NOW IT MUST BE DONE

There is work ahead that must be done. There is a job to be finished—a big job. It must be cleanly and intelligently handled, before America becomes safe for humanity.

We have not much time to prepare. There is no chance to loaf and consider. The peril is even now upon us.

For the great wreckage of the World War, ghastly and lurid with flickering flames amid its heaps of unburied dead, cumbers the earth with death and fills the air with poison.

In it are all the lumber and filth of the old world that has collapsed. Buried beneath it are the lives of the twenty millions who were slain. Entombed within it is the happiness of three hundred millions who were stricken with pestilence and famine. Rising above it, tainting the air with poisonous reek, is a horrible hovering host of souls which have been destroyed, and yet are still alive; the broken hearts of the people of all nations, who trusted and were betrayed.

So long as this wreckage, or any remnant of it, remains—so long as the air we breathe is still thick with the deadly fumes of that world horror—so long will life and happiness and hope be unsafe for any one of us, here or anywhere.

We must clear the old wreck away. We must do it now, before the smouldering embers leap again to flame, in a fresh explosion that shall blast and blacken the life that yet endures.

We are not alone in the task. All over the world strong hands and willing hearts and clear heads are at work. They bid us to make haste. They call to us “Be thorough.”

Philip Gibbs, best known of war correspondents, has written us a book, called “Now It Can Be Told.” In it he recounts the horrors of the war which we were forbidden to know while the war lasted. In it he gives the message from those at work abroad. He tells of the swift growth of this new
determination, among the men who suffered under shell fire and in trenches and in dug-outs. It flames up among women who suffered in desolated homes and starving cities. It is strongest among those who suffered most—this resolve to put an end forever to the old order which could produce such things. It is a purpose which has already shaken the thrones of Europe, and is, with tremendous turmoil and upheaval, remaking the world.

Even while the Old Gangs, who coined into gold and power the blood of the slain and the agony of the wounded and the huge sorrow of those who mourn—even while these Old Gangs are planning more wars and alliances for war, this new resolve is spreading. It is a resolve that all wars shall end.

Gibbs says:

"The old gangs are organizing their new system of defense, building a new kind of Hindenburg line, behind which they are dumping their political ammunition. But their Hindenburg line is not impregnable.

"The angry murmur of the mob—highly organized, disciplined, passionate, trained to fight, is already approaching the outer bastions."

The angry murmur of the mob! All over Europe a terrible sound is heard, and the air is thick with the fear of it. But why must there be mobs?

Why can we not clear away the cause of the poison and death, as reasonable men? Why should there be all this wild alarm from high sources, panic warnings of plots and counter plots, raids and deportations, expulsions from Congress and Legislature, hysterical madness in the high places to match sullen anger in the low?

Men who have been schooled in the tenfold horrors of multiplied hell during the six years of hideous warfare now drawing to their close, have no fear of "street-fighting" and "barricades." But why must there be wild talk of street-fighting?

There need not be. There can be peaceful and orderly change. But only if the Old Gang, only if those who are now in control of Governmental power, will permit the work that must be done, to take its course as reasonable men would have
it. Only so can the great revolution of thought and purpose amidst which we now live, take its effect without disaster.

For the present system of things can last no longer. Already it has broken down. There is need to work, to work fast, to work intelligently. For even while we clear away the wreckage we must build the strong new home, unless we too would know all the horrors that Europe knows all too well. We have spoken of RECONSTRUCTION. We have planned for it, written about it, speculated upon it.

NOW IT MUST BE DONE!
Let's finish the job. Let's go.

WHAT CAUSED THE WRECK

First, we must get one thing clear. How did we get into this mess?

President Wilson has told us—at last. After the war was over, and had been over for a year; after the long drawn out Conferences in Paris; after the Peace Council had narrowed down to a Big Ten, then a Big Five, then a Big Four, then a Big Three; after he had brought back the monstrosity known as the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations—after all these things he said:

"'Every child knows now that this was not a political war. It was a business war, a commercial war. Commercial rivalry between the nations lay at the bottom of it. Commercial rivalry was the cause of it.'" He said this in a speech at St. Louis, Sept. 5, 1919.

Commercial rivalry destroyed the world peace. Commercial rivalry blasted the world's happiness. Commercial rivalry produced the madness that sent the best and bravest of every nation's youth to murder one another for six horrible years. They slaughtered one another so that merchants of one country might get the advantage over merchants of another country, in selling goods to a third country.

President Wilson says this. Socialists have always said it. We have proved it, time and again, but you would not listen. Perhaps you will listen now—when your homes are hung
with crêpe, and gold stars glisten, perpetual tears of agony, on your hearts. Perhaps you will believe us now.

In every country there was shortage of food at home. Everywhere the common people worked feverishly, to get only enough barely to feed and clothe their families. In our country they seldom succeeded. One-third of our working people were always below the line of destitution, even before the war. Two-thirds of them were living just on or just below the line of poverty.

Yet ours was the richest country in the world.

We could have used at home all the wealth we produced. We had starvation, penury, hopeless misery in plenty. We could have used all the boundless riches that America produces to relieve distress at home.

Yet we fought for the privilege of shipping it abroad. Not to those who needed it—but to those who resented our intrusion. It was the same in England. It was the same in France. It was the same in Germany. It was tenfold worse in Russia.

This was madness! Men who desperately needed the products of their own land, for themselves and for their children, fought bloodily with other nations in the same condition, to deprive both of what they needed, that it might be sold to others who did not want it. But this was the essence of the war. War is madness—international madness. This is the meaning of all treaties and alliances that the Old Gang makes. They are all mad,—mad like mad dogs.

It can never be ended, you say? It can be ended. It MUST be ended. We can end it by substituting national exchange for national commercial rivalry. What our country needs and does not produce we can secure abroad through our foreign consuls. What our country produces and does not need we can send abroad, in exchange for what we bring in. We can do this peaceably, honorably, prosperous. But to do it the Old Gang must be overthrown.

There is no need for war—there never was any sense in it.

We know the horrors that the war brought. Where does peace leave us?
NOW IT MUST BE DONE

THE FIRM IS BANKRUPT

Let us face the facts.

Between 1917, the year we entered the war, and 1920, this present year, the United States Government spent THIRTY-SIX BILLION, EIGHT HUNDRED EIGHTEEN MILLION DOLLARS. These are our War Expenses.

The whole cost of running the United States from 1789, the year the Federal Union was formed, until 1917, was less than FORTY BILLION DOLLARS. And this included the total cost of the Civil War, the Spanish War, the Mexican War, the War of 1812 and the Revolutionary War, which the Union assumed.

In eighteen months of the World War, and the two years since of miserable half-peace, we spent almost as much as the whole life of our country had cost in the hundred and fifty years of its existence.

In those three years, with all the taxes we were able to invent pouring into the national treasury, we collected only THIRTEEN BILLION DOLLARS. We borrowed TWENTY-FOUR BILLION DOLLARS. This debt remains, and is increasing.

This twenty-four billion dollars, drawing interest at four and a half per cent, means an interest charge of roughly ONE BILLION DOLLARS A YEAR—more than the total cost of running the Government in the palmy days just before the war.

What have we to show for it? NOTHING!

This vast expenditure was incurred by dumping the people's money into a bottomless gulf of greed. Nothing remains.

SOME ITEMS

The Government spent $150,000,000 building port terminals at Charleston, Norfolk, and other places, from which not a single ship sailed during the war. Graft.

Twenty million dollars was spent building a terminal up the river from Charleston, which ships cannot reach because the river is too shallow to float them. Graft.

A hundred and twenty million dollars was spent building
nitrate plants, from which not a pound of nitrates was produced during the war.

A hundred and sixty million dollars was spent building powder plants, none of which produced a pound of powder during the war.

A hundred million dollars was spent on tanks, of which the first one reached France after the armistice.

One billion dollars was spent on shells, of which only 17,000, about ten minutes’ supply, ever reached France.

We spent 478 million dollars on guns, but only 72 American made guns reached the forces at the front.

We spent 117 million dollars on gas, but not one single American made gas shell was fired.

We spent 80 million dollars on a nitro plant in West Virginia, which was good for nothing and was sold for 8 million dollars to a private firm after the war.

After the armistice was signed we spent 7 million dollars on a training camp in Virginia, which was never used.

We spent ONE HUNDRED MILLION dollars on a nitrate plant at Muscle Shoals, Ala., which is entirely useless.

These are stray samples of what this huge, incredible, unimaginable expenditure of forty billion dollars represents,—samples of waste, of robbery, of theft greater than the mind of man ever dreamed before.

Most of this debt of forty billion dollars means sheer waste. But it has resulted in the creation of 30,000 new millionaires in the United States. It drained the wealth of the country from the pockets of working men and women, and poured it into the pockets of these war profiteers. It will continue so to drain the meager incomes of the working people, through increased prices due to increased taxation, for many a generation until it is all paid.

Besides the interest charge, there must be a sinking fund to retire the debt. We must also, at the same time, provide for running the government on a greatly enlarged scale.

Where is the money to come from?

England, France and Italy, to whom we loaned billions of
dollars, have announced that they cannot pay even the interest on that debt.

They are able to maintain armies and to fight wars in India, Ireland, Egypt, Poland, Russia, and half a dozen places throughout the world—but they cannot pay the interest on the money we loaned them.

Where is the money to come from? Nobody in Washington knows. Already the big corporations, big business, “prominent citizens” have announced that the tax on excess war profits “fetters enterprise.” They demand that all “levies on big business” must be repealed. They say that the common people must be made to pay, through direct taxes on retail sales, the whole cost of the war debt, leaving war profits alone.

Thus the cost of living, already nearly out of reach of the ordinary family, will soar still further. Ordinary wages will be even less able to provide for an ordinary livelihood than they are now. There will be further dreary rounds of strikes, wage increases, increased prices, and yet more strikes. Living conditions will become steadily worse—if this Big Business plan is adopted.

Living conditions are already bad enough, and far too bad. On February 17, 1920, a Government expert announced that the United States dollar had shrunk to less than 40 cents in purchasing power, compared to what it was in 1913, before the war madness began. A salary of $2,000 a year in 1920 will buy only as much as $870 a year would buy in 1913. Ordinary families cannot exist in decency on less than $2,500 a year. Very few families get that much—and the scale of living-costs climbs steadily higher and higher.

So we tried Overall Clubs; and the net result was to run the price of overalls from $1.75 to $8 a pair.

Then the Attorney General urged us to buy the “cheaper cuts” of meat—thus doubling their price, and swelling yet further the huge profits of the packers. Clothing firms, who had raised the price of clothing three hundred per cent, announced a Great Reduction of ten per cent.

Seven thousand per cent profit was made on leather alone; and three and four thousand per cent profit was shown by
many firms on the income tax reports to the treasury.
Dollars are worth only what quarters were worth before.
What has happened to our dollar? It is simple. The credit of a spendthrift government has collapsed.
So it was in France, before Louis XVI lost his head in the wild fury of the Reign of Terror. His spendthrift government lost its credit, and collapsed.
In his time, those who held possession of what wealth there was steadfastly refused to part with any of it, or to share the costs of the State, which they controlled; imposing heavier and yet heavier burdens upon the people who groaned in redoubled misery—until the storm burst.
And even now, while the income of the common family has shrunk to less than half, and still is shrinking—even now while the swollen fortunes of those favored few increase and magnify by incredible leaps—even now they who control the State demand that the whole cost of the war, the whole burden of the squandering and waste, shall be laid on the common people; that the ordinary working family, even now unable to scrape along in barest decency, shall pay out of threadbare pockets the whole indebtedness of war.
THAT WAY LIES DESTRUCTION. A nation of paupers confronting a caste of multimillionaires—ghastly starvation confronting ghastlier excesses—that way lies the Terror.
Not that way—NOT THAT WAY!
There must be—there is—a sane, an intelligent, an American way.
What is the American way?
The sane way, the American way, is to take the wealth made out of the war and use it to pay for the war. Why cannot we do that?
Because war profiteers own the Government. They own all the necessities of the people's life. They own the railroads—and have just demanded an extra tax of one billion dollars a year in rate increases. They own the coal mines, and have just announced further raises in the price of coal. They own the steel mills, and the price of steel is going up again.
Let us face the facts. Our firm is bankrupt. The Government of the United States does not know where it is to get the money to pay its debts. It has allowed its chief assets—the basic industries, the mineral deposits, the natural resources of the land—to fall into the hands of speculators, subject to the wringing greed of monopolists. Its assets are gone, its debts are pressing and it has no means of meeting them. So its credit is collapsing, and its fiat money—make-believe money—goes steadily down and down.

When a firm becomes insolvent, it must be taken over and reorganized. When a band of marauding gamblers has looted a business, it must go into the hands of a receiver who will restore it to its true owners. THAT IS THE REMEDY, the only one.

The Socialist Party asks the American people for appointment as receiver for the national government. It offers to place the firm upon an intelligent business basis, and hand it back to its true owners, the common people of the United States. It intends to regain the national assets which have been thrown away. It plans to compel the looters to disgorge their loot.

It has definite plans for REORGANIZATION OF THE BUSINESS, for elimination of waste and corruption, for a new system of accounting and responsibility.

It is not a secret organization, plotting anybody’s overthrow. It is an open organization, planning to clean house. Its proposals are above board, fair and scientific. It asks that they be examined.

But meanwhile, we urge, and proclaim, and stress, and insist upon, one thing. This job has to be done quickly. The ruin which is impending will involve us all in a distress far past our power of imagination to comprehend, unless we act at once.

We therefore ask for this appointment at the National Elections. We ask for it as a sacred and well-understood trust. We have been preparing for it for many years.

Is there anything un-American about this?

We have long known, and incessantly proclaimed, that the
way we have been doing business would inevitably lead to such a collapse as we now confront. That method of doing business goes by the name of the Capitalist System. Its basic fact is Greed. Its principal process is Waste. Its distinguishing mark is Inefficiency.

We propose to abolish the corrupt, wasteful, inefficient system and to substitute for it a sane, intelligent, economical and efficient system. Capitalism is waste. All the waste of the world war was a necessary product of the capitalist system. Republicans would have done the same as Democrats had they been in power. They could not have helped it.

In the effort to tide over the confusion and chaos which Capitalism necessarily breeds, an autocracy was established during the war by the combined votes of Republicans and Democrats. This autocracy destroyed the last vestiges of the American political democracy. It was a confession of the impotence of our political system to meet the demands of the crisis.

Wasteful in peace, criminally wasteful and inefficient in war, the Capitalist system must go. We must install a new system.

A doctor knows that when a patient has collapse after collapse, crisis after crisis, he cannot be cured by patching up here and there. The doctor will tell you,

"Your system is out of order. It must be cleansed!"

Socialists refuse to offer pills and quack medicines. We say "The System is out of Order. It must be cleansed!"

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

At the moment of its inception, this nation issued a challenge to all the ages, through its Declaration of Independence. In that document, the first and most sacred utterance of the American spirit, it was proclaimed:

"Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends of life, liberty, and happiness, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing
its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

In this hour of confusion and turmoil, the challenge of this fundamental principle rings again loudly in our ears. Unless we are true to this, the basic warrant of our liberty, we cannot call ourselves Americans; we dare not proclaim ourselves free.

Our present form of government is helpless, inefficient, bankrupt, in conducting public business. It is vicious, oppressive, tyrannical, and treacherous in regulating private life. This is not the fault of the present political administration, vicious and un-American as it is. It is the fault of our political organization, which is completely out of joint and out of touch with the facts of our national life.

Our present "political democracy" is a thin mask over an industrial and financial autocracy. Our social units are no longer politically defined or geographically limited. They are industrially organized. These industrial organisms are, in great majority, ruled in despotic fashion by hereditary overlords. They form, in the words of a government report, actual kingdoms and principalities. They are "oppressive to those who depend upon them, and a dreadful menace to the welfare of our Republic."

Life, Liberty, and Happiness are no longer secure. Life is wantonly sacrificed, not only in commercial wars but in the ceaseless massacres of industry. Liberty has been destroyed with mockery, and happiness becomes a thing increasingly impossible. The mass of the working people, unable to gain by their toil enough to support themselves and their families in decency, are met by brutality, torture, assassination and slaughter when they seek by exercise of the rights necessary to any honest and free people to secure the requisites of life.

We must therefore unhesitatingly accept the challenge of the past, and answer the agonized demand of the present. The hour has come to reassert and reapply the fundamental principle of American liberty. We propose completely to reorganize the structure of our economic system and of our government.
As the fundamental principle of this new structure of government and society, all wealth socially necessary must be socially owned. Tribute must no longer be wrung from the people by vampire gamblers who speculate in pestilence, in famine and in death.

All land, all mineral deposits, all water power, all public means of communication and transportation, being necessary to the people, must belong to them. Use and control of them may be held only on condition of occupation and service.

As the second fundamental principle, government must be by experts. Every industry must be controlled and operated by its actual workers. Government must be by representatives chosen from industrial and occupational groups and communities, as well as from geographical districts. They must be made continually responsive to the will of the people by the recall.

As the third fundamental principle, citizenship must be conditioned upon service. Only those who serve their fellows by hand or brain are entitled to share in the government of their communities. They who serve must rule.

All other measures, programs, propositions and platforms must be subservient to the principal aim. We must completely reorganize the structure of our society upon the basis here outlined. We must restore America to its people.

For the present Democratic administration, as for the preceding Republican administrations, we have no blame nor censure. They have been but executive committees of the moneyed power. All their crimes of cruelty, of oppression, of treachery and of wrong, are the natural outworkings of the rule of greed in a time of stress.

Our blame is reserved for the workers, who have again and again entrusted their safety to their sworn enemies, like a flock of sheep summoning wolves to protect it. The ravening cruelty of the wolf is inherent in its nature. The criminal plots of the Wilson administration against the American people are the inevitable marks of the class struggle rising to its climax.

By this administration, the Constitution of the United States has been destroyed. So far from regretting this, we re-
joice at it, for it clears the way for a new Constitution in harmony with this age. We seek to overthrow, not our government, but a criminal conspiracy for the establishment of an empire on the ruins of our Republic.

Our nation does not stand alone, but is a part of that closely interwoven structure known as civilization. As the United States is formed, first of thirteen and now of forty-eight different sovereignties, so must the nations of the world unite in one international structure, as they are already united in the inescapable bonds of an international community of thought, of action, and of exchange.

This international structure must be based upon either one or the other of two violently opposed principles. Either we must be united under the dominant sway of a band of international plunderers, leagued together to crush out the freedom of all people in every land; or we must be bound together in a free fellowship of all the peoples, linked in a world-wide creative fellowship.

The Money Power of the World has sought to establish an international autocracy of crime through the League of Nations and the Treaty of Versailles. The workers of the world must instead of this establish their own Federation of Workers' Republics.

We affirm our solidarity with the revolutionary working classes of all other nations. It is our charge to establish here in the United States of America that great transformation which shall uproot the cause of the world’s miseries and its wars that will bring prosperity and peace. And we stretch out our hands to those in every other nation who are fired by the same spirit and seek the same ends, without compromise, without hesitation, without fear and without distrust.

Are these principles un-American? Truly, no; they are the essence of Americanism!

WHAT IS AMERICANISM?

The first principle of Americanism is, quite plainly and simply, that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of life, liberty and happiness, it is not only the right,
it is the sworn and bounden duty, of all true citizens to alter that form of government, and if it cannot be altered, to abolish it, and try something new.

Not only is this no foreign and new doctrine. It is the only doctrine that can be called "American." It is the basic doctrine for which America stands, not only in her own eyes, but in the eyes of all the world.

That experiment upon which the Fathers of the American Republic ventured was new. The hearts of all who beheld it were aghast at its rashness. For twenty centuries, since Rome the Republic became Rome the Empire, all men had been ruled by emperors and kings. Self-government, democracy, was esteemed a thing dangerous and wild, a complete destruction of all order, all safety, all morality, all religion. Those who championed it were hardly thought to be fit company on the same globe for decent citizens of well-ordered countries. A League of Nations was formed by the heads of the governments of Russia, Austria and Prussia to form a "sanitary cordon" around Republican Governments, and prevent the extension of the idea of political democracy, exactly as the Allies sought to form a "sanitary cordon" about Russia to prevent the extension of the idea of industrial democracy.

"Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of life, liberty, and happiness, it is the people's right, it is their duty to alter or abolish it, and to institute new forms."

This, and this only, is the essential American idea. It is the one idea which strikes at the power of kings, of kaisers, of dictators, of aristocracies.

All aristocracies and czardoms have their roots in the past. Americanism has its roots in the present, and looks for its fruition to the future.

This is the idea for which America stands in the eyes of all the rest of the world. The Kaiser feared this idea, and denounced it as "lese majeste." The Czar feared it, and exiled Nikolai Lenine to years of slavery in Siberia for translating into Russian those opening paragraphs of the Declaration of Independence. The King of France feared it, and in seeking to suppress it lost his throne and his head. The King of Eng-
land feared it, and sent his soldiers for eight long years across
three thousand miles of ocean to strangle that idea on the
American soil which had given it birth. But it lived then;
it lived through the bloody horror of the Civil War; and it
shall not die now!

To this doctrine the founders of the American Republic
pledged themselves; and to it we pledge, as did these pioneers
before us, “our lives, our liberties, and our most sacred honor.”

There are, then, two things to be considered. First, does
our present form of government safeguard life, liberty and
happiness for the people who live under it; and secondly, if
it does not, what form of government shall we substitute for it?

The answer to both questions is easy.

WHAT IS WRONG?

One need go no further than Washington to find the fiercest
critics of our present system. Honest men laboring under the
burden of public business comprehend perfectly that the pres-
ent system is unworkable. They know, and have stated very
clearly, what is wrong with it.

For two years a special commission appointed by the Presi-
dent at the request of Congress studied the breakdown of our
industrial life. In their report, known as the Report of the
United States Industrial Relations Commission, they have
shown the causes of that disaster. Every statement is backed
up with carefully tested evidence.

Its opening paragraph outlines our program. It says:

“The only hope for the solution of the tremendous prob-
lems created by industrial relationships lies in the effective use
of our democratic institutions, and in the rapid extension of
the principles of democracy to industry.”

“Effective use of our democratic institutions” cannot be
made, so long as these institutions are under control of the two
old parties. For they are each controlled by an Old Gang,
playing into each other’s hands. They are owned by men who
use them like a Hindenburg line, to protect the industrial
Kaiserism which has brought us to bankruptcy. There must
be a new political power, for the old political power is sold to
the enemies of the people. This new political power is the Socialist Party.

"Rapid extension of the principles of democracy to industry"—this is our economic program. It is in order to further and protect this program that we seek political power.

Which is the more important—political or industrial change? Again the Government comes to our aid, with a challenge that rings clear and strong and true.

"The immediate effect of the form and character of industrial organization is greater and closer to the lives and happiness of all classes of citizens than even the form and character of our political institutions."—This is Uncle Sam talking!

"The ordinary man, whether employer or worker, has relatively little contact with the government. If he and his family are well fed, well clothed, and well housed, and if he can pay for the education of his children, he can exist even under an autocratic monarchy with little concern, until some critical situation develops in which his own liberty is interfered with, or until he is deprived of life and property by the overwhelming power of his tyrannical ruler.

"But his industrial relations determine every day what he and his family shall eat, what they shall wear, how many hours of his life he shall labor, and in what surroundings."

How then shall we answer the question of the Declaration of Independence? How determine whether the form of government under which we live is safeguarding or destroying our life, liberty and happiness? Evidently we must look, not chiefly at the "political forms" of President, Congress and Courts, but principally to our industrial government. For this is much more important, since it is this which gives meaning to the political structure. So says the Government, and so say we.

What sort of an industrial government have we? Uncle Sam answers again:

"Where the individual or corporate employer owns or controls the community in which he (the ordinary man) lives, the education of his children, the character and prices of his
food, clothing and home, his own actions, speech and opinions, and even in some cases his religion, are controlled and determined, in so far as the interests of his employer make it desirable for him to exercise such control.'"

This has not the ring of liberty. Where such conditions prevail, the ideal of the Declaration has been entirely overthrown. Serfdom exists. But where, and how frequently, do such conditions prevail?

"Such conditions" the report goes on, "are established and maintained not only through the dictation of all working conditions by the employer, but also by his usurpation or control of the functions and machinery of political government in such communities.

"In such communities democratic government does not, as a rule, exist, except in name and form, and as a consequence there now exist, within the body of our republic, industrial communities which are virtually principalities, oppressive to those dependent upon them, and a dreadful menace to the peace and welfare of the nation.'"

Principalities—kingdoms! In free America there are kingdoms which are an oppressive and a dreadful menace! These words sound very like a call for help. Read on!

"Political freedom can exist only where there is industrial freedom. Political democracy can exist only where there is industrial democracy.'"

Here it stands forth, clear, unmistakable, challenging. Our boast is of the "land of the free and the home of the brave." To make it good we are bound, in common honesty, to abolish industrial principalities, industrial kingdoms, industrial tyranny and establish Industrial Democracy.

Even more clear and pointed is the next paragraph:

"Investigation has shown that the degree of political freedom which exists is conditioned by the industrial status of the citizens who form the majority of the community.'"

In plain language, the boss of the big business of any town is duke of that town. The head of a big corporation, like the United States Steel Corporation, the Colorado Fuel and Iron
Company, the Standard Oil Company, is a king over the people dependent on him. Their jobs mean their livelihood. So long as industrial princes and dukes retain their power, our national anthem is a falsehood and a lie, our country is not a "sweet land of liberty," the Declaration of Independence has been outraged and the Statue of Liberty is a mockery and a sham.

Uncle Sam is saying all this!
How did these things come about?
Does not power go to those who have the brains? No!

Our Government report shows that we have the same system of hereditary kingship and hereditary aristocracy that they have gotten rid of in Europe. They have disposed of the divine right of the Kaiser, the Czar and the Emperor over there; but not in this country. Our job is still to be done.

"The great fortunes of those who have profited by the enormous expansion of American Industry have already passed, or will pass in a few years by right of inheritance, to the control of heirs, or to trustees who act as 'vice-regents.' They are frequently styled by our newspapers 'monarchs of industry,' and indeed occupy within our Republic positions almost exactly like that of feudal lords.

"These heirs, owners only by virtue of the accident of birth, control the livelihood and have the power to dictate to the happiness of more human beings than populated Europe in the Middle Ages."

Let that soak in.

Princelings of finance and industry inherit, by the "accident of birth," power over the lives and happiness of more people than populated Europe in the Middle Ages. Here, in the United States! This, on the testimony of the Government itself.

"These principalities, it is true" the report goes on, "are scattered, and through the medium of stock ownership are shared in part with others; but they are none the less real.

"In fact, such scattered invisible industrial principalities are a greater menace to the welfare of the nation than would
be equal power consolidated into numerous petty kingdoms in different parts of the country. They might then be visualized and guarded against; now their influence invisibly permeates and controls every phase of life and industry.

"THE FAMILIES OF THESE INDUSTRIAL PRINCES ARE ALREADY WELL ESTABLISHED, AND ARE KNOT TOGETHER NOT ONLY BY COMMERCIAL ALLIANCES, BUT BY A NETWORK OF INTERMARRIAGES WHICH ASSURES HARMONIOUS ACTION WHENEVER THEIR COMMON INTEREST IS THREATENED."

Royal alliances—princely marriages—a caste of royal families—imperial power—all these exist under the mask and protecting screen of our "political democracy!" It is time we cleaned house!

This report is the coolest, calmest statement possible on the subject. It is taken from the dispassionate pages of a Government report. It consists of facts strained through two years of careful investigation. It contains statements that no one can dispute. Most of us could go much further and say much stronger things. But this is the United States Government, calmly reviewing the facts in the case. It comes to the conclusion that in this country, established to be the home of democracy, democracy has been destroyed. In this country, sanctified to be the home of liberty, liberty has gone.

We have here the whole framework and machinery of medieval princedoms and kingdoms and empires, in actual operation. A "dreadful menace to the welfare of our nation and fearfully oppressive to those who live beneath their sway." The job must be done quickly!

The Declaration of Independence speaks further. It says "Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes. And accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed.

"But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce
them under absolute despotism, it is their right, IT IS THEIR DUTY, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security."

Endurance is no longer possible. For the rule of hereditary overlords, always cruel, has become incapable of conducting the public business.

"Outlaw" strikes have paralyzed the railroads. A nation wide strike paralyzed the steel industry. The coal mines are in a perpetual stage of upheaval and revolt. The cause is not fundamentally low wages nor long hours. It is the denial of the rights of self-government to industry. It is the refusal to men who work of any recognition as men. It is the insane arrogance of hereditary aristocracy, vicious, inefficient and insatiable, that maddens them. It is the control of our political democracy by our industrial and financial tyranny which causes the growing terrible threat of revolution.

Coal strikes, steel strikes, railroad strikes, longshoremen's strikes, express strikes—these are actual revolution. They are not caused by the agitation of foreigners. They are the work of native Americans, schooled in traditions of liberty and justice, rising against the foreign yoke of ducal tyranny which industrial autocracy and financial kaiserism impose. Endurance is no longer possible. The Revolution is at hand.

But how shall this tyranny be ended?

The basis of all tyranny is the same. Dukes, counts, lords and kings of medieval Europe exercised political power because they controlled the sources of livelihood of their people.

In those days the land was the principal source of livelihood. Everything came out of or off of the land. Landlords gave themselves titles in accordance with the amount of land they owned, and the roads they controlled. A knight owned a small farm, a count or a marquis a larger farm, or several of them, a count owned a county, a duke owned a province, a king owned a kingdom. Titles to nobility were about the same as titles to real estate.

Before the people of France could abolish the nobility's power, they had to abolish their ownership of land. Monopoly
of land is monopoly of life. All life depends upon access to the land.

But, since our Constitution was framed, we have developed many other sources of livelihood. Invention and discovery have made possible great industrial corporations. These depend upon control of some natural resource, such as coal deposits, oil deposits, copper mines or steel mines; or of some vast machinery necessary to utilize these natural resources, such as the Steel Corporation's plants, the telephone and telegraph systems, the railroad systems.

But the principle is the same. Whoever owns the source of life, owns and controls the life itself. Dukes in ancient times owned the land and the roads, through titles of nobility. Dukes today own railroads, steel mills, copper mills, through shares of stock.

Political democracy depended upon the people owning the land, which was the source of their livelihood. Even so today industrial democracy depends upon the people owning the means of production and distribution of all things which are necessary to their lives.

So this is the first plank in all Socialist platforms. It has been the first plank in all movements for liberty since the world began. To have political liberty we must have industrial freedom. To have industrial freedom we must place ownership of the means of life in the hands of all who depend upon them for livelihood.

THE SOCIALIST PLATFORM

So here is where we begin. All things socially necessary must be socially owned. Otherwise we will continue to have the spectacle of coal mine owners combining to hoist the price of coal out of all reason, and the people helpless to prevent it; of railroad owners saddling on the people billions of dollars of taxes to pay watered stock dividends, and the people helpless to prevent it; of Standard Oil owners raising the price of gasoline every time they found a new college or make a new gift to humanity—and the people helpless to prevent it; of steel owners gouging the government and the people at large with outrageous profits and prices on steel,—and the people helpless to prevent it.
How is ownership of these public necessities to be transferred to the hands of the people?

There are two ways. One is by compensation—paying the present owners. The other is by confiscation,—taking them without paying the owners.

Which will we adopt?

That is for the owners to say. The Plumb Plan offered to pay the owners of railroads stocks for the actual physical value of their property with government bonds. They refused. Instead, they passed the shameful Esch-Cummins bill. Thereby they loaded upon the people the obligation to pay five and one-half per cent dividends on stock swollen to three times the actual value of the property. They refused a fair offer.

What happened when the slave-holders of the South refused and ridiculed Lincoln’s offer to pay a fair price for the slaves?

Whose fault was the Civil War?

What about the Land? Will we take his farm away from the Farmer? Of course not. Any man who occupies and utilizes land for raising food on it is certain of the enthusiastic protection of any sane government.

But we are face to face with the landlord problem. Rents in the cities have gone sky-high. Many families must live in tents because there are not enough houses, while great stretches of land, most valuable land, are held out of use by speculators.

In the country likewise, the problem of the tenant-farmer is pressing; the farmer who cannot pay the interest on his mortgage, who sinks deeper and deeper into debt.

Free access to the land, and protection of those who use the land, this is the principal care of any sane government. Therefore we establish this principle—that all the land of the nation belongs to all the people of the nation. No man can hold his land unless all the people consent. Therefore every man’s title to land must be based upon use and occupancy.

No unearned increment—no speculation in tenements and overcrowding—no holding of valuable lands out of use for future gain. None of these things must any longer be permitted. Speculation in land, which is the basic source of life, must be
penalized by taxing back into the treasury of the community the land-value given by the community, and not by the owner.

This will solve the landlord problem; but there are other problems to be solved.

WHY "GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP DOES NOT WORK"

But immediately the cry will be raised—and with good reason—"Government ownership will not work! We have tried it and it failed. Would you expect Congress to run the mines and railroads?"

Not this kind of Congress! How can a Congress of lawyers run a mine? Can ex-saloon keepers conduct a boot and shoe industry?

To run a mine you must have miners. To run a railroad you must have railroad men. To operate a woolen mill you must have wool men. Shall we take control over the industries away from the men who know them best, and put it in the hands of a gang of politicians such as fill our Congress and our Legislatures today? That would be to commit the very crime we are protesting against.

Political democracy, as we know it, is based upon land representation. It consists in giving those who live on the same bit of land—ward, county, or state—a vote in the government of that bit of land. That might have been all right when everybody lived on a farm. In the days when our Constitution was framed, almost everybody did live on a farm. Only a very small percentage lived in the tiny towns that they called cities. There were almost no manufacturers. There were no railroads; railroads had not yet been invented. There were no steamships. There were no telephones or telegraphs. There were no industrial corporations. The unit of civilization was the farm. People naturally grouped themselves by the land they occupied.

But now we live in a different age. There have been more revolutionary changes in our method of life between the framing of the Constitution and the present time, than there had been since the founding of Egypt. We have seen the invention of steam, of electricity, of gas, of railroads, of telegraphs, telephones, of wireless, of aeroplanes.
We have seen the development of huge cities—New York of nearly six million inhabitants, Chicago of three million, Philadelphia two million, Detroit and Boston of a million each. We have seen the development of huge industrial corporations. The Steel Corporation, the Woolen industry, the Coal industry, the Packing industry, each comprises as many people as the whole country contained when the Republic was formed.

Our politics have gone along on the theory that people still group themselves by the bits of land they live on—when everyone knows that nobody but farmers now group themselves together in any such way. Even farmers split according to the special crops they raise. The great majority of the people now group themselves by INDUSTRY. They are organized by occupation and product. Doctors belong to medical associations. Plumbers belong to plumbers' unions. Printers belong to typographical associations. Railroad men belong to railroad brotherhoods. A railroad man in California is much more neighborly to a railroad man in Maine than he is to a farmer or a banker in his own town. His peculiar problems are understood by a fellow railroad man, even in another state, much better than by a member of another occupational group in the next street.

But this vast network, this predominant grouping, of occupational and industrial interests, is outside of and unrepresented in our governmental structure. Congresses and legislatures are composed almost entirely of lawyers. Lawyers are of all men the worst fitted to make laws governing other men's business, because they thrive on difficulties and fatten on complications. Where everything is simple and clear and well understood, a lawyer's services are seldom required. The average law is as unintelligible to the average citizen, as the average indictment is to the average prisoner, who must hire a lawyer to tell him what he stands accused of, as well as to defend him against the accusation. It is made so of set purpose. Would not common sense, especially American common sense, suggest that those who understand the same industry get together for the purpose of running that industry? That is what industrial democracy means.

Just as political democracy shuts out those who do not live
in a district from governing that district, so industrial democracy will shut out anyone who does not work—actively and productively work, with hand or brain,—in a certain industry or service from having anything to say about governing that industry.

Doctors do not permit men ignorant of medicine to issue orders for them.

Lawyers do not allow miners to make rules for them.

Why should miners allow lawyers to make laws for them?

But now, when a vital matter arises and a law is quickly required, the farmers, doctors, miners, wool growers and mill-workers must maintain delegations in Washington. They must lobby for months at a time to get a bill introduced. Then their bill must run the gauntlet of all the other interests. Then the other house must mull over it. Then the President has to sign it. And then after a couple of years, the courts declare it unconstitutional.

Of course government ownership does not work—with that kind of a government. No industry can be run by a controlling body which specializes in ignorance and delay.

We need direct action by the men who understand a business, upon the running of that business. And that is why we propose an industrially elected Congress to govern industry.

THE INDUSTRIAL SENATE

We propose that one house of every legislature and of Congress shall be composed of representatives elected direct by the industries. Miners of each state should elect miners to the state legislature to represent the miners. Nobody but a miner should be allowed to vote, and none but a miner allowed to serve. Likewise with doctors, likewise with fruit growers, likewise with shoemakers.

One house—say the Senate—should be elected from occupational groups and industries, with none but workers in such industries allowed to vote for representatives of that industry. Thus the Upper House of every legislature and of Congress would be an Industrial Congress. It would be composed of representatives elected to represent their industries on an occupational basis.
Instead of waiting until things are in a hopeless mess, and then appointing a committee of experts to try and save the wreckage, Congress would be half composed of experts in all industries. They would be on the job all the time, before things went wrong, to prevent them from going wrong.

Thus one house would represent the Producers of the nation, and all its time would be occupied in keeping production going smoothly.

What would we do with the other house?

THE TERRITORIAL HOUSE

Each man has a double capacity—as consumer and as producer. So the lower house, elected as at present on the geographical or territorial or district basis, would represent the consumers, as the upper house represented the producers.

In his daily toil, every one of us produces, or helps to produce, some commodity. He may be interested, say, in the manufacture of shoes in any one of a hundred different ways: he may be a tanner, operator of a shoe machine, a bootblack, a drummer, or a shoe retail clerk. In any event, he would vote for the Shoe representative in the Industrial Senate.

But as a consumer, a shoemaker needs far more than shoes. He requires a house, clothing, food, light, heat, water, transportation, and amusement. His interest as a consumer is to get as much as he can of what other men produce for as little as he can. That is, he seeks low prices. His interest as a producer is to get as much as he can for what he produces—that is, high wages. His interest as consumer and his interest as producer are not the same.

Altruism might dictate that he should produce as much as he could make for as little as he could live upon. But as a matter of fact, altruism can be relied upon only occasionally, and under high excitement. The sane thing to do is to recognize that the average man is both a producer and a consumer. His interests in one capacity are not the same as his interests in another. So that as consumers we should be represented in one body, and as producers in a different body of delegates.
Now while production is carried on industrially, distribution of goods for consumption is always carried on territorially. An industry may spread out over half a dozen states, but every family requires the delivery of what it needs to the house in which it lives. Sewerage, lights, gas, water, transportation, grocery delivery, are geographical by the nature of things.

So the geographical, or territorial, method of representation is the natural method of consumers’ representation. We have this method already in our lower houses of legislatures and of Congress. Under this system of dual representation we would have a Senate composed of industrially elected producers, and a House composed of geographically elected distributors.

Might not these two houses be always fighting?

Of course they might. The advantage would be that if they did, their fights would be in the open. Today consumers and producers are always at war, but the war is conducted under cover, by stealth. Producers are usually much better organized than the Consumers, and because as producers they have no representation of their own, they have usurped the function of the Territorial Representatives.

Once you separate the functions every person would know that the Upper House, or Senate, represents the Producers, and the Lower House represents the Consumers. He would know that these two houses must settle their difficulties in the open and above board, then you have cleared the situation.

When you are trying to steer a boat, and the tiller-ropes get tangled so that a pull on the port rope pulls the rudder to starboard, you are hopelessly adrift. Once you have got the ropes separate, so that you know which to pull, you can steer with security.

RESPONSIBLE ADMINISTRATION.

How would these two houses work together? Through the administration of course. Each state, as well as the Federal Government, must have a cabinet composed of executives. At present they are utterly irresponsible to the popular will. Ours is the only country in the world in which the Legislature has
no control over the Administration. In no other country could men like Burleson and Palmer continue in office over the general protest of all sections of the community. Everywhere else, the Administration is responsible to the will of the people as represented in the legislature.

So must we have it here. The two houses must select the executive officers who conduct public affairs. These executive officers, the Cabinet, must be instantly responsible to the public voice. That is, they must all have seats in the legislatures and in Congress, to answer any questions the members may propose and to explain the reasons for any action the members do not understand. If a vote of censure is passed on any executive official, that official must immediately cease to hold office, and someone else must be appointed in whom the people have confidence.

This is plain common sense. We have seen within the past four years how a stubborn and self-willed President can maintain in office, in actual power over the daily lives of all Americans, men like Burleson as Postmaster General and Gregory and Palmer as Attorney-General, in spite of widespread denunciation of these men as mischievous bunglers by every element of the nation.

So we nail down another plank: RESPONSIBLE ADMINISTRATION.

IMMEDIATE SEATING

A very important point is IMMEDIATE SEATING. At present, a Congress which is elected in November, 1920, does not open its regular session until December, 1921, thirteen months after it is elected. In that time the issues which were uppermost when the new Congress was elected have faded out of people's minds. For six months of that year a group of men who may have been repudiated at the polls—"lame ducks" as they are called—may have been in power to work mischief in revenge for their unseating. We propose that Congressmen elected in November shall take their seats on January 1; that Presidents elected in November shall also take their seats Janu-
ary 1. In this way they will be in power to deal with national affairs while their mandate from the people is still fresh. This, we say, is also plain common sense.

RECALL

Another necessary means of keeping representatives in touch with their people is the RECALL. Whenever an employee does not obey the orders of his superiors, he is fired. So should it be with public employees. Whenever a Congressman or a Governor violates his election pledges he should be at once recalled, unless he can give an explanation satisfactory to the people who elected him. This again is common sense and no one is opposed to it except politicians who trade on broken pledges.

SERVICE QUALIFICATION

And one point more. Who shall vote?

The system we have at present is ridiculous. No person is a citizen of the United States. We are all citizens of a ward precinct. Not even of a state, or a county, or a city, but of a voting precinct. If you are out of your voting precinct on election day you are disfranchised. Even the President of the United States must travel from Washington to Ohio, or New Jersey, or California, to cast his vote. If you move within sixty days of the election you are disfranchised. If you are a travelling worker, a drummer, an electrical or civil engineer, a contractor, an actor, a public speaker, a musician on the road, a migratory worker on railroads or construction work, you are disfranchised unless you happen to be in your ward precinct between 8 and 4 o’clock on election day.

Men and women who do no useful work, and never have done any, can vote, while energetic and necessary workers are deprived of all share in the government.

This is both unfair and absurd. We propose a voting qualification of service. Not a property qualification, as used to be the rule, so that nobody could vote who did not own a certain amount of property. Not a ward-precinct qualification, wherein nobody can vote except those who are citizens of their own
ward-precinct and are in that precinct on election day. No; but a SERVICE QUALIFICATION, whereby every able person who, by toil of hand or brain, actually SERVES the community, is entitled to share in the government of that community.

The object of this Service Qualification would be to prevent those able-bodied persons who refuse to do any work, but instead live off of their fellow-men, from governing their fellowmen. One who gets a living by OWNING PROPERTY, rather than from WORKING FOR A LIVING, ought not to make laws and issue orders to those who TOIL and PRODUCE. Otherwise we have only a modified slavery. Under slavery, those who do the work cannot issue orders, while those who give the orders do no work. We want this Slave-system changed so completely that no one can issue orders through his ballot who does not work.

Of course, those who are helpless, the aged, sick and injured, will be one of the main cares of a Socialist community. They will not be thrown on the scrap heap, as they are under Capitalism, but will be protected and defended, not as a charity but as a right. But if by their own fault and choice any, while able to work, refuse to work, they will, as they should, have no voice in the making or the enforcing of laws, under a Socialist community.

HOW IT WILL WORK

You ask us: "Will the system you propose work any better than the system we have now?"

Of course it will. It could not possibly work any worse. It will, and must, work better. It is based on recognition of natural and necessary developments now going on. It places responsibility where there is power, and it places power where responsibility is. It gives government into the hands of experts, not of forsworn and traitorous politicians. It places control of industries in the hands of those who know how to run industries. It places control of distribution in the hands of those vitally interested in distribution.

It is a REORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL BUSINESS ON COMMON SENSE BASIS.
But we claim more, far more, for our system in its results.

It will remove the incentive to public theft, dishonesty and treachery, as it removes the incentive or the possibility of private worthlessness and private plunder at public expense. It will introduce co-operation instead of competition as the guiding motive of public life. It will give rewards to service, instead of rewarding crooked cunning. It will secure for the whole people the illimitable riches and splendor of America, instead of depriving the mass of the people to swathe in rotting luxury the lucky few.

But the main question is this:

HOW are we going to keep the United States of America running? Wars abroad and disasters at home follow constantly under capitalist control of industry. How are we to provide for a new deal? What method of conducting our national life will enable us to be at peace with one another and with the world at large outside?

To this main question Socialists contend that we have the only sane and intelligent answer. Further, we contend that our answer is the necessary sequence of all American historical development hitherto. Many persons have the idea that our Constitution is like the Lord’s Prayer and the Ten Commandments, to be reverently repeated and never changed. They have the idea that our Governmental structure is like the Law of the Medes and the Persians, which altereth not.

But such people are not Americans. The genuine American is not a Prussian, afraid of “Verboten” and trembling in his shoes at “Lese majeste.” Real Americans want to be shown. They are never afraid to take a chance. They will try anything once, and if it does not work they will try something else.

But anyone who reads history knows that the change we propose is not wild, crazy, foreign theory, but sound American progress. Anyone who knows the story of the original Constitution knows that it has been changed repeatedly for the better. We propose one more change, a bigger one and a deeper one than any yet made.
NOW IT MUST BE DONE

OUR CONSTITUTION

Let us look again at the history of the formation of our nation. Woodrow Wilson wrote a book called "Division and Reunion" while he was Professor of History in Princeton University. In it he says, on page 12:

"The Federal Government was not by intention a democratic government. In plan and structure it had been meant to check the sweep and power of popular majorities. The Senate, it was believed, would be a stronghold of conservatism, if not of aristocracy and wealth. The President, it was expected, would be the choice of representative men, acting in the electoral college, and not of the people. The federal judiciary was looked to, with its virtually permanent membership, to hold the entire structure of national politics in nice balance against all disturbing influences, whether of popular impulse or of official overbearance. Only in the House of Representatives were the people to be accorded an immediate audience, and a direct means of making their will effective in affairs.

"The Government had, in fact, been originated and organized upon the initiative and primarily in the interest of the mercantile and wealthy classes. Originally conceived in an effort to accommodate commercial disputes between the states, it had been urged to adoption by a minority, under the concerted and aggressive leadership of able men representing a ruling class. The Federalists not only had on their side the power of convincing argument, but also the pressure of a strong and intelligent class, possessed of unity and informed by a conscious solidarity of material interest.

"Hamilton, not only the chief administrative architect of the government, but also the author of the graver and more lasting parts of its policy in the critical formative period of its infancy, had consciously and avowedly sought to commend it by its measures first of all and principally to the moneyed classes—to the men of the cities to whom it must look for financial support. That such a policy was eminently wise there can be no question. But it was not democratic. There can be a moneyed aristocracy, but there cannot be a moneyed democracy."

So, in order to introduce democracy, the people refused to
ratify this Constitution unless and until the Ten Amendments were adopted guaranteeing freedom of speech, of press, of assembly and of petition; guaranteeing to every man the right to keep his own gun; protecting all the people against search and seizure of their houses without due process of law. All these were forced into that plan of the moneyed-aristocracy, so that the common people might have the right to discuss, to change, and even to resist the acts of the moneyed-aristocracy. The Ten Amendments composing the Bill of Rights were therefore the sole guarantee of peaceful change, of protection of the people against tyranny and oppression. It follows that whoever overthrows or attempts to overthrow these guarantees is an enemy of the people.

Woodrow Wilson writes, on page 14 of the same book:

"Blinded by the ardor and self-confidence of the moment, the Federalists forced through Congress the Alien and Sedition laws. These laws excited the liveliest hostility and fear throughout the country. Virginia and Kentucky, at the suggestion of no less persons than Jefferson and Madison, uttered their famous Resolutions. The Federalists had added to their original sin of representing the moneyed and aristocratic classes, and to their later fault of hostility to France and friendship for England, the final offense of using the powers of the Federal Government to suppress freedom of speech and trial by jury. It was a huge and a fatal blunder, and it was never retrieved. With the close of John Adams' administration, the power of the Federalists came to an end."

So was written the doom of the Federalist party. The Federalists had formed the Union on the basis of a moneyed aristocracy. And when they sought to strike out those provisions forced in by the people for their protection against the tyranny which they had risked their lives to escape, the Federalist party died.

Even so has been written the doom of the Democratic Party and the Republican Party, for they united in passing under cover of the world war new Alien and Sedition Laws called Espionage Bills. By these they have sought to suppress all criticism, all advocacy of change, all truth telling, and all
rational preparation for that national house-cleaning which must occur.

The Espionage Bills passed by Democratic and Republican votes in 1917 have been used to imprison those who favored the Revolution in Russia, just as under Adams Americans were imprisoned for favoring the Revolution in France. Men and women have been treated with brutal and outrageous terrorism, for even thinking of a change which would weaken the power of the Moneyed-Aristocracy in whose favor, Wilson tells us, this first Constitution was framed.

And the best-beloved, the greatest-souled, the most fearlessly true hearted of Americans—Eugene Victor Debs—now wears prison stripes in Atlanta Penitentiary as a result of the spiteful vengeance of the Moneyed-Aristocracy, championed by Woodrow Wilson.

But by striking out of existence the Amendments to the Constitution which guaranteed freedom of speech, of press, of assemblage and of petition, the Wilson Administration has stricken out the only parts of it which protected the people in their century-long efforts to gain possession of their own land. It has destroyed the only things in it which made the people willing to accept it or to live under it.

So much the better. Let us not weep crocodile tears. The old Constitution has been destroyed—let us therefore make a new one!

**PROTECTION FOR THE CHANGE.**

A moment's thought will be enough to show that those who profit largely by the existing order will not welcome a change. Those who enjoy swollen incomes and unlimited privileges at the expense of the rest of us are going to hold on. Of course they will. Human nature will urge them to refuse to surrender an exclusive privilege without some sort of a struggle.

In passing from one form of government to another, some one is bound to lose. If those who are bound to lose can prevent it, therefore, there will be no change. So, in order to have a peaceful change, control must be in the hands of those who favor the change, and not of those who oppose it. The reason is simple. We must prevent street-fighting.
Great industrial upheavals have torn the country for three years.

Any one can see that a change is even now occurring. But because the United States Steel Corporation has been in control of political power, they were able to send the United States Army to crush the efforts of the strikers at Gary. They sent the Pennsylvania State Cossacks to destroy the movement for liberty in the Steel district of Pittsburgh. If those who favored Industrial Democracy in the Steel Industry had been in control of the executive offices of the State and Nation, the army and the State troops would have been used to preserve and protect the rights of steel workers, rather than to destroy them. There would have been no violence, and justice would have been secured.

If an aggressive party of prohibitionists had attempted, before the nation gave its sanction to the Dry Law, to destroy all the breweries and distilleries by fire and force, they would have been suppressed by the government. But because the Prohibitionists had obtained political control, the great change went through in peace. No breweries or distillers barricaded the streets to prevent enforcement of the law which made their vast properties worthless. They knew it would be useless, and the change occurred in peace, because political power was in the hands of those who favored the change.

So Socialists say, that during the period of transition from the present irrational and treacherous system to a rational and honest system such as we propose, control must be in the hands of the workers, who are the ones to profit by the new system, and are therefore in favor of it, instead of being, as it is now, in the hands of exploiters, who resent and resist the change.

The reason is to prevent violence.

For this reason we ask political power for the Socialist Party, which is the party of the workers. The transformation of our Industrial System is going on apace. But at present it is accompanied with wreckage and slaughter, with upheavals and stern repression. If political power is in the hands of those who favor the development, the transformation will be peaceful, it will be orderly, it will be intelligent.
NOW IT MUST BE DONE

EUGENE VICTOR DEBS

So Socialists present, as their candidate for the Presidency of the United States, EUGENE VICTOR DEBS.

For a quarter of a century, Debs has been working at the task of organizing workers—the railroad workers particularly—for the purpose of taking over and operating the railroads and other basic industries in an intelligent way. He is a working man. He is deeply schooled in the science of economics, widely read in sociology, and familiar with the workings of government in many of its branches.

He is now in prison. We glory in his chains!

In City Hall Square, New York, stands the statue of Nathan Hale, his arms pinioned, his neck bare; on the pedestal are graven the words he uttered just before he was hanged:

"I ONLY REGRET THAT I HAVE BUT ONE LIFE TO GIVE FOR MY COUNTRY!"

Apostles of the new day have in all the ages of the world been maltreated, imprisoned, tortured, killed. Christian martyrs filled the catacombs of Rome with their bones, and drenched the sands of the arena with their blood. Preachers of human liberty in Europe filled the dungeons of tyranny and fed the flames of ignorance. Foes of human slavery were imprisoned, tortured, and lynched by infuriated mobs or, like John Brown, by the arm of the law. And EUGENE V. DEBS, in prison, sheds a luster around the walls of Atlanta Penitentiary that all the ages will rejoice to behold, for he was sent there, not for any crime, but for telling the truth.

America's honor is embodied in the Prisoner of Atlanta.

LET'S GO!

We have a task ahead. It is a terrible task, a difficult task—a glorious task. We have to make the world safe for humanity, for ourselves and for our children. The old order dies hard, shaking the earth with its last agony, filling the nations with horror. The new order comes. We seek to bring it peaceably.

Why did the old order fall?

"A foolish man built his house upon the sand, and the
rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and
smote upon that house, and it fell, and great was the fall of
it—for it was built upon the sand.

“But a wise man built his house upon the rock, and the
rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and
beat upon that house, and it fell not, for it was founded upon a
rock.”

In the great storm of the World War the house of Capital-
ism has fallen—and great was the fall of it. It was built upon
the sand, the treacherous quicksand, the bottomless shaking
quagmire of selfishness; of private ownership of public neces-
sities; of unlimited competition; of each man for himself and
the devil take the hindmost.

Let us build our new house upon the strong and unshakable
rock, the rock of Industrial Democracy, of Public ownership, of
Public necessities.

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