen without the consent of that citizen, and I thought as postmaster you might be able to state it, in case it was a part of the daily routine of your office.

Mr. Murray: May I say this: That the only time the matter of opening anybody's mail was ever brought up in the Boston postoffice, that I remember, was after the declaration of war, when it was brought up that the mail of the interned German sailors in Boston ought to be censored and it was put up to me to open that mail or to give it to somebody who would open it, and I would not do any such thing.

Mr. Huddleston: Who put it up to you?

Mr. Murray: And I made it the subject of correspondence with the Department, and the Postoffice Department at Washington took the same attitude that I took about the matter, that even the mail of interned German sailors and alien enemies of this Government ought not to be opened.

Mr. Huddleston: Who put it up to you?

Mr. Murray: Now, if you insist on an answer to that question I will answer it.

Mr. Huddleston: I think it ought to be answered.

Mr. Murray: A Secret Service man.

Mr. Heintz: Of the Treasury Department?

Mr. Murray: Yes.

Mr. Huddleston: Did he hold himself out as being instructed to take such action or was he doing it...

Mr. Murray: (Interposing) He did not get as far as that. He asked for certain letters. I said, no; he said "Turn your back." I said "I will not." He said "Why not?" I said "Because if I turn my back, you will take those letters and open them, and you will not take any letters going thru the Boston post-office and open them while I am postmaster." And that was said in presence of the assistant postmaster.

And then to be charged with opening anybody's mail when I would not even allow such action in that instance, and do you wonder that I am feeling pretty hot about this thing, to be charged with that when I would not allow even the German sailors' mail to be opened. That mail was in the postoffice for two or three weeks while I wrote to the Department here about it, and a copy of the correspondence is in the Department here.

The thing that staggered the congressmen, of course, was the frank admission that the secret service men, who belong to the Treasury Department and have no more right of access to the mails than a soldier or a sailor, entered the Boston postoffice, abstracted the letters of the interned German sailors and perfunctorily sought permission to open them. Murray is an Irish politician and evidently holds old-fashioned ideas as to the sacredness of the mails. The fact that when he insisted on putting the matter up to the Department the latter refused to go officially on record as approving it is considered of less significance than the calm effrontery of the secret service men.

The question is: What would have happened with a more pliant postmaster? What were they doing in the postoffice at all? How widespread is the practice of opening private mail?

These are the questions which the House seems determined to have answered.

Those who have evidence regarding the practices of the Post Office Department should communicate without fail with their congressman or with Chairman Keating of the House Committee on Postoffice Expenditures.

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13. Usurped Power of the Courts; by Allan L. Benson.....5 cents
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These books in one neat package will be forwarded to the secretary of any local or group which will collectively send in 100 new annual subscriptions at 50 cents or 200 six months subscriptions, at 25 cents respectively.

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**The American Socialist**  
803 WEST MADISON ST., CHICAGO, ILL.

## From The Firing Line

"I think The American Socialist the best paper published," says C. C. Kelly, Texas, as he sends in a list of subs.

"Here are three new ones, which a year ago would not accept Socialist papers if handed to them," writes J. Lundell, Colorado. "It seems like The American Socialist is getting quick popular since the Postmaster General tried his tricks on it."

"I am a Socialist to the core, and doing all I can for the cause, as it is the only thing that will bring a Perfect Democracy," writes J. W. Phipps, Arkansas.

"This is my answer to the Postoffice czars," writes Ralph E. Day, Maine, as he sends in a list of new readers.

"Picked up three subs in protest against the suppression of the papers. Am well pleased with The American Socialist and in fact the future of our movement in general," writes J. W. Hoffman, Michigan, as he sends for two papers weekly, one to be read and kept, the other to be passed around.

"Please start my subscription with the issue of July 28. I like that issue. I see several of your papers and friends are being quoted, and being personally acquainted with them it makes me feel like I should subscribe to The American Socialist," writes W. J. Flacy, Kansas.

"Most of these voted for Wilson because he kept us out of war," writes Mrs. Eliza A. Taylor, Oregon, as she sends in a list of new readers.

"Birthdays Greeting and a mite for the million mark," writes S. I. Carter of Oregon with a list of new readers.

Twenty-five new subscriptions were picked up in a small railroad town in Illinois by W. B. Baumhann in a short time of vigorous endeavor. We have sent him an American Labor Year Book as recognition of his efforts. The railroad men are ripe for the good work. Congratulations and thanks, comrades!

Henry Hoffmann, Minnesota, sends in a list of 15, and writes, "another list will be on the road next week."

"The last copies have been great," writes P. W. Noble, Washington, as he sends in a list of new readers.

"I am with you heart and soul to make America safe for democracy," writes H. A. Peters, Michigan. "Years for freedom without a string tied to it."

Dr. Wesley Good, Missouri, sends in another man's sub and writes, "He says he is not a Socialist, but that denying the Government tries to suppress his work to read, as he is satisfied that something is being published that is worth reading."

James W. Booker, Tennessee, sends in seven new subs and writes, "This is my answer to the plutocratic suppression of free speech and press. Cheer up, the people are with us. In victory we are marching in double quick file."

A new local was organized in Louisville, Ky., and every one of the new charter members came in as a reader of The American Socialist. This is the true and proper spirit.

R. B. Duckett sends in 15 new subscriptions and says, "I wish everyone could do as well as this, we would reach the Million Mark in a short time."

Sixteen subscriptions are sent in by C. H. Conroy, of Kansas with a cheery letter.

Ethan H. Shaw, Iowa, sends eight new readers in a bunch.

R. P. Trescott pauses from his labor in the harvest fields of Washington long enough to send in a subscription for another year. Best hand. Bring in the sheaves, comrades!

"I received the copies sent me, and know now that I must have the paper. Keep up the fight; Socialism is bound to win," writes G. L. King of Omaha.

Those "Birthdays Week Subs" are still rolling into the office in big bunches. Some suggest we make every week a "Birthdays Week."

Comrade F. E. Henderson, Nebraska, sends in a list of 18 to help blaze the trail toward Socialism. "There are a great many around here that have always voted the old party tickets. They now say they have voted that way for the first time."

"We pledge our all in the cause of Socialism, justice and the truth," says Comrade Jesse W. Gammon, Illinois, and makes good by sending in a list of 32 subs, "which the comrades and myself rounded up. We will try to do better next time. If the 'democratic' post office bars our paper from the mails, we will use the express, and I'll guarantee the safe delivery of every one of them."

Comrade Frank S. LaMonte, Indiana, sends in a list of 13 subs. He is speaking every county week to farmers, having fine meetings and good results. "This is the time we should have meetings for the farmers," he says, "as they are ready and anxious to hear our message."

Comrade Walter B. Dillon, state secretary for New Mexico, sends in a list of nine to help spread the Socialist message along the border.

"The old party papers heralded the suppression of The American Socialist to the ends of the earth," writes George Aplin, West Bay City, Mich., "but there is not a boot from them stating that it is now going thru the mails—not yet dead, nor even deathly sick. Many people are changing their opinions in this neck of the country and are turning to Socialism. We will put Socialist votes in the ballot boxes that it ever did before. This question of war has been the matter studying Socialism and the United States constitution and many will graduate this year and get out of the old parties and stay out!"

## Omaha Exploiters Unite In War On Labor Unions

(The following is part of a statement by The National Labor Defense Council as a dispassionate review of industrial conditions in Omaha, Neb., revealed thru a ten days investigation by Carl Sandburg, of the Editorial Staff of The Council.)

By CARL SANDBURG.

"With its right hand the Business Men's Association of Omaha is leaving the American flag; with its left hand it is trying to strangle organized labor. We make the charge that if there is disloyalty and treason those guilty are the employers of Omaha."

So speaks Thomas Reynolds, president of the Nebraska Federation of Labor, a member of the Nebraska State Council of Defense and of the Nebraska State Board of Mediation. For three weeks ending July 14 the mediation board heard witnesses. Not one business man would testify.

"I refuse to answer on advice of counsel," was the invariable reply of business men called. While the employers did their best to throw secrecy and darkness about the facts of the ten-week lockout of building trades and the strike of the teamsters, one witness after another from fourteen trades unions took the stand and answered promptly all questions asked.

"Where is the treason and who are the traitors?" asks Reynolds. "Sworn testimony indicates a \$1,000,000 fund has been raised by organized employers to make Omaha a non-union town. Their published advertisements say they wish to model Omaha after Los Angeles rather than Pittsburgh, Chicago and San Francisco. They have chosen a time when the nation is at war for launching their fight to destroy our unions. One of their advertisements says 'labor strikes are unpatriotic' and another asks in a big headline, 'Is it patriotism in a year of war for labor unions to try to enforce new conditions and aggressive demands?' It would seem to be a situation where the employers paying big sums to advertise conditions would be glad to testify as to the facts at a public hearing. Yet the truth is that not one employer called on would tell his story and the mediation board's records consist mostly of what labor men said. This sort of secrecy is so near to disloyalty and treason that in my reports as a member of the State Council of Defense and as a member of the State Mediation Board, I shall say that the employers of Omaha, who thru subterfuges are prolonging the industrial war in Omaha, are at the same time lending aid and comfort to the enemy nation with which the United States is at war."

Emphasis is here given to the 'patriotism' angle of the Omaha situation because it was a striking instance of employers taking the offensive and publicly proclaiming their own hands to be clean and those of labor to be soiled with treason and with disloyal motives. The shrewd copy writers of the Business Men's Association knew that the war is the big thing in everybody's mind.

"The hour of the nation's dire need is not the time to provoke disputes between different groups of its citizens," began one advertisement. Thousands of dollars were spent for page and half-page advertisements. The need for publicity was so urgent on the organized employers of Omaha that they poured out money in a lavish local advertising campaign. Later when they had a chance for still more publicity they appearing before the Nebraska mediation board and stating all their grievances, they refused to testify even the Governor Keith Neville, as chief executive of the state of Nebraska and chairman of the state council of defense, had specifically requested that all the facts of the industrial war in Omaha be brought to light.

Frederick Adler, the Socialist who shot Premier Sturgkh, of Austria, because the latter ignored the constitution and refused to call a session of Parliament, for which he was condemned to death, may secure a new trial. The Austrian Parliament voted in favor of such a procedure.

## KAISER IS CHALLENGED TO PROSECUTE SOCIALIST

The Deutsche Tages Zeitung challenges the German government to prosecute Dr. Cohn, Socialist member of the reichstag, for his alleged revelations regarding the crown council held at Potsdam July 5, 1914. The newspaper says it knows the revelations published in the London Times came from Stockholm direct and from the German independent Socialist and it offers to give the fullest evidence in case the government desires to court martial Deputy Cohn. The London Times asserted that a conference was held in the presence of Emperor William at Potsdam, July 5, 1914, in which the political and military personages in Germany and Austria-Hungary took part when a plan was proposed to let loose the war. The Wolf bureau of Berlin on August 1 said it had been officially authorized to declare that the statement was a pure invention. The news agency said the Times had supported its allegation on statements made by Deputy Cohn in the main committee of the reichstag. These statements, it was added, were refuted in committee by the German government as incorrect.

## Puts It Up To Burleson

Thomas W. Woodrow, editor of Woodrow's Monthly, published at Hobart, Okla., puts the censorship of The American Socialist up to Postmaster General Burleson in a letter as follows: "Postmaster General Burleson, Washington, D. C.

"My dear Brother: Working for fundamental democracy, not by trying to elect any special ticket of a political party but by working in harmony with those elected into official places from all political parties, I desire to know why you have under the House Committee on Post Office and Post Roads to report adversely Representative London's resolution demanding of you the reasons for the suppression of Socialist papers, as reported to me from Socialist Party Headquarters. And furthermore, I desire to know why you allowed a quorumless committee of ONLY five members including the chairman, out of a total membership of 21 constituting the house committee on post office and post roads, to act on it according to your instructions, much to the disgust of true democrats, of which there are many in the democratic party? I am not interested in the Socialist Press so far as they seek to promote a political party and elect men into offices instead of candidates of other parties, but I am interested in all socialist papers in promoting the principles of social democracy.

Cordially,  
Thomas W. Woodrow.

## "BAYONETS THINKING SOCIALISM."

"War," said Green, the master historian of the English people, "beats the king" and war begets another king in Europe, the kingship of Socialism," says the Spokane Wash. Review. It constantly gains the confidence of the European masses for its main principle that the state should equalize opportunity for all individuals.

That socialist ideal makes head even among the governing classes of France and England. Because they believe that after the war Europe can not afford luxury. Simultaneously, the idea of increasing society and the individual's efficiency thru state control makes progress. The present multiplication of the industrial and financial functions of the European governments is expected to continue and even grow when peace returns.

The bayonets also are thinking in radical and socialist ways. They have been taught so much about waste, their households about economy, that they discuss the cost of monarchy. Republicanism appears likely to come forward in England as a political issue sooner than the socialist program, and an amazing amount of argument in favor of an English republic goes forward among the lower and middle classes. The leaven of the Russian and Greek revolutions and the Spanish republican ferment work upon the plain people of Great Britain and Ireland.

Jean Jaures, the greatest democrat and internationalist then living, was assassinated on the eve of the war. Jaures meant more for the cause of making the world safe for democracy than an army of soldiers. He was the first and the greatest sacrifice of the war. The story of this man, his active relation to the Dreyfus trial, to the severance of Church and State in France and to the fight for social liberty and justice are told in a volume entitled "Jean Jaures: Socialist and Humanitarian" by Margaret Pease. There is a foreword by J. Ramsey MacDonald, the leader of the Socialists in the House of Commons. The book has just been published by B. W. Huebsch, 225 Fifth ave., New York City.

After such an advance in radical thinking and doing, there can never be a retreat to where we were before the war. What works in war times will also work in peace times. The march toward the goal of state control and state ownership has begun.

Gallon, Ohio, Socialists have decided to put a full ticket in the field this fall. All other locals, follow suit.

Comrade G. W. Allen, Oklahoma, sends in a few subs and laments that he has not been able to do much for socialism this summer. He is over 100 and not very well. But he knows that Socialism is the only redemption for mankind and is going to keep on working for it to the end.

## Socialist Progress in the State of Sonora

(From The Mexican Review.)  
Provisional Gov. Adolfo De La Huerta of the State of Sonora, who has been succeeded by the election of General Plutarco Elias Gales to the position, has made a report of the work done under his charge during his incumbency, which is summarized as follows:

There has been established a school of agriculture on the irrigated lands in the vicinity of the town of Seris. Three establishments for the manufacture of clothing have been installed in the City of Hermosillo on account of the Government, where the work is done by soldiers' widows, who are in receipt of salaries reaching as high as \$4 a day.

Telephonic communication has been established. There have been opened roads for automobiles.

There has been established a steam laundry in co-operative form which will become the property of the working women. There have also been established 10 co-operative agricultural stations by the Government, in which the workers are co-partners instead of being slaves.

The companies employing laborers have been obliged to make indemnity to those who are incapacitated from working thru accidents sustained in their employment. There has been established a Laborers' Congress in the State which settles all questions of that character. It has been decreed that the minimum salary shall be \$1.50 for 8 hours of work per day. The work has been continued on the embankment for the hygienization of the Port of Guaymas. On the part of the Ayuntamiento of Nogales, there has been installed a workingmen's colony composed of 35 houses, which are being acquired by the workingmen in small monthly payments. Work is also going on in the installation of an electric light plant in the town of Huatabampo by the Ayuntamiento of that place and there is also being carried out to effect the necessary work for the introduction of potable water. In Santa Ana there is being established a gas plant for the lighting of the town.

There has been organized a national guard composed of 600 branches. Four newspapers aided by the Government have been established in order to instruct the people.

There has been established in Ures a small factory for clothing and another for cigarettes; also a wagon-making shop, a carpenter shop and a blacksmith shop in the penitentiary of the State, where the prisoners work under restrictions at a minimum daily salary of \$1.50. There has also been established a school at the same penitentiary. The civil hospital has been reconstructed and equipped in a modern way, with a most excellent staff of surgeons and appliances, including the X-Ray apparatus. There has been established at the mouth of the Colorado River an agricultural colony. Work is being prosecuted for the protection of the Sonora River between the towns of Seris and Hermosillo.

The poor children of Guaymas and Navajoa have been given clothes made in the Government established factories. There have been established in the State more than 300 new schools and others will be inaugurated. A comprehensive labor law has been decreed and is in operation in the State. There has also been begun the preliminary work for the installation of a nautical school in the Port of Guaymas.

**Socializing The World**  
(From The Cincinnati Post)  
The war has socialized England. Germany and France had a large measure of state socialism before the war. The war is socializing this country.

The propositions to take over the coal mines and pool their product, to take over the railroads and pool transportation, to commandeer the steel mills and copper mines, are state socialism. It means the doctrine has been established that the selfish interests of the few must give way to the needs of the many.

After such an advance in radical thinking and doing, there can never be a retreat to where we were before the war. What works in war times will also work in peace times. The march toward the goal of state control and state ownership has begun.

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## The way has been provided.

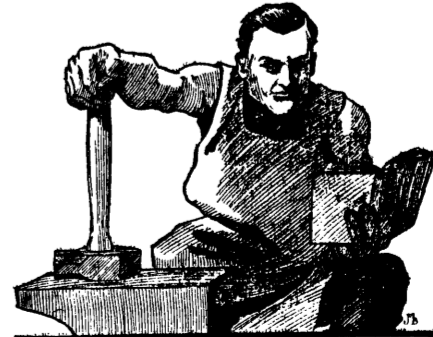
There is no better way to get an education in language or in the law, than the correspondence method. We know this by experience, and so do our students. The Peoples College is a working-class institution, established for the purpose of giving a libertarian education to those who failed to get an education in school; and the College has passed the experimental stage.

Eugene V. Debs says, "The Peoples College is the beginning of a world-wide revolution in education."

Comrades, you need no longer suffer from the handicap of ignorance. It takes only your spare time and a few cents a day to get an education now—an education that makes you more capable in business and more capable to serve the great cause of humanity.

We have courses in Law, Plain English, Advanced English, Public Speaking, Bookkeeping, Arithmetic, Algebra, Commercial Law, Shorthand, History and Penmanship. Write us for full information concerning the course you need, and ask for a sample copy of the Peoples College News.

**The Peoples College, 302 National Avenue Fort Scott, Kansas.**





# Socialist Party Growth Shows That The Future Belongs To Us!

"THE FUTURE BELONGS TO US!" is the battle cry of the growing Socialist Party. July reports show that we have increased our membership by more than 20,000 since the St. Louis convention in April. Here are the membership figures: APRIL, 67,788; MAY, 71,085; JUNE, 81,172, and for JULY, 90,390. During this period of growth the English speaking organizations have given more than their share to the membership increase as these figures show: APRIL, 49,490, and for JULY, 60,578. Thus the English speaking membership in July was nearly as great as the entire membership in April. In spite of the hot weather let us proceed to greater achievements. Keep up the good work you are doing. The Socialist movement is in the ascendency. THE FUTURE BELONGS TO US.

## Socialist Locals Urged To Aid People's Council Of America

Every Socialist local in the United States is being urged to co-operate with the People's Council of America for Democracy and Peace, in a communication just sent them by the party national executive committee. They are especially urged to send delegates to the general convention to be held at Minneapolis, Sept. 1-6. The proclamation is as follows:

### GREETING!

To All Locals Of The Socialist Party: COMRADES—The organization committee of the People's Council of America for Democracy and Peace has issued a call for a general convention to be held in Minneapolis from the 1st to the 6th of September.

The People's Council of America is being called into life by Socialists, organized workers and other progressive forces. Its purpose, as stated in the call for the convention are:

### TERMS OF PEACE.

1. To demand that our government shall announce immediately in concrete terms its war aims, and shall seize every opportunity to achieve those aims thru negotiation unhampered by the ambitions of other governments.

2. To strive for an early, democratic and general peace in harmony with the principles outlined by the Russian people:

- No forcible annexations.
- No punitive indemnities.
- Free development for all nationalities.
- To urge international organization for the maintenance of world peace.

### AMERICAN LIBERTIES.

1. To defend our constitutional rights of free speech, free press, peaceful assemblage and the right to petition the government.

2. To secure democratic control of foreign policy, and a popular referendum on all questions of war and peace.

3. To work for the repeal of conscription laws.

### ECONOMIC POLICIES.

1. To safeguard labor standards.

2. To meet the cost of war by the taxation of wealth.

3. To reduce the high cost of living.

The new movement is receiving enthusiastic support from all parts of the country and from all sections of the people. It bids fair to become a powerful agent for peace, progress and democracy. The recent Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party directed the National Executive Committee to initiate a general movement based upon the principles outlined in our anti-war resolution. In pursuance of that mandate we now call upon all members of the Party to lend their full support and active co-operation in the organization of the People's Council of America for Democracy and Peace.

Locals of the Party should at once take the initiative of organizing a branch of the Council in conjunction with the labor unions and other progressive organizations of their locality, and inaugurate an active campaign for the principles of the Council and the program of the Party. Socialists who are members of labor organizations should induce their organizations to take part in the movement. The people of the United States must be organized to oppose war and to resist all encroachments upon the liberties of the citizens and the rights of the workers.

All locals of the Party and all branches of the People's Council are entitled to send delegates to the first general meeting of the Council in Minneapolis. Each organization is entitled to one delegate for every thousand members or fraction thereof, but no organization shall be entitled to more than three delegates.

Act upon this communication at once, Comrades. This is the time for action.

With fraternal greetings,

VICTOR L. BERGER MORRIS HILLQUIT  
ANNA A. MALEY JOHN M. WORK  
National Executive Committee.

ADOLPH GERMER, Executive Secretary.

## The Searchlight, Please

Let us turn the searchlight on the rotten sixteenth century conditions that still prevail in some of our jails.

Miss Annie Hinrichson, inspector for the Illinois charities commission and member of the committee on probation and crime of the Conference of Charities and Corrections, in reporting on city prisons and county jails declares that Illinois' treatment of women prisoners is a violation of the laws of decency.

A case is reported of a man prisoner in a woman's cell because "the man's lawyer is a fat man who doesn't like to climb the stairs to the men's quarters." In another instance, jail officials and the "trusties" held keys to the women's cellrooms and made use of them.

Only a depraved social system would tolerate these conditions for a single hour. Let us change these conditions by changing the system under which we live.



Copyright by The New York Evening Post. "Your talk sounds all right, Sam, but what's under your feet?"—Cesare in the New York Evening Post. NOTE.—The above cartoon from the New York Evening Post was republished by The Literary Digest, July 28, along with a page article entitled, "Post-Office Censors Under Fire," which gave editorial views from the daily press for and against the suppression of Socialist, radical and pacifist publications.

## Bureaucratic Insolence

(From The Nonpartisan Leader, official publication of the National Nonpartisan League.)

The war has afflicted the United States with several evils, like Job was afflicted of old with boils. Among them are the food gamblers, the war profiteers, high prices and Solicitor W. H. Lamar of the post office department. Solicitor Lamar is a bureaucrat who sits at Washington, D. C., without any responsibility himself and responsible to nobody, and denies newspapers and magazines the right of the United States mails. Job had an unpleasant time with his boils, but it is doubtful if he ever had one that tried his patience like Lamar is trying the patience of people who do not think the war has repealed the constitution of the United States.

Lamar has suppressed some 15 publications during the last few weeks for alleged seditious or treasonable utterances. The Leader is not defending these publications. Doubtless many of them should have been suppressed. But the Leader sees in the methods used by Lamar a very serious menace to a free press, free speech and free institutions. No publication, no matter how law abiding, is safe from oppression, if Lamar is allowed to proceed as he has been.

Lamar reads and judges the "mailability" of publications submitted by postmasters to him for his opinion. He "advises" the postmasters whether or not a publication is "mailable." Postmasters invariably follow his advice. When a publisher is notified by the local postmaster that he can not mail his paper, which has already been printed and left at the postoffice for mailing, the publisher naturally asks what is the matter with it and offers to eradicate the objectionable matter. The local postmaster informs the publisher that he is not allowed to tell the publisher what is objectionable or how the publication can be made "mailable." He says he has refused it the mails on the advice of Solicitor Lamar.

The publisher then wires Lamar asking what is wrong and offering to eliminate all that is objectionable. In a week, or maybe two weeks he gets a letter in which Lamar states that he can not "undertake to censor" publications, and refusing to state the reasons he has for advising the local postmaster to suppress the issue. He adds that the issue has been suppressed solely on the authority of the local postmaster. The publisher is helpless. He wires his senator or representative in congress, or perhaps goes to Washington. But the Bureaucrat Lamar locks himself up in his office and the only recourse of the publisher is a long and costly suit, during the pendency and trial of which his publication is suppressed at incalculable loss and damage, if not utter ruin to the publisher, who may be proved innocent.

This is the "freedom of the press" as the bureaucrats at Washington see it. The methods of the Russian secret police before the recent revolution, and of the German military dictators at present were and are not worse. We have constitutions and laws and courts, and there are constitutional and legal methods of stopping the publication of seditious matter without resort to vile, secret methods.

Miss Hallie Queen, member of the faculty of Howard University, a Negro institution, in urging a congressional investigation of the East St. Louis riots, said she saw a young colored girl whose five fingers had been cut off from one hand and whose other arm had been cut off at the elbow. No, not in Belgium under the Germans—in East St. Louis, Ill., U. S. A.

## Congress Opposed Censorship

(From The New Republic, July 21st)

Congress refused to authorize a censorship of the press. Nevertheless there is an obscure section in the Espionage bill under which the Post Office Department has assumed wide discretion in excluding from the mails matter which may discourage recruiting. As a result, fourteen Socialist and radical publications, American in origin and printed in English, have been denied the mailing privilege. In some cases the editors remained in ignorance of the exclusion until they discovered it by accident. In many cases the editors were unable to discover what the offending matter was, the postmasters replying that the "spirit" or "tone" of the publication was objectionable. The effect is to terrorize all criticism and make it next to impossible for the editor to insure that future issues may be mailable. In some cases the local officials used their power as a threat, not only to keep out matter of which they disapproved, but to keep out matter showing how the publication had been censored. In no case is there any provision for the publisher to state his defense except by costly legal proceedings. Here we have an irresponsible censorship, executed by local officials who may be thoroughly unfit for the task, under a clause interpreted so broadly that it would enable an unfit or prejudiced postmaster to hold up a paper containing almost any war story or political opposition to the government. Whatever we may think of papers in question, we must condemn the stupidity of such procedure. If we are to have a censorship, let it be centralized in competent hands, let it be exercised openly under strict limitations, and let the way be cleared for appeal. If we are not to have a censorship, let us not intensify distrust of the government and its purposes by such petty and ineffectual tyranny.

The U. S. Industrial Alcohol Co. has just declared a dividend of 32 per cent. No, this company does not belong to the government. It belongs mostly to Percy Rockefeller, nephew of the great "John D." The government, however, purchases most of the munitions which this profit-producing alcohol helps to make. Since the beginning of the war the value of a share of stock has increased from \$16 to \$170.50. Easy money for the Rockefeller!

## Investigate The Race Riots

An investigation of the race riots at East St. Louis by a congressional committee is in sight. We hope the probe will go to the bottom of the reeking mess. We hope the committee will play no favorites.

When it is shown that the big exploiters of labor, who beat down the wage scale by using the black race as a club against the white race, let the committee say so in words that cannot be misunderstood. Echoes of the East St. Louis riots are being heard in a score of cities. No one can tell at what hour the storm will break.

Let the government back up organized labor in its demand that the colored worker be paid the same wages and granted the same conditions as his pale skinned brother. Then there will be no incentive to displace the one with the other.

## AMERICAN SOCIALIST

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of the United States.

J. L. ENGBAHL.....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 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

SINGLE SUBSCRIPTIONS.—Fifty cents a year. Twenty-five cents for six months.

BUNDLE RATES.—Bundle Rates One Year to one address: 4 copies \$1.50; 8 copies, \$3.00; 10 copies, \$3.50; 25 copies, \$9.00; 50 copies, \$18.75; 100 copies, \$35.00. Bundle Rates of Any Issue: 1,000, \$7.50; 500, \$3.75; 200, \$1.50; 100, 75 cents.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 11, 1917.

## Let Censorship Be Investigated

(From The Public, July 20.)

Indefinite and evasive is the Post Office Department in answering requests for information concerning its reasons for barring certain papers from the mails. In some cases it has declared the "tone" or "spirit" of the papers to be contrary to law.

It is obvious that to admit the validity of such an explanation would be to concede to the Department power to suppress any paper on trivial grounds or on none at all.

There is nothing in the section of the espionage act, urged in justification of the censorship, which authorizes so indefinite a pretext.

The act forbids mailing of matter "urging treason, insurrection, or forcible resistance to the United States," or of matter intended to interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval forces.

It would seem that even under the terms of that law, the burden of proof should be upon the Department to show wherein a paper has offended against the statute.

In the case of THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST it is assured, tho no official explanation has been given, that its issue of June 16 was debarred from the mails for advertising a leaflet, which, unknown to the publishers, had been declared unmailable.

Yet when two young men who had distributed the same leaflet in Baltimore were arrested and brought to trial on July 11 in the Federal District Court, Judge John C. Rose directed their acquittal on the ground that it "contained nothing whatever to warrant a criminal charge to be lodged against any man for distributing it."

Since the espionage act makes it criminal to transmit forbidden matter the judge's position is contrary to that of the Post Office Department. Judge Rose further announced a principle which seems obvious enough before the present censorship began. He said:

Every man has a right, if he chooses to criticize adversely any system of society or any law, so long as he obeys that law when it remains a law.

Here again there seems considerable difference of opinion between Judge Rose and Solicitor Lamar of the Post Office Department. An adverse criticism of a law may easily be construed as contrary to it in "tone" or "spirit." And that, according to Mr. Lamar, would make it unmailable under the espionage law.

It is desirable that the resolution introduced by Congressman London for an investigation of the whole censorship proceeding be passed as quickly as possible. And if the post office department feels sure of its ground it should be most active in urging such action.

Burgomaster Reicke, of Berlin, on the third anniversary of the war, declared: "We seem to have become a nation of profiteering hucksters. Those who are not corrupted by the Mammon chase are haunted with a fear lest, after all, the country is slipping back into officialism. We call for the benefit of the counsels of a dozen working men, but the word is quietly passed from the government table. These fellows cannot be told all. Just treat them like children. Let us be a free people, but not merely free on paper."

## Mass Action Wins

Mass action has won a victory on Chicago's lake front in the great struggle between the rich and the poor.

It was the heat, not hunger this time, that lashed the downtrodden into the fury of revolt and crowned their efforts with success.

The North Shore Drive, Chicago's "Gold Coast," home of many millionaires, fringes Lake Michigan, consecrating this part of the lake to the exclusive use of the sons and daughters of wealth.

"The Drive" is merely a thin veneer hiding the slum district immediately behind it. In no city of the land does the slum and the boulevard so closely edge each other.

The boulevard has held its own so far, succeeding in repulsing every effort of the slum dwellers to use the magnificent beaches along the lake for bathing purposes.

The torrid weather recently, however, drove the sweating proletariat, men, women and children, out of their noisome abodes and onto the forbidden lake front. The outraged plutocrats, the few who had remained in the city during the hot spell, saw the increasing horde of the submerged tenth and by instinct called the police to protect their sacred rights.

The police came, they saw, they fought, they arrested. But the mass of proletarians increased, the heat put new courage into their perspiring systems, and they refused to be intimidated. They entrenched themselves in the cool waters of the lake and bade defiance to the world. They acted as a mass and won. The city government ignoring the pleas of the dollar plutocracy, has issued orders permitting the dwellers in Chicago's north side slums to use the North Shore Drive for cooling purposes.

This is a sample of the mass action that Chicago's Socialists hope the workers will repeat in the municipal elections next spring when they have an opportunity to carry their protest to the polls.

The money power in Chicago is exerting itself more than ever in its struggle to keep the downtrodden in submission. The submerged are more anxious than ever to come to the surface and partake of some of the joys of existence.

They can only do this by struggling together as a mass. Their united strength makes them irresistible at the ballot box, in the struggle on the job, or in a skirmish for a cool dip in the plutocratic waters of a forbidden lake.

## MONTANA'S "SHORT CUT TO LAW AND ORDER."



From The New York Evening Post.

RESOLUTIONS denouncing the lynching of Frank H. Little, executive board member of the Industrial Workers of the World, at Butte, Mont., as "a dastardly crime against labor" were adopted unanimously by the Chicago Federation of Labor.

In the resolutions it was stated that, "While we do not agree with the policies and tactics of the I. W. W., still, we demand that the representatives of labor be guaranteed the right of free speech, without being molested by gunmen in the pay of capitalists."

Every man and woman who toils in the United States can heartily applaud the action by the

Harrison Gray Otis, owner of the Los Angeles Times, one of the greatest foes organized labor has ever had, is dead. Let him pass.

Socialists of Japan in resolutions adopted at Tokio, hail the Russian revolution as the beginning of a series of revolutions which will end in the downfall of capitalism.

"The Tailor", official organ of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, devotes an entire page of its current issue to a protest against the censorship of the press.

The Chicago Examiner, in its story on the draft registers in Oklahoma, said: "They talk of the Russian revolution, and say the time for revolution has come here."

German soldiers taken prisoners by the French state that the German government no longer permits the Vorwaerts, the Berlin Socialist daily, to be delivered to soldiers at the front.

"There is objection which is not frivolous to having individuals—postmasters or others—exercise the combined powers of prosecuting attorney, jury and judge."—From the Milwaukee, Wis., Evening Wisconsin.

The state governments of Indiana and Illinois have joined forces in the fight to prevent the coal mine owners reaping more millions in profits. Since there isn't even one Socialist in the governments of either state, it isn't likely they

"We are just beginning to taste the first bitter fruits of war", says the St. Louis Times. "Within six months most of the people here will be just as tired of the war as the people in Germany, France and England, altho not as weak and not as war-worn."

Socialists of Oklahoma are in the midst of a struggle in the courts to secure equal representation with other political parties on the election boards of the State. The Socialists have never had representatives on State or county election boards in Oklahoma.

Philipp Scheidemann, socialist member of the German Reichstag, in giving his views of the Socialists on their participation in the government said that if really a parliamentary government was formed with a program which the Socialists could approve, they must participate and share the responsibility. If, however, members of the Reichstag were only to become subordinates to undersecretaries and chancellors, they would not accept the invitation to participate.

## Sold Out

Secretary Lansing now informs the American people that they must not be "drawn into the entanglements of European politics" thru discussing terms of peace. We will not, he says, assume to settle the problem of Alsace-Lorraine; we must not discuss Balkan borders, nor yet the adjustment of Asiatic claims. We are to let our allies do that; all we must do is to fight for what they tell us to fight for; to pay all their bills; and as a result of the war take what they allow us to have.

This is another chain of evidence which proves the utter incompetence of Robert M. Lansing for any job affecting the destinies of the American people. It proves him entirely alien in thought and in spirit to the people whom, in their foreign relationships, he is supposed to represent.

On the confession of Asquith, Balfour, Lloyd George and Carson; on the confession of Joffre, Viviani and Thomas, England and France are helpless without our aid. Without our cash and without our men they are admittedly beaten. Yet we, coming to the rescue, tell them, "We will give you whatever you ask, fight until you tell us to stop, and will then accept whatever you choose to hand us as the price of our support."

This amounts to a declaration that the United States is now a subject province of the Anglo-French empire, taking their orders and obeying their commands without representation in the decisions that determine our destiny. We have no part in the allied councils; we are not a party to their agreements and their partition of the spoils. We are taxed of blood and life without representation.

If America must fight, it must not be for territorial aggrandizement or imperialistic ambition of other nations. It must be for industrial democracy. And the only conceivable way of beginning to fight for that is to become an industrial democracy at home. That means Socialism!

## Sherwood Gives Views

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

As I voted against the armed ship bill and against the declaration of war, and made a speech against it; as I voted against conscription and made a speech against it; as I have been a peace man ever since the civil war, wherein I served four years at the front, the ordinary war-mad lunatic would not accept my view of the present press censorship with much consideration. Of course I am in favor of free debate of all vital public questions. Without free speech and a free press, there can be no free representative democracy.

Yours very truly,  
ISAAC R. SHERWOOD.

J. OGDEN ARMOUR, the food profiteer, who is making his tens of millions out of the war, says, "The government of the United States can have any one man or any group of men of J. Armour & Co." Armour may consider himself master of all his slaves, but the government is going right ahead under the draft law questioning each man liable to service individually. What the government ought to do to Armour is to confiscate his packing industry and expropriate his wealth. Armour's gold is no more sacred than the lives of those who accumulated it for him.