

**SOCIALIST
HAND
BOOK**

CAMPAIGN 1916

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

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SOCIALIST HAND BOOK

FOR PRESIDENT

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT



ALLEN L. BENSON

GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK

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SOCIALIST PARTY PLATFORM

The following draft of party platform, together with the minority report was drawn up by the National Executive Committee and is being voted upon by referendum of the membership as this pamphlet goes to press.

DRAFT OF PARTY PLATFORM

In the midst of the greatest crisis and bloodiest struggle of all history the Socialist Party of America reaffirms its steadfast adherence to the principles of international brotherhood, world peace and industrial democracy.

The great war which has engulfed so much of civilization and destroyed millions of lives is one of the natural results of the capitalist system of production. Fundamentally, it was the desire of competing national groups of capitalists to grasp and control the opportunities for profitable foreign investments and trade which brought about the war, and it is that same desire which prompts the present organized effort to fasten upon this country the crushing burdens of militarism. Not until the capitalist system of production is replaced by a system of industrial democracy will wars for markets cease and international peace be securely established.

Hideous as they are, the horrors of the far-stretched battlefield of the old world are dwarfed by the evil results of the capitalist system, even in normal times. Instead of being organized to provide all members of society with an abundance of food, clothing and shelter, and the highest attainable freedom and culture, industry is at present organized and conducted for the benefit of a parasitic class. All the powers of government and all our industrial genius are directed to the end of securing to the relatively small class of capitalist

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investors the largest amount of profits which can be wrung from the labor of the ever increasing class whose only property is muscle and brain, manual and mental labor power.

The dire consequences of this system are everywhere apparent. The workers are oppressed and deprived of much that makes for physical, mental and moral well being. Year by year poverty and industrial accidents destroy more lives than all the armies and navies of the world.

To preserve their privilege and power is the most vital interest of the possessing class, while it is the most vital interest of the working class to resist oppression, improve its position and struggle to obtain security of life and liberty. Hence there exists a conflict of interests, a social war within the nation, which can know neither truce nor compromise. So long as the few own and control the economic life of the nation the many must be enslaved, poverty must co-exist with riotous luxury, and civil strife prevail.

The Socialist Party would end these conditions by reorganizing the life of the nation upon the basis of Socialism. Socialism would not abolish private property, but greatly extend it. We believe that every human being should have and own all the things which he can use to advantage, for the enrichment of his own life, without imposing disadvantage or burden upon any other human being. **Socialism admits the private ownership and individual direction of all things, tools, economic processes and functions which are individualistic in character and requires the collective ownership and democratic control and direction of those which are social or collectivistic in character.**

We hold that this country cannot enjoy happiness and prosperity at home and maintain lasting peace with other nations, so long as its industrial wealth is monopolized by a capitalist oligarchy. In this as in every other campaign, all special issues arising from temporary situations, whether domestic or foreign, must be subordinated to the major issue—the need of such a reorganization of our economic life as will remove the land, the mines, forests, railroads, mills and factories, all the things required for our physical existence,

from the clutches of industrial and financial freebooters and place them securely and permanently in the hands of the people.

If men were free to labor to satisfy their desires there could be in this country neither poverty nor involuntary unemployment. But the men in this country are not free to labor to satisfy their desires. The great industrial population can labor only when the capitalist class, who own the industries, believe they can market their product at a profit. The needs of millions are subordinated to the greeds of a few. The situation is not unlike that of a pyramid balanced upon its apex. Oftentimes this pyramid tumbles and industrial depression comes. There was such a crash in 1907. If the capitalist owners had been willing to get out of the way, industry could have been revived in a day. But the capitalist owners are never willing to get out of the way. Their greeds come first—the people's needs, if at all, afterward. Therefore business did not quickly revive after the industrial depression of 1907. Mr. Taft was elected to bring good times, but in four years failed to bring them. Mr. Wilson was elected to bring good times, but not all of the measures he advocated had the slightest effect upon industry. The European war has brought to this country tremendous orders for military supplies and has created a period of prosperity for the few. For the masses of the people there is but an opportunity to work hard for a bare living, which is not prosperity, but slavery. As against the boast of the present national administration that its political program, now fully in force, has brought prosperity to the masses, we call attention to the statement of the Federal Public Health Service that \$800 a year is required to enable a family to avoid physical deterioration through lack of decent living conditions, that more than half of the families of workingmen receive less than that amount, that nearly a third less than \$500 a year and that one family in twelve receives less than \$300 a year.

The capitalist class, for a great many years has been trying to saddle upon this country a greater army and a greater navy. A greater army is desired to keep the working class

of the United States in subjection. A greater navy is desired to safeguard the foreign investments of American capitalists and to "back up" American diplomacy in its efforts to gain foreign markets for American capitalists. The war in Europe, which diminished and is still diminishing the remote possibility of European attack upon the United States, was nevertheless seized upon by capitalists and by unscrupulous politicians as a means of spreading fear throughout the country to the end that, by false pretenses, great military establishments might be obtained. We denounce such "preparedness," as both false in principle, unnecessary in character and dangerous in its plain tendencies toward militarism. We advocate that sort of social preparedness which expresses itself in better homes, better bodies and better minds, which are alike the products of plenty and the necessity of effective defense in war.

The Socialist Party maintains its attitude of unalterable opposition to war.

We reiterate the statement that the competitive nature of capitalism is the cause of modern war, and that the co-operative nature of Socialism is alone adapted to the task of ending war by removing its causes. We assert, however, that, even under the present capitalist order, additional measures can be taken to safeguard peace, and to this end, we demand:

MEASURES TO INSURE PEACE

(1) That all laws and appropriations for the increase of the military and naval forces of the United States shall be immediately repealed.

(2) That the power be taken from the President to lead the nation into a position which leaves no escape from war. No one man, however exalted in official station, should have the power to decide the question of peace or war for a nation of a hundred millions. To give one man such power is neither democratic nor safe. Yet the President exercises such power when he determines what shall be the nation's foreign policies and what shall be the nature and tone of its diplomatic intercourse with other nations. We, therefore, demand that

the power to fix foreign policies and conduct diplomatic negotiations shall be lodged in the Congress and shall be exercised publicly, the people reserving the right by referendum to order Congress, at any time, to change its foreign policy.

(3) That no war shall be declared or waged by the United States without a referendum vote of the entire people, except for the purpose of repelling invasion.

(4) That the Monroe Doctrine shall be immediately abandoned as a danger so great that even its advocates are agreed that it constitutes perhaps our greatest single danger of war. The Monroe Doctrine was originally intended to safeguard the peace of the United States. Though the Doctrine has changed from a safeguard to a menace, the capitalist class still defends it for the reason that our great capitalists desire to retain South and Central America as their private trade preserve. We favor the cultivation of social, industrial and political friendship with all other nations in the western hemisphere, as an approach to a world confederation of nations, but we oppose the Monroe Doctrine because it takes from our hands the peace of America and places it in the custody of any nation that would attack the sovereignty of any state in the western world.

(5) That the independence of the Philippine Islands be immediately recognized as a measure of justice both to the Filipinos and to ourselves. The Filipinos are entitled to self-government; we are entitled to be freed from the necessity of building and maintaining enough dreadnoughts to defend them in the event of war.

(6) The government of the United States shall call a congress of all neutral nations to mediate between the belligerent powers in an effort to establish an immediate and lasting peace without indemnities, or forcible annexation of territory, and based on a binding and enforceable international treaty, which shall provide for concerted disarmament on land and at sea and for an International Congress with power to adjust all disputes between nations, and which shall guarantee freedom and equal rights to all oppressed nations and races.

WORKING PROGRAM

As general measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim, the Co-operative Commonwealth, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

Political Demands

1. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women.
2. The immediate adoption of the so-called "Susan B. Anthony Amendment" to the constitution of the United States, granting the suffrage to women on equal terms with men.
3. The adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall and of proportional representation, nationally as well as locally.
4. The abolition of the Senate and of the veto power of the President.
5. The election of the President and the Vice-President by direct vote of the people.
6. The abolition of the present restriction upon the amendment of the constitution so that that instrument may be made amendable by a majority of the voters in the country.
7. The calling of a convention for the revision of the constitution of the United States.
8. The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed only by act of Congress or by a referendum vote of the whole people.
9. The immediate curbing of the power of the courts to issue injunctions.
10. The election of all judges of the United States Courts for short terms.
11. The free administration of the law.
12. The granting of the right of suffrage in the District

of Columbia with representation in Congress and a democratic form of municipal government for purely local affairs.

13. The extension of democratic government to all United States territory.

14. The freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

15. The increase of the rates of the present income tax and corporation tax and the extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the value of the estate and to nearness of kin—the proceeds of these taxes to be employed in the socialization of industry.

16. The enactment of further measures for general education and particularly for vocational education in useful pursuits. The Bureau of Education to be made a department.

17. The enactment of further measures for the conservation of health and the creation of an independent department of health.

18. The abolition of the monopoly ownership of patents and the substitution of collective ownership, with direct rewards to inventors by premiums or royalties.

Collective Ownership

1. The collective ownership and democratic management of railroads, telegraphs and telephones, express service, steamboat lines and all other social means of transportation and communication and of all large-scale industries.

2. The immediate acquirement by the municipalities, the states or the federal government of all grain elevators, stock yards, storage warehouses and other distributing agencies in order to relieve the farmer from the extortionate charges of the middlemen and to reduce the present high cost of living.

3. The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.

4. The further conservation and development of natural resources for the use and benefit of all the people:

(a) By scientific forestation and timber protection.

(b) By the reclamation of arid and swamp tracts.

(c) By the storage of flood waters and the utilization of water power.

(d) By the stoppage of the present extravagant waste of the soil and of the products of mines and oil wells.

(e) By the development of highway and waterway systems.

5. The collective ownership of land wherever practicable, and in cases where such ownership is impracticable, the appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all land held for speculation or exploitation.

6. All currency shall be issued by the Government of the United States and shall be legal tender for the payment of taxes and impost duties and for the discharge of public and private debts. The Government shall lend money on bonds to counties and municipalities at a nominal rate of interest for the purpose of taking over or establishing public utilities and for building or maintaining public roads and highways, and public schools—up to 25 per cent of the assessed valuation of such counties or municipalities. Said bonds are to be repaid in twenty equal and annual installments, and the currency issued for that purpose by the Government is to be cancelled and destroyed seriatim as the debt is repaid. All banks and banking institutions shall be owned by the Government of the United States or by the States.

7. Government relief of the unemployed by the extension of all useful public works. All persons employed on such work to be engaged directly by the government under a workday of not more than eight hours and at not less than the prevailing union wages. The government also to establish employment bureaus; to lend money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works, to contribute money to unemployment funds of labor unions and other organizations of workers, and to take such other measures within its power as will lessen the wide-spread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

Industrial Demands

The conservation of human resources, particularly of the lives and wellbeing of the workers and their families:

1. By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.
2. By securing the freedom of political and economic organization and activities.
3. By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.
4. By securing a more effective inspection of workshops, factories and mines.
5. By forbidding the employment of children under eighteen years of age.
6. By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor and of all uninspected factories and mines.
7. By establishing minimum wage scales.
8. By abolishing official charity and substituting a non-contributory system of old age pensions, a general system of insurance by the state of all its members against unemployment and invalidism and a system of compulsory insurance by employers of their workers, without cost to the latter, against industrial diseases, accidents and death.
9. By establishing mothers' pensions.

MINORITY REPORT

Substitute for that part of the second paragraph of the Preamble of the Majority Report, commencing with the word "fundamentally" and ending with the last word of that paragraph.

Alternate Plank

The Socialist Party as the political expression of the economic interests of the working class calls upon them to take a determined stand on the question of militarism and war and to recognize the opportunity which the Great War has given them of forcing disarmament and furthering the cause of industrial freedom.

An armed force in the hands of the ruling class serves two purposes; to protect and further the policy of imperialism abroad and to silence by force the protest of the workers against industrial despotism at home. Imperialism and

militarism plunged Europe into this world-war. America's geographical and industrial situation has kept her out of the cataclysm. But Europe's extremity has been the opportunity of America's ruling class to amass enormous profits. As a result, there is a surfeit of capital which demands the policy of imperialism to protect and further investments abroad. Hence the frenzy of militarism into which the ruling class has made every attempt to force the United States.

The workers in Europe were helpless to avert the war because they were already saddled with the burden of militarism. The workers in the United States are yet free from this burden and have the opportunity of establishing a working class policy and program against war. They can compel the government of the United States to lead the way in an international movement for disarmament and to abandon the policy of imperialism which is forcing the conquest of Mexico and must, if carried out, eventually plunge the United States into a world-war.

The working class must recognize the cry of preparedness against foreign invasion as a mere cloak for the sinister purpose of imperialism abroad and industrial tyranny at home. The class struggle, like capitalism, is international. The proletariat of the world has but one enemy, the capitalist class, whether at home or abroad. We must refuse to put into the hands of this enemy an armed force even under the guise of a "Democratic Army," as the workers of Australia and Switzerland have done.

Therefore, the Socialist Party stands opposed to military preparedness, to any appropriations of men or money for war or militarism, while control of such forces through the political state rests in the hands of the capitalist class. The Socialist Party stands committed to the class war, and urges upon the workers in the mines and forests, on the railways and ships, in factories and fields the use of their economic and industrial power, by refusing to mine the coal, to transport soldiers, to furnish food or other supplies for military purposes and thus keep out of the hands of the ruling class the control of armed forces and economic power, necessary for aggression abroad and industrial despotism at home.

The working class must recognize militarism as the greatest menace to all efforts toward industrial freedom, and regardless of political or industrial affiliations must present a united front in the fight against preparedness and militarism.

FEUDALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

The conditions existing in typical industrial communities which are either wholly or in part owned or controlled by a single corporation or individual employer, present every aspect of a state of feudalism except the recognition of specific duties on the part of the employer. The employees in such communities are dependent on a single corporation, or employer, for their livelihood. Furthermore, the employer in many cases controls the social and political life of such communities, either by the complete absorption of local political power or by domination of the local authorities.

Such feudalistic conditions tend to develop principally in connection with the private exploitation of natural resources, being most frequently found in mining camps (including turpentine camps) and large plantations. There are, however, striking examples even in the case of manufacturers, as for example, the textile towns and steel towns.—From the Report of the Industrial Relations Commission.

REVOLUTION

Looking back over the industrial history of the last quarter century, the industrial disputes which have attracted the attention of the country and which have been accompanied by bloodshed and violence have been revolutions against industrial oppression, and not mere strikes for improvement of working conditions.—From the Report of the Industrial Relations Commission.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

Membership, Vote and Parliamentary Representation of the World—1912-1914

Compiled by Information Department, The Socialist Party, 803
West Madison Street, Chicago.

Country	Membership	Vote	Parliament Socialist Total	
Argentina.....	4,000	48,000	10	120
Australia.....	200,000	678,012	66	111
Austria.....	289,524	1,053,627	82	516
Belgium.....	269,830	483,241	40	186
Bulgaria.....	6,000	85,489	20	211
Canada.....	6,180	15,857	..	...
Denmark.....	52,000	107,412	36	114
Finland.....	51,798	360,000	103	200
France.....	63,358	1,398,771	101	597
Germany.....	982,850	4,250,399	110	397
Great Britain.....	100,000	378,839	42	670
Greece.....	1,000	12,000	...	181
Holland.....	13,968	82,494	19	100
Hungary*.....	100,000	.....	...	...
Italy.....	40,000	997,000	79	508
Luxembourg.....	.....	4,000	7	53
Netherlands.....	20,623	145,588	18	100
New Zealand.....	52,000	44,960	4	80
Norway.....	43,557	124,594	23	123
Portugal.....	3,500	3,308	1	164
Roumania.....	.....	2,057	...	...
Russia.....	168,000	200,000	14	442
Servia.....	3,000	25,000	2	166
South Africa.....	.....	26,098†	7	121
Spain.....	40,000	40,791	1	406
Sweden.....	70,000	265,658	87	230
Switzerland.....	31,384	105,000	15	189
United States.....	118,045	931,406	1	531
Totals.....	2,730,717	11,870,031	888	6,416

In addition to the vote and membership figures as given above, there are also Socialist movements in Armenia, Bolivia, Chili, China, Cuba, Iceland, Japan, Newfoundland, Persia, Turkey and Uruguay. In Australia, New Zealand and South Africa the figures given include the vote of the Labor parties, as well as the Socialist parties. These Labor parties are not in all respects in accord with the International Socialist organization, but for practical purposes may be considered Socialist.

*This party membership figure is furnished by A. Loewy, Hungarian translator-secretary in the United States. Most of the Socialists are disfranchised in Hungary on account of property qualifications.

†In Transvaal only.

REPUBLICAN PARTY PLATFORM

The Republican platform as adopted by the Republican National Convention at Chicago follows:

"In 1861 the Republican party stood for the Union. As it stood for the Union of States, it now stands for an united people, true to American ideals, loyal to American traditions, knowing no allegiance except to the Constitution, to the government and to the flag of the United States. 'We believe in American policies at home and abroad.'

American Rights

"We declare that we believe in and will enforce the protection of every American citizen in all the rights secured to him by the Constitution, treaties and the law of nations, at home and abroad, by land and sea. These rights, which, in violation of the specific promise of their party made at Baltimore in 1912, the Democratic President and the Democratic Congress have failed to defend, we will unflinchingly maintain.

Foreign Relations

"We desire peace, the peace of justice and right, and believe in maintaining a straight and honest neutrality between the belligerents in the great war in Europe. We must perform all our duties and insist upon all our rights as neutrals without fear and without favor. We believe that peace and neutrality as well as the dignity and influence of the United States cannot be preserved by shifty expedients, by phrase making, by performances in language, or by attitudes ever changing in an effort to secure groups of voters.

"The present administration has destroyed our influence abroad and humiliated us in our own eyes. The Republican party believes that a firm, consistent and courageous foreign policy always maintained by Republican presidents in accordance with American traditions, is the best, as it is the only true way to preserve our peace and restore us to our rightful place among the nations. We believe in the pacific settlement of international disputes and favor the establishment of a world court for that purpose.

Mexican Affairs

"We deeply sympathize with the 15,000,000 people of Mexico, who for three years have seen their country devastated, their homes destroyed, their fellow citizens murdered and their women outraged by armed bands of desperadoes led by self-seeking, conscienceless agitators who, when temporarily successful in any locality, have neither sought nor been able to restore order or establish and maintain peace.

"We express our horror and indignation at the outrages which have been and are being perpetrated by these bandits upon American men and women who were or are in Mexico by invitation of the laws and of the government of that country, and whose rights to security of person and property are guaranteed by solemn treaty obligations. We denounce the indefensible methods of interference employed by this administration

in the internal affairs of Mexico and refer with shame to its failure to discharge the duty of this country as next friend to Mexico, its duty to other powers who have relied upon us as such friend and its duty to our citizens in Mexico, in permitting the continuance of such conditions, first, by failure to act promptly and firmly, and, second, by lending its influence to the continuation of such conditions through recognition of one of the factions responsible for these outrages.

"We pledge our aid in restoring order and maintaining peace in Mexico. We promise to our citizens on and near our border; and to those in Mexico, wherever they may be found, adequate and absolute protection in their lives, liberty and property.

Monroe Doctrine.

"We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe doctrine, and declare its maintenance to be a policy of this country essential to its present and future peace and safety and to the achievement of its manifest destiny.

Latin America

"We favor the continuance of Republican policies, which will result in drawing more and more closely the commercial, financial and social relations between this country and the countries of Latin America.

Philippines

"We renew our allegiance to the Philippines policy, inaugurated by McKinley, approved by Congress and consistently carried out by Roosevelt and Taft. Even in this short time it has enormously improved the material and social conditions of the islands, given the Filipino people a constantly increasing participation in their government, and if persisted in will bring still greater benefits in the future.

"We accepted the responsibility of the islands as a duty to civilization and the Filipino people. To leave with our task half done would break our pledges, injure our prestige among nations and imperil what has already been accomplished.

"We condemn the Democratic administration for its attempt to abandon the Philippines, which was prevented only by the vigorous opposition of Republican members of Congress, aided by a few patriotic Democrats.

Pledge to Foreign-Born

"We reiterate our unqualified approval of the action taken in December, 1911, by the President and Congress to secure with Russia, as with other countries, a treaty that will recognize the absolute right of expatriation and prevent all discrimination of whatever kind between American citizens whether native-born or alien, and regardless of race, religion or previous political allegiance.

"We renew the pledge to observe this principle and to maintain the right of asylum, which is neither to be surrendered nor restricted, and we unite in the cherished hope that the war which is now desolating the world

may speedily end, with a complete and lasting restoration of brotherhood among the nations of the earth and the assurance of full equal rights, civil and religious, to all men in every land.

Protection of Country

"In order to maintain our peace and make certain the security of our people within our own borders the country must have not only adequate but thorough and complete national defense, ready for any emergency. We must have a sufficient and effective regular army, and a provision for ample reserves, already drilled and disciplined, who can be called at once to the colors when the hour of danger comes.

"We must have a navy so strong and so well proportioned and equipped, so thoroughly ready and prepared, that no enemy can gain command of the sea and effect a landing in force on either our western or our eastern coast. To secure these results we must have a coherent and continuous policy of national defense, which even in these perilous days the Democratic party has utterly failed to develop, but which we promise to give to this country.

Tariff Policy

"The Republican party stands now, always has, in the fullest sense, for the policy of tariff protection to American industries and American labor, and does not regard an anti-dumping provision as an adequate substitute. Such protection should be reasonable in amount, but sufficient to protect adequately American industry and American labor, and be so adjusted as to prevent undue exactions by monopolies or trusts. It should, moreover, give special attention to securing the industrial independence of the United States, as in the case of dyestuffs.

"Through wise tariff and industrial legislation our industries can be so organized that they will become not only a commercial bulwark but a powerful aid to national defense.

Underwood Tariff

"The Underwood tariff act is a complete failure in every respect. Under its administration imports have enormously increased, in spite of the fact that intercourse with foreign countries has been largely cut off by reason of the war, while the revenues of which we stand in such dire need have been greatly reduced.

"Under the normal conditions which prevailed prior to the war it was clearly demonstrated that this act deprived the American producer and the American wage-earner of that protection which entitled them to meet their foreign competitors, and but for the adventitious conditions created by the war would long since have paralyzed all forms of American industry and deprived American labor of its just reward.

"It has not in the least reduced the cost of living, which has constantly advanced from the date of its enactment. Welfare of our people demands its repeal and the substitution of a measure which in peace as well as in war will produce ample revenue and give reasonable protection to all forms of American production in mine, forest, field and factory.

Tariff Commission

"We favor the creation of a tariff commission with complete power to gather and compile information for the use of Congress in all matters relating to the tariff.

Regulation of Business

"The Republican party has long believed in the rigid supervision and strict regulation of the transportation and great corporations of the country. It has put its creed into its deeds, and all really effective laws regulating the railroads and the great industrial corporations are the work of the Republican congresses and Presidents. For this policy of regulation and supervision the Democrats, in a stumbling and piecemeal way, are undertaking to involve the government in business, which should be left within the sphere of private enterprise and in direct competition with its own citizens, a policy which is sure to result in waste, great expense to the taxpayer and in an inferior product.

Democratic Methods

"The Republican party firmly believes that all who violate the laws in regulation of business should be individually punished. But prosecution is very different from persecution, and business success, no matter how honestly attained, is apparently regarded by the Democratic party as in itself a crime. Such doctrines and beliefs choke enterprise and stifle prosperity. The Republican party believes in encouraging American business, as it believes in and will seek to advance all American interests.

Rural Credits

"We favor an effective system of rural credits as opposed to the ineffective law proposed by the present Democratic administration.

Rural Free Delivery

"We favor the extension of the rural free delivery system and condemn the Democratic administration for curtailing and crippling it.

Merchant Marine

"In view of the policies adopted by all the maritime nations to encourage their shipping interests, and in order to enable us to compete with them for the ocean-carrying trade, we favor the payment to ships engaged in the foreign trade of liberal compensation for services actually rendered in carrying the mails, and such further legislation as will build up an adequate American merchant marine and give us ships which may be requisitioned by the government in time of national emergency.

"We are utterly opposed to the government ownership of vessels as proposed by the Democratic party, because government ownership, while effectively preventing the development of the American merchant marine by private capital, will be entirely unable to provide for the vast volume of American freights and will leave us more helpless than ever in the hard grip of foreign syndicates.

Transportation Laws

"Interstate and intrastate transportation have become so interwoven that the attempt to apply two and often several sets of laws to its regulation has produced conflicts of authority, embarrassment in operation and inconvenience and expense to the public.

"The entire transportation system of the country has become essentially national. We, therefore, favor such action by legislation or, if necessary, through an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, as will result in placing it under exclusive federal control.

Economy and National Budget

"The increasing cost of the national government and the need for the greatest economy of its resources in order to meet the growing demands of the people for government service call for the severest condemnation of the wasteful appropriations of this Democratic administration, of its shameless raids on the treasury and of its opposition to and rejection of President Taft's oft repeated proposals and earnest efforts to secure economy and efficiency through the establishment of a simple business-like budget system, to which we pledge our support and which we hold to be necessary to effect any real reform in the administration of national finances.

Natural Resources

"We believe in a careful husbandry of all the natural resources of the nation—a husbandry which means development without waste, use without abuse.

Civil Service Reform

"The civil service law has always been sustained by the Republican party, and we renew our repeated declaration that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable. The Democratic party has created since March 4, 1913, 30,000 offices outside of the civil service law at an annual cost of \$44,000,000 to the taxpayers of the country.

"We condemn the gross abuse and the misuse of the law by the present Democratic administration and pledge ourselves to a reorganization of this service along lines of efficiency and economy.

Territorial Officials

"Reaffirming the attitude long maintained by the Republican party, we hold that officials, appointed to administer the government of any territory should be bona fide residents of the territory in which their duties are to be performed.

Labor Laws

"We pledge the Republican party to the faithful enforcement of all federal laws passed for the protection of labor. We favor vocational education; the enactment and rigid enforcement of a federal child labor law; the enactment of a generous and comprehensive workmen's compensation law, within the commerce power of Congress, and an accident compensation law covering all government employes. We favor the collection and collation, under the direction of the Department of Labor, of complete

data relating to industrial hazards for the information of Congress, to the end that such legislation may be adopted as may be calculated to secure the safety, conservation and protection of labor from the dangers incident to industry and transportation.

Suffrage Plank

"The Republican party, reaffirming its faith of government of the people, by the people, for the people, as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of this country, favors the extension of the suffrage to women, but recognizing the right of each state to settle this question for itself.

"Such are our principles, such are our purposes and policies. We close as we began. The times are dangerous and the future is fraught with peril. The great issues of the day have been confused by words and phrases. The American spirit, which made the country and saved the Union, has been forgotten by those charged with the responsibility of power. We appeal to all Americans, whether naturalized or native-born, to prove to the world that we are Americans in thought and in deed, with one loyalty, one hope, one aspiration. We call on all Americans to be true to the spirit of America, to the great traditions of their common country and, above all things, to keep the faith."

Voters make up political parties. Political parties elect governments. Governments make laws. Laws control life, and life for most of the people, is labor.
—*Anna Agnes Maley.*

"Socialism is stronger than the strongest presentation that can be made of it."—*Professor Richard T. Ely, in "Socialism and Social Reform."*

"Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey, where wealth accumulates and men decay."—*Goldsmith.*

"The conflict will come, however, because if there is one deep-rooted conviction in the human breast it is that each person has a right to what he earns."—*Scott Nearing.*

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

The Democratic party, in National Convention assembled, adopts the following declaration to the end that the people of the United States may both realize the achievements wrought by four years of Democratic administration and be apprised of the policies to which the party is committed for the further conduct of national affairs:

Record of Achievements

We indorse the administration of Woodrow Wilson. It speaks for itself. It is the best exposition of sound Democratic policy at home and abroad.

We challenge comparison of our record, our pledges and our constructive legislation with those of any party of any time.

We found our country hampered by special privilege, a vicious tariff, obsolete banking laws and an inelastic currency. Our foreign affairs were dominated by commercial interests for their selfish ends. The Republican party, despite repeated pledges, was impotent to correct abuses which it had fostered. Under our administration, under a leadership which has never faltered, these abuses have been corrected, and our people have been freed therefrom.

True Democracy of Credit

Our archaic banking and currency system, prolific of panic and disaster, under Republican administration—long the refuge of the money trust—has been supplanted by the federal reserve act, a true Democracy of credit under government control, already proved a financial bulwark in a world crisis, mobilizing our resources, placing abundant credit at the disposal of legitimate industry, and making a currency panic impossible.

We have created a federal trade commission to accommodate the perplexing questions arising under the anti-trust laws, so that monopoly may be strangled at its birth and legitimate industry encouraged. Fair competition in business is now assured.

We have effected an adjustment of the tariff, adequate for revenue under peace conditions, and fair to the consumer and to the producer. We have adjusted the burdens of taxation so that swollen incomes bear their equitable share. Our revenues have been sufficient in times of world stress, and will largely exceed the expenditures of the current fiscal year.

Lifted Rights of Labor

We have lifted human labor from the category of commodities and have secured to the working man the right of voluntary association for his protection and welfare. We have protected the rights of the laborer against the unwarranted issuance of writs of injunction, and have guaranteed to him the right of trial by jury in cases of alleged contempt committed outside of the presence of the court.

We have advanced the parcels post to genuine efficiency, enlarged

the postal savings system, added ten thousand rural delivery routes and extensions, thus reaching two and one-half millions additional people, improved the postal service in every branch, and for the first time in our history, placed the post office system on a self-supporting basis with actual surplus in 1913, 1914 and 1916.

Economic Freedom

The reforms which were most obviously needed to clear away special privilege, prevent unfair discrimination and release the energies of men of all ranks and advantages, have been effected by recent legislation. We must now remove, so far as possible, every remaining element of unrest and uncertainty from the path of the business men of America and secure for them a continued period of quiet, assured and confident prosperity.

Americanism

The part that the United States will play in the new day of international relationship which is now upon us will depend upon our preparation and our character.

The Democratic party therefore recognizes the assertion and triumphant demonstration of the indivisibility and coherent strength of the nation as the supreme issue of this day in which the whole world faces the crisis of manifold change.

It summons all men, of whatever origin or creed, who would count themselves Americans, to join in making clear to all the world the unity and consequent power of America. This is an issue of patriotism. To taint it with partisanship would be to defile it.

World's Best Gathered Here

In this day of test, America must show itself not a nation of partisans, but a nation of patriots. There is gathered here in America the best of the blood, the industry and the genius of the whole world, the elements of a great race and a magnificent society to be melted into a mighty and splendid nation.

Whoever, actuated by the purpose to promote the interest of a foreign power, in disregard of our own country's welfare or to injure this government in its foreign relations, or cripple or destroy its industries at home, and whoever, by arousing prejudices of a racial, religious or other nature, creates discord and strife among our people, so as to obstruct the whole process of unification, is faithless to the trust which the privileges of our citizenship repose in him and disloyal to his country.

We, therefore, condemn as subversive of this nation's unity and integrity and as destructive of its welfare, the activities and designs of every group or organization, political or otherwise, that has for its object the advancement of the interest of a foreign power, whether such object is promoted by intimidating the government, a political party, or representatives of the people, or which is calculated and tends to divide our people into antagonistic groups and thus to destroy that complete agreement and solidarity of the people and that unity of sentiment and national purpose so essential to the perpetuity of the nation and its free institutions.

Condemn All Alliances

We condemn all alliances and combinations of individuals in this country of whatever nationality or descent, who agree and conspire together for the purpose of embarrassing or weakening our government or of improperly influencing or coercing our public representatives in dealing or negotiating with any foreign power.

We charge that such conspiracies among a limited number exist, and have been instigated for the purpose of advancing the interests of foreign countries to the prejudice and detriment of our country. We condemn any political party which in view of the activity of such conspirators surrenders its integrity or modifies its policy.

International Relations

The Democratic administration has throughout the present war scrupulously and successfully held to the old paths of **neutrality** and to the peaceful pursuit of the legitimate objects of our national life, which statesmen of all parties and creeds have prescribed for themselves in America since the beginning of our history.

But the circumstances of the last two years have revealed necessities of international action which no former generation can have foreseen. We hold that it is the duty of the United States to use its power not only to make itself at home, but also to make secure its just interests throughout the world, and both for this end and in the interest of humanity to assist the world in securing settled peace and justice.

Want Freedom of the Seas

We believe that every people has the right to choose the sovereignty under which it shall live; that the small states of the world have a right to enjoy from other nations the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon; and that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression or disregard of the rights of peoples and nations; and we believe that the time has come when it is the duty of the United States to join with the other nations of the world in any feasible association that will effectively serve those principles to maintain inviolate the **complete security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all nations.**

The present administration has consistently sought to act upon and realize in its conduct of the foreign affairs of the nation the principle that should be the object of any association of the nation formed to secure the peace of the world and the maintenance of national and individual rights.

It has followed the highest American traditions. It has preferred respect for the fundamental rights of smaller states even to property interests, and has secured the friendship of the people of these states for the United States by refusing to make a mere material interest an excuse for the assertion of our superior power against the dignity of their sovereign independence.

It has regarded the lives of its citizens and the claims of humanity

as of greater moment than material rights, and peace as the best basis for the just settlement of commercial claims. It has made the honor and ideals of the United States its standard alike in negotiation and action.

Pan-American Concord

We recognize now, as we have always recognized, a definite and common interest between the United States and the other peoples and republics of the western hemisphere in all matters of national independence and free political development. We favor the establishment and maintenance of the closest relations of amity and mutual helpfulness between the United States and the other republics of the American continents for the support of peace and the promotion of a common prosperity.

To that end we favor all measures which may be necessary to facilitate intimate intercourse and promote commerce between the United States and her neighbors to the south of us, and such international understandings as may be practicable and suitable to accomplish these ends.

Lauds Pan-American Action

We commend the action of the Democratic administration in holding the Pan-American financial conference at Washington in May, 1915, and organizing the international high commission which represented the United States in the recent meeting of representatives of the Latin-American republics at Buenos Aires April, 1916, which have so greatly promoted the friendly relations between the people of the western hemisphere.

Mexico

The Monroe doctrine is reasserted as a principle of Democratic faith. That doctrine guarantees the independent republics of the two Americas against aggression from another continent. It implies, as well, the more scrupulous regard upon our part for the sovereignty of each of them. We court their good will. We seek not to despoil them.

The want of a stable, responsible government in Mexico, capable of repressing and punishing marauders and bandit bands, who not only have taken the lives and seized and destroyed the property of American citizens in that country, but have insolently invaded our soil, made war upon and murdered our people thereon, has rendered it necessary temporarily to occupy, by our armed forces, a portion of the territory of that friendly state.

Until by the restoration of law and order therein, a repetition of such incursions is improbable, the necessity for their remaining will continue, and must remain. Intervention, implying as it does, military subjugation, is revolting to the people of the United States, notwithstanding the provocation to that course has been great and should be resorted to, if at all, only as a last resort. The stubborn resistance of the President and his advisers to every demand and suggestion to enter upon it, is creditable alike to them and to the people in whose name he speaks

Merchant Marine

Immediate provision should be made for the development of the carrying trade of the United States. Our foreign commerce has in the past been

subject to many unnecessary and vexatious obstacles in the way of legislation of Republican congresses. Until the recent Democratic tariff legislation, it was hampered by unreasonable burdens of taxation.

Until the recent banking legislation, it had at its disposal few of the necessary instrumentalities of international credit and exchange. Until the formulation of the pending act to promote the construction of a merchant marine, it lacked even the prospect of adequate carriage by sea.

We heartily indorse the purposes and policy of the pending shipping bill and favor all such additional measures of constructive or remedial legislation as may be necessary to restore our flag to the seas and to provide further facilities for our foreign commerce, particularly such laws as may be made to remove unfair conditions of competition in the dealings of American merchants and producers with competitors in foreign markets.

Welfare of the Farmer

We favor the vigorous prosecution of investigations and plans to render agriculture more profitable and country life more healthful, comfortable and attractive, and we believe that this should be the dominant aim of the nation as well as of the states. With all its recent improvement, farming still lags behind other occupations in development as a business, and the advantages of an advancing civilization have not accrued to rural communities in a fair proportion.

Much has been accomplished in this field under the present administration—far more than under any previous administration. In the federal reserve act of the last Congress and the rural credits act of the present Congress, the machinery has been created which will make credit available to the farmer constantly and readily, and he has at last been put upon a footing of equality with the merchant and the manufacturer in securing the capital necessary to carry on his enterprises.

Lauds Cotton Futures Act

Grades and standards necessary to the intelligent and successful conduct of the business of agriculture also have been established or are in the course of being established by law. The long-needed cotton futures act, passed by the sixty-third Congress, has now been in successful operation for nearly two years.

A grain grades bill long needed and a permissive warehouse bill intended to provide better storage facilities and to enable the farmer to obtain certificates upon which he may secure advances of money, have been passed by the House of Representatives, have been favorably reported to the Senate, and will probably become law during the present session of the Congress.

Both houses have passed a good roads measure which will be of far-reaching benefit to all agricultural communities.

Above all, the most extraordinary and significant progress has been made, under the direction of the Department of Agriculture, in extending and perfecting practical farm demonstration work which is so rapidly substituting scientific for empirical farming.

But it is also necessary that rural activities should be better directed through co-operation and organization, that unfair methods of competition should be eliminated and the conditions requisite for the just, orderly and economical marketing of farm products created.

Lauds Co-operative Work

We approve the Democratic administration for having emphatically directed attention for the first time to the essential interests of agriculture involved in **farm marketing and finance**, for creating the office of markets and rural organization in connection with the Department of Agriculture, and for extending the co-operative machinery necessary for conveying information to farmers by means of demonstrations.

We favor continued liberal provision, not only for the benefit of production, but also for the study and solution of problems of farm marketing and finance, and for the extension of existing agencies for improving country life.

Good Roads

The happiness, comfort and prosperity of rural life and the development of the city are alike conserved by the construction of public highways. We, therefore, favor national aid in the construction of postroads and roads for military purposes.

Government Employment

We hold that the life, health and strength of the men, women and children of the nation are its greatest asset, and that in the conservation of these the federal government, wherever it acts as the employer of labor should both on its own account and as an example, put into effect the following principles of just employment:

1. A living wage for all employes.
2. A working day not to exceed eight hours, with one day of rest in seven.
3. The adoption of safety appliances and the establishment of thoroughly sanitary conditions of labor.
4. Adequate compensation for industrial accidents.
5. The standards of the "uniform child labor law" wherever minors are employed.
6. Such provisions for decency, comfort and health in the employment of women as should be accorded the mothers of the race.
7. An equitable retirement law providing for the retirement of superannuated and disabled employes of the civil service, to the end that a higher standard of efficiency may be maintained.

We believe also that the adoption of similar principles should be urged and applied in the legislation of the states with regard to labor within their borders; that through every possible agency the life and health of the people of the nation should be conserved; that the federal government should develop upon a systematic scale the means already begun under the present administration to assist laborers throughout the Union to seek

and obtain employment, and that the same assistance and encouragement should be extended by the federal government to systematic **vocational training** as is now extended to agricultural.

We favor a thorough reconsideration of the means and methods by which the federal government handles questions of public health.

Labor

We declare our faith in the seamen's act, passed by the Democratic Congress, and we promise our earnest continuance of its enforcement; we favor the speedy enactment of an effective federal child labor law, and the regulation of the shipment of prison-made goods in interstate commerce.

We favor the creation of a federal bureau of safety in the Department of Labor to gather facts concerning industrial hazards, and to recommend legislation to prevent the maiming and killing of human beings.

We favor the extension of the powers and functions of the federal bureau of mines.

We favor the development upon a systematic scale of the means, already begun under the present administration, to assist laborers throughout the nation to seek and obtain employment and the extension by the federal government by the same assistance and encouragement as now given to agricultural training.

We heartily commend our newly established department of labor for its excellent record in settling industrial strikes by personal advice and through conciliating agents.

Public Health

We favor a thorough reconsideration of the means and methods by which the federal government handles questions of public health to the end that human life may be conserved by the elimination of loathsome diseases, the improvement of sanitation and the diffusion of a knowledge of disease prevention.

We favor the establishment by the federal government of tuberculosis sanitariums for needy tubercular patients.

Senate Rules

We favor such an alteration of rules of procedure of the Senate of the United States as will permit the prompt transaction of the nation's legislative business.

Philippine Islands

We heartily indorse the provisions of the bill recently passed by the House of Representatives, further promoting self-government in the Philippine Islands as being in fulfillment of the policy declared by the Democratic party in its last national platform, and we reiterate our indorsement of the purpose of ultimate independence for the Philippine Islands, expressed in the preamble of that measure.

Woman Suffrage

We recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of the country by the states upon the same terms as men.

Prison Reform

We demand that the modern principles of prison reform be applied in our federal penal system. We favor such work for prisoners as shall give them training in remunerative occupations so that they may make an honest living when released from prison; the setting apart of the net wages of the prisoner to be paid to his dependent family or to be reserved for his own use upon his release; the liberal extension of the principles of the federal parole law, with due regard both to the welfare of the prisoner and the interests of society; the adoption of the probation system, especially in the case of first offenders not convicted of serious crimes.

Pensions

We renew the declarations of recent Democratic platforms relating to generous pensions for soldiers and their widows, and call attention to our record of performance in this particular.

Waterways Flood Control

We renew the declaration in our last two platforms relating to the development of our waterways. The recent devastation of the lower Mississippi Valley and several other sections by floods accentuates the movement for the regulation of river flow by additional bank and levee protection below, and diversion, storage and control of the flood waters above, and their utilization for beneficial purposes in the reclamation of arid and swamp lands and development of water power, instead of permitting the floods to continue, as heretofore, agents of destruction.

We hold that the control of the Mississippi River is a national problem. The preservation of the depth of its waters for purposes of navigation, the building of levees and works of bank protection to maintain the integrity of its channel and prevent the overflow of its valley resulting in the interruption of interstate commerce, the disorganization of the mail service and the enormous loss of life and property, impose an obligation which alone can be discharged by the national government.

We favor the adoption of a liberal and comprehensive plan for the development and improvement of our harbors and inland waterways with economy and efficiency so as to permit their navigation by vessels of standard draft.

Alaska

It has been and will be the policy of the Democratic party to enact all laws necessary for the speedy development of Alaska and its great natural resources.

Territories

We favor granting to the people of Alaska, Hawaii and Porto Rico the traditional territorial government accorded to all territories of the United States since the beginning of our government, and we believe the officials appointed to administer the government of those several territories should be **qualified by previous bona fide residence.**

Candidates

We unreservedly indorse our President and Vice President, Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey, and Thomas Riley Marshall of Indiana, who have performed the functions of their great offices faithfully and impartially and with distinguished ability.

In particular we commend to the American people the splendid diplomatic victories of our great President, who has preserved the vital interests of our government and its citizens and kept us out of war.

Woodrow Wilson stands today the greatest American of his generation.

Conclusion

This is a critical hour in the history of America, a critical hour in the history of the world. Upon the record above set forth, which shows great constructive achievement in following out a consistent policy for our domestic and internal development; upon the record of the Democratic administration, which has maintained the honor, the dignity and the interests of the United States, and at the same time retained the respect and friendship of all the nations of the world, and upon the great policies for the future strengthening of the life of our country, the enlargement of our national vision and the ennobling of our international relations, as set forth above, we appeal with confidence to the voters of the country.

CAPITALISM DESTROYS THE HOME

"According to the census figures of 1910 the total male population of the country, twenty years old and over, was about 28,000,000. Out of these 8,102,062 were single, 1,470,280 widowed, and 155,815 divorced. Out of the 25,500,000 women over twenty years old, 4,947,406 were single, 3,165,967 were widowed, and 181,418 divorced.

"Thus, out of a total of 53,500,000 adult Americans 18,000,000 or more than a third, were unmated. 'This,' observes Commissioner Rittenhouse, who was charged with investigating the alarming facts, *'is an unfortunate and startling state of affairs. Moreover, from the ranks of the unmarried comes humanity's heaviest contribution to immorality and crime.' Yes, especially when aided by the economic misery of millions of women.*"—Morris Hillquist in Debate with Ryan—"Socialism: Promise or Menace."

OLD PARTY PLATFORMS COMPARED. What is the Difference? Where is the Issue?

SUBJECT	REPUBLICAN	DEMOCRATIC
1—Tariff.	"We favor a tariff commission to gather and compile information."	"The Democratic Party is providing for a non-partisan tariff commission to make an impartial and thorough study."
2—Preparedness.	"The country must have not only an adequate but a thoroughly competent national defense."	"We favor the maintenance of an army and navy fully adequate to defend the nation's rights."
3—Woman's Suffrage.	"The extension of the suffrage to women, but recognizing the right of each state to settle this question for itself."	"The extension of the franchise to the women of the country by the states."
4—Civil Service.	"We demand that the law shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced."	"Rigid enforcement of the law."
5—Conservation of natural resources.	"We believe in a careful husbandry of all the natural resources of the nation."	"We favor the conservation of the natural resources of the country."
6—Budget System.	"A simple and business-like budget system."	"Favor uniform and standardized appropriations as a first step towards a budget."
7—Economy.	"Rigid economy in national expenditures."	"Careful economy in government expenditures."
8—Protection of American Citizens.	"We believe in and will enforce the protection of every American citizen in all his rights at home and abroad, by land and sea."	"The sacred rights of American citizenship must be preserved at home and abroad."
9—Neutrality.	"We believe in maintaining strict and honest neutrality."	"We hold scrupulously and successfully to the old paths of neutrality."
10—Mexico.	"We pledge our aid in restoring order and maintaining peace in Mexico."	"We want a stable, responsible government in Mexico."
11—Monroe Doctrine.	"We re-affirm our approval of the Monroe Doctrine."	"The Monroe Doctrine is reasserted as a principle of Democratic faith."
12—Rural Credits.	"We favor an effective system of rural credits."	"We passed the rural credit act."

13—Merchant Marine.	"An adequate Merchant Marine."	"Development of the carrying trade of the United States."
14—Rural Free Delivery.	"We favor the extension of the rural free delivery system."	"We added 10,000 rural delivery routes."
15—Officials in the Territories.	"Should be bona-fide residents."	"Should be qualified by previous bona-fide residence."
16—Pan-American Republics.	"Closer relations with the countries of Latin America."	We favor the closest relations between the United States and the other peoples and republics of the western hemisphere."
17—Philippines.	"Increasing participation in their government."	"Self government and ultimate independence."
18—Business.	"The Republican Party believes in encouraging American business."	"We must secure for the business men of America a continued period of quiet, assured and confident prosperity."
19—Monopoly and Trust.	"Rigid supervision and strict regulation."	"Passed the federal reserve act to curb the money trust; the federal trade commission to strangle monopoly."
20—Labor:	"Legislation to secure the safety, conservation and protection of labor."	"The conservation of the life, health and strength of those who labor."
(a) In General.	"A generous and comprehensive workmen's compensation law."	"Adequate compensation for industrial accidents."
(b) Compensation.	"We favor vocational education."	"Systematic vocational training."
(c) Vocational Training.	"Rigid enforcement of a federal child labor law."	"Speedy enactment of an effective child labor law."
(d) Child Labor.	.....	"A working day not to exceed eight hours and one day rest in seven."
(e) Eight Hour Day.	.....	"A living wage."
(f) Wages.	.....	"An equitable retirement law."
(g) Old Age Pensions.	.....	"Federal government should develop means to assist laborers to find employment."
(h) Unemployed.	.....

SOME FINDINGS OF THE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS COMMISSION

Unjust Distribution of Wealth

The wealth of the country and the income which is produced through the toil of the workers is distributed without regard to any standard of justice. The day laborer has less than enough to feed his family, while others who have done nothing live at ease.—24, M.

Unemployment and Denial of Opportunity to Earn a Living

In our basic industries the workers are unemployed for an average of at least one-fifth of the year, and at all times during any normal year there is an army of men, who can be numbered only by hundreds of thousands, who are unable to find work, or have so far degenerated that they cannot or will not work.—33, 34, M.

Denial of Justice

Laws necessary for the protection of the workers against the most grievous wrongs cannot be passed except after long and exhausting struggles; such benevolent measures as become laws are largely nullified by the unwarranted decisions of the courts; the laws which stand upon the statute books are not equally administered and the whole machinery of government has frequently been placed at the disposal of the employers for the oppression of the workers. The constitution itself has been ignored in the interest of the employers; and the constitutional guarantees erected for the protection of the workers have been denied to them and used as a cloak for the misdeeds of corporations.—38, 39, M.

Denial of the Right of Organization

The Commission has held public hearings and made thorough investigations in such industrial communities as Paterson, N. J., Los Angeles, Calif., Lead, S. Dakota. and Colorado where the right of collective bargaining on the part of employees is denied.

These investigations have shown that under the best possible conditions, and granting the most excellent motives on the part of employers, freedom does not exist either politically, industrially or socially, and that the fiber of manhood will inevitably be destroyed by the continuance of the existing conditions. Investigations have proved that although the physical and material conditions may be unusually good, as for example, in Lead, S. Dakota, they are the price paid for the absolute submission of the employees to the will of employing corporation. Such conditions are, moreover, shown by the hearings of the Commission and by the investigations of its staff to be unusual. Los Angeles, for example, although exceptionally endowed in location, climate and natural resources, was sharply criticised for labor conditions which had developed during its "Open Shop" regime, even by Mr. Walter Drew, representing several of the largest associations which contend for the "open shop." It is significant that the only claim ordinarily made for the conditions in such establishments or localities is that "they are as good as are secured by the Union." As a matter of fact, there are few establishments which make this boast, and in the majority the conditions were found to be far below any acceptable standard.—87, M.

Concentration of Wealth and Influence

A careful and conservative study shows that the corporations controlled by six financial groups and affiliated interests employ 2,651,684 wage earners and have a total capitalization of \$19,875,200,000. These six financial groups control 28 per cent of the total number of wage earners engaged in the industries covered by the report of our investigations. The Morgan First National Bank group alone controls corporations employing 785,499 wage earners.—117, M.

FINDINGS OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS COMMISSION

From Final Manly Report

The Possibility

With the inexhaustible natural resources of the United States, her tremendous mechanical achievements, and the genius of her people for organization and industry, there can be no natural reason to prevent every able bodied man of our present population from being well fed, well housed, comfortably clothed, and from rearing a family of moderate size in comfort, health and security.—Page 9, M.

Actual Conditions

It was found that incomes of two-thirds of the families (64 per cent) were less than \$750 per year, and of almost one-third (31 per cent) were less than \$500, the average for all being \$721. Elaborate studies of the cost of living made in all parts of the country at the same time have shown that the very least that a family of five persons can live upon in anything approaching decency is \$700.—Page 10, M.

Wages Too Low

Seventy-nine per cent of the fathers earned less than \$700 per year. In brief, only one-fourth of these fathers could have supported their families on the barest subsistence level without the earnings of other members of the family or income from outside sources.—Page 11, M.

American Workers Not Living Decently

Furthermore, in 77 per cent of the families two or more persons occupied each sleeping room, in 37 per cent three or more persons and in 15 per cent, four or more persons.—Page 11, M.

Children Are Underfed

In six of our largest cities from 12 to 20 per cent of the children are noticeably underfed and ill nourished.—Page 12, M.

Children of the Poor not Educated

Only one-third of the children in our public schools complete the grammar school course, and less than ten per cent finish high school. Those who leave are almost entirely the children of the workers, who, as soon as they reach working age, are thrown, immature, ill-trained and with no practical knowledge, into the complexities of industrial life. In each of the four industrial towns studied by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, more than 75 per cent of the children quit school before reaching the seventh grade.—Page 12, M.

Children of the Workers Denied Home Attention

In the families of the workers 37 per cent of the mothers are at work, and consequently unable to give their children more than scant attention.—Page 13, M.

Poverty Produces Crime

Unsanitary housing and working conditions, unemployment, wages inadequate to maintain a human standard of living, inevitably produce the crushed or distorted bodies and minds from which the army of crime is recruited.—Page 13, M.

Earnings of the Toilers

Between one-fourth and one-third of the workers eighteen years of age and over, in factories and mines, earn less than \$10 per week; from two-thirds to three-fourths earn less than \$15, and only about one-tenth earn more than \$20 a week. This does not take into consideration lost working time for any cause. From two-thirds to three-fourths of the women workers in factories, stores and laundries, and in industrial occupations generally, work at wages of less than \$8 per week. Approximately one-fifth earn less than \$4 and nearly one-half earn less than \$6 per week.—Page 25, M.

The Family Wage

All experience has shown that at the end the father's wages are reduced by about the amount that the children earn. This is the so-called "family wage."—Page 25, M.

Workers' Share

The crux of the question is: Have the workers received a fair share of the enormous increase in wealth which has taken place in this country as a result largely of their labors? The answer is emphatically—No!—Page 8, M.

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY THE ONLY HOPE

"The only hope for the solution of the tremendous problems created by industrial relationship lies in the effective use of our democratic institutions and in the rapid extension of the principles of democracy to industry. Political freedom can exist only where there is industrial freedom; political democracy only where there is industrial democracy."—Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations.

PLIGHT OF THE BREAD WINNERS

"American society was founded and for a long time existed upon the theory that the family should derive its support from the earnings of the father. Now, investigation shows that 79 per cent of the fathers of wage-earning families earn less than \$700 per year. Therefore, less than one-fourth of these fathers could have supported their families on the barest subsistence level without the earnings of other members of the family."—Report of the Com. on Industrial Relations.

WHAT PART DOES THE WORKER GET?

Wage Worker's Share 51.17 Per Cent
Capitalists Share 48.83 Per Cent

Several careful studies have been made of the various United States census reports in an endeavor to compute the share which labor receives of the wealth which it produces. One of these studies was made by the compilers of the National Socialist Campaign Book of 1914, and the conclusions there presented have been corroborated by studies of the same figures made by W. J. Ghent, the compiler of the 1915 Appeal to Reason Almanac and Arsenal of Facts. The figures may be reviewed in many ways due to the inadequacy of the government statistics, giving the workers' share anywhere from 40 to 52 per cent.

The findings of the National Campaign Book of 1914 for the manufacturing industries of the United States are as follows:

Average wage per year, \$518.

Average wealth produced by each worker, \$1,151.

Average amount of exploitation per worker, \$633 per year.

Per cent of wealth produced received by the worker, 51.17 per cent.

Per cent of wealth taken by the capitalist, 48.83.

The amount of net profit to the 273,265 proprietors and firm members (the value of products less the total expense) was \$2,218,972, which is over 12 per cent on the capital employed or more than \$8,120 average income to each proprietor and firm member.

Average annual wage to the worker, \$518.

Average annual income to owner, \$8,120.

Worker's Share Decreasing

W. J. Ghent, in the Appeal Arsenal of Facts for 1915, shows that the share which the worker receives is decreasing. He says:

"It is, moreover, demonstrable that the share of the worker

(in the main, the manual worker), in what he produces is declining. Making no other deduction from the gross value of the product than that of the cost of materials, and dividing the remainder by the number of persons listed in the census as wage-earners, we have the following result:

Year	Average Wages	Average Net Production	Average Share Per Cent
1899	\$426	\$1,025	41.6
1904	477	1,150	41.5
1909	518	1,290	40.1

"This 40.1 per cent is not quite all, if the census figures are approximately correct, that the worker gets. The comparison shows, however, that whatever he gets, the amount was relatively less in 1909 than in 1904 or 1899."

\$10,000,000 TRIBUTE EVERY YEAR

In another place we have given the facts as to the amount of exploitation of each individual laborer as indicated by the United States census reports on manufacturers. We here present some facts as to the total aggregate exploitation by the entire capitalistic system here in the United States.

Several studies have been made of this important and vitally interesting question. John C. Kennedy, now Socialist member of the city council of Chicago, presented the results of his study of the matter in an editorial in *The Workers' World*, in 1912.

Allan L. Benson, now candidate for president on the Socialist ticket, has made studies of exploitation in specific industries in articles which appeared in *Pearson's Magazine*. Other studies have been made from time to time by various investigators. But by far the most authoritative and satisfactory examination of this whole subject of unearned income and exploitation has been made by Professor Scott Nearing, formerly of the State University of Pennsylvania, now of the Toledo University. His book on "Income" is an exhaustive inquiry into this very problem of exploitation. He divides all incomes into two kinds—service income and property

income. In his study, property income corresponds to what is known in economics as unearned income, and roughly corresponds with Marx's Surplus Value.

Here, then, is a careful, authoritative and exhaustive study of the subject of unearned incomes or exploitation in the United States.

Practically all of these studies agree in the conclusion that the total aggregate amount of unearned income or exploitation in the United States every year reaches the stupendous sum of \$10,000,000,000.

The following figures are based upon the findings of Professor Nearing, corroborated by the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission and other authoritative investigations:

Annual Unearned Incomes in Leading Industries In The United States

Railroads.....	\$ 800,000,000
Banks.....	650,000,000
Telegraph and Telephone.....	58,000,000
Street Railways.....	70,000,000
Electric Light and Power.....	34,000,000
Farm Rent.....	350,000,000
House Rent.....	1,000,000,000
Farm Mortgages.....	100,000,000
Steel Trust.....	454,000,000
Mines.....	235,000,000
Fire Insurance.....	370,000,000

EFFECTS OF LOW WAGES

“The death rate of babies, whose fathers earn less than \$10 per week is 256 per 1000, while those whose fathers earn \$25 or more per week die at the rate of only 84 per 1000. Thus the babies of the poor die at three times the rate of the fairly well-to-do.”—Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations.

WAGES AND THE COST OF LIVING

COST OF LIVING \$800 TO \$900 PER YEAR
AVERAGE WAGES \$500 TO \$600 PER YEAR

[The following is from an editorial in the American Magazine of September, 1911. The conclusions reached are supported by a very exhaustive study made by Prof. Scott Nearing of the University of Toledo, in his book "Wages in the United States."

After a searching analysis of the family budgets of three hundred and sixteen working men's families living in New York, Dr. Chapin says: "An income under \$800 is not enough to permit the maintenance of a normal standard. Whether an income between \$800 and \$900 can be made to suffice is a question to which our data do not warrant a dogmatic answer. An income of \$900 or over probably permits the maintenance of a normal standard, at least so far as the physical man is concerned.

Studies in Homestead, Buffalo, and Baltimore confirm for these cities the conclusion for New York City. A family can, therefore, maintain efficiency on about \$3 a day in the leading eastern cities.

This statement is interesting, but it can never be truly effective until we learn how many men get \$3 per day.

The most reliable average wage data are furnished by Massachusetts and New Jersey, Michigan, Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Pennsylvania. A study of these shows that the average wages of all employees range, in the leading industries, from \$450 to \$600 per year—seldom rising above the latter figure except in industries like petroleum and malt liquors, for which considerable skill is required and in which males only are employed; seldom falling below except in industries like confectionery and paper boxes, which employ a majority of women, and in which the average annual earnings is less than \$400.

In view of all of the evidence, it is fair to say that the adult male wage workers in the industries of that section of the United States lying east of the Rockies and north of the Mason and Dixon Line receive a total average annual wage of about

\$600; that this falls to \$500 in some of the industries employing the largest number of persons, but rises to \$700 or even to \$750 in a few highly skilled industries. That the average annual earnings of adult male females in the same area is about \$350, with a very slight range, in the industries employing large numbers of adult females.

Three-fifths of the women receive less than \$8 per week (\$400 per year), while a vanishing percentage of them is paid more than \$15 per week (\$750) per year. Nearly nine-tenths of the women employed in these various states and trades are paid less than \$12 per week, (\$600 per year).

Briefly summarized, the available wage data lead to these conclusions for the localities in which the data were collected, and by inference for neighboring localities. The annual earnings (unemployment of 20 per cent deducted) of adult males and females employed east of the Rockies and north of the Mason and Dixon line are distributed over the wages scale thus:

	Annual Earnings	Adult Males Per Cent	Adult Females Per Cent
Under.....	\$200	..	20
Under.....	325	10	20
Under.....	500	50	90
Under.....	600	75	95
Under.....	800	90	..

So three-quarters of the adult males and nineteen-twentieths of the adult females employed in the industries of Northeastern and North Central United States actually earn less than \$600 a year—and “an income under \$800 is not enough to permit the maintenance of a normal standard.”

RISE IN FOOD PRICES

The Federal Bureau of Labor has computed the increased food cost for the average working man's family. In the original tables (of which the foregoing is only a summary) computations were made for average working men's families, with their different standards of living, in five sections of the country. Assuming that each of the fifteen principal com-

modities which constituted two-thirds of the working men's food supply in 1901 bears the same relation to the total that it did then, the food cost for these 2,567 families would show the following comparison between 1901 and 1913:

Division	1901	1913	Per Cent Increase
North Atlantic.....	\$338	\$489	44.6
South Atlantic.....	299	439	47.0
North Central.....	322	493	53.1
South Central.....	293	467	59.4
Western.....	309	465	50.5
Average.....		.....	50.9

COST OF LIVING

Steady Increase in the Cost of Living as shown by Retail Prices of fifteen Leading Articles of Food each year 1907 to 1915. Bulletin of the U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, June 1916.

Total Increase for the 18 Years—22 Per Cent

Year	Relative Price	Per Cent of Increase or Decrease in	
		1915 as compared with each specified year.	Each specified year as compared with year preceding.
1907	81	+23	..
1908	83	+20	+2
1909	87	+15	+5
1910	91	+10	+5
1911	90	+11	-1
1912	96	+4	+7
1913	98	+2	+2
1914	101	-1	+3
1915	100	.....	-1

COST OF LIVING—20 PER CENT INCREASE IN LAST TWO YEARS

A writer in the *American Review of Reviews* has figured out that on the average the rise in the cost of living is twenty per cent.

He presents a table of comparative prices that tells a little story all by itself. Here is the table:

Price Pressure on World Centers

Percentage of increase in the retail prices of food in New York, London and Berlin since July 1, 1914:

	New York	London	Berlin
Sugar.....	81 per cent.	152 per cent.	30 per cent.
Potatoes.....	33	47	37
Mutton.....	28	80	160
Flour.....	25	60	14
Beef.....	13	60	180
Bacon.....	8	37	153
All Foods.....	20	55	100

THE POWER OF UNIONISM

By ROBERT HUNTER

The problems that confront the working class are not only economic, they are also political.

So long as Labor allows its employers to make the laws, to control the militias and the courts, there is little hope for Labor.

So long as the bosses make the law their acts will be legal, while many of Labor's acts will be illegal.

Labor may be right and Capital may be wrong, yet according to the law of the masters, Labor in revolt will be considered an outlaw that can be shot down at the will of the master.

That's why Labor now faces injunctions, anti-picketing and anti-boycott laws.

That's why it must face damage suits, fellow servant clauses, assumed risks, and all the other legal devices which now allow the employers to rob the workers of limbs, of health, and of life, without compensation.

That's why the workers now see their country and cities ruled and robbed by public service corporations, by monopolies and by trusts.

That's why the workers must watch helplessly their country being robbed of its resources to build up the power of those who oppress Labor.

UNTIL THE WORKERS build up their own political union the great political parties, often controlled by crooks and grafters, will sell themselves to those who can pay the price they demand. Before the vast political power which they swing the workers are today helpless.

It is only common sense, therefore, that as you strike together and buy together so you must vote together.

Need this be said again and again?

Need we shout it from the housetops and plead even with labor leaders to believe it?

Why, the thing is as simple as the nose on your face. It is a lesson that has been learned by all the workers in the world. The Germans, with their millions of political unionists, the English, the Belgians, the French, the Italians, the Austrians and the Finns, all know that they must vote as a unit.

At least eleven millions of men in the world today have now learned the power of this new unity.

Beware, therefore, of that man who says that you need **ONLY** have unity in the shop.

Beware of that man who says that you need **ONLY** have unity as buyers.

Beware of that man who says that you need **ONLY** have unity at the polls.

THE WORKERS MUST realize the power of unity. They must see vividly its value. They must exercise it from the moment they rise in the morning until they lie down to sleep at night.

They must strive with all their power to be brothers with all those who labor in this and other lands. This means that the strong shall stand by the weak, not forgetting that the many weak render enormous help to the strong. It means that altogether in common accord the weak and the strong in the world of labor will become the power that rules the universe. And remember, it must be the unity of all the workers in all the shops, at all the stores, and at all the polls.

When the trade unionist tells you that unity in the shop is enough don't believe him. When the industrial unionist tells you that unity in the strike is enough don't believe him. When the Socialist tells you that unity at the polls is enough don't believe him.

The unity of Labor must be full and complete in all phases of its activity.

One day there will be a labor movement in America far bigger than anything yet dreamed of by the Socialist Party, the A. F. of L., or the I. W. W., and that day will come when the masses of Labor learn the full power of unionism. In that day Labor will rise from a long sleep and bless the earth with a new world.

"The interests of the producing farmer and of the wage earner are identical. The land must be opened to all upon fair terms."—Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations.

"In Paterson, N. J., for example, 2,238 arrests were made, although there was less than \$25 damages, and there was no violence or attempt at violence during the entire strike, involving 25,000 workers."—Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations.

TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP OF THE WORLD

From the Tenth Report of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Country	Total	Affiliated with Int. Fed.
Germany.....	3,317,271	2,553,162
Great Britain.....	3,023,173	874,281
United States.....	2,496,000	1,967,984
France.....	1,064,413	387,000
Italy.....	860,502	320,912
Austria.....	534,811	428,363
Australia.....	433,224	.....
Belgium.....	231,805	116,082
Netherlands.....	169,144	61,535
Canada.....	160,120	86,542
Denmark.....	139,012	107,067
Sweden.....	121,866	85,522
Hungary.....	111,966	111,966
Union of S. Africa (est.).....	100,000	.....
Spain.....	100,000	100,000
Switzerland.....	86,313	86,313
Norway.....	60,975	60,975
New Zealand.....	60,622	.....
Finland.....	23,839	20,989
Bulgaria.....	13,347	.....
Rumania.....	9,708	9,708
Servia.....	8,008	8,008
Croatia-Slavonia.....	6,783	5,538
Bosnia-Herzegovina.....	5,522	5,522
Total.....	13,138,424	7,397,469

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES OF THE WORLD

From Year Book of International Co-operation for 1913, published by the International Co-operative Alliance, 146 St. Stephen House, Westminster, S. W. London, England.

Country	No. of Societies	No. of Members
A. Europe:		
Austria.....	16,563	about 2,400,000
Belgium.....	2,270	" 500,000
Bulgaria.....	727	" 50,000
Denmark.....	5,033	" 614,200
Finland.....	1,929	" 200,000
France.....	10,983	" 800,000
Germany.....	30,555	" 4,800,000
Hungary.....	6,000	" 800,000
Italy.....	7,564	" 1,666,800
Netherlands.....	2,679	" 355,000
Norway.....	3,078	" 100,000
Roumania.....	2,904	" 442,700
Russia.....	16,000	" 3,000,000
Servia.....	1,252	" 60,000
Spain.....	274	" 80,000
Sweden.....	2,100	" 160,000
Switzerland.....	7,827	" 375,000
United Kingdom.....	2,500	" 2,750,000
Total.....	120,238	19,153,700
B. Asia:		
Japan.....	5,149	" 500,000
C. America:		
United States.....	500	" 60,000
Total.....	125,887	19,713,700

MILITARISM

INCREASE OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES IN THE UNITED STATES

Year	
1881.....	\$ 51,654,000
1891.....	66,589,000
1901.....	190,728,000
1911.....	283,086,000
1916.....	662,476,152

EUROPE'S CURSE HAS FALLEN UPON THE UNITED STATES

From Campaign Leaflet No. 2

By **ALLAN L. BENSON**, Socialist Candidate for President

Army and Navy Appropriations of the Chief Belligerent Nations for the Year Preceding the War.

	Army	Navy	Total
Great Britain.....	\$224,300,000	\$237,530,459	\$461,830,459
Germany.....	183,090,000	112,091,125	293,181,125
France.....	191,431,580	90,164,625	281,596,205
Russia.....	317,800,000	117,508,657	435,308,657
Austria-Hungary...	82,300,000	42,000,000	124,300,000
Italy.....	82,928,000	49,550,147	132,478,147
Japan.....	49,000,000	48,105,152	97,105,152

THE WILSON MILITARY APPROPRIATIONS FOR 1917

United States \$349,092,123* \$313,384,389 \$662,476,512

*This includes \$25,747,550 for fortifications, \$20,000,000 for a nitrate plant, \$34,523,000 for deficiency, and \$1,225,043 for the Military Academy.

Europe's curse—militarism—has fallen upon the United States. Do not take my word for this statement—read the official figures in the table above.

The Wilson administration has just jammed through Congress the greatest military appropriations that were ever made by any nation in time of peace.

Study the official figures in the table at the bottom of the next page. They represent the military appropriations made by the nations now at war for the fiscal year that ended June 30, 1914.

Compare these figures with the American appropriations for next year.

Bear in mind that our appropriations were made by gentlemen who declare they are steadfastly opposed to militarism.

Bear in mind that these gentlemen—like most Americans—believe German militarism played a considerable part in bringing about the present war.

Take note of the fact that when the present belligerents were pulling themselves together for war, none of them, during the last year of peace, made military appropriations that in size could compare with the Wilson appropriations.

Consider the fact that Mr. Hughes and his party criticise the Wilson military appropriations only because they are not larger.

Ask yourself what is the significance of the fact that our military appropriations have become so stupendous that, beside them, the German appropriations look small.

If you value your life and the lives of the members of your family, do not shrink from these facts. It is better to think than to be shot. Europe is at war because, in time of peace, it neglected to face facts and deal with them.

Make up your mind to this: Militarism is a great evil or it is not. If it is not a great evil, we should go down upon our knees and beg the Kaiser's pardon for what we have said about him and his militarism.

If we still regard militarism as a great evil, we should denounce it as much in the United States as we have denounced it in Germany.

We should not tolerate here what we believe has brought disaster abroad.

Nor should we accept the statements of our great capitalists and great statesmen that militarism is not here.

Did not the great capitalists and great statesmen of Germany always deny that militarism was there?

Must we wait until confessions come from the interests that are back of our militarism?

Why should we expect them to confess? The German militarists never confessed.

If we who live in this country value our lives, we must face the facts of our militarism and deal with them intelligently —**at once.**

Regardless of what President Wilson says, what we have here now is the greatest militarism that the world, in time of peace, ever saw.

The American people are not militaristically inclined, any more than the people of Germany were militaristically inclined.

The people, everywhere, are for peace. But great capitalists everywhere are in search of foreign trade. Our great capitalists have, as a result of the European war, picked up the bulk of Europe's foreign trade.

Our great capitalists know that, the war ended, Europe will try to recover her trade. Our Rockefellers and Morgans do not intend to give it back. That is why they want a tremendous navy.

They want an enormous army to keep the poverty-stricken workers of the United States from attacking strike-breakers. You may have noticed the other day that 25,000 militiamen intended for the Mexican border were to be kept at home lest a great railway strike should break out.

Our capitalists expect to have much use for soldiers after the European war ends. They expect to pay wages so low that workers will be goaded into strikes. Why do they expect to pay low wages? Because they know that poverty-stricken Europe will all but compete them off their feet to get back her foreign trade. They expect Europe to offer the world cheap goods. Our capitalists also intend to offer cheap goods. Our capitalists will get their profit from foreign trade, but

American workers will get only wages that will afford the poorest living that they can be compelled to accept.

Do you want foreign trade in order that you may work more at bare-living wages.?

Do you want to be taxed for military purposes as foreigners who have fled here were never taxed at home in time of peace?

We cannot whip all of Europe, yet all of Europe will combine against us, if necessary, to get back its trade. And our great capitalists will, if necessary, plunge us into war to hold their trade.

A tremendous Socialist vote this fall will be a warning to our capitalists to stop! Every other party is in favor of the Wilson military program or something worse.

We beg you to help us to save the United States of America from those who, for mere gain, would afflict it with war.

THE WORLD WIDE WAR TRUST

From the Speech of Hon. Clyde H. Tavenner of Illinois in the House of Representatives, February 15, 1915.

"It is the ring of war-trafficking private arms and ammunition firms who are endangering the peace and welfare of 100,000,000 people in order that they may satisfy their greed for profit."

* * *

"The armor ring is the Bethlehem Steel Co., the Midvale Steel Co., and the Carnegie Steel Co. These three firms, exclusive of their subsidiary war-trafficking auxiliaries, have drawn down since 1887 from the Navy Department alone for the single item of armor plate, contracts aggregating \$95,628,912. To these we must add the Dupont powder trust, which has had no competitors in the sale of smokeless powder to the government. The Powder Trust has obtained contracts aggregating \$25,000,000 since 1905."

* * *

"The government has been paying to this War Trust \$17.50 for a 3-8-inch common shrapnel, when it is manufacturing the identical article at Frankford for \$7.94."

FROM "THE DRAIN OF ARMAMENTS"

Country	Fiscal Year	Expended for Army	Expended for Navy	Total Military Charge
Great Britain and the Continent of Europe:				
Austria-Hungary	1913	\$115,381,000	\$ 15,176,000	\$ 130,557,000
Belgium	1912	13,119,000		13,119,000
Bulgaria	1912	7,817,000		7,817,000
Denmark	1912-13	5,337,000	3,013,000	8,350,000
France	1912	177,656,000	81,693,000	259,349,000
Germany	1912-13	201,003,000	111,964,000	312,967,000
Great Britain	1911-12	134,850,000	216,194,000	351,044,000
Greece	1912	4,155,000	1,699,000	5,854,000
Italy	1912-13	83,284,000	41,859,000	125,143,000
Netherlands	1913	13,412,000	8,092,000	21,504,000
Norway	1911-12	4,063,000	1,539,000	5,602,000
Portugal	1910-11	9,279,000	4,317,000	13,596,000
Rumania	1912-13	14,365,000		14,365,000
Russia	1912	289,911,000	81,960,000	371,871,000
Servia	1912	5,699,000		5,699,000
Spain	1912	36,353,000	13,546,000	49,899,000
Sweden	1913	14,884,000	7,032,000	21,916,000
Switzerland	1912	8,516,000		8,516,000
Turkey	1912-13	39,374,000	5,614,000	44,988,000
Total (Great Britain and the Continent)		\$1,178,458,000	\$593,698,000	\$1,772,156,000
United States	1911-12	\$107,787,000	\$136,390,000	\$244,177,000
Japan	1912-13	47,066,000	46,510,000	93,576,000
British India	1911-12	101,409,000		101,409,000
Mexico and South America:				
Argentina	1912	\$12,232,000	\$11,856,000	\$24,088,000
Brazil	1912	25,425,000	14,969,000	40,394,000
Chile	1912	12,164,000	11,416,000	23,580,000
Colombia	1913			2,661,000
Ecuador	1910			2,031,000
Mexico	1912-13	Army and Navy not differentiated		10,790,000
Peru	1911			2,425,000
Uruguay	1910-11			4,946,000
Venezuela	1912-13			1,834,000
Total (Mexico and South America).				\$112,749,000
World Total				\$2,324,067,000

PROGRESS OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT

STATE	Woman Suffrage	Initiative and Referendum	Recall
New England.			
Maine	1908	.....
New Hampshire
Vermont
Massachusetts
Rhode Island
Connecticut
Middle Atlantic			
New York
New Jersey
Pennsylvania
East—North—Central			
Ohio	1912	.....
Indiana
Illinois	1913	.....	.....
Michigan	1913	1913
Wisconsin
West—North—Central			
Minnesota
Iowa
Missouri	1908	.....
North Dakota	1914	.....
South Dakota	1898	.....
Nebraska	1912	.....
Kansas	1912	.....	1914
South Atlantic			
Delaware
Maryland	1915	.....
Virginia
West Virginia
North Carolina
South Carolina
Georgia
Florida

STATE	Woman Suffrage	Initiative and Referendum	Recall
East—South—Central			
Kentucky.....	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	.....	.....	.....
Alabama.....	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	.....	.....	.....
West—South—Central			
Arkansas.....	.....	1910	.....
Louisiana.....	.....	.....	1914
Oklahoma.....	.....	1907	.....
Texas.....	.....	.....	.....
Mountain			
Montana.....	1914	1906	.....
Idaho.....	1896	1912	1912
Wyoming.....	1869	.....	.....
Colorado.....	1893	1910	1912
New Mexico.....	.....	1911	.....
Arizona.....	1912	1911	1911-1912
Utah.....	1896	1900	.....
Nevada.....	1914	1904-13	1912
Pacific			
Washington.....	1910	1912	1912
Oregon.....	1912	1902	1908
California.....	1911	1911	1911
TOTAL.....	12	20	10

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

The present system of representation is unjust, undemocratic and gives us a very inefficient form of government. It is unjust because it leaves from thirty to sixty per cent of the voters entirely unrepresented. It is undemocratic because it does not allow representation to all of the people. It gives us an inefficient form of government because it makes it impossible to combine efficiency with democracy.

Representation in the United States Congress 1912

The following table will illustrate these points with reference to the composition of the United States Congress:

	Vote	Representation They Had	Representation They Should Have
Democrat.....	6,297,150	290	182
Progressive.....	4,125,886	18	119
Republican.....	3,485,039	127	101
Socialist.....	901,062	0	26
Prohibition.....	209,500	0	6
Socialist Labor Party.....	30,344	0	1
Scattered.....	3,526	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	15,052,507	435	435

A similar situation prevails in practically every national parliament in the world except in those countries where proportional representation prevails. In England, for example, two-fifths of the voters secure no representation in the National Parliament at all. Their votes are lost. In Switzerland, the same situation prevailed in the election of 1881, 1884 and 1887, and up to the time that the Cantons began to adopt the principle of proportional representation.

Similarly, in the United States; In Maine fifty-three per cent of the vote has frequently elected every Congressman. The remaining forty-seven per cent of the voters received no representation at all. In Georgia, on the other hand, sixty per cent of the votes being Democratic, elected every Congressman. In this case, all the Republican voters were unrepresented. A similar situation prevails practically everywhere. Proportional representation corrects these evils.

Successful Wherever Tried

Proportional representation is by no means a new and untried idea. It is in operation in the following countries and has been for many years:

Switzerland since 1891. Nine out of twenty-two cantons (states), and many cities such as Zurich, Basel, Geneva, Berne, et al.

Belgium since 1900. Here proportional representation has had its widest application. It applies to all general elections.

Sweden since 1909.

Finland since 1906.

Denmark.

Holland.

Tasmania.

Germany—in many of the South German Cities.

The only application of proportional representation in the United States so far is in Ashtabula, Ohio, which adopted proportional representation for its Council in 1915.

There is an American proportional representation league organized for the purpose of advancing the principle in the United States. Its General Secretary is C. G. Hoag, of Haverford, Pa. The best single book on the subject is Mr. Humphrey's "Proportional Representation."

WOMAN SUFFRAGE WHERE WOMEN VOTE

The twelve states, with the time of granting the franchise, are:

- 1—Wyoming, 1869-1890.
- 2—Colorado, 1893.
- 3—Utah, 1896.
- 4—Idaho, 1896.
- 5—Washington, 1910.
- 6—California, 1911.
- 7—Arizona, 1912.
- 8—Kansas, 1912.
- 9—Oregon, 1912.

- 10—Nevada, 1914.
11—Montana, 1914.
12—Illinois, 1913. Nearly complete.

The twenty-one states allowing partial suffrage to women are: Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Iowa, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan (defeated full suffrage in 1912), Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri (defeated full suffrage in 1914), Nebraska (defeated full suffrage in 1914), New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota (defeated full suffrage in 1914), Oklahoma, Ohio (defeated full suffrage in 1912 and in 1914), South Dakota (defeated full suffrage in 1914), Vermont and Wisconsin.

WHY WE MUST HAVE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

By

MARY BEARD and FLORENCE KELLEY

A Study of State Constitutions Which Lack Suffrage Amendments

Issued by the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage.
Reprinted by the National Office of the Socialist Party.

In view of the fact that both of the old parties have offered to give women the right of franchise *by way of state enactments*, it is interesting to read the following catalog of difficulties in the way along that line—difficulties that make the task almost hopeless.

The notion is current that the extension of the suffrage to women is essentially a state matter, capable of simple, democratic treatment, which ought to be entirely satisfactory to the women who are still without votes. Instead of being simple and democratic, however, the state method is slow, cumbersome, and in many states, hopeless, for the following definite reasons:

1. In New Mexico, during the first twenty-five years after adoption of the recent constitution, an amendment

must be proposed by vote of three-fourths of the members elected to each house, and ratified by three-fourths of the electors voting in the whole state, and at least two-thirds of those voting in each county. After the expiration of twenty-five years, for further amendments, only two-thirds of the elected members and two-thirds of the electors will be required.

2. In New Hampshire an amendment can be submitted only by a constitutional convention, and requires for ratification two-thirds of all electors voting. The convention can be called not oftener than once in seven years, and the process of calling it is excessively difficult.

3. Indiana requires, for the approval of an amendment, a majority of the votes of all the qualified electors of a state. Rarely does a majority of the qualified electors of a state register even, much less vote. The constitution of Indiana has never been amended.

4. Seven states fix a term of years after an amendment has failed of adoption before it can be resubmitted: Illinois, four years; Kentucky, five years; New Jersey, five years; Pennsylvania, five years; Tennessee, six years; New Hampshire, seven years; Vermont, ten years.

5. Four states restrict the number of amendments to be submitted at an election: Illinois to one, Kentucky to two, Arkansas to three, while Indiana declares that while an amendment agreed upon by one legislature awaits action of the next, or of the electors, no additional amendment may be proposed.

6. The above difficulties are not offset by the convention method of amendment. **Twelve states are without provision for constitutional conventions.** These states are: Arkansas, Connecticut, Indiana, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Jersey, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas and Vermont. In only two of these twelve states, Arkansas and North Dakota, can amendments be submitted by petition. Maryland only permits a convention every twenty years, submitting the question of its convening at that time to the electors. Ten states require that a majority of the votes cast at the election at which can-

didates are also voted for, those not voting on this proposition being counted as against it. In Georgia and Maine a two-thirds vote of both houses of the legislature is required to call a convention.

7. Eleven states require, for the approval of an amendment, a majority of all the votes cast at an election, not a simple majority of the votes cast for or against the particular amendment. These are: Alabama, Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma and Wisconsin.

Since amendments arouse less popular interest than candidates, amendments usually fail in these states. Everyone who votes for a candidate, but not for or against a pending amendment is, in fact, counted against it.

8. In thirteen states two successive legislatures must first vote favorably on the amendment. A two-thirds vote of both houses is required in several instances. In most states the legislatures meet biennially, and in Alabama the session is quadrennial.

9. In Mississippi and South Carolina final approval of an amendment is left with the legislature again, even after the electors have approved it.

10. In six states—Arkansas, Delaware, Indiana, South Dakota, Texas, West Virginia—aliens may, after one year's residence in the United States or within the state, vote on amendments to the state constitution if they have declared their intention of becoming citizens. Nebraska requires only six months' residence.

11. Only seven of the thirty-six states where women do not vote have the initiative and referendum for amending the constitution. These states are Arkansas, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio and Oklahoma.

12. In only one state, Delaware, can suffrage be granted to women without being first submitted to the voters.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP IN THE WORLD

Compiled by CARL D. THOMPSON

The facts here given are based chiefly upon the studies made by the Fabian Research Department of England, published as a special supplement of *The New Statesman*, of Saturday, May 8, 1916; and upon "The Collectivist State in the Making," by Emil Davies, published by G. Bell and Sons, London. A number of points are supplied from other sources.

Total for Whole World

The Fabian Research Department estimates that there are a total of 11,000,000 people employed in the various public enterprises of the world; that no less than \$2,250,000,000 are paid annually in wages in these enterprises, and that there is a total of \$50,000,000,000 of capital invested. This estimate, however, does not include the military or police force, fire protection, the courts, poor relief, regulation, inspection and audit, or the matter of taxation. If these were included, and they are certainly cases of public ownership and operation, the figures would be very much larger. Figures are not at hand for the entire police and fire departments of the world. But including the fire departments of the ten largest cities and the police departments of fifty-one of the larger American cities, and of all of Great Britain, of Paris, Vienna and Berlin, and the entire army and navy equipment of the world on a peace basis only the figures for the whole would be not less than the following:

Total number of public employees of all kinds—18,858,600; annual wages paid—\$2,265,000,000; total capital invested—\$60,000,000,000.

Postal Systems

The postal systems of the world operate 282,782 offices; employ 1,300,000 persons and pay annually in wages \$325,000,000.

Highways

On the building and maintenance of roads, bridges and highways there are employed no less than 1,000,000 people; and the annual expenditure is at least \$1,000,000,000.

Canals and Waterways

Annual expenditures are not less than \$1,500,000,000.

Railways

Considerably more than one-half of the entire railway mileage of the world is now publicly owned. These public railways employ not less than 1,000,000 persons and pay \$250,000,000 in wages annually.

Water Supplies

Employ over 100,000 and have \$5,000,000,000 capital invested.

Public Health including hospitals, sanitary systems, drainage, street cleaning, sewerage and the like employ 1,500,000 people and pay \$340,000,000 in wages annually.

Land Improvement, irrigation, etc., employs 500,000 people at an annual expenditure of \$625,500,000.

Education and Recreation employs 3,500,000 people; and in the United States alone the capital invested is \$1,500,000,000.

Libraries employ several hundred thousand people.

Printing for the public involves an annual expenditure of \$75,000,000

Banking and Insurance is quite extensively carried on by many of the state and national governments.

Light, Heat and Power Plants employ 250,000 people and have a capital investment of \$3,500,000,000.

Armies and Navies of the world, on a peace basis, employ 7,746,000 persons at an annual expenditure of \$2,324,067,000.

Police Forces in fifty-one of the largest American cities, in all of Great Britain and in Paris, Berlin and Vienna employ 103,157 people at an annual expenditure of \$73,059,800.

Fire Departments in ten of the largest cities of the world employ 9,447 people at an expenditure of \$15,158,800.

Street Car Lines now very largely publicly owned and operated, at least in Europe, employ no less than 1,600,000 persons and pay \$250,000,000 in wages annually.

In Addition to the above there are numerous other forms of public ownership maintained by the various states and nations. Mines are very extensively owned and operated. The Prussian government works 345 groups of coal mines; New Zealand produces one-eighth of the entire coal supply from its public mines. Some of the Scandinavian states own silver mines; Dutch East India owns tin mines; South Africa, gold mines; German South-West Africa owns diamond mines; Australia, gold mines; Prussia owns iron, potash, salt, chalk and amber mines and oil fields are owned and operated by Austria, Hungary, Servia and the Argentine Republic. In one or another of the countries there is public ownership of other utilities less common, such as factories, brick works, quarries, grain elevators, ware houses, cold storage plants and general stores.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP IN THE WORLD

The following list of municipally owned utilities does not cover all the field completely. There are not sufficient data available to give anything like a complete statement. The facts here are compiled from various sources rather too numerous to mention. It may be said, however, that Emil Davis' book on "The Collectivist State in the Making,"; Frederic C. Howe's books, especially "The Modern City," "European Cities at Work," and "The City the Hope of Democracy"; Charles Zueblin's work on "American Municipal Progress"; and the study of the Fabian Research Department are especially valuable sources of information.

England

- 171 cities own and operate their street car lines;
- 1,045 cities own and operate water systems;
- 300 cities own and operate gas plants;
- 334 cities own and operate electric light and power plants.

Germany

- 132 cities own and operate street car lines;
- 1,333 cities own and operate water systems;
- 758 cities own and operate gas plants;
- 434 cities own and operate electric light and power plants;
- 783 cities own and operate slaughter houses.

United States

- 3,045 cities own and operate water systems;
- 1,562 cities own and operate light and power plants;
- 30 cities own and operate gas plants;
- 3 cities own and operate street railways.

In Addition to the above there are many other forms of municipal ownership, of course. Many of the modern cities own and control large tracts of land. Berlin owns 39,000 acres which is about 9 per cent of the total area of the city; Munich owns 13,000 acres which is 23 per cent of the total area of the city. Many other cities are large owners of land. Zurich, Switzerland, owns and rents dwelling houses. So also do such cities as Paris, Buenos Ayres, and Sydney. A great many cities own bakeries; many own restaurants, hotels, drug stores, boarding houses, theaters, libraries, picture galleries. In fact, there is scarcely a public utility of any kind that has not in some city or other been taken over and owned and operated publicly.

We have not included in the above any reference to the less common forms of municipal ownership of which there are many cases. Boston owns and operates successfully a printing plant. Brookings, S. Dak., owns a telephone system. Cincinnati owns a steam railway over 300 miles in length. Many cities own public baths, docks, piers, ferries, sub-ways; nearly all cities own parks, schools and libraries. A few own ice plants.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES

The following is only a partial list of the various forms of public ownership in the United States.

Public Schools. The public school system of the United States employs 590,000 people, involves an annual expenditure of \$550,000,000 and a capital investment of \$1,500,000,000.

Postal Department including the postal savings banks and the parcel post employs 241,820 people.

Forests. There are 162 forest tracts owned by the government with a total of 184,611,000 acres.

Land. The government still owns 657,000,000 acres of land.

Panama Canal. The canal involves a capital investment of \$400,000,000 and employed 24,424 people during 1915. The construction of this immense project involved the public ownership and operation of railways, ships, hotels, restaurants, hospitals, cement plants and numerous other utilities.

Reclamation. There are 29 reclamation projects carried on by the government involving a capital investment of \$129,951,997.

Roads and Highways. The capital investment in the public roads and highways is estimated at \$249,055,067.

Libraries. There are 1,844 public libraries with an annual expenditure of \$14,756,567 and a capital investment of \$109,717,908.

Light and Power Plants. There are 1,562 cities that own and operate their light and power plants, employing 7,940 people.

Water Works. There are 3,054 cities that own and operate water plants. Some of these are enormous. New York City's system, for example is valued at more than \$180,000,000. That of Boston at over \$42,000,000. Chicago, at \$52,000,000.

POSTMASTER GENERAL BURLESON RECOMMENDS PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE.

"Government ownership of the electrical means of transmitting intelligence is brought to the attention of the American people of 1913 with the indorsement of nearly every Postmaster General since the Civil War, with a score of favorable reports by committees of Congress, and by the example of practically every other nation of the civilized world. More than seventy bills have been introduced in Congress to accomplish it. Meanwhile the private operation of the telegraphic and telephonic facilities has resulted in a virtual monopoly by which the people are annually taxed vast sums for which they receive no adequate return." Postmaster-General, A. S. Burleson, in Senate Document No. 399, 1914, in "Government Ownership of Electrical Means of Communication."

SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF POSTAL DEPARTMENT RECOMMENDS PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

The special committee appointed by the Postal Department in response to a Senate Resolution comes out squarely for the principle of public ownership. They say:

"There is a radical difference between the policies of a public and a private monopoly, both as regards the extension of service and the fixing of rates. In the extension of service the determining factor with the Government is the needs of the people; with the private monopoly, the consideration of profit. The effect of the application of these two policies to similar public utilities is shown by comparison between the present universal extension of the mail facilities and the limited extension of the telegraph and telephone facilities. The private monopoly has no incentive to extend its facilities to unprofitable territory, but the Government must serve all the people. This universal service is accomplished by the equalization of rates. In fixing rates, the policy of the Government is to superimpose no charge for taxation, but only to see to it that the service as a whole is self-supporting. The private monopoly, on the other hand, must make a profit, and in providing for this, tends to increase its rates to the highest point that will not, by so greatly restricting the volume of business, impair the aggregate profit."

HOW PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF TELEPHONES AFFECTS THE RATES

From Speech of David J. Lewis in Congress, Jan. 16, 1914.

	25 miles	100 miles	300 miles	400 miles	500 miles	700 miles
Average rates in Europe under Public Owner- ship.....	\$0.07	\$0.16	\$0.30	\$0.36	\$0.37	\$0.45
Bell rate in United States under Private Ownership.....	.25	.60	1.80	2.40	3.00	4.20

Long Distance Telephone Rates

The telephone long-distance rates are even more abnormal than the telegraphs. There has never been any competition as to them and obviously can not be. What is the result? They run from four to eight times the rates prevailing on the Continent of Europe. Here is a table giving the rates for a three-minute conversation:

Continental rates for long-distance compared with American rates

Country	25 miles	100 miles	300 miles	400 miles	500 miles	700 miles
Sweden.....	\$0.04	\$0.08	\$0.13	\$0.20	\$0.20	\$0.34
Norway.....	.07	.09	.34	.40	.....	.....
France.....	.05	.10	.35	.43	.53	.53
Italy.....	.10	.19	.38	.38	.38	.....
Belgium.....	.10	.19	.....	.....	.....	.....
Denmark.....	.07	.20	.54	.....	.....	.....
Germany.....	.06	.24	.24	.36	.36	.48
Austria.....	.12	.31	.38	.38	.38	.....
Hungary.....	.10	.19	.38	.38	.38	.....
Average continental rate	.07	.16	.30	.36	.37	.45
Bell rate.....	.25	.60	1.80	2.40	3.00	4.20

RECOMMENDATIONS
OF THE UNITED STATES INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
COMMISSION

Public Ownership

Government ownership of telegraphs.

Government ownership of telephones.

That private ownership of public utilities be abolished.

—Recommended by Walsh, Lennon, O'Connell, Garretson and Weinstock.

That private ownership of coal mines be abolished.

To Prevent Land Monopoly

Prosecution to regain land, water power and mineral rights secured from the government by fraud.

All unused land should be forced into use by making the tax on non-productive land the same as on productive land of the same kind, and exempting all improvements.

Sickness Insurance

Sickness insurance by Federal Government.

Public Work for Unemployed

Means should be devised for employing the idle during periods of depression on such public works as road building, reforestation, construction of public buildings, irrigation and drainage of swamps.

Woman Suffrage

That woman suffrage be adopted.—Approved by Walsh, Lennon, O'Connell and Garretson.

Limitation of Power of Courts

Prohibition of courts from declaring laws unconstitutional.

Constitutional amendment prohibiting Federal courts from making encroachment on personal rights of all citizens.

Eight Hour Day

The physical well-being, mental development and recreational needs of every class of population demand that under normal circumstances the working day should not exceed eight hours.



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