

VOICE *and* PEN
of
VICTOR L. BERGER

Congressional Speeches
and
Editorials



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Berger's Speech *in the* Espionage Trial

Victor L. Berger, with four other Socialists, was indicted in 1917 under the so-called "espionage" act because of his editorials in *The Milwaukee Leader* in opposition to the World War.

The case was tried before Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, who refused the change of venue demanded by the defense on the ground of prejudice on the part of the judge. A spirit of persecution pervaded the trial. The jury, it was charged, were handpicked by the prosecution. According to the affidavit of one of the jurors, Thomas C. Nixon, one of the bailiffs in charge of the jury, stated in their presence that the defendants were all guilty and if he had his way, they would all be hung.

The trial began Dec. 9, 1918, and five weeks later, the jury found all the defendants guilty. On Feb. 20, 1919, Judge Landis refused their motion for a new trial. The five defendants were then permitted to speak before the imposition of sentence.

Judge Landis imposed upon each a sentence of twenty years in Leavenworth. He refused to release them on bonds, pending an appeal, but granted a writ of error to the Federal Court of Appeals. Judge Altschuler then fixed the bonds at \$25,000 to be secured by \$100,000 worth of real estate for each defendant. This enormous sum, \$500,000 surety in all, was raised in a few hours by the Socialists. The appeal was then taken to the Supreme Court.

On Jan. 31, 1921, the Supreme Court reversed the decision of Judge Landis. All proceedings against the defendants were then dropped.—
[Editor's Note.]

Victor Berger's speech before Landis follows.

Before Judge Landis

FEBRUARY 20, 1919

This is the first of the five trials I have to face—I have to stand trial on five different indictments for the position the American Socialist Party, The Milwaukee Leader and I have taken in the last war.

I am not guilty.

My comrades and I are charged with conspiracy to create mutiny and disloyalty and refusal of duty in the armed forces of the United States. We are no more guilty of such a conspiracy than the Judge himself. The District Attorney has offered no evidence whatever and made no attempt to prove that we actually tried to create mutiny and disloyalty in the armed forces.

A verdict like the one rendered in this court would be impossible in any other civilized country today with the possible exception of Japan. My position and that of my comrades towards this war was simply the position of the International Socialist movement.

We all admit that we are Socialists.

Socialists know that capitalism cannot and will not last forever, any more than the feudal system lasted forever. Socialists desire to create a new and higher civilization which is to succeed capitalist civilization—retain its advantages and overcome its evils.

Socialism teaches that modern wars are mostly struggles over business and commercial interests. Socialists hold that these struggles do not interest the modern working class in any country. The wage workers—the men and women who work with brain or

brawn—are mainly interested in peace and in improving the conditions of their class, which forms the overwhelming majority of every civilized nation.

Now if this teaching of Socialism is a crime, then we are criminals.

It was proven conclusively during this trial that the International Socialist movement—which is made up of the organized Socialist parties of all countries—was always opposed to all dynastic, commercial or imperialistic wars.

This position of the Socialists is as old as the International itself—and was first formulated in 1866.

And the stand taken by the American Socialist Party in 1917 in regard to this last war is identical with that of the English, French, Italian, German and Austrian Socialist parties in 1914.

All Socialist parties understood from the outset that this World war—while there may have been many minor reasons and contributory causes—was in the main a struggle between England and Germany for the control of the world's commerce. This view is now accepted by all capitalist magazines and financial papers.

Understanding the reasons underlying the World war—the English Socialist Party (the Independent Labor Party) did not support the English government of Lloyd George. The English Socialist party remained in opposition until the end of the war.

For the same reason, a very strong minority of the Socialist party in France also opposed the war. That minority has now become the majority.



The Italian Socialists even went on a strike in 1914 and thus successfully prevented Italy from joining the Central Powers in 1914.

And it was finally the uprising of the German Socialists in the German navy and in the garrison of Berlin in the early days of November, 1918, that virtually ended the World war—not any victory of the Allied troops. The Allies had a march of almost four weeks after the armistice until they reached the German frontier.

The proclamations of all the Socialist parties in belligerent countries in 1914 were worded very much like the Proclamation and War Program of the American Socialist Party adopted in St. Louis in 1917. Even the phraseology is almost identical.

Socialist parties could not take any different view of this war and remain true to their principles.

Socialists fight only in wars of emancipation and revolution, or when their country is actually invaded by hostile forces.

Under acts passed by Congress as "war measures," however, many men and women have been persecuted in this country for alleged or real opposition to this war. They have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment far exceeding the worst sentences for similar offenses under the rule of the czar or the kaiser.

Most of these victims are Socialists. They have, without exception, been prosecuted and imprisoned for expressing their political and economic opinions. These victims, nevertheless, were merely exercising rights guaranteed them by the constitution of the United States. And being prosecuted and imprisoned on ac-

count of their political opinions—these prisoners undoubtedly are political prisoners.

At the present time our country is the only civilized country in the world which still has political prisoners. And our national administration keeps on adding to their number.

It was contemptible hypocrisy and a quibble on words for the Attorney General to deny that such a thing as a "political prisoner" or a "political crime" exists in America.

Of course, the capitalist press—the kept prostitute of the capitalist system—applauds this persecution as it applauds every other persecution of men who believe in the overthrow of the capitalist system.

With the ruling class in America, capitalism and Americanism have come to mean the same thing. The words "profit" and "patriotism" are now used as synonyms by our profiteers.

And any opposition to capitalist, commercial or imperialistic wars is regarded as "high treason." And all opposition to profiteering is denounced as disloyalty and "German propaganda."

Bolshevism and Socialism mean the same to the capitalist class and its press. And "government" and the "national administration" are purposely confounded by people who want war because it helps their business.

The capitalists fear Socialism. They point to poor Russia—which is undergoing the pangs of rejuvenation—where a new society is to be born out of chaos and pain—as an example of Socialism. This is not the time nor the place to explain Bolshevism—but there

can be no doubt that Bolshevism is the natural result of czarism and of the methods the czars used against the Socialists.

Many years ago, Wendell Phillips was denouncing the horrors of Siberia. At one point in his lecture, and after a violent denunciation of the government of Russia, he changed his tone, and in one of those calmly exasperating sentences, in which he often uttered his most radical thoughts, he said: "Well, if there is nothing to stop these horrors but the assassin, the pistol and the dagger, then welcome the assassin, the pistol and the dagger!"

Our reactionaries, however, want to make use of the fear of Bolshevism, of the war hysteria to put the Socialist Party out of business.

This is the reason why my comrades and I were indicted. This was a political trial. The Socialist Party was on trial. This fact is admitted by everybody who knows anything about our political and economic conditions.

Notwithstanding this, we were told by the prosecution at the beginning of the trial that the Socialist Party was not on trial.

It was a lie and the District Attorney knew that he was lying.

A few minutes after we had been found guilty by the jury, the District Attorney said in an interview that "Bolshevism has received a fatal blow by this verdict." Bolshevism and Socialism mean the same thing to the "government" lawyers.

Nor were we tried by an unprejudiced jury. According to a newspaper report, it was a handpicked

jury—handpicked in order to find us guilty. A Chicago paper stated at the beginning of the trial that the American Protective Association had looked over the personnel of the jury and had put its "O. K." on it.

According to the interviews given by jurors to the papers after the trial, this jury did not pay any attention to the testimony at all. Whisky and poker divided their interest with the evidence in the case.

We were doomed beforehand as "German Socialists" and as "Bolsheviki." The minions of the department of justice were in possession of all our books and files—these "gentlemen" had opened my letters and the letters of other defendants for many months before and after the indictment.

And although there was not the faintest evidence or even the shadow of evidence to connect any of us or the Socialist Party with "German propaganda"—the prosecution continually hinted at "German propaganda." It was done to influence the jury, of course, which really did not need any influencing.

I am not a lawyer. But the story of Juror Nixon must be a serious matter even to a layman's mind.

Mr. Nixon either spoke the truth under oath and the court believes him, and then the verdict is surely void. Or he did not speak the truth under oath. And then the verdict cannot be valid because it was found by eleven jurors and a man whom the court believed to be a perjurer.

If this verdict is to stand, then we shall be simply lynched under observance of certain legal forms. The trial will then go down in history on a par with the trials of the poor witches in the XVII century.

It will be proof positive that America has taken the place of old Russia. It will be proof positive that the ruling class of our country will shrink from nothing to perpetuate its class rule.

However, even if all of us should be sent to the penitentiary, the spirit of resistance will continue to grow stronger. In place of our well-meaning, healthy and open political opposition, will arise an ill-natured, secretive and dangerous movement.

Instead of orderly mass action, the capitalist class will be confronted with individual resistance—direct action.

Every resistant will then become an avenging angel. Every rebellious workman will be a law unto himself.

The capitalists may thus retard Socialism—but they will surely create anarchism. They will prepare this country for a revolution such as the world has never seen before.

Gentle and patient truth may be chained for a while—but angry and fearful truth is sure to rise in its place.

And today the proletariat alone is the banner bearer of social and economic truth in this country—as in every other.

And according to the prophetic words of Karl Marx—the proletarians of all countries will unite because “they have nothing to lose but their chains and a world to gain.”

From the articles that I have written or from the speeches I have made I have nothing to retract. All my predictions have come true. And a great deal more will come true than I have predicted. The late war was

the most imperialistic war ever known in the history of the world and an imperialistic peace will follow.

The so-called League of Nations is simply a thin screen behind which the capitalistic classes of the winning side are dividing the spoils. Just now they are trying to despoil Germany and divide up German trade. A little later the League will develop into a second edition of the Holy Alliance to hold down the nations, to prevent revolutions and to perpetuate capitalism.

As for this late war—even spokesmen of the Republican Party in the United States Senate now frankly admit that it was a war for commercial supremacy. Senator Harding of Ohio recently declared that “from the very beginning it was a lie to say that this was a war to make the world safe for democracy.”

The Milwaukee Leader has never said anything stronger about the cause of this war than these Senators say just at the present time.

And now a few words for my own personal case.

It is obvious that certain big interests are anxious to keep me out of Congress, if possible.

Under the so-called “Espionage Act”—which might better be termed a Peonage Act—our Department of Justice could have indicted almost any member of the House of Representatives in any part of the country where he is not personally known, put him before a handpicked jury and had him convicted of the charge of which I was found “guilty”—if the Woodrow Wilson administration wanted that member to be found guilty.

As a matter of fact, the National Security League would be willing to undertake the job of selecting the jury for many of the members of the present house of Congress.

But special legislation to keep undesirable members out of Congress will surely work both ways. Some day it may be used by Socialists or other radicals against the capitalist side, especially if the present ruling class will furnish sufficient precedents.

Every thinking man should keep in mind that over half of the white race is in a chaotic stage of revolution, out of which must develop an orderly Socialist reign within the next five years. Every thinking American should especially take into consideration that England, France and Italy will soon join that world-wide social revolution. Will America alone escape a world-wide movement of the white race?

It will avail our statesmen nothing to hide their heads in the sand of reaction and to forbid immigration or even to deport a hundred thousand rebels. You cannot build a Chinese wall against ideas. There are ten million men and women in this country always on the brink of pauperism and starvation. You cannot expel all of them—you cannot kill all of them—you need them under the capitalist system as a reserve army of labor for your industries.

You cannot solve this question and yet this question must be solved.

Therefore, our reactionaries may soon rue the day when they persecuted the representatives of evolutionary Socialism and thus invited a cataclysm which is bound to bury the present system and its defenders.

If I am guilty, if my comrades here are guilty, then every member of the Socialist Party is guilty. Every man who voted the Socialist ticket is guilty. Every man who has criticized the administration on the war is guilty.

And if the Socialist Party is a conspiracy against capitalism, then the Republican and Democratic parties are conspiracies against human progress and human welfare.

If I am to be punished for having told the truth as I saw it—I ask for no mercy.

Speeches

Delivered by

VICTOR L. BERGER

in the

Sixty-eighth, Sixty-ninth

and

Seventieth Congresses

1923-1929

A Survey of Our Political and Our Economic Condition

FEBRUARY 16, 1924

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, when last I had the honor to address this House—about five years ago—every seat was taken. The galleries were packed. The occasion was that I was to be lynched. And I was lynched. At that time I promised this House that I would come back.

I said au revoir! And here I am to fulfill my promise. I came back. (Laughter).

Now, gentlemen, in having myself re-elected and re-elected again I did as much of a service to the old parties as to my own. The day will come—and the day will come soon—when the so-called radicals will be in the majority in our American Congress. By vindicating representative government I have also protected the conservatives—and even the reactionaries—against any such outrage as was committed against me. My continuous re-election was genuine democracy at work.

I hope no House will ever try to exclude a man who was regularly and legally elected—no matter what opinions he may represent—and this House was wise indeed when it seated me without a dissenting vote.

On this occasion, gentlemen, I also want to express my admiration for the fifth district of Wisconsin, which made this vindication possible, by adhering so

nobly and so persistently to the idea of representative government—and to me personally. I hope, if the occasion should occur again—and democracy thus be endangered again—the next man will find a district as loyal and as enlightened as the fifth district of Wisconsin, which, in my opinion, comprises the highest average intelligence of a highly intelligent state. I am proud of my state, the foremost state in this Union in more than one respect.

Mr. Mansfield. The gentleman has never been in Texas. (Laughter.)

Mr. Berger. Oh, yes; I have been in Texas, and I may have something to tell about Texas later. You know what the man said he would do if he owned Texas and the other hot place.

The State of Wisconsin, however, is not only noted for its beautiful scenery and the great variety of its products; it is also known to fame because Wisconsin has sent 10 Progressives and one Socialist to Congress. We can also claim the leader of the Progressives, Senator Robert Marion La Follette. This proves we have a thinking population.

Mr. Chairman, what I am going to say tonight, however, may not be liked by either side—not even by my Progressive friends—I am afraid.

A Minority of One Speaking for More Than a Million

In this House I am a party all to myself. It was said that when I want to have a caucus I could have one in a telephone booth.

But remember, gentlemen, while I am alone in this Congress, I am the sole representative of more than a million voters, who would be entitled to more than 20

members if we had proportional representation. And it is a pity that I am alone, because all kinds of political and economic ideas ought to be strongly expressed in this House.

And especially the Socialist Party should be more numerously represented.

Whatever remarks I may make tonight, I hope it will be understood that I make them "with good will to all and ill will to none," to use an expression of Abraham Lincoln.

I shall not say very much about the Mellon tax bill, however.

We have had this income tax bill up for discussion for three days and one night.

Nine-Tenths of People Need Not File Income Tax Reports

There is one phase of the tax bill, however, that has not been discussed at all. One speaker only, the gentleman from Missouri, merely mentioned the fact that just 4,300,000 persons of our great country are really concerned in the Mellon bill or in any Federal income tax bill now before the House, because only that number is paying the Federal income tax.

Since nobody has spoken for the other 19,000,000 households—for the people who are creating the wealth of the Nation and are the genuine taxpayers—it is natural that I should speak for them. These people do not have their names on the Federal income returns, because they earn less than \$2,000 a year, but they number more than four-fifths, and probably nine-tenths, of our population.

They do all of the hard and useful work that is being done in this country. Without their work our civilization would be impossible and our country could not exist. But Congress does not lose any time on them. They pay neither income tax nor surtax.

Still, they pay it all in the end. They pay all kinds of taxes. They pay, especially, indirect taxes whenever they buy a pair of shoes or even a loaf of bread. Congress, however, does not bother its 532 heads much about them. We are chiefly concerned with the welfare or the troubles of that tenth part of our population whose names appear on the Federal income tax returns.

Those are the "dear peepul"—and only those.

There are 4,361,435 persons, according to the official report—based on the tax returns of 1921—that will pay an income tax.

Of that number 83 per cent pay on incomes of less than \$5,000. About 300 persons pay on a yearly income of more than \$300,000 and 21 pay on a yearly income of over \$1,000,000.

What is this country coming to, gentlemen?

There are more than 19,000,000 families in this country that must live on less than \$2,000 a year. According to statisticians it takes a minimum of \$1,980 for a family of five to live ever so modestly, considering the present prices of necessities. This means that about 19,000,000 families are always on the border of pauperism. They are in danger of starvation whenever the head of the family is out of work for any length of time, unless the wife and the minor children find employment.

Majority of Nation Insecure In Old Age

I have listened carefully to the discussion of the Mellon bill and I have made up my mind how to vote. But instead of bickering about lowering the surtax—if we did our duty rightly—we ought to consider ways and means to combat the danger which is threatening the 19,000,000 and their dependents—not the jealousies of the 4,300,000 about an exact division of the spoils.

An old-age pension for workingmen, an efficient child labor law, a solution of the housing problem for the working people, a modification of the Volstead Act, precautions against mass unemployment at the next industrial crisis, and remedies against the pauperization of the farmers are each and every one of them of greater importance than the Mellon bill or any variety of it.

Many workingmen and working women have to go to the poorhouse when they get to be 60 years old—after they have worked all of their lives—or be dependent on the charity of their children. Under the present circumstances the working people can not, as a rule, save enough for their old age. The poorhouse is very often their “haven of refuge.” We have crowded poorhouses everywhere, even in Wisconsin. This is a disgrace to our civilization.

We Are Short a Million Houses

We ought, also, to take care of the housing of the working people, especially in the cities. I understand we are short about 1,000,000 houses, and instead of discussing the woes of the individuals who have an

income of more than \$300,000, annually, as to whether these fine ladies and gentlemen are to pay 25 per cent or 50 per cent surtax, why not use some of the surplus to take care of the housing of the workers?

Admittedly, this housing shortage was caused by the war, for which the Federal Government is responsible, not the States. The Federal Government ought, therefore, to assist in solving the question. Other national governments do so, not only France and Belgium, but many other countries. It is being done in England at the present time.

Child Labor Has Increased 20 Per Cent in Three Years

Child labor has increased immensely since 1920. In 1920 we had 1,061,000 children at work. I understand that during the last three years that number has increased about 20 per cent, mainly because the child labor act has been declared unconstitutional. Oh, yes; we have won the war to make the world safe for democracy.

The Volstead Act ought to be amended. It was insane and criminal legislation.

All law must be based upon the habits of a people. European nations, of which the American people are the offspring, have used alcoholic beverages as a drink for thousands of years. These inherited habits can not change overnight. Thousands are killed by poison moonshine and other concoctions which are the deplorable result of the foolish Volstead law. Under that law it has become fashionable to be a lawbreaker, and rich and poor alike are "fashionable" in this respect.

The Volstead law must be changed in a sensible way so as to take care of the many millions who are

accustomed to light wines and beer that do not intoxicate, but who now indulge in alcoholic poisons that not only intoxicate but kill.

Preparing for the Coming Storm—of Unemployment

Another thing is even more important. We are going to have an industrial crisis in a few years. I can not tell exactly when the "panic" will come, but under the capitalistic profit system—where we always must produce more than the people can buy with their wages—we are bound to have industrial crises — so-called "panics"—about every 15 or 20 years. There was a mild "panic" in 1907, which threatened a repetition in 1914, when the World War came and used up the surplus.

The "panic" of 1921 was artificial—it was a case of "deflation" dictated by "high finance."

But within five years we shall have a real crisis. Why not prepare for that? This is not Socialism. I am not one of those who believe that we can have full-fledged Socialism—a co-operative commonwealth—within a year or within one generation. I would not want full-fledged Socialism within a generation. We saw how Marxism worked in Russia. Nevertheless the next phase of civilization must be some kind of a Socialist civilization if civilization is to survive. The violent Russian experiment was the result of violent czarism, of a rotten government breaking down before the economic conditions were ripe for a change. Our rotten plutocracy—in no way more intelligent than the czar's autocracy—ought to profit by the example.

There were some strong men in Russia to take care of their opportunity, and they got hold of the government and used it for their experiment.

By the way, I knew Nikolai Lenin personally. Of all the prominent men that I knew in the Socialist movement, Lenin would have been probably the last that I would have expected to do the things that he has done. I took him to be a fanatical and impractical theorist—a writer of books and pamphlets but not a man of action. Yet when opportunity offered itself Lenin developed wonderfully.

Well, so was Robespierre a theorist. I gave Lenin six months' time for his experiment when he took control in November, 1917, but it has lasted six years, and it may last another sixty.

Creating 22,000,000 Landowners In Russia

There is one side of Lenin's experiment which is not at all communistic—which is really anti-communistic—but where he has succeeded beyond his own expectation. And there his work will not be undone in a hurry. He learned that one thing probably from the French Revolution.

Lenin created a new class of owning farmers. He created 22,000,000 owners of land in Russia, where there were less than 2,000,000 before. In other words, he confiscated the big estates from the Russian nobles and the Russian capitalists and gave these lands for little or no money to the peasantry. And there is no power on earth—and England, France, and the United States have tried it—that can put a czar and the old conditions back into Russia. Those 22,000,000 new owners of land will resist to the bitter end, and the gates of hell can not prevail against them.

Of course, Lenin's communism will not last; of that I am sure. As a matter of fact, Lenin himself

had given up most of it and his successors will be compelled to give up the rest. But the former owners will never get back their property.

The new system which will develop will undoubtedly be superior to the old system, which was an anomaly in the twentieth century. To have made a clean slate of it—that will be considered Lenin's great contribution to the world's civilization. I am not a communist and have never agreed with Lenin, but he has proved to be the greatest man of our generation, even though he started out to establish a giant communist commonwealth, and has established 22,000,000 individualistic farm owners instead.

The British Way of Doing Things

There is one other country that is now very much in the eyes of the civilized world—Great Britain.

There they have a Socialist government of the type that I would have if the Socialists could get control of this country at the present time. The English Labor Party has a program which is probably a little more radical than the immediate demands of the American Socialists. For instance, the English Labor Party has a capital levy on its program. We do not ask for that this year nor next year, and I believe the English party will be slow to put it in force.

Mr. Nelson of Wisconsin. Will the gentleman explain why they have dropped that in their program today?

Mr. Berger. They have dropped it for two or three reasons. The first reason is that they could not carry it out, and that is undoubtedly a very good reason. The English Labor Party is only a minority in

Parliament. The laborites have about 30 per cent of the seats. They have 192 members out of some 615.

The second reason is that they have also learned a thing or two from the example of Russia. Reactionaries never learn, while Socialists always do. In order to build well one can not build too fast. And they would rather take a hundred years to build a new economic system that will last, than try to do it in a hundred days and fail. That is really the English method.

Our Aim Is Peaceable Evolution, Not Bloody Revolution

Moreover, I would rather use a hundred years to bring about a new world, a better world, by evolution, with all the blessings of civilization, than bring it about by a bloody revolution, as they have done in Russia, by shooting down about 30,000 men and women. I have not the exact figures—probably no one has—but I think that it was something in the neighborhood of that number—very few when compared with the number the various czars killed in peace and war in any given year. And even that violent upheaval was only due to the fact that in Russia the autocracy was stupid, ignorant, and corrupt. In Russia the ruling class looked upon government and public trust as nothing but huge sources of profits and plunder.

This is also a warning for other countries where the ruling class is ignorant, more or less stupid, and corrupt; where there is constant profiteering, based upon bribery, direct or indirect, by hiring ex-cabinet members as "attorneys" for big corporations.

In America also we shall soon have to decide the question whether the English or the Russian method

is to be followed. What is it to be—a MacDonald or a Lenin?

A revolution in this country would be very vicious—the American Legion and the Ku-Klux Klan are great schools for violence and mob rule.

**To Make Sure of Property Rights Make Sure
That Everybody Has Property**

As I view the situation, our main fight, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, ought to be an earnest and ceaseless fight against poverty.

If you want to defend property and make sure of property rights—and that, gentlemen, seems to be your chief aim—see to it that everybody in our country gets property.

The moment that everybody has property, property rights will be safe. So long, however, as only a few people have sufficient property, or when but a few people have the overwhelming share of all property, you can not guarantee its possession to the owners, even if you do pay a bonus occasionally to the chosen Praetorian Guard.

That is why ancient Rome went down before a handful of German barbarians. That is why feudalism broke down in France, although Louis XVI had a heroic Swiss guard to defend him.

In France before the French Revolution nearly one-third of all the land was owned by the king. Another third was owned by the church and the nobility. The last third only was owned by the 25,000,000 Frenchmen—the rest of the people. You know what happened. Frenchmen were bound to own France. They beheaded their king, many princes and more than

2,000 nobles, one archbishop, a dozen bishops, and 700 priests, but when the thing was all over the 25,000,000 Frenchmen owned France. There are 6,000,000 peasant owners in France now.

Poverty Is the Mother of Misery and Grandmother of Revolution

Again I say, then, gentlemen, our main fight ought to be to combat poverty. Poverty is a curse. Poverty is the mother of ignorance, of crime, of disease. Poverty is dangerous to everybody but it is especially dangerous to the ruling class.

Tax figures are of minor importance; in my opinion, when compared with this great social question.

There is another important matter that we must consider—we must try to eradicate corruption.

Mr. Chairman, if I were a politician—which I am not—I would say, "This Teapot Dome scandal is politically just the thing to favor the growth of the Socialist Party. These scandals go to show how rotten capitalist government really is. Our capitalistic rulers are crooks! Politics is simply a business with them, in which bribery and "pull" are capitalized at millions upon millions. The public plunderers contribute to the election expenses of both parties and dictate the appointments. Especially since the Democrats are so much involved in it as the Republicans. Even the New York World conjugates the name of the leading Democratic candidate: "McAdoo, McAdid, McAdone." (Laughter.)

If I were just a common American politician I would glory in these oil exposures and graft exposures. The Democrats were gloating when they be-

lieved that only prominent Republicans were concerned. At first some great speeches were made by certain Democrats. They are silent now.

From the beginning I considered these revelations a tragedy. I look further. I know that the Teapot Dome affair is not an ordinary scandal. I suspect that there are a hundred other teapots boiling in the country that we have not heard of. Bribery is everywhere at work. The poison is infecting every part of our body politic—and even our big private business is mostly crooked.

If we could wipe that out just by sending Mr. Fall to prison, or by punishing Mr. Doheny, or by locking up Mr. Sinclair, that would be the thing to do.

But we can not do it.

There are too many cases to be punished.

During the war one hundred times as much money was stolen and wasted as is involved in the Teapot Dome. Why did not Mr. Daugherty, or why did not the Republican Party, prosecute? And why did they not show up the Democratic Party, or rather the Woodrow Wilson administration? I will tell you why. There were too many prominent Republican business men concerned in that public plunder.

The Tracks Got Too Hot

A witty Republican told me in the cloakroom:

"It is like the situation out West, where I live, when a man went hunting bear. The hunter told how he had followed the bear until 4 o'clock in the afternoon and then came home. When asked, 'Why did you not go farther?' he answered: 'Well, to tell the truth, the tracks got too hot.'"

It was the same story with the Republicans hunting the Democratic war profiteers—the tracks got too hot; there were big Republican tracks.

And now we see the same thing happening to the Democrats hunting Republican bear. Whenever they find they have a real gusher to besmirch the Republican Party it also spills its contents of oil over the Democratic organization. There you are.

Still more deplorable is another fact:

America is the only country where the working class, too, has been reached by the general corruption. The organized workers also have their venal bosses, especially in the large cities. The virus evidently has infected the broad mass of our common people. That is not the case in Europe, except in France.

Working Class Is Honest In Europe

The working class, as such, is honest in Great Britain, Germany, the Scandinavian countries, Holland, Switzerland, and the Slavic countries, including Russia. Ours is really the only civilized white country where leaders of the working class will sell out, where they often use their positions for graft, as has been shown in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and other places. That is the greatest tragedy. For this reason: If we want to have a better world and a better civilization, the great mass of the people must remain untainted, because that is where a nation must rejuvenate itself. Every new society must come up from below, must emerge from the mass.

Well, certain working-class leaders evidently have learned the crooked business from the employers, especially from the contractors, with whom they are con-

tinually in touch. That will explain the condition, but not excuse it, of course.

In Europe working-class leadership may sometimes be wrong; it often is wrong. It may be fanatical; it often is fanatical. These leaders often do things they should not; but on the whole they are honest. That rule holds good for the labor leaders of all the countries that I have mentioned.

All the world has the greatest respect for men like J. Ramsay MacDonald, Philip Snowden, Arthur Henderson, E. D. Morel, or Tom Shaw; and everybody who knows them esteems the leaders of the German working class very highly. The same may be said of Russian leaders. They may have been wrong at times, but in the main they are absolutely honest.

This is the case everywhere in Europe, except in France, where occasionally one reads of cases of corruption.

That the moral fiber of our people has deteriorated is plainly shown by the questionable reaction of the common people to the latest revelation of bribery and corruption.

The Upshot of the Ambition of the "Go-getters"

When the Teapot Dome scandal came out, what kind of conversation could you overhear in the street cars and in public places? People would say, "Well, all of them are thieves, of course. They make the 'big fellows divvy up.' But why not? If I were there, I would do the same thing."

Or you would hear: "I wish I had the chance. I would make them come across with more."

Gentlemen, this is the result of the morals of business success. It is the upshot of making the dollar the god of the country. The effect of the ambition of the "go-getter," of the Rotary Club, the Kiwanis, the Lions, and so forth.

It means: Get money, my son, get it honestly if you can, but get it anyhow.

On the Mellon bill both parties are playing politics. That is clear.

Democrats Six and One-half Per Cent Better Politicians Than Republicans This Time

The difference between the various propositions is really slight, except as to the amount of surtax. The original Mellon bill proposes 25 per cent—they have already come up to 37½ per cent—while the Democrats want 44 per cent as the maximum figure.

The Democrats are for the "dear peepul" this time. They are playing "good politics" this time—6½ per cent better politics than the Republicans. But how many persons in the average southern district pay any Federal income tax at all?

Moreover, the Republicans had bad luck. They had their "Fall" in midwinter.

Nevertheless the Republicans made a master stroke when they proposed a 25 per cent reduction on the 1923 taxes. I do not know who proposed it, but probably the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. Green).

It will be a pleasant surprise to the American taxpayers to have money returned. The gentleman is evidently a statesman, although not according to the definition of Czar Reed. Czar Reed's definition of a statesman was "a successful politician dead." Well,

the Democrats being beaten to it, ought to demand a reduction of 50 per cent for 1923. These 4,300,000 Federal taxpayers would like that still better.

We are told all of these immense sums—direct income taxes and the many indirect taxes—are necessary as the result of the war. And, therefore. I will say a few words about the war.

To begin with, I am fully in accord with those of my progressive friends who are making an honest effort to make those of our big patriots, who put the "pay" into the word "paytriot," pay taxes. Let them pay. They made the war pay in war time, now let them pay for the war in peace time.

The trouble is only that we shall soon find that we can not get much out of them. They did not profiteer and steal in order to pay it back to Uncle Sam.

Have Never Retracted a Word of What I Said About Our Participation In the War

As for the war itself, I was excluded from Congress because I was opposed to the war and said so openly in speeches and articles. And now, gentlemen, permit me to tell you a great secret: I am still opposed to war and more so than ever.

I have never retracted a word of anything I have said about the war and against our participation in that hellish conflict. I have never taken back a sentence of all the hundreds and hundreds of articles I have written in my paper about the war and against our participation in that war. It almost cost me my life. A sentence of 20 years in the penitentiary at my age is worse than a death sentence. Nevertheless, if I had to do it over again, I would do it all over

again as sure as my name is Victor Berger. I would do so with more vim and more energy than ever, because now I know more positively than ever that my position was right.

World War Was the Greatest Crime In History

I will not go into details now. I will simply state that everything I have predicted as a result of the war has happened. Everything has come true and more has come true than I had predicted—I am sorry to say.

That war was the greatest crime against the white race in the history of the world, and our participation in that crime was as stupid as it was criminal—and it was brought about by the most thorough propaganda ever known.

English Statesmen Wish Now We Had Never Entered

But some English statesmen, who for years used every means that they could find to lure us into the war, say now: "The world, and especially England, would have been much better off if America had stayed out. The war would have ended in a draw with neither side a victor. Every country would have gone back to work."

That is the English opinion today. They have to combat French militarism and French imperialism today, which is a hundred times worse and more dangerous than German militarism and imperialism ever was.

Many Members In Parliament Who Were In Prison During the War

But the leaders of the England of today were under a cloud during the war. Men like MacDonald

were practically fugitives in 1917 and 1918, and for some time before. MacDonald was defeated in 1918, and the Labor Party at that time elected very few members to Parliament, while today it has 192. There are 23 members in the English Parliament today who were in prison for being opposed to the war. The world has changed in five years, has it not?

Thinking people the world over now agree that the war was a capitalistic war and an imperialistic war, and that it was based on a million lies. And these lies are still at work. The profiteers and thieves are still at work inventing patriotic legends to excuse and justify the horrible crime.

All of my male relatives of military age were in the war; two volunteered from my table, and one of my nephews paid the supreme price. Neither of them enlisted, however, because he believed in the justice of the war; they simply enlisted because they knew they would otherwise be drafted.

What We Got Out of This War

And what did we get out of the war? One hundred and twenty-three thousand dead; over 200,000 cripples, \$40,000,000,000 of costs; besides losing most of our traditions as to liberty and freedom. We gained 23,000 new millionaires. These millionaires represent the only visible assets—invisible, however, in many cases when the tax assessor comes around.

But I am not going to discuss the war tonight. I will only say that I am proud of the fact that the Socialists and the radicals opposed the war.

After all, there is so little difference between the Socialists and the Progressives, and the so-called radi-

cals of every description, that I can not understand why they do not get together.

Some Reasons Why the Socialist Movement Has Made Slow Headway In This Country

But it is claimed that the radical movement is making slow progress in this country because our constitution is so wonderful, because our economic conditions are so satisfactory. Moreover, certain professors claim that there is so much liberty here that no radical movement can take root. Palmer and Daugherty must smile when they read such stuff.

The Socialist movement made little headway so far because until recently we had colonial conditions in the United States. A handful of people came here 250 years ago, found one of the richest continents on the earth—and it cost them nothing except a few bullets with which to kill the Indians. Of course, in some cases these newcomers did pay a ridiculously small sum, as, for instance, a few gallons of whisky for Manhattan Island. But, practically, they got this big continent for nothing.

Now, remember, gentlemen, when I say America had "colonial conditions," I mean to convey the idea that land was free and plentiful—some of the best land on earth.

Moreover, from that time on we had a tremendous white immigration. We had very cheap and very efficient labor for the asking. For 250 years this labor came in continuously.

You got Englishmen, Irishmen, Germans, Hollanders, Jews, Italians, Poles, Russians, and all the other nationalities. You got the most efficient and most in-

telligent working men, and working women—raised to manhood and womanhood in other countries—to come here at their own expense to work for you at long hours and low wages—because this was doing better than they could do in their own over-populated countries.

But the older settler could develop his business, sell land to the newcomer and get ahead upon the shoulders of the man who came later. This rule held good until lately.

When I came to Wisconsin some 45 years ago, the northern half of the State had immense pine woods—a primeval forest. Germans and Scandinavians came there and bought the land very cheaply; that is, they got the cut-over land after some of our wealthy American lumbermen had denuded the land and made lots of money out of selling the pine—wasting four-fifths of the timber.

They would sell the cut-over land to these Germans and Scandinavians on time payments and at a low price—and any man who was willing to work very hard clearing stumps and making a farm—could do so. And many hundreds of thousands of them did so.

If you go there now, you will find one of the foremost commonwealths in the country, unequaled in many ways by any other, not only as to farm houses and barns but also as to schools, roads, co-operative creameries, and so forth. They got the land cheap, yet it was their labor, together with the opportunity to labor, that did it.

But Colonial Conditions Have Disappeared— No More Frontier

But these opportunities no longer exist. You can not repeat that. There is no other Wisconsin. There

is no other Minnesota. There is not even another Iowa or Kansas. Conditions have changed. There is no "frontier" in our country left any more. The chances we had 100 years ago, or even 40 years ago, to become independent are not here today.

This is the reason, gentlemen, why we were so successful in this country. We had plenty of land and plenty of intelligent and efficient—yet cheap—immigrant labor. Those two elements were undoubtedly the corner stones of our prosperity.

It was not on account of the sacrosanct constitution that this country made such headway. I believe we would have made as good headway, or even better headway, if we had had no written constitution.

England has no written constitution. Anything the Parliament does in England is constitutional. It was said that the English Parliament can do anything except make a man out of a woman. They can make any law that can get a majority in Parliament.

In our country it is different.

Our Statesmen Still Think In the Terms of Their Grandfathers

Our statesmen take a great deal of pride in telling you that they have inherited their ideas from their grandfathers. The average Democrat is a Democrat because his father was a Democrat. The same with the Republicans, many of them. They are Republicans because their fathers were Republicans or their grandfathers. There is probably the additional reason that their grandfathers fought in the war to preserve the Union.

And, by the way, that was one of the few wars

where they fought to free somebody—to free a race—although that was not the intention when the war began.

Otherwise both parties, or the spokesmen of both parties, use the same language and the same slogans that have been in use for 100 years or 120 years. The world has gone on, but the political and economic ideas of our country have stood still.

One hundred and twenty years ago we did not have any railroad, any telegraph or telephone; steam and electric power were unknown; not to mention automobiles, airplanes, and radios. At that time a corporation meant a city; but we are still using the terms of that time, or at least our lawmakers are.

You can tell that by listening to the debate during the last three days. And with all due respect to the gentlemen of the House, there were really only three or four speeches made, and the rest of them simply repeated with more or less emphasis what the other gentlemen said. I do not mean to be impolite; I am simply stating a fact.

Mr. Kvale. And rubbing it in.

Mr. Berger. Unfortunately that is true, but you will have a chance to rub it into me.

Both Old Parties the Tools of Wall Street

Well, both the Republican and the Democratic Party are simply capitalistic political organizations representing well-defined economic interests. The Republican Party represents mainly the manufacturing and banking interests of the country, while the Democrats represent such odds and ends as they can get.

And both of the old parties are the tools of Wall Street whenever Wall Street wants to use them.

The Chairman. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. Green of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, in view of the compliment that the gentleman has paid us I yield the gentleman 10 minutes more. (Laughter.)

Mr. Berger. It must be pleasant for both parties to hear the truth for once. Moreover, it must be admitted in all candor that the Republican Party is usually the favorite party of Wall Street; on the whole it is more up to date.

Mr. Green of Iowa rose.

Mr. Berger. I will gladly yield when I am through with my remarks.

Mr. Green of Iowa. I was just going to ask about the Progressives.

Mr. Berger. I shall reach them pretty soon. (Laughter.) During the war the Wall Street group of financiers dealing in international securities preferred the Democratic Party. You see, Pierpont Morgan and his crowd own the Republican Party; that is true. But Wilson happened to be president; and having a chance to use the Democratic Party also, why should they not use it? I think the fiscal agents of the allies showed a great deal of wisdom by associating themselves with the Democratic Party and thus making the "patriotism" of that time unanimous.

Wall Street Is Bi-Partisan

Our capitalistic friends support both parties. All big corporations pay into the funds of both parties. Nobody will deny that. Sinclair stated it on the stand

some months ago, and the information did not create the slightest ripple.

Wall Street is bi-partisan. Our oil magnates—or our trust magnates—will buy a cabinet officer whether he be Democrat or Republican. It simply depends which party is in power. They will buy the son-in-law of the president and send him to Mexico to overawe the Mexican government. A Roosevelt and a McAdoo look alike to them.

Oil Magnates Hire and Fire Cabinet Members of Both Parties

They will hire as many as four or five Democratic ex-members of the cabinet—hire them and fire them. And they will hire and fire Republican cabinet members. These statesmen are lawyers. They want big fees. It is their life's ambition to be hired by the biggest corporation. And it is also their business to be fired, although the latter is "bad business."

There is no difference between the two old parties, except that one crowd is in and the other crowd wants to get it. And they have played this game of "ins" and "outs" very successfully for many years. It is a sham battle, which the leaders recognize as such.

Mr. Mann Answering a Question

The following happened here some 13 years ago. I got to be on good terms with Mr. James R. Mann, a gentleman almost too good to be a Republican leader. But he was a Republican and a partisan Republican. I took a personal liking to him, and used to sit near him.

After I had been in the House for some time I spoke up one day: "Jim, you know that I attend the

sessions pretty regularly." He answered, "Yes." Then I said, "Will you do me a favor and explain one thing?" He said, "I will if I can." Whereupon I asked him, "Please tell me the difference between the Republican and Democratic Parties." He looked at me seriously for a while and then said earnestly, "Victor, there is none."

And there is none.

The Cleavage Is Within the Old Parties, Not Between Them

There are some differences within the old parties. There is much more difference between my friend and colleague from Wisconsin (John M. Nelson) and the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. Green) than there is between that gentleman and most of the conservative gentlemen on the Democratic side; or between the gentleman from New York (Mr. Mills) and many of the venerable gentlemen on the Democratic side.

There are serious differences within the Republican and within the Democratic Parties, and therefore there ought to be a new alignment.

The Little Tail Trying to Wag Big Two-Headed Animal

The party emblems of the two old parties are an elephant for the Republican Party and a donkey for the Democratic Party. These two animals have evidently amalgamated and have become one. It is a mythical animal with one body and two heads—one is the Republican elephant head with the big trunk; the other head with the long ears came from the donkey. But the most remarkable part is the wiggling tail—the progressive faction. [Laughter.]

And that thin tail is trying to wag the big, fat animal. It is a hopeless undertaking. It can not be done—neither in the House nor in the Senate. All the tail can accomplish is “to get sore,” and thus make trouble for the animal, because the tail is part of its anatomy. However, whenever the animal moves the tail goes with it. (Laughter.)

I would like to tell my Progressive friends that I shall probably vote with them on many questions because there is not much difference between honest Progressives and the Socialists—except that the Socialists go further in their program. However, as far as the Progressives go at all, they march on Socialist lines. In Wisconsin—the native State of Progressivism—they have adopted some planks of our platform, trying to do the best they can with them. But a Progressive is naturally timid—he is afraid of being called a Bolshevik—and thus they have not made much headway at all with these sound and solid planks. There is virtually no reason why honest Progressives should stay out of the Socialist Party.

Moreover, as long as they stay in the old parties, they are not only fooling themselves, but they really form a big stumbling block in the way of real progress.

The Great “Victory” of the Progressives In Changing the Rules

It was a great “victory,” you will remember, which we won about five weeks ago. After a wordy battle of three weeks, my illustrious friend and colleague from Wisconsin, the leader of the Progressives (Mr. Nelson), won the victory. He fought like a hero, and he conquered.

The victory was won with the help of the Democrats and could not have been won without them. Did the Democrats help in order to help "free speech" in the House? Oh, no! It was a Democratic rule that had to be repealed. They did it in order to worry the Republicans. And what did the victory accomplish? With 150 members signed to a petition a bill can be taken away from a committee and brought before the House to be voted upon.

Just imagine! How wonderful! If 150 members sign a petition, the bill may be brought before the House; and if the House votes to take it up, then the matter can be taken up in the House. Great guns! Some accomplishment, I must admit! (Laughter.) I would not give a cheese sandwich for the accomplishment. How often will my Progressive friends have the chance to take a bill away from a committee and bring it up here for a vote? Not unless the Democrats also want the bill.

Republican and Democratic Parties Characterized

I have edited a daily paper for many years; I have written editorials for many years; I have studied political conditions and economics for many years. There is no difference in principle between the Republican Party and the Democratic Party.

The Republican Party is the conservative party of capitalism—ultra-conservative; it is bound to lead the country into trouble because, unlike the Tories in England, our Republican Party does not know how to yield and when to yield.

But the Democratic Party is even worse, because the Democratic Party is reactionary.

The Republican Party would like to keep up the capitalistic system as it is, and the Democratic Party, at times at least, would like to go back to antebellum conditions.

The Chairman. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has again expired.

Mr. Green of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes more to the gentleman.

Mr. Berger. I do not know that it is worth while, after all. I feel that both parties are paralyzed and blinded by complacency. Both old parties—whenever they do not represent the big capitalist interests—are identified with a middle class that thinks only in terms of property and can think no other way.

This Is the Geological Period of Mr. Babbitt

I know that I do not convince anybody here.

We live in the geological period of Mr. Babbitt.

Mr. Babbitt is a congressman; Mr. Babbitt is a member of the cabinet; and Mr. Babbitt is our chief executive, for that matter. Only the United States treasury is in charge of Mr. Astoroilbitt.

The Present and Ultimate Aims of the Socialist Party

Mr. Nelson of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Berger: Gladly.

Mr. Nelson of Wisconsin. Will the gentleman please tell us what the Socialist Party really stands for—give us something of an outline of the party's principles?

Mr. Berger. I can state them in very few sentences. The Socialist Party stands for the collective ownership and democratic management of all of the social means of production and distribution.

We will start with the national ownership of the country's natural resources, such as mines, oil wells, forests, and so forth. With this must go the national ownership of the means of transportation and communication—railroads, telegraphs, telephones. Furthermore, we must carry out everywhere the principle of public ownership of public utilities.

Our country has made a good start in the reserving of some national forests, only the start came somewhat late.

The Socialists would go further after these things have been accomplished, but this would do for some time. Our aim is finally to get hold of all of the trusts. The national ownership and democratic management of the trusts is the end of the road, as far as I can see it.

What will happen after that I am not bothering my head about, because that is a pretty large program. There I have given it to you in a few words.

Mr. Nelson of Wisconsin. Will the gentleman please answer this objection that is made to the Socialistic theory—that it really leads to autocracy, where a few will control and prescribe the conditions for the many.

We Want Socialism, Not Communism

Mr. Berger. It should not, because our aim is a social democracy, not communism. And as far as my experience in the Socialist Party goes it is all the other way. There is too much democracy, so much that at times the management of the party has a tendency to become inefficient.

As for autocracy, I might answer the gentleman that we could not easily get any more autocracy than

we have today. Today the profiteers prescribe for us how much we have to pay for everything.

The vast wealth produced annually by the people is an inexhaustible source of plunder, which never ceases and about which we have nothing to say. We are plundered from the day when we are born—when they sell the cradle we use—and they keep on fleecing us all of the time wherever we turn until we die. And then we are plundered when we have to buy a coffin from the coffin trust.

There is autocracy for you.

I am absolutely opposed to communism, however, which presupposes autocracy and despotism.

Mr. Boyce. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Berger. Certainly.

Mr. Boyce. You would have the State and not the people the supreme power?

Mr. Berger. It depends upon what you call the State. I do not want the capitalistic State supreme. The State is much too supreme for me now.

Mr. Boyce. Would the gentleman be willing to destroy the individualistic character of the American government in order to make the State supreme?

American Government Is Paternal to the Big Capitalists —Not Individualistic

Mr. Berger. The American government has no individualistic character. It is paternal to the big capitalists. Thomas Jefferson wanted individualism—but Jefferson did not write the Constitution. Those that wrote it were capitalists or the attorneys of the capitalist

class of that time. Our government has no individualistic character.

Mr. Boyce. It was so founded.

Mr. Berger. Not much so in the beginning and not at all now. The American Constitution was written by men like James Madison, Gouverneur Morris and others of the same type. A more reactionary charter is not in existence today than our American Constitution, which was bitterly assailed even 130 years ago by Thomas Jefferson and his friends.

Mr. Boyce. The gentleman is a well-informed, enlightened man.

Mr. Berger. I thank the gentleman for his good opinion.

Mr. Boyce. Is he not aware that the things he suggests predominated in ancient Greece and had the effect to destroy the government?

There Were All Sorts of Government In Greece— It Was a Country of City States

Mr. Berger. Ancient Greece was made up of city republics and had a dozen different constitutions. Aristotle, the Greek philosopher, in his well-known book, *Politia*, praised especially the constitutions of three cities. He praised the constitutions of Carthage, of Crete, and the name of the third I do not remember. He liked the constitution of Carthage best, for the reason that it could be changed so readily. He disliked the constitutions of Sparta and Athens, because they were so hard to change. And he would dislike ours for the same reason.

Socialism was never practiced in Greece. Socialism is a modern theory based upon the use of machinery

and the control over forces of nature, like steam, electricity, and so forth; unknown to antiquity. The ancients practiced communism, however, in some instances.

Mr. Boyce. Is the gentleman aware that the word which he used so freely today, "idiot," which is well known, and which applies to a mental disorder, was applied to the citizenry of ancient Greece who did not believe in the state of Greece. Would you have it so here?

Mr. Berger. The people living in the vicinity of the mountain of Ida were supposed to be particularly stupid. Our idiots, however, are usually native and 100 per cent American. There was no state of Greece. There were many towns, cities, and islands forming independent states. There was never a state of Greece until the days of Alexander the Great, who conquered all of Greece. The first man who tried to unite all of Greece under his rule was Philip of Macedonia, the father of Alexander the Great. He succeeded in defeating Athens and was admitted to the Amphictyonic council. His son, Alexander, destroyed Thebes and defeated the Spartans, and was really the first man to unite all of Greece.

Mr. Boyce. The gentleman has already suggested in the course of his remarks or rather alluded to corruption existing in America.

Mr. Berger. I have not told one-half of what I ought to say.

Mr. Boyce. The gentleman stated that it is reaching down among the masses.

Mr. Berger. Yes.

Mr. Boyce. Particularly those who undertake to control the masses. The men who are in charge, I believe I understood the gentleman to say.

Greatest Menace to America Is the Autocracy of the Plutocrat

Mr. Berger. Yes; the gentleman is right. Certain leaders of labor organizations are dangerous because they can be bribed and bought. But the greatest danger is the growing political power of corrupt wealth. The greatest menace to America is the autocracy of the plutocrat.

Memoranda

A.

Here is a list of the parliamentary bodies in which the Socialists are represented and the size of the Socialist delegations:

The British Labor Party has 192 members in Parliament, or 30.9 per cent of the total.

German Socialists hold 173 seats in the Reichstag, or 37.7 per cent.

Austrian Socialists have 67 members in the Reichsrat, or 40.2 per cent.

Belgium, 68 members, or 36.6 per cent.

Denmark, 48, or 32 per cent.

Esthonia, 20, or 20 per cent.

France, 50, or 8.6 per cent.

Finland, 53, or 26.5 per cent.

Italy, 41, or 7.7 per cent.

Hungary, 25, or 10.2 per cent.

Holland, 20, or 20 per cent.

Latvia, 37, or 37 per cent.

Lithuania, 11, or 15.1 per cent.

Norway, 8, or 5.3 per cent.

Poland, 41, or 9.9 per cent.

Roumania, 1.

Sweden, 93, or 40.4 per cent.

Switzerland, 43, or 21.7 per cent.

Czechoslovakia, 82, or 28 per cent.

Yugoslavia, 3, or 1 per cent.

B.

The following is the official report as to the income tax figures; it is taken from the Committee's report:

Estimated individual income upon the base of 1921 returns.

Income tax brackets:	Number paying tax in each bracket
Under \$5,000	3,589,985
\$5,000 to \$10,000.....	525,606
\$10,000 to \$20,000.....	172,359
\$20,000 to \$50,000.....	58,115
\$50,000 to \$100,000.....	11,069
\$100,000 to \$150,000	2,352
\$150,000 to \$200,000.....	985
\$200,000 to \$300,000.....	535
\$300,000 to \$500,000.....	246
\$500,000 to \$1,000,000.....	84
Over \$1,000,000	21
Total.....	<hr/> 4,361,351

Twentieth Century Conditions Require a Twentieth Century Constitution

APRIL 26, 1924

Aristotle on Constitutions

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, Aristotle, the great Greek philosopher, in his famous work on politics, described the constitutions of all the different States known to him. And he said the State existed longest and prospered most which was readiest to change its constitution and adapt it to changed conditions.

This rule holds good today. Our conservatives, however, claim that a constitution which could be changed readily would put the fundamental law at the mercy of every passing whim of the people or of a group of mouthy and designing demagogues. History, nevertheless, teaches that mouthy demagogues flourish best when the constitution is hard to change.

We Were First to Advocate Protection for Children

There is no doubt in my mind that the constitutional amendment to permit Congress to legislate on child labor will pass the House and will pass the Senate. It is a good amendment, a necessary amendment, and the Socialists were the first to advocate the abolition of child labor, which this amendment makes possible.

But whether it will get the necessary three-fourths of all the States is another question. We know from

experience how difficult it is to pass an amendment to our Constitution, especially one like this which will have the solid opposition of an entire group of States—the Southern States.

Best Legislation Impossible Under Present Constitution

So great are the difficulties of such an amendment that in effect they are insurmountable. I believe that we could just as easily rewrite the Constitution as to amend it again. Yet it is a fact, nevertheless, that advanced social legislation is impossible under the present Constitution. Not only child-labor legislation but also legislative attempts to regulate and control corporations have over and over again been declared unconstitutional.

Must Read Words Into Laws

The Supreme Court not only holds certain laws unconstitutional but puts words that were not there into laws. For instance, the word "reasonable" was read into the anti-trust law. The court has been blamed—but wrongly. The court had to do it in order to make the law fit the Constitution somehow.

Has Already Nineteen Patches

If this constitutional amendment should pass, it will be the twentieth amendment to the Constitution of the United States—the twentieth patch on the cloak of the body politic, which now has nineteen patches already.

There can be no doubt that the old Constitution of the United States, which was passed in 1789, has outlived its usefulness and should make room for a modern instrument suitable to the twentieth century.

Ninety More Propositions to Change It

Laws must be based upon the habits and the customs of the people, and a constitution must express the political ideas as based upon the economic conditions of a certain period. That our old Constitution is inadequate is also proven by the fact that there are at present about 90 propositions introduced to change it in one way or another.

Even the wisest of men could not have foreseen in 1789, when this was a little frontier country, the political and economic conditions of 1924, when the United States got to be one of the leading, one of the most powerful countries of the world.

Our Constitution Is a Small Country Constitution

Our Constitution was adopted in 1789. At that time a great part of the country was covered with one vast primeval forest. The largest city, Philadelphia, had about 30,000 inhabitants. There were only a few towns which had a population of from two to five thousand.

Steam and Electricity Unknown

Manufacturing in the United States was then in its childhood, mainly in Philadelphia. The use of steam and electricity was not known.

Corporations in the present sense were not known.

In those days a corporation meant a city or a township. There were no railroads, no telegraphs, no telephones, and, of course, no radios or airplanes. Public schools were few and far between. A man who could read and "reckon" was looked upon as a wizard in many country places. Capitalism in its present form and development was not even dreamt of.

The Constitution adopted at that time, of course, was made to suit these conditions. It was made to express the needs of a frontier State. It reflected the social, political, and economic conditions of that day.

What a great difference between the United States of 1789 and the United States of today. At that time the entire population was 2,500,000. Today we have 115,000,000.

New Classes Came Into Existence

In 1789 we had no proletariat in the present sense. Entirely new classes have come into existence since that time. In 1789 any man with a pair of strong arms and moderately good habits could not only make his living comfortably, but also lay the foundation for a prosperous second generation by simply sticking to the land. Today we have not only an economically powerful class of capitalists, but also a very numerous proletariat which to all intents and purposes has become a fixed class.

We have tremendous aggregations of capital, big railroad companies, public service corporations, and greedy trusts and grasping combinations of all kinds. Their oppressive power is felt by every farmer and every workingman.

In 1789 the worst evil influence which the people had to contend with was the issuing of script money. Today there is no script money. Our United States currency is good enough, if one can get hold of a sufficient amount. But the banks have simply become the handmaids of the big corporations and the trusts.

Whom Our Constitution Protects

The economic conditions have changed absolutely. Yet it is unconstitutional for Congress to regulate the

hours of labor for women and children but it is constitutional to pass a law that will send a man or woman to the penitentiary for 20 years if "he speaks disrespectfully of the uniform of a soldier"—I am quoting from the so-called espionage act, which is still on the statute books.

The Constitution should be an instrument to make sure that the minority has certain rights which the majority is bound to respect. This is so, provided that minority is wealthy enough to enforce those rights through lawyers and courts. A minority that is poor, however, has no constitutional rights that need be respected. We have seen this in the treatment of the I. W. W., the communists, and other radicals by Palmer, Daugherty, Burleson, and others.

What Chief Justice Taft Says

Even according to William H. Taft, former President of the United States and now Chief Justice, "the man with the longest purse has the decided advantage in legal battles."

Now, if we were influenced only by party motives, we would simply say: "Keep your old Constitution. Under the present Constitution, our Congress can not legislate beneficially. All good laws, such as are made to fit changed conditions, are necessarily unconstitutional. And if no laws are made to alleviate the hardships of the people, the people will, of necessity, become revolutionary."

But this is not the way we reason. We have so much confidence in the righteousness of our cause that we know that even the best constitution can not stop our progress in the end. On the other hand, a good and

timely constitution will do away with a great deal of avoidable friction. It will make sane and constructive progress possible.

Old Tammany Adage

It will do away with the old adage of the Tammany politician:

"Give the people what they want, but make it unconstitutional."

Was Condemned by Thomas Jefferson

At the time the Constitution was adopted no one considered it anything but a miserable piece of patchwork—a stupid imitation of the English constitution—which had to be amended ten times before it could be adopted by the thirteen original States. Jefferson condemned it severely. It really satisfied nobody.

Slave Barons Get Idea

However, by and by it dawned upon the Southern slave barons that they could hide behind its provisions to defend chattel slavery. They were right about that, and it took a terrific war to patch up and amend once more what had been poor patchwork to begin with.

After the Civil War the growing capitalist class of the North, which for a while had been very much dissatisfied with the Constitution, found that just because the Constitution was antiquated and unsatisfactory, the capitalists, with the help of shrewd lawyers, could make the same use of it for their own ends as did the slave barons for theirs. So the Constitution became a blessed and holy document once more.

It was again, in the seventies and eighties of the nineteenth century, the fetish of every lawyer and every

school teacher. Only it was then the northern fetish. The fervor of the South had been rather chilled by the so-called "Negro amendments" as a result of the war.

Now Unite in Reverence

However, the South found a way to get around these amendments. And now the unthinking elements of the North and South unite in doing reverence to a poor makeshift which tried to combine the constitutional ideas of Montesquieu with the archaic conception of an executive with despotic powers, and the ideas borrowed by Alexander Hamilton from the English constitution.

Even Conservative Men Admit It

The intelligent men of all classes during the last 20 years have become convinced that our Constitution must be changed. Not only the proletariat but also the most enlightened elements of the middle class demand it, and even some plutocrats admit it.

No doubt there were many leading men at the close of the American Revolution who were in favor of adopting the British constitution as they understood it. Only this being a Republic, they were very much more afraid of the people, of the mob, than they would have been in a monarchy. They admitted that. Therefore they wanted a strong Executive—"one that could dare to execute his powers"—as Hamilton stated it.

Our Elective Monarchy

That is how we got our kind of a President for the United States. That is also the reason why we have the Senate.

And also why we have the "additional check" by the courts.

Not everybody was satisfied with this.

Thomas Jefferson, of course, was not.

But even at a much later day Henry Clay compared our Presidency to "an elective monarchy—the worst form of old governments."

And he was right, inasmuch as with the exception of the Czar of Russia and the Mikado of Japan, even before the World War, there was not a monarch in the world who had as much power as the President of the United States. He is not only the Chief Executive, but also a part of the law-making machine—and what part? He counts as much as two-thirds of the House of Representatives and the Senate combined.

Cabinet Belongs to President—Not to People

Furthermore, his Cabinet is not dependent upon Congress at all and is not responsible to Congress. Neither Denby nor Daugherty could be ousted from office by Congress.

The members of the Cabinet are simply the secretaries and the servants of the ruler in the White House whoever he may be—and he is also the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy and appoints over a million officeholders.

Our Dictator

Gen. C. H. Sherrill, once an adjutant general, and later a United States minister to Argentina, organizer of preparedness parades—and according to his own statement a son of the Revolution—in his recent book *The Purple and the Red* is in favor of a monarchy, or a dictator. He tolerates the Republic in the United

States only because "we already have a dictator—the President of the United States for his term of office."

Daniel Webster's Opinion

No wonder that even Daniel Webster once said:

"The contest for ages has been to rescue liberty from the grasp of executive power. The President carries on the Government; all the rest are only subcontractors. A Briareus sits in the center of our system, and with his hundred hands touches everything, moves everything, controls everything. I ask, is this republicanism? Is this a government of laws?"

The present Constitution was designed by the wealthy class of that day—the speculators in script and the big landowners, and their representatives—with a view to preventing the common people from exercising their political influence. A cleverly devised system of checks and balances was employed to attain that end.

Sounded Like Bolshevism Today

The framers were afraid of democracy, which had the same sound to them as the word Bolshevism has to a similar class today. Thus the worst features of a monarchy were included in the office of the President to defeat the people's will.

The United States Senate, the "upper House" of our National Legislature, was created for the very purpose of representing wealth and the vested interests of the country, as Alexander Hamilton put it. And from the beginning it was intended to "form a check upon the will of the people." Therefore its selection was removed from the people as far as possible and put into the hands of the respective legislatures.

This has been changed only since the introduction of the direct primary. But now it takes so much money

to get nominated and elected in a State that the Senate is in danger of becoming a millionaire's club in reality, not only by reputation. It is unnecessary to show what the United States Senate was from its beginning and what it is now.

Is Now a Stronghold of Trusts

We all know that the Senate was the stronghold of the slave barons, compelling the solution of the slavery question by the force of arms. We all know that it is the bulwark of the railroads and trusts now.

The Oil Trust, the Railway Trust, the Sugar Trust, the Steel Trust, and every robber concern preying upon the common people have their representatives in the Senate.

It is a notable fact that, while the founders of the American Constitution were taking up this relic of feudalism and clothing it with formidable powers, the English nation was already preparing the forces that were to reduce the House of Lords to the secondary position it now occupies. And, as everybody knows, there is a strong tendency in England to abolish the House of Lords altogether.

Doubles Opportunity for Log Rolling

The two-House legislature—upper House and lower House—only doubles the opportunity for political trading, for log rolling and for the activities of skilled lobbyists.

The abolition of the two-House legislature will also put an end to the common practice of passing bills in one House and defeating them in the other.

Can Not Be Made Equal

It is said, however, that there must be in a Federal Government some institution, some authority, in which the separate States composing the confederation are all equal. I confess this doctrine is not convincing to me.

The State of Delaware is not equal in population or influence to the State of New York, and one can not make it so by giving it an equal vote in the Senate.

Abolish Clumsy System

The other argument—the necessity of counterpoise and counterbalance, or of a check against bad legislation—looks a little better. But if one considers it closer, it is even worse. Most good legislation is always opposed in the “upper House.” Most of the bad legislation originated there. This may be a little better at the present moment, because there are a half-dozen radicals in the Senate.

Therefore, we say, abolish the clumsy two-chamber system. And for a good substitute and best possible check upon any whimsical or hasty legislation, or even crookedness of the legislators, give us the referendum. The referendum in any country is stronger than all the senates and houses of lords in the world.

The Cure Is More Democracy

The best cure for most evils arising from democracy is—more democracy.

However, even the Senate is not “in it” as an obstacle to progress and justice when compared with the position our judiciary occupies as an illegitimate part of our law-making body—and in telling the people what they may want and what they may not want.

Not Known Anywhere Else.

And this monstrous guardianship of the judiciary over the people, dictating to them what is law and what is not, is purely an American institution.

The British constitution, of which ours is otherwise a copy, knows nothing like it. The germ of the disease was put into our Constitution by conservatives of the type of Alexander Hamilton and it had the warm support of the so-called Loyalists—but the disease was developed by the shrewd manipulations of some Supreme Court Justices, like John Marshall.

The Hamilton clique had created the Senate to take the place of the House of Lords. Yet it was still afraid of the common people. It wanted something in place of a king. And, mind you, not the constitutional King of England, either. They wanted the absolute king of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and they got him. He is our American judge.

This Is a Lawyer-Ridden Country

And this king judge and his retinue of lawyers is now the most distinguishing mark between the American people and all others on earth. Only in our country we find the notion that unusual sanctity and infallibility surrounds and becomes the characteristic of the ordinary lawyer the moment he is elevated to the position of a judge.

And perhaps the most dangerous judge to the rights of the people is the Federal judge. Federal judges are appointed by the President of the United States upon the recommendation of our prominent business men; that is, upon the recommendation of our railroad presidents and millionaire manufacturers.

The Federal judge almost invariably is a corporation lawyer. He is appointed for life, and his very environment makes him part and parcel of the American plutocracy.

Must Be an Enemy of Democratic Institutions

The Federal judge looks down upon the State judiciary very much in the same way as the Regular Army looks down upon the militia.

Almost every Federal judge nowadays is an enemy of our democratic institutions and an adversary of the common people. Almost every Federal judge becomes a regular fiend when he has to decide questions regarding the rights of the laboring class.

It is usually laws involving economic problems that are in danger, because our Constitution was framed at a time when such problems did not exist. Under this Constitution the judges should really not be blamed for their decisions.

Last Resort of Corporations

The Federal judiciary of the United States is the last resort of the corporations, the railroads, and all kinds of plutocratic evildoers in their straits.

There they can get help and comfort when the legislators, whom they often own, become frightened at the anger of the people. There they can get "injunctions" galore, and these injunctions will be in full accordance with the wording and spirit of the Constitution.

Lincoln and the Supreme Court

Criticism of the Federal courts, and particularly of the Supreme Court, is not a new thing in our history. Both Jefferson and Jackson attacked the Supreme Court

and sarcastically advised that body to execute certain of its decisions.

The Dred Scott case was made the occasion of a bitter attack by Abraham Lincoln before he became President. Lincoln went so far as to accuse the Supreme Court of conspiring with the national administration to frame a collusive suit.

Constitution Should Be Flexible

In these days of rapid economic and social changes it is more necessary than ever that the fundamental law of our Nation—our national Constitution—should be flexible and adapt itself with reasonable ease to the changing conditions of our life.

What do we find, however?

With one exception, the Constitution has never been changed since its adoption except by bloody war—during the war or after the war.

It takes a two-thirds majority of Congress, and in addition thereto a majority of three-fourths of the legislatures of all the States to change it. And that can hardly ever be gotten.

We Socialists want a constitution that can be amended by a majority vote of all the people. The American Government is a democracy—at least, supposed to be one.

Is Majority Rule Visionary?

And every law passed by our representatives ought to be valid unless repealed by our lawmakers or rejected by a majority of the people.

Is this idea of majority rule “a wild, visionary, revolutionary scheme, unpatriotic to the core,” as some of my opponents claim?

Capitalists Fool Themselves

However, the capitalists make a fatal mistake when they trust to judges and senates to check the will of an enraged people.

An "upper house" which during a revolutionary period would resolutely stand out and oppose the branch of the legislature representing the excited state of popular feeling would be infallibly swept away; and consult any history as to what became of kings and judges in either the English or the French revolutions.

On Par With Fetish Worship

As to judges, history tells us they simply cease to exist at the very first outbreak.

All this worship of the Constitution is at par with the fetish worship of our ancestors 10,000 years ago. At that time they worshiped fetishes of wood and stone, and now they worship a paper fetish. But what is the difference? A fetish is a fetish.

We Are Still Ruled By the Gentlemen in Knee Pants

A constitution is simply a cloak for our body politic. A garment that may have fitted us well in 1789, when the baby Nation could use swaddling clothes, can not possibly fit us today. We do not revere Cotton Mathew's book on witchcraft, which was considered the greatest book of his time by his contemporaries.

Now, why should we worship a document which was patched together 130 years ago by a lot of gentlemen wearing knee pants and knowing nothing about railroads, telegraphs, corporations, and trusts?

Not Only for Lawyers

But it has been said by some ultra-conservative persons who hate everything that looks like a change that

the lawyers and courts understand this Constitution and know how to interpret the laws accordingly. They would first have to learn a new constitution, and this would make trouble.

Now, in the first place, the Constitution is not made for the lawyers and the courts, but ought to be made for the people.

We all know that every law is interpreted in three or four different ways, according to the personal likes and prejudices of the lawyers and the courts. Even the decisions of the Supreme Court have been fearfully inconsistent.

A tremendous amount of injustice and barbarism is rampant on account of our antiquated Constitution.

"Stood the Test"

But, says our reactionary, the Constitution has "stood the test of 130 years so well as to prove that if it is a stupid imitation of the English constitution, it is an imitation of a good thing."

It was not on account of the Constitution that this country has flourished. Our present Constitution permits incredibly large fortunes to be amassed by predatory competition, by ownership of patent rights, by monopolizing of natural resources, and by special privileges and exploitation of labor.

If our country has flourished, it has been due to colonial conditions, our virgin soil, our apparently inexhaustible resources, and our immense and intelligent immigration. Even with all that, our people practically used up in a few generations the resources that nature had stored up in many thousands or, in some instances, many millions of years.

Broke Down Often

This was the richest country on the face of the globe, and we had the cheapest and most intelligent labor upon the face of the globe brought here. That is why we prospered and probably would have prospered even more if we had had no constitution at all. Whenever and wherever this Constitution was subjected to any test, as, for instance, in 1860, then this Constitution did not stand the test. And it broke down again in 1917.

Again I say it is all right enough to put through amendment No. 20—to put one more patch, the twentieth patch, on our political cloak. But our Nation, the American Nation—thanks to the tremendous opportunity and to the millions of hard-working immigrants—has become a great, powerful, and rich people. And this great people, this great new Nation of 115,000,000 inhabitants, can not be satisfied with the little old garment of the year of the Lord 1789. Uncle Sam deserves a new and modern cloak, made to the measurement of our day and made to fit our century.

New Problems Before Us Today

In short, the tremendous changes in our political and social conditions—due to modern inventions, to improved means of transportation and communication, to the development of the factory system, and to the growth of corporations and trusts—have brought along problems whose solution is impossible under the principles of law that seemed to be permanent to the leaders of the American ruling class of the eighteenth century.

Even the best and foremost thinkers of that time believed with De Montesquieu and Rousseau that organ-

ized society was static and permanent—not dynamic and progressive.

In other words, they believed that it was possible to form a government which was absolutely ideal under all conditions and at all times.

These Theories Give Way

It was the time when the two great theories of the “social compact” and of the “natural rights” were generally accepted as basis of law.

These theories have now generally given way to the economic interpretation of history. And there can be no doubt that the American people will be called upon to solve the same problems as to political and social reforms as other modern progressive nations—particularly the British nation.

Let Us Have Twentieth Century Constitution

Mr. Chairman, instead of asking three-fourths of the States to amend this eighteenth century Constitution in such a manner as to give the Congress of the United States the right and the power to protect the lives of our children—which right Congress evidently has not at present—let us ask the 48 States of our country to give Congress the right to call a constitutional convention to frame a new constitution.

Repeal the Espionage Act— Eradicate a Disgrace to Our Country

MAY 7, 1924

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, I have introduced a bill to **repeal** the law which punishes "acts of interference **with** the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States," misnamed the **espionage** act, under the provisions of which no spy has **ever** been caught or punished, but many thousand citizens have been maltreated and millions kept in abject fear.

Opposition of the Socialist Parties of all countries **against** imperialistic and commercial wars is as old as international Socialism.

No Other Country Had Such Persecution

It is worth noting that the proclamations of all the European Socialists in 1914 against the war were very much like the proclamation and war program of the American Socialists adopted in St. Louis in 1917. Even the phraseology was almost the same.

The Socialist Party in every country was too weak to stop the war. In no other country, however, were Socialists persecuted as in the United States.

Deprived of All Mail, Even Letters

What happened to me is this: A citizen of Milwaukee, Wis., I was indicted in Chicago, in the State of Illinois, under that so-called "espionage act" for hav-

ing written and spoken against our participation in the war. I was compelled to furnish bail there amounting to \$100,000. I was under bail for \$45,000 more on other indictments in Wisconsin for the same articles.

The Milwaukee Leader—one of the foremost Socialist dailies in the country—and I have been persecuted under that infamous law in an unprecedented manner. The Milwaukee Leader not only lost its second-class mailing rights by order of Postmaster General Burleson, but he also deprived us of the right to receive any and all kinds of mail, letters included. Even a box of strawberries sent to the editor by parcel post was returned as “undeliverable under the espionage act.”

As late as June, 1921, a person could mail a letter to the former German Kaiser in Holland and have it delivered, but none to the Milwaukee Leader or any of its editors.

The Spy Hysteria

Says Mr. Zechariah Chafee, professor of law, Harvard University, in his book, *Freedom of Speech*:

“No one reading the simple language of the espionage act of 1917 would have anticipated that it would be turned into a law under which opinions hostile to the war had practically no protection.

“This feeling was largely due to the hysterical fear of spies and other German propaganda. All of us looking back to 1917 and 1918 are now sure that the emotions of ourselves and everyone else were far from normal. I remember hearing one woman on a railroad train say to another:

“‘Yes; my brother was going to France with the Y. M. C. A., but the sailing of his boat has been put off and put off. I don’t like to say it is German propaganda, but it certainly looks like it.’

"Mr. John Lord O'Brian, assistant to the Attorney General in the prosecution of the most important espionage act cases, gives a vivid account of the false stories of enemy activities within the United States put forth through the medium of press dispatches, pamphlets of patriotic societies, and occasionally speeches on the floor of Congress.

"Dementia Americana"

" 'A phantom ship sailed into our harbors with gold from the Bolsheviki with which to corrupt the country; another phantom ship was found carrying ammunition from one of our harbors to Germany; submarine captains landed on our coasts, went to the theater and spread influenza germs; a new species of pigeon, thought to be German, was shot in Michigan; mysterious airplanes floated over Kansas at night,' etc.

" 'Then there were the alleged spies themselves. Spoermann, alleged intimate of Bernstorff, landed on our coasts by the U-53, administrator of large funds, caught spying in our camps, turned out to be a plumber from Baltimore.

" 'Several other alleged spies caught on the beaches signaling to submarines were subsequently released because they were honest men, one of whom had been changing an incandescent light bulb in his hotel room; another of whom was trying to attract the attention of a passer-by on the beach,' etc.

" 'There was no community in the country so small that it did not produce a complaint because of failure to intern or execute at least one alleged German spy. These instances are cited only to show how impossible it was to check that kind of war hysteria and war excitement.'

Passion for Becoming Spies

"Yet not one case under this part of the statute shows the slightest evidence that the utterances were actuated by German money or German plans. Mr.

O'Brian says it is doubtful if even the I. W. W. had any German support. Besides this fear of German spies, another influence which made fair trials under the espionage act very difficult was the passion of Americans for becoming spies. Not only did the American Protective League act as auxiliary to the Department of Justice, but, as the same authority says:

"Throughout the country a number of large organizations and societies were created for the purpose of suppressing sedition. The membership of these associations ran into the hundreds of thousands. One of them carried full-page advertisements in leading papers from the Atlantic to the Pacific, offering in substance to make every man a spy chaser on the payment of a dollar membership fee. No other cause contributed so much to the oppression of innocent men as the systematic agitation against what was claimed to be an all-pervasive system of German espionage.'"

Not a Single Genuine Spy Case

Under the espionage act, according to the report of the Attorney General, not a single man was convicted of being a German spy, of trying to find out military secrets, or having had communication with the enemy. American citizens, however, have been sentenced to terms as long as 20 years in the penitentiary for remarks made in private conversation about this war.

It was a crime to say or write that the war was caused by commercial rivalry.

To doubt that it was an "idealistic war" meant that the doubting Thomas was immediately arrested as a pro-German, or at least a Socialist—which proved to be a wonderful protection to all profiteers.

Harding and Wilson on Cause of World War

Spokesmen of the Republican Party in the United States Senate, however, now frankly admit that it was a war for commercial supremacy.

Senator Harding, late President Harding, declared in open session, even during the war, that "from the very beginning it was a lie to say that this was a war to make the world safe for democracy." And President Wilson, at the St. Louis Coliseum, September 5, 1919, enlightened the world as follows:

"The real reason that the war we have just finished took place was that Germany was afraid that her commercial rivals were going to get the better of her, and the reason why some nations went into the war against Germany was that they thought that Germany would get the commercial advantage of them."

Civil War Was Decided Near Washington, D. C.

Abraham Lincoln waged a war for four years, infinitely more dangerous to our country and to the Union, without an "espionage" law. It was a war which divided our population in almost every city, even up North. It was a war which in the main was fought out and decided within 100 miles of Washington. But Lincoln refused to have a gag law enacted.

But to quote Professor Chafee's book again, he says:

Some of the 2,000 Cases

"It is unnecessary to review the 2,000 espionage act prosecutions in detail, but a few general results may be presented here.

"The courts have treated opinions as statements of fact and then condemned them because they differ from the President's speech or the resolution of Congress declaring war. Almost all the convictions have been

for expressions of opinion about the merits and conduct of the war.

"It became criminal to advocate heavier taxation instead of bond issues, to state that conscription was unconstitutional though the Supreme Court had not yet held it valid—to say that the sinking of merchant vessels was legal—to urge that a referendum should have preceded our declaration of war—to say that war was contrary to the teachings of Christ.

"Men have been punished for criticizing the Red Cross and the Young Men's Christian Association, while under the Minnesota espionage act it has been held a crime to discourage women from knitting by the remark, 'No soldier ever sees these socks.'

"It was in no way necessary that these expressions of opinion should be addressed to soldiers or men on the point of being enlisted or drafted. Most judges held it enough if the words might conceivably reach such men.

All Genuine Discussion Became Perilous

"They have made it impossible for an opponent of the war to write an article or even a letter in a newspaper of general circulation, because it will be read in some training camp where it might cause insubordination or interfere with military success. He cannot address a large audience, because it is liable to include a few men in uniform; and some judges have held him punishable if it contains men between 18 and 45, since they may be called into the army eventually. Some have emphasized the possible presence of shipbuilders and munition makers. All genuine discussion among civilians of the justice and wisdom of continuing the war thus becomes perilous.

"Judge Van Valkenburgh, in Kansas, even made it criminal to argue to women against a war by the words, 'I am for the people and the Government is for profiteers,' because what is said to mothers, sisters and sweethearts may lessen their enthusiasm for the war,

and our armies in the field and our navies upon the seas can operate and succeed only so far as they are supported and maintained by the folks at home.

"The doctrine of indirect causation never had better illustration than in this charge.

Another Characteristic Case

"Many men have been imprisoned for arguments or profanity used in the heat of private altercation, on a railroad train, in a hotel lobby, or at the battle ground of disputation—a boarding-house table.

"In one case two strangers came to a farmhouse and asked the owner if he could let them have gasoline, saying that they had been stranded out in the country. He not only gave them the gasoline but invited them to dinner. An argument arose during the meal, and the farmer used scurrilous and presumably unpatriotic language in the presence of his guests, two hired men, two nieces, and some children. The guests reported his language and he was convicted of a willful attempt to cause disloyalty, insubordination, mutiny, and refusal of duty in the military and naval forces of the United States.

"Even unexpressed thoughts have been prosecuted through an ingenious method of inquisition.

Did Not Agree With President

"A few concrete cases of conviction that have been upheld will show how the espionage act operates to punish expressions of opinion. For instance:

"J. P. Doe, son of the great chief justice of New Hampshire, while living in Colorado because of bad health, mailed an "endless-chain" letter, to be sent "to friends of immediate peace," which stated that, although the President and Secretary of State had said Germany had broken her promise to end submarine warfare, Germany had made no such promise, but had reserved in the Sussex note complete liberty of decision

as to the future. Doe was sentenced to 18 months in prison.

"Only once in our history prior to 1917 has an attempt been made to apply those doctrines.

The Alien and Sedition Laws

"In 1798 the impending war with France, the spread of revolutionary doctrines by foreigners in our midst, and the spectacle of the disastrous operation of those doctrines abroad—facts that have a familiar sound today—led to the enactment of the alien and sedition laws.

"The alien law allowed the President to compel the departure of aliens whom he judged dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, or suspected, on reasonable grounds, of treasonable or secret machinations against our Government.

"The sedition laws punished false, scandalous, and malicious writings against the Government, either House of Congress, or the President, if published with intent to defame any of them, or to excite against them the hatred of the people, or to stir up sedition or to excite resistance of law, or to aid any hostile design of any foreign nation against the United States. The maximum penalty was a fine of \$2,000 and two years' imprisonment.

"Truth was a defense, and the jury had power to determine criminality.

Wrecked the Federalist Party

"Despite the inclusion of the two legal rules for which reformers had contended, and the requirement of an actual intention to cause overt injury, the sedition act was bitterly resented by the people at that time as invading the liberty of the press.

"Its constitutionality was assailed on that ground by Thomas Jefferson, who pardoned all prisoners when he became President.

“Congress eventually repaid all the fines, and popular indignation at the act and the prosecutions entirely wrecked the Federalist party.”

Where Espionage Law Differed

Now, the espionage act of 1917 was in the main a true copy of the law of 1798. With this difference, however: The maximum penalty was raised from a fine of \$2,000 and two years' imprisonment to a fine of \$10,000 and 20 years' hard labor in the penitentiary.

Moreover, the truth of a statement was not admitted as a defense.

Was Used Against Socialist Party

And it was used to try to destroy the Socialist Party as a matter of course.

Although my codefendants and I were told at the beginning of our trial in Chicago by the United States District Attorney that the “Socialist Party was not on trial,” a few minutes after we had been found guilty by the handpicked jury, the same United States District Attorney triumphantly declared in an interview to the papers that “Bolshevism has received its fatal blow in this verdict.”

What Is Socialism?

Now, Socialism is not Bolshevism. Socialism is the collective ownership and democratic management of the social means of production and distribution—steel industry, oil wells, coal mines, railroads, and so forth—but Bolshevism is an autocratic communism based upon a super state supported by terrorism.

As to Socialism, well, with people who believe that whatever is, will exist forever, and that we have reached

the acme of civilization and the end of all things in economic progress, with such people it is useless to argue.

That we have not reached the end of our economic development is clear. Every new invention and every new political question proves that to us. We do not even know how best to use the elaborate machinery we have invented.

Nor need I explain to any sensible man that the world-wide Socialist movement is not to be traced to the irresponsible work of individual agitators or eccentric persons. Determined opponents of the present privately owned system of industry as Socialists are, we never charge that the concentration of capital is the cause of all evil. We look the facts squarely in the face.

We know that the trusts are the legitimate outcome of competition. The trust is "the survival of the fittest" under private ownership. The trust appears after competition has virtually destroyed competition. Socialists, therefore, do not try "to smash the trusts."

On the contrary, Socialists appreciate so fully the advantages of industrial production on a large scale that we wish its most perfect development. But we Socialists wish to give its benefits to everybody. For that reason we want to nationalize the trusts.

The control of production by the people as a whole means the highest possible perfection of industry on a large scale and the extension of the advantage to all the people.

Socialism Purely Matter of Evolution

Thus Socialism must be purely a matter of evolution. The day never will come when anybody can as-

semble the people in the market square and tell them that next Monday morning at 8 o'clock they will have Socialism. The Bolsheviki tried to put over communism in a sudden fashion and failed miserably.

All My Predictions Have Come True

As to my position against the late war—well, I need retract nothing from the articles I have written or from the speeches I have delivered, because all my predictions have come true. And a great deal more has already developed than I have predicted.

This was the worst imperialistic war ever known in the history of the world. Every honest man who has any brains admits it now. This war made about 30,000 new millionaires in America alone.

What War Cost America

The Milwaukee Leader often dwelt upon the unparalleled cost of the war. A statistical summary of America's war expense places the total at \$40,000,000,000, and it is stated that "we could have for the cost of this war carried on the Revolutionary War for 1,000 years." And we had 323,000 casualties.

Or to put the matter differently, this sum would have been enough to pay the cost of running the American Government from 1791 up to the outbreak of the European war.

Result to Rest of World

And what has been accomplished by these sacrifices? An impossible "peace" was dictated at Versailles. Europe has been paralyzed economically and politically.

The world's economic fabric, which has its heart in central Europe, largely has been destroyed, and billions of property with it.

Millions in all countries cannot find employment. Nations are staggering under colossal debts and are unable to pay even the interest.

At the same time most nations are swaying between anarchy and tyrannical despotism. Please witness conditions in Italy. There the Fascisti, a revolutionary mob, under the guise of patriotism are imposing a new form of terrorism and slavery upon the common people.

Would Have Helped World by Staying Out

As for America, we assuredly had no valid reason for plunging into the war, and could have saved a good deal of the civilization of the white race by staying out. The rulers of England today are of the same opinion. But the Republican and the Democratic Parties allowed America to be sold into the World War, and as a result of this act America shares in the consequences of a collapse of the world's economic system.

America has gained nothing except billions of debts and hundreds of thousands of cripples. And we have lost most of our political democracy. We now have our own Fascisti in the Ku-Klux Klan, one of the many manifestations of the mob spirit fostered by the war, which is trying to establish a reign of terror not only against the Negroes but particularly against the Catholics, Jews, radicals, and all those who are not "native-born" Protestants.

Tyrannical Sentence Finally Knocked Out

Because, as a student of the world's history, I could see clearly, and because I warned my fellow men, my countrymen, of the events that were bound to happen if we pursued a certain course, if we plunged into this

World War, I was indicted, found guilty, and sentenced to serve 20 years in the penitentiary.

This sentence and the verdict have since—on January 31, 1921—been knocked out by the Supreme Court of the United States and all the other indictments have been quashed.

But the famous espionage act is still on the statute books.

My personal experience with that law, however, is ended.

Ousted Me From Seat to Which I Was Legally Elected

Nevertheless the fact remains that I was to be punished for telling the truth as I saw it—and many other citizens were imprisoned.

Moreover, the old parties in the House of Representatives almost succeeded in depriving the Socialist Party, a party casting more than a million votes, of its sole Representative in Congress. Twice I was refused admission on account of my opposition to this war. I was finally seated on December 5, 1923, without a dissenting vote—due to the determined and wonderful stand of the voters of the fifth district of Wisconsin for representative government.

As a matter of fact, a large number of Socialists in Congress would be a blessing to this country; they and their measures stand between present society and planless chaos.

My Duty at Present

To sum up: I have always been proud of the Socialist record of observance of law. The Socialists have tried to change or repeal such laws as in their opinion were harmful.

Now I believe I cannot serve my country better or do it a greater service than by putting in a bill to repeal this vicious act.

In this respect I know I am at one with Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, both of whom were leaders of opposing parties; both of whom, however, defended cases that were brought for prosecution under the sedition act and conducted the defense in the name of the liberty of the press.

A Disgrace to Twentieth Century

It is simply a disgrace for the twentieth century that such a law could be revived in our country, and even more so that it was fathered by a party that had its origin in the general protest of the American people against that infamous law—the Democratic Party.

Public Ownership Best Bulwark Against Public Corruption

MAY 19, 1924

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, the argument for public ownership of all railroads, canals, and other highways as the ultimate solution of the railroad problem is so strong that it has won over nearly the whole world—outside of the United States.

Railroads and all public highways are performing a public service. Public service necessarily must be for public benefit.

It is in the nature of private ownership and private operation to obtain private profit, however, and to subordinate the public benefit to private profit, whenever the two conflict.

Private Ownership of Public Utilities a Danger

Therefore, it is an economic blunder and an abuse of governmental power to put into the hands of a small portion of the people the highways of the country.

It is also unnecessary to prove the great danger that the nation is subjected to by the struggles between the owners of the railroads and their employees as long as the railroads remain in private hands. So long as it is a question of private profits on one hand and better wages on the other we are bound to have trouble.

Private ownership is so inefficient that the Government had to take control of the railroads during the war in order to be able to make any use of them at all.

We Had Private Ownership During the War

The claim that during the war we had Government ownership of railroads is nonsense. We did not have Government ownership during the war. We had private ownership under Government control. The railroads were so run down in every respect—especially as to roadbeds and rolling stock—that the war would have been lost had the Government not stepped in.

The Government was compelled to put in a lot of money to repair the railroads. This cost the Government about a billion and a half dollars.

And on top of this the Government guaranteed the private owners of the railroads their profits. This in the case of some of the companies ran up as high as 647 per cent—at least, in the case of one railroad. However, even the larger railroads got profits that ran as high as 45 per cent annually during Federal control.

The New York Central gathered in only 12.96 per cent, while the Chicago & Lake Erie Railroad Co. received a profit of 70.45 per cent.

Not much Government ownership about this.

Railroads Owned the Government

And when the time came for turning back the roads the Government agreed to continue the payment of these unprecedented profits for six months after they were back in the hands of the private owners.

Instead of Government ownership of the railroads during the war we had really private ownership of the Government by the railroads.

Discredited National Ownership

But what did the railroad managers do?

While they were undoubtedly glad enough that the

Government did all this for them, they did not intend to lose their graft. Therefore they instructed their conductors and railroad employees to blame all the troubles and shortcomings—which, of course, were many, because they were inherited from the past—on Government control. They got busy in advance to discredit any possible demand for national ownership.

Competition Absolute Failure

Besides being inefficient, however, private ownership of public utilities is one of the worst corrupting influences in our public life. The railroad corporations have always tried to influence Congress and State legislatures by all means, fair and foul.

And as to competition being the life of trade, surely competition among the railroads has failed to protect the public interest and even the interests of the railroads.

While competition may have enabled a few big shippers occasionally to play one road against another where more than one road entered the same locality, competition has also wasted a great amount of capital. Result? Consolidation under one control has gone a long way to remove the waste of competition. The original 5,000 companies have dwindled to about 500. And even these are greatly massed in six great systems with many interlocking directorates.

Regulation Leads to Corruption

Regulation has failed also. Rate regulation has made railroad rates in America higher instead of lower. It is simply impossible to regulate other people's property.

Regulation also leads to more corruption. "The public utility company which is to be regulated will either deceive the "regulators" or buy them up. That is the experience of every State that tried regulation.

What is said about the railroads holds good in every particular for the public ownership of the telegraph, cable, and telephone lines, and every other public utility.

The experience of other countries shows, practically without exception, that the rates in all branches of public service are lower and the service infinitely better under national ownership than they were there, and are here, under private ownership.

Wasting Resources of Our Nation

This is the reason why I have also proposed the national ownership of all the natural resources—forests, mineral, coal and oil lands, and water powers—and reacquisition of such as were sold or turned over to private interests for private exploitation.

Of the many crimes of omission and commission with which the capitalist parties can be charged, the one involved in giving away and wasting the Nation's resources is the most flagrant and the most indefensible. It was a crime to permit that which was intended to belong to all the people to pass into the hands of a few, who have wasted it without the slightest concern for the well-being of the Nation in the future. They use the nation's resources only to satisfy their own greed for profits.

Must Be Managed by Nation

The abolition of the private ownership of the natural resources will restore to the people what is left of

them, and it will also do away with one of the most prolific sources of corruption and graft known to American political life.

The Ballinger scandal of some years ago and the Teapot Dome and Doheny affairs of today are only a few of the known instances of what private interests will do to obtain control of the natural resources.

The Federal Government must own and manage the Nation's resources. The question is too important to be solved by each of the 48 individual States, and it would be impracticable to leave it to the States for the additional reason that these resources often run across boundary lines.

Moreover, the Government could manage them more efficiently and economically by controlling both extension, exploitation, and output, according to the needs of the whole Nation.

Some Results of Private Enterprise

The blessings of private ownership of public utilities we have witnessed not only in the days of the great land grants to the railroads—and later when our immense and wonderful forests were practically despoiled and denuded for the private profits of some lumber kings—but more so recently in the oil scandals.

Some years ago our Government, in a lucid moment, tried to reserve some oil lands for the use of the American navy. This was not to the liking of our oil magnates, of course. They would not have the Nation own anything if they could have their way. They prefer to have all natural wealth and all the natural resources in the hands of a few big financial pirates and trustocrats.

These Government oil lands had been protected by legislation, and were under the control of the Navy Department.

The "Ohio Gang"

In 1920 the Democratic Party was overthrown by an unprecedented majority, because it had gotten our country into the war and had inaugurated an era of unparalleled profiteering.

The Republican Party that came into power was dominated by a small but very powerful reactionary clique of standpatters from the Middle West. This group of corrupt politicians later on got the name of the "Ohio gang," and succeeded in nominating President Harding.

Even before the Republicans got into power the oil magnates, with the help of the Democrats, passed a law which made possible the transfer of these oil reserves to private parties under permanent lease.

Paid to Funds of Both Parties

And since the oil magnate, Doheny, paid \$75,000 to the Democratic campaign fund, and the oil magnate, Sinclair, a similar sum to the Republican fund—and both of them contributed smaller amounts to the opposite parties—they insisted upon their reward after Harding had been elected.

This was easily accomplished by Mr. Harding signing an executive order based upon the law that had been passed by the Democratic Party in 1920. The oil reserves were transferred from the Navy Department to the Interior Department. A contract was signed with these "big business men" by which the Government was

to get six barrels out of every hundred yielded by the Government reserves.

It is unnecessary to go into the details.

Bought Up Cabinet Members of Two Presidents

We all know that Mr. Fall, the Secretary of the Interior, received from Mr. Doheny "a suitcase full of cash"—containing \$100,000—as his share for transferring oil lands. One of these leases was worth, according to the testimony offered by Mr. Sinclair, more than \$100,000,000. Mr. Sinclair paid \$25,000 to Mr. Fall for the right of grabbing oil lands.

The beauties of private ownership are furthermore illustrated by the fact that the oil interests engaged the "services" of no less than five members of the Wilson Cabinet at immense salaries. Mr. McAdoo, for instance, received \$50,000 annually, and the others similar sums as their "attorneys" while Woodrow Wilson was President.

No wonder Mr. McAdoo was accused in the Senate of "practicing son-in-law" instead of practicing law.

They Simply Want Their Share

Corruption of that kind will always be rampant in our Government, however, and can not be avoided so long as private graft can be gotten out of the public domain.

It is simply the application of the business principle to politics. Our big politicians are usually shrewd lawyers or "big business men" themselves. And realizing the immense profit that can be made by speculators and profiteers, the politicians insist on getting their share.

Is it surprising when Sinclair himself admitted on the witness stand that he expected to make \$100,000,000 out of the oil lease for which Albert Fall wanted \$25,000 as a tip? Fall's modesty is rather astonishing. The Doheny lease was supposed to be worth \$500,000,000—Mr. Fall got only \$100,000 as his share, as far as we know.

Putting the "Pay" into "Paytriotism"

Not only does the transfer of the oil leases vividly illustrate the corruption to which private exploitation of the Nation's resources inevitably leads, but it also reveals the readiness with which "big business" and old party "patriots" will weaken the national defense whenever they can make some graft.

These oil reserves were considered essential if the navy was to be properly equipped and prepared for an emergency. In giving them away the navy was endangered, but that did not seem to make any difference to those who put the "pay" in "paytriotism."

Public Ownership Free From Scandals

Had the oil lands been kept as a naval reserve, as they were intended to be kept, there would have been no bribery and no scandal.

Under public ownership there is occasionally a case of small graft or nepotism in the appointment of officeholders.

But, on the whole, public ownership, whether it be the Post Office Department—a national affair—or a public school system or a waterworks, which are municipal institutions, is free from any scandal or graft on any large scale.

Even the prohibition bureau and our Department of Justice is only corrupt and full of graft whenever it comes in conflict with private profit and private gain.

Palmer and Daugherty

Thus the Department of Justice, both under Palmer and Daugherty, was linked with all kinds of graft on account of private profiteering.

During the war, under Palmer's administration, our Government confiscated many valuable German patents; for instance, the Bosch magneto patents and also patents pertaining to the manufacture of dyes. "Patriotic" profiteers saw a good chance there to grab millions, and they did so with the connivance of some of the highest officials of both parties.

That "Secret Service"

The same thing happened under Daugherty, who proved to be a very prominent and influential member of the Ohio gang. Daugherty seemed to be in close connection with "bootleggers," especially through his friend Jesse Smith, and with "Remus, the bootleg king."

According to the testimony given by his friend and associate, William J. Burns, he even used the so-called Bureau of Investigation and the "secret service" with cool effrontery to raid offices of the Senators investigating him. He tried to "frameup" stories on these Senators for the purpose "of getting something on them" in order that the inquiry might be stayed.

Incidentally, let me remark that the so-called secret service department has grown during the war and under A. Mitchell Palmer from a few special agents to a bureau requiring \$2,500,000 a year, and manned with all

kinds of shady characters, some of whom ought to be in prison.

The Press and the Graft Investigation

But the most deplorable fact about the entire situation is the state of our "public opinion," so-called.

When the revelations were made nobody seemed to get excited about the methods of "big business"—about the bribery of the highest officials—or about the steals of both groups.

On the contrary, the capitalist news agencies and the big papers all over the country managed to tell the stories in such a manner that, if one was to judge from the newspapers, the sympathies of the people would be with the crooks. The tenor of most articles was decidedly hostile to those who tried to expose the thieves.

One got the impression that the big crooks were heroes, who were pounced upon by low-down common rascals, men and women who would have no standing in any court, but that riff-raff was taken seriously and believed by those "peanut politicians" and muckrakers in the Senate.

All the News That Is Fit to Print

Of course, the news agencies, and the big newspapers as well, are owned by big business and need not be told what to print and how to print it. They know by instinct "all the news that is fit to print."

But, alas, the city worker, the farmer, and the small business man have read these papers so long and have had their conscience so deadened by the war and by the era of profiteering that followed the war that they are also apt to pass over these thieveries with a shrug of their shoulders or with a cynical smile.

To judge from the capitalist press, it almost seemed to be a crime to uncover the criminals.

Graft Investigations Interfere With Business

We have all over the country the Rotarians, the Kiwanis, the Lions, and the other "go-getters." Did a single one of these business organizations denounce Doheny or Sinclair, or Fall, or Daugherty, or McAdoo?

Not one of them.

Several associations passed resolutions condemning the investigations as interfering with business; and Mr. Denby was even lionized in Detroit, Mich., the center of the automobile business.

And I am sorry to say that I did not see any labor union condemning these gentlemen—which shows that the psychology of the masses has become affected to no small degree.

Mercury and Mammon

Truly Mercury—the god of commerce, and of the thieves in ancient Greece—is, next to Mammon, the ruling deity today. I say is the ruling deity today—but do these people think of tomorrow? Are these big thieves and thievish-minded people realizing the fact that they are sowing dragon's teeth?

So far they do not seem to worry.

Would Welcome a Mussolini

And as a result of the revelations that have occurred during the present session of Congress, we only find that the big capitalists now are doing all they can to deprecate and ignore the legislative branch of the Government and to boost the executive and judicial branches.

Capitalist papers are telling continually of the low level to which Congress has fallen.

Why?

Because a few of the Senators have refused to stop the investigation which has disclosed such corruption.

Big business would just as soon do away with Congress entirely.

"High finance" now prefers the dictatorial method of government a la Mussolini—and would probably like to arrange for something of that kind with the help of the American Legion or the Ku-Klux Klan, if it could be done in our country.

Government by Blackmail

In short, private ownership of natural resources, while conducive to creating multi-millionaires, undoubtedly leads to "government by blackmail."

And that is what we have had to no small extent in Washington during the last few years.

What is there to be done?

There Is Only One Solution

Well, public ownership of public utilities and the removal of the temptations which lead to corruption is the only solution.

And therefore the only way to assure and secure the efficient management not only of the railroads but of all public utilities, and also to eradicate and avoid a great deal of corruption, is to make all public utilities (including the railroads) public property, and the managers the servants of the Nation.

A New Party Necessary If American Freedom Is To Survive

MAY 27, 1924

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, political parties are simply the political expression of economic interests.

It is therefore only natural that class interests should sooner or later prevail. The trouble in our country is that the class interests of the capitalist class prevail in both of our big political parties.

Why We Have "Blocs"

The producers of the country—the people who work with brain and brawn—the workingmen in the cities and the farmers have no political party of their own to express their economic interests.

And that is also the reason why we have these various "blocs" in our Congress. We have the "farmer bloc," the "railroad bloc," the "soldiers' bloc," and several other blocs. It is simply nonsensical to denounce these "blocs" in the papers so long as these economic interests have no other way to express their demands.

Are as Necessary as Machines in Industry

And it is also nonsensical of certain reformers to despair of all parties. These reformers simply want to elect "good men," without any regard as to parties or party principles.

I consider this a fallacy.

Parties are as necessary to our political life as are machines to our industrial life. And it is therefore dangerous for a party to depend entirely on one individual—it is as bad as to have a machine depend entirely on one screw or one lever.

Parties Carry Responsibility

We must not forget that no matter how rotten a party may be, it is responsible to the voters of its ticket for the selection of its candidates. These candidates may prove to be rascals. Nevertheless the party that selected them is responsible.

The Republican Party may be bad. No doubt in the opinion of many people it is very bad. But it will be held responsible—and is responsible—for Fall, Daugherty, and the rest of the dark gentry.

The Democratic Party may be bad. No doubt in the opinion of many people it is very bad. Yet it can not shirk its responsibility for McAdoo and Palmer and Doheny and its other "oily blessings."

Even Tammany in New York and the Gray Wolves of Chicago are to a certain extent always held responsible.

"Good Man" Fallacy

In an organization concentrated around one man, however—no matter how good the man may be—no body is really responsible.

The "good man"—the person of the office seeker is everything—principle counts for little or nothing. Political life becomes a question of "catch-as-catch-can" as long as it lasts.

Therefore, I say voters should organize politically

according to their economic interests. And our old parties started in that way.

As to Party Names

Party names have nothing to do with it, of course.

Thus Democracy simply means in Greek the rule of the "demos"—the people. The Republican Party derives its name from "res publica"—the Latin for Government by the people.

The names of the two old parties express the same thing, and, although originally both were formed for a different purpose, both stand for the same kind of capitalism today.

Let us review in a few words the history of parties in America.

We have inherited our political ideas of government and our two-party system very largely from England.

"Not Worth a Continental"

When the young Republic of 13 States started, the first trouble facing our country was the question of money. The current bills of Congress were unpaid. Millions of dollars of continental paper money that were issued by Congress were worth about 1 cent and at most 2 cents on the dollar. That is how the popular saying "Not worth a continental" originated.

The Congress of the United States fell into utter disrepute. Even Washington himself was discouraged. That was the time when the Constitutional Convention was called and the Constitution framed.

In the beginning there were two parties—the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists.

Economic Interests of Our First Parties

The Federalists were the forerunners of the present Republican Party. Their foremost leaders—Hamilton, Madison, and others—were mainly responsible for framing the Constitution. They represented the well-to-do class—the merchants, bankers, land speculators, and their following.

The anti-Federalists, under the leadership of Jefferson, Mason, Lyon, and others, represented the farmers, planters, and small shopkeepers. They were deeply in debt to English creditors who had advanced money and manufactured goods, especially to the planters of the South.

The foreign treaties provided that these debts must be paid, although the Colonies had won their political independence from England. This debtor class and the common people in general were therefore very dissatisfied with the treaties and with the Federal Government.

Influence of French Revolution

About that time the French Revolution broke out, and the radical party, the Jacobins, controlled France for some time and inaugurated the reign of terror.

The French Revolution profoundly influenced the first political parties in our country.

The followers of Alexander Hamilton, now proud of the name "Federalist," and inclined to be aristocratic, drew back in fright as they heard of the cruel deeds committed during the French reign of terror. They turned savagely upon the friends of the French Revolution in our country and denounced everybody as a "Jacobin" who did not condemn loudly enough the French Republic.

A Massachusetts preacher assailed "the atheistic and anarchistic and immoral principles of the French Republic." And then he proceeded, with equal passion, to attack Thomas Jefferson and the anti-Federalists, whom he charged with spreading French propaganda and betraying America. He said:

"Of all traitors they are the most criminal; of all villains they are the most infamous and detestable."

Jefferson's Opinion of Adams

Then came the campaign of 1796, when John Adams was elected President by a majority of only four votes over Thomas Jefferson.

The anti-Federalists were enraged and cast off all restraint. In honor of republican France and in opposition to what they called "the monarchical tendencies of the Federalists" they assumed the name "Republican" for their party. The name "Democratic" was attached later. At that time it applied only to the obscure and very much despised little class of agitators who called themselves Democrats, but were denounced as "demagogues" by all the respectable people. Nevertheless, the name "Democrat" was attached to the "Republican" a few years later.

John Adams was not a popular man. In one of his books he had declared himself in favor of "government by an aristocracy of talent and wealth," and for this the Republican-Democrats never forgave him.

And while Chief Justice Marshall, for instance, found him "a sensible, plain, candid, good-tempered man," Jefferson could see in him nothing but a "monocrat," which was Jefferson's term for despot. And Jefferson also called him an "Anglo-man," by which he

probably meant what we call an "Anglomaniac" nowadays.

Practically at War With France

Then came the quarrel with France because the French Government sent home our American minister in Paris, and demanded an annual tribute from the United States as a price for continued friendship.

This insult united all parties in America for a moment. It gave occasion to the great slogan: "Millions for defense, not a cent for tribute." Preparations for war with France were made. Indeed, fighting actually began on the high seas, and went on without a formal declaration of war until the year 1800. Napoleon soon became a power, however, and a treaty was made with him.

Alien and Sedition Acts Resisted

And flushed with success, the Federalists decided to put an end to French influence in America and to silence Republican-Democratic opposition. They therefore passed two drastic laws in the summer of 1798—the alien and sedition acts—the model for our infamous espionage act, only the eighteenth century model was not nearly as vicious as the twentieth century copy.

These acts dug the grave of the Federalist Party. Thomas Jefferson was quick to take advantage and drafted a set of resolutions declaring the sedition laws null and void, and these resolutions were passed by the Kentucky Legislature in 1798 and transmitted to all other States for consideration.

In the neighboring State of Virginia, Madison and Mason led the movement against the alien and the sedition laws, and the Virginia Legislature also passed reso-

lutions condemning these laws. Even Hamilton disapproved of them in New York.

The "Bolsheviks" of the Eighteenth Century

Thus the Federalists were not in a position to make a good campaign. They tried to discredit their opponents by calling them "Jacobins" and "Democrats," which in those days had the same sound as the words "Bolshevik" and "anarchists" today, but these terms have been weakened by excessive use.

Origin of Present-Day Parties

The election of 1800 meant the end of the Federalists, and the ascendancy of the power of the Republican-Democratic Party, which soon after called itself proudly the Democratic Party.

The Whigs later on took the place of the Federalists as a conservative political organization, although the Democrats soon became conservative enough and even standpatters, especially on the question of slavery.

The Whig Party was wrecked on the slavery question. It did not dare to take a decisive stand either way on this important issue and was rent to pieces by its factions.

The Democratic Party also failed to understand the simple fact that capitalism rests on wage labor, and this is the reason why the Republican Party was founded and grew up. It was the immediate result of a combination of free soilers, abolitionists, and remnants of the Whig Party.

The Republican Party solved one great and important question, the question of chattel slavery.

Republican Party Favorite Organization of Big Business

And the Republican Party did not take up that question as a measure of humanity or brotherly love, but because chattel slavery was inconsistent with modern capitalism and did not pay. And since slave labor did not pay in the Northern States and manufacturing establishments the slaves naturally were sold to the South.

Modern capitalism rests upon wage labor—not chattel slavery.

The abolitionists and the anti-slavery agitators had, of course, their ideals in view, but with the practical politicians of that time the question was largely a matter of business and business solely.

The Republican Party of the early days was the party of William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and Abraham Lincoln. It very soon became the party of the businessmen of the country, and as business grew big it became the organization of "big business." And thus it has become naturally the party of Elbert H. Gary and of Andrew W. Mellon, and just as naturally, also, the party of Albert B. Fall, Harry M. Daugherty, and Harry F. Sinclair.

But the Democratic Party of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson can also point with "pride" to Edward Doheny, A. Mitchell Palmer, and William G. McAdoo.

Because of the split in the Republican ranks the Democratic Party won the election in 1912. Woodrow Wilson was at the helm in 1914, when the World War broke out.

Big Financiers and Munition Makers Owned Both

In spite of all the democratic and "liberal" phrases of the author of the New Freedom, Wall Street and the big financiers and the munition makers and profiteers very soon owned the Wilson administration.

And while high finance prefers to deal with the Republican Party, high finance well understands the advantage of coming to terms with the Democrats. And thus at that time also it had the "unstinted" and "unlimited" use of both political organizations for the war and during the war.

Indicates Waste and Promotes Rottenness

It seems to indicate waste and lack of efficiency, however, that our capitalists support two parties. Our "best citizens" are thus put to the necessity of paying campaign contributions to two organizations—contributions which reach millions of dollars at national elections.

Moreover, since the existence of the two parties is superfluous, both of them often become rotten and corrupt.

Democratic Party "Spare Tire" on Big Business Band Wagon

The only excuse for this condition was given by Arthur Brisbane, a gifted writer, in his column. He said:

"While the Republican Party is dominated by crooked big business, the people also know that the Democratic Party is the 'spare tire' of crooked big business. That Democratic 'spare tire' is carried on the back of the big business band wagon, to be used in case a Republican tire should accidentally blow out.

"And some voters conclude that they would rather have Republican crookedness with some efficiency than Democratic crookedness without any efficiency."

This excuse may hold good for voters who follow in the train of big business, which needs the Democratic "spare tire." It is no excuse at all, however, as far as the rest of the people are concerned. We do not need two capitalist parties, and in fact, could spare both of them.

World War Crime Deadened Conscience

There can be no question that the late World War, which in itself was probably the greatest crime against humanity ever perpetrated since recorded history and into which we were drawn through the propaganda instigated by our big financiers, has thoroughly spoiled the morals of our people, and has especially deadened the conscience of our business men.

And right here let me say a few words about "business" and "business men."

The Drivel About "Business Methods"

If there is any fetish in this country today it is the word "business." If a man is a "business man" he is supposed to be the embodiment of all ability and of every virtue. But the fact is that our business men very often by business necessity become dishonest. That at least is frequently found in the case of "big business."

And the big politician simply applies these "big business principles" to politics. If the business man is not in business for his health, neither is the politician. He wants his share. And there you have the explana-

tion of Teapot Dome, of the California leases, and a thousand other grafts, big and small.

Therefore, we Socialists warn the voters not to be caught by the current drivel about "business methods" and "business principles." A government is not a personal matter, like a private business. A government should be managed to bring the greatest good to the greatest mass, regardless of profits.

Strong Organization Necessary

And for that reason we Socialists do not attack the Democrats and the Republicans personally as "bad men." No intelligent man longer believes in the elevation of so-called "good men" to office as a panacea for social ills. Yet personal honesty is very important. It must go hand in hand with good principles and with a strong organization to enforce these principles.

Must Awaken Social Conscience

Therefore Socialists are deeply interested in honesty in government.

Socialism can never take root in a commonwealth that is absolutely corrupt. A social democracy can never be established in a nation that is thoroughly rotten. More than any other citizens, more than any other political party, the Socialists are interested in unearthing corruption, weeding out graft, and fighting moral decay.

More than any other class of voters, we are interested in awakening the social conscience of the people.

Must Remove Causes and Temptation

A new political alignment has become an absolute necessity. But it must be honest, consistent, and give the people relief.

It must above all, stand for measures that remove causes of corruption and take away the temptation for corruption.

It must bring more and more activities that are necessary for the welfare of all under the control of all.

And it must also try to enact legislation that will enable the individual to live a freer and fuller life. Therefore, such a party must take special care of the needs of the city worker and of the farmer.

And this is where the trouble comes in, as far as reformers are concerned. A political party can not be judged solely by its platform promises.

An Inconsistent Friend

A splendid illustration of the futility of platform promises was furnished in the House of Representatives several days ago. The platform of the La Follette Progressive Republicans declares for the public ownership of railroads.

The distinguished gentleman who is the spokesman of the Wisconsin group of progressives, when asked during his speech on the Barkley railroad bill several days ago whether he favored public ownership, declared that he did not. During his speech he admitted, however, that the corruption of which he bitterly complained was bound to continue as long as the railroads remained in private hands.

The great leader of the progressives, then as now a Senator from Wisconsin, stood the "acid test" during the war. And this will always be to his credit. But did his following?

The Progressives in Congress

Surely not his adherents in the House of Representatives, or in the legislature of Wisconsin. These Republican progressives were terrorized by the profiteer press and the patrioteer propaganda. They fell by the wayside, kept silent, or became patrioteers.

They voted for the infamous espionage act, for the trading with the enemy bill, for suppression of freedom of speech and abolition of the free press. They directly or indirectly supported all the doings of Woodrow Wilson, A. Mitchell Palmer, and Albert S. Burleson.

And when the war ended, these so-called progressives were just as willing to substitute the "red scare" for the German terror. They were willing to eat "radicals" alive instead of "Huns."

And, with the exception of one man, the progressives of this House also voted repeatedly to exclude Victor L. Berger from the seat to which he was rightfully elected, some of them going so far as to have extended in the Record speeches to prove their 100 per cent "patriotism."

Have Full Control in Wisconsin— What Have They Done?

But even a better test is furnished by my home State.

The progressives have been in power in Wisconsin for more than 20 years. Their national leader has proven more than once that he has absolute sway over the majority of the voters of the State.

And it must be admitted that our progressives and their great leader are unsparing critics of everything

in general. They are especially strong in criticizing the results of the present system.

Naturally, many people will want to know what they have done in Wisconsin, in order to know what they would do if they were in full control of the national administration.

The administration in Wisconsin during the last two years is especially a good example, because the progressives have had full control of the administration. They elected a governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of state, and attorney general.

John J. Blaine, the governor, was elected by the progressives on a progressive Republican ticket. They had an overwhelming majority in the assembly and full control also of the senate.

How the Governor Treated the Farmers

Wisconsin is one of the foremost dairy States in the Union. Thus Wisconsin escaped the worst of the agricultural depression which was the plague of the farmers in Minnesota, Iowa, and other grain-growing States.

Still, the deflation brought about by the financial interests of the east was also felt in the agricultural sections of our State.

Every farmer in Wisconsin looked, therefore, with great expectation to the progressive administration to see what help it would give the farmer.

The session came, and the session went, but nothing was proposed either by the governor or any of the progressives that had anything to do with the solution of the farmer's trouble.

On the contrary, Governor Blaine was responsible for cutting down the appropriation to fight tuberculosis among cattle from \$1,000,000 to \$500,000.

And this was the only bill, or at least the only one of importance, that the progressives presented to the legislatures in the agricultural line.

The progressives have their main strength in the great agricultural States of the Northwest. The farmer element of these sections has good reason to be dissatisfied with both capitalist parties—which are doing nothing for agriculture. I must admit regretfully, however, that Governor Blaine and his “progressive” administration also present a very sorry spectacle.

How the Governor Treated the Workers

Wisconsin, furthermore, has a very important manufacturing section. One might say that our State is almost evenly divided between agriculture and manufacturing.

A labor program, therefore, is as necessary for an efficient administration as an agricultural program.

The Socialist members of the legislature and the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor presented the usual labor measures—a program that contained nothing more radical than the propositions put forward by Father John A. Ryan, of the very conservative Catholic University, Washington, D. C., at the National Catholic Welfare Council. The Socialists purposely did not demand much, in order not to embarrass their progressive friends.

But even that program had no support whatever from the governor.

He objected to the eight-hour law which he had him-

self recommended in his message. When the bill of the Socialists passed the assembly, he had it killed in the senate by his followers. He used the same tactics in regard to the labeling of prison-made goods.

An old age pension law passed both the upper house and the lower house. It was about to become law, when Blaine blocked its final passage.

Are Neither for Farmers Nor for Workers

Now, since Blaine and his so-called progressives have prevented all these laws from passing, they surely can not be called a labor party. And as they have prevented all the agricultural bills from becoming law, they surely can not be called a farmer party.

Worse Than Tammany Governor

The desertion of our progressive administration is further evidenced by its behavior in regard to the State retaining its own water-power resources.

Governor Blaine lined up with the private interests—in this case with the Ford interests—who desired to kill all progress toward public ownership of water power. In fact, Wisconsin saw a duplication of the Muscle Shoals proposition, and the Ford interests came out on top, thanks to the assistance they received from Governor Blaine.

There you have a progressive governor of the Republican Party in action. The Tammany governor of New York, whom I do not want to boost, refused to stand for that kind of a deal.

The Position of the Socialists

Moreover, there is the question of taxation.

Certain progressives will talk more about taxation

than about anything else under the sun. They will talk long and loud about the taxes of the poor people.

Some of them are even willing to play the part of a bull in a china shop. They are simply governed by envy of the rich. They would destroy capital and capitalist business without any regard for consequences and without being in a position to replace that system by anything better simply to satisfy a certain amount of envy inherent in some human beings.

That is not the position of the Socialists. They understand that capitalism also has a mission to perform. The Socialists expect to keep all that is good or useful in the capitalist system and leave it as a heritage to the next generation. And the Socialists will destroy nothing that they can not replace by something better or more beneficial.

Governor Blocking Tax Reforms

But our progressive Republican governor during the campaign made more speeches on the subject of taxation than on any other. Nevertheless he also did less on taxation when the legislature met than on any other matter. And that is saying a great deal.

The governor did one thing, however. He blocked effectively all measures for tax reform.

Compare Record of Socialists

Compare this record of the progressives of Wisconsin with the record of the Socialist Party in the city of Milwaukee, where it has also been a power in municipal affairs for about 20 years. Compare it with the record of the Socialist representatives in the legislature during the last 20 years.

And last, but not least, compare it with the record of the Socialist Party representative in Congress, where he had to stand up for his principles in face of a war hysteria, several expulsions from the House of Representatives, and a sentence to serve 20 years in the penitentiary.

Were Burned in Effigy While "Progressives" Joined in War Cries

While some of our so-called progressives were joining in the war cries of the profiteers and "paytrioteers," war-crazed mobs in Wisconsin were burning or hanging Robert M. La Follette and Victor L. Berger in effigy.

Sailing Under False Flag Is Dishonest

This also makes it very plain that the common people—the farmers, the workers, the small business man—can expect no relief whatsoever as long as the progressive movement is the tail end of either of the capitalist parties and receives its final inspiration and dictation from "big business."

Notwithstanding my sympathy with some of the efforts of my progressive friends, I must admit that their position is certainly inconsistent—and even politically dishonest—so long as they remain in the capitalist parties.

They are sailing under a false flag and are using somebody else's label unjustly. I say this with regret, because I always have had, and even now have, hopes for the progressive movement, provided it stands on its own feet.

Tail of Elephant or Tail of Donkey

Moreover, so much is proved now—the progressives will always be absolutely impotent until they have their

own organization, which is vividly illustrated by the results of their flounderings in Congress.

To use a figure of speech, while they remain the tail of the Republican elephant or of the Democratic donkey they can accomplish very little. Just now they are usually the tail of the donkey.

Wisconsin's Governor Only Interested in Distribution of Plums

And in Wisconsin? Well, our Republican progressive governor, while not interested in the labor program or the farmer program, or in the revision of the Constitution, or in education, or in taxation, or in public ownership, or in preserving the State's water power, diligently and devotedly gave practically all of his time to efforts in changing the personnel of the various State commissions.

The State of Wisconsin is blessed—or cursed—with 62 commissions. Most of the members are drawing fat salaries. They are employing clerks, attorneys, advisers, and so forth. We most assuredly have a "government by commission."

One may say that never was there a man in the governor's chair in Wisconsin who was more interested in personal politics and less interested in principles.

Useless to Put New Wine Into Old Bottles

In short, we must have a new party, with new ideas. And it is absolutely useless to put new wine into old bottles.

The Greatest Obstacle—There Are Very Few Independent Papers

The greatest difficulty, however, is that an enlightened public opinion is required, and to have an en-

lightened public opinion we must have an independent public press.

Thinking observers know that our journalism has changed entirely during the last 30 years.

Formerly we had journals of opinion which balanced each other, and thus controlled each other. But because of recent mechanical developments the modern daily newspaper and the large weekly paper require a great deal of capital. They have become almost invariably capitalist institutions.

No Essential Difference Between Big Papers

The proprietors of all the important news organs, and even those of the large agricultural weeklies, necessarily belong to the capitalist class. They necessarily have the capitalist outlook. In that respect there is no essential difference whether one reads *The New York Times* or *The Wisconsin News*, *The Philadelphia Ledger* or *The Washington Post*.

There is also this: The modern way of using the wires has made it possible for one man to own an unlimited number of papers that are identical in their most important news, their features, and their editorials.

The numberless Hearst newspapers all look alike, for instance.

Mr. William Randolph Hearst owns a chain of newspapers reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. He has one in Milwaukee, *The Wisconsin News*, and it contains essentially the same matter as *The Washington Times* or *The Atlanta Georgian*. They vary only in their politics—they are Republican in some places and

Democratic in others, but they are always for Mr. Hearst.

Then there is the Scripps-Howard combination, controlling the United Press. And the Shaffer chain, so prominently mentioned during the oil investigation.

A newspaper owner of that kind can thus influence the Nation very thoroughly. And he does. Mr. Hearst claims that he put the bonus over. I doubt that, however.

Mr. Hearst's papers conducted an intense campaign for the Mellon bill—for a sales tax to cover the bonus. They stand for a big army and for a big navy. They wanted a war with Mexico and are looking for trouble with Japan. Yet the Hearst papers were not able to put those things over. It was a fear of the soldiers' vote in the coming election that put over the bonus.

Pernicious Present-day Journalism

Thousands of daily and weekly papers, however, identify capitalism with patriotism. And it is the business of all these papers and their editors to use the news columns—not only the editorial page—to prejudice the people against Socialism and radicalism, to talk about murder cases, divorces, prohibition, give advice to the lovelorn, write about mah jong, or about dear old France, or the Kaiser, but not about our rotten conditions—and, above all, to tell the readers that "law and order" are being endangered by the radicals, who are really "Bolsheviks," and a Bolshevik is anyone who believes that it was right to investigate Teapot Dome, the oil graft, or Mr. Daugherty.

But this is the press upon which the American reading public, and especially the workman and the farmer,

must rely for daily information as to the world's news, the world's markets, and the world's ideas.

This Press Monopoly Is the Greatest Danger

Do you realize that this press monopoly is more dangerous than a school monopoly or a church monopoly would be? Whatever these great, powerful newspaper owners do not want you to know they simply do not tell you.

That is why we have such impossible political parties. We must have an independent press, and this will only be made possible by great sacrifices on the part of the working people in the cities and by the co-operation of the farmers.

Depending on One Man, the Party Would Die When That Man Dies

And we must have a new party, and not a party dependent on any one man. A party which depends on one personality must necessarily die when that individual dies.

Just as it was necessary for the solution of chattel slavery to create a new party, the Republican Party, which was finally organized by uniting the Free Soilers, the Abolitionists, and the remnant of the old Whig Party, so it has become absolutely necessary to organize a new political party to oppose the autocracy of present-day capitalism.

It is a much more difficult task, I admit. Capitalism is infinitely stronger and better intrenched than were the slave owners in their day. It is a task, however, that must be undertaken and accomplished, if any American freedom and our American civilization are to survive.

And it will be accomplished.

Present Production Can Supply Wants of All

If in former centuries the producers meekly submitted to oppression and deprivation, there was some reason for it. There was not enough of the world's goods to go around, to suffice for everybody. Naturally, therefore, the stronger took the first choice for himself and his kin, and the people got the leavings, if there were any.

The economic basis has changed.

We have secured control over the forces of nature to such a degree as to bring the possibilities of comfort and well-being within the reach of everybody, at least in civilized countries. With the present machinery of production it is within the power of society to supply all the reasonable wants of every man, woman, and child.

Provided we have sense enough to make the proper use of our opportunities.

Willing to Co-operate With Everybody Sincere

But remember the only party which has always stood for securing the greatest economic advantages for the largest number of individuals is the Socialist Party. It is the only party that has always sought to remove corruption by removing temptation.

It is the only organization that stood upright in war and in peace.

But the Socialist Party is willing to co-operate with any and all other organizations striving for the same aims and objects—however different their point of view—provided they are consistent and sincere.

Mr. Kvale. Mr. Chairmen, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Berger. Yes, with pleasure.

Mr. Kvale. I have listened with a great deal of interest to what the gentleman has said, and I am interested in hearing all sides. The gentleman states that you can not rely upon electing good men to office, and as I understand it he also stated that there is no reliance to be placed in platforms and principles. Then what are the main traits and characteristics of the party to which he would adhere?

Honest Men Must Adhere to Honest Principles

Mr. Berger. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman has misunderstood me—in quoting me as saying that there is no reliance to be placed in platforms and principles. Nor did I say that we can not place any reliance upon good men. I said that more than any other class of voters we are interested in awakening the social conscience of the people. Socialists are deeply interested in honesty in government. Both must go together, we must have honest men with good principles, backed by strong organizations that will see to it that these good principles and platform pledges are carried out.

Mr. Blanton. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Br. Berger. Yes, gladly.

Mr. Blanton. The gentleman would admit that it is absolutely necessary for capital to exist?

Opposing Capitalism—Not Trying to Abolish Capital

Mr. Berger. Of course, we are not trying to abolish capital, we are opposing capitalism.

Mr. Blanton. The gentleman spoke of Mr. Gary. I hold no brief for Mr. Gary, but he furnishes jobs now to 64,000 men and women with an average salary of

\$1,904 each per year. Is not that a larger number of salaries than the Socialist Party furnishes now?

Nation Is Furnishing Jobs for Gary and His Men

Mr. Berger. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Texas is mistaken. The 64,000 men and women furnish a very big job for Mr. Gary, at about \$800,000 a year. And the American Nation—or rather the needs and necessities of the American people—are furnishing the jobs for Mr. Gary and the 64,000 men.

Mr. Blanton. How many jobs do the Socialists furnish?

Mr. Berger. Wherever they are in power they furnish more jobs and better paid jobs than Mr. Gary does. For instance, in England they are in power, and they furnish several hundred thousand jobs, and better paid jobs than any private corporation or any private monopoly. The city of Milwaukee pays better wages than any private concern. Our final aim is to take over the trusts. That would mean that we would also take over the Steel Trust. After we have taken over the United States Steel Corporation, Mr. Gary, if he wants to keep his job, might probably do so, but we would not pay him \$800,000 a year.

There are some very able gentlemen in Congress who are receiving \$7,500 a year, and who are satisfied to hold their position. For instance, there is the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Blanton], who is an orator ready to be heard almost any day and on any subject.

Outside of the congressional circle there is Mr. Mellon, a millionaire many times over. He is working for \$12,000 a year and is proud of his job as Secretary of the Treasury, which is even a bigger institution than

the Steel Trust. We have other men as able as Mr. Gary working for the Government—that is, for the Nation—for a very much smaller salary than \$800,000 a year. The American people undoubtedly will use the talents of Mr. Gary or of any man of his type if they can get them to work for the Government in case the Nation takes over the trusts, but the people will not pay a salary of \$800,000 a year, which Mr. Gary is reputed to get. And what is far more important than the manager's salary is the elimination of Steel Trust profits—as much as \$500,000,000 a year during the war. Under national ownership there would be no profits. These profits would go partly to the workingmen and partly to the Nation, just the same as there are no profits in the Post Office, and just the same as there are no profits in a municipally owned water department or in the public schools or in other public institutions.

Mr. Carter. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Berger. Of course.

Mr. Carter. I yield two minutes to the gentleman in which to answer these questions. I do not agree with the gentleman from Wisconsin on his economic ideas, but I do have great respect for his ability and his sincerity. I ask this question, not to embarrass him nor to detract from the value of his speech, but because I know he is well advised upon these matters and can probably give us information. He has berated the Democratic and the Republican Parties for the part they took in the war and has said that it was a capitalist war. The United States did not get into the war until it was more than two years and six months old. If it be true that this was a capitalist war, how does it come about, or how can the gentleman reconcile any consist-

ency with reference to his party in Germany, when practically every Socialist member of the Reichstag voted for the war in the beginning?

Did Not Vote Credit Until Convinced That Cossacks Were Pillaging

Mr. Berger. That is easily answered. To begin with, the gentlemen is away off as to his information. The Socialists in the German Reichstag did not vote for the war until they were told officially that the Russians had crossed the Niemen, which is the river dividing Russia and Germany. After they were given official proofs, which they believed—that the Russian Cossacks were on German territory, murdering, pillaging, and ravaging women—they simply lived up to the Socialist doctrine to defend their country and their homes, their firesides and their families, any time and everywhere, whenever invaded. Then the German Socialists voted for the credits.

Mr. Wefald. And the Socialists will do the same here.

Mr. Berger. Yes.

Mr. Carter. Then, according to the gentleman's explanation, the Socialists made the same mistake there that the Democrats and the Republicans made here.

Our Country Was Not Invaded—We Were Put Into War by Capitalist Propaganda

Mr. Berger. They did not, because our country was not invaded. No enemy soldier set foot on our shores except as a prisoner. The war was fought more than 3,000 miles away and we had no valid reason to inter-

fere even from a capitalistic point of view, since the European troubles did not concern any vital interest of America. The world and our country would have been infinitely better off if we had stayed out. We were put into this war by the propaganda of international capitalism, headed, in our case, by the fiscal agents of Great Britain, France, and Russia—the banking house of J. Pierpont Morgan & Co.

Modify the Volstead Act in the Interests of True Temperance

JUNE 6, 1924

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, the old saying that we shall use but not abuse seems to hold the best solution of the drink problem also, so far as a solution is discoverable by human wisdom.

And this adage holds good not only in regard to wine, beer, and fermented beverages but as to any article of the daily diet. It is just as easy to overeat as to overdrink, and more people overeat than overdrink.

In ancient Rome, for instance, the national sin did not seem to be drunkenness but gluttony. Tacitus says a good deal more about the food and sauces than about the wine at the patrician banquets. And gluttony, rather than drunkenness, is the usual theme of the satires of Juvenal.

World Not Purged of Curse

We are told by the Anti-Saloon League, however, that the world would be a better place without "the curse of drink." With this I agree. But let me ask, Have the prohibitionists purged the world of the curse of drink? Is there not now more and worse drunkenness to be found in most of the large cities of the United States than ever before?

On the other hand, what about the blessings of drink which consist in true temperance? Is it not a fact that

a certain amount of wine or alcoholic drink is necessary to social happiness, witnessed to by the fact that even now there is hardly a festivity, either in the circles of the rich or of the poor, where some wine or other drink is not procured—if it is at all procurable? With this difference, that since an honest and healthy beverage is hard to get on account of prohibition, the American people are often apt to use all sorts of substitutes or concoctions more or less poisonous.

Helped to Inspire Many Noble Men

It is unnecessary for me to state what part wine and beer have played in the history of nations.

Wine and beer have helped to inspire the noblest races and the noblest men.

Without wine and beer three-fourths of ail poetry and more than one-half of all art would have been lost to us. Without wine and beer the lot of the common man, so terrible during the early and Middle Ages—when the life of the peasant was the pawn of every petty lord—would have been simply unbearable. He would then have been deprived of what little blessedness these drinks sent to him.

And this is the case in no small extent with the workman of today—the modern proletarian—who has been deprived of his beer and his wine, and who, only too often, is now using poisonous moonshine.

Saxon, Celt, and Teuton Alike In This Respect

But let us look over the pages of history of our race.

One of the simplest lessons history teaches even the casual observer is that the drinking races—the liberal

consumers of wine and beer and ale—have always been in the vanguard of human progress.

These nations have always been the greatest fighters for human freedom. They have always made the greatest sacrifices for liberty whenever necessary.

We have only to remember the stout English barons who wrested the Magna Charta—England's first charter of liberty—from the unwilling despot, King John. We have just to think of the brave and valiant but beer-drinking Teutons, who successfully resisted and finally overwhelmed the colossal world power of Rome. I might also point to the heroic, wine-loving Celts, who fought for freedom and for everything else in every land. How many genuine Irishmen are prohibitionists today?

Reasonable Drinking In France

We also know it was the gallant citizenry of France, drinking wine every day with its food, which at the end of the eighteenth century in a mighty revolution shattered the thrones of Europe.

In short, if any reasonable amount of drinking destroys the people, it is hard to say where any of the northern races would be. There are the Scotch, for instance. The Scotch were always noted for three very powerful traits—religion, education, and whisky. And if drink were to destroy peoples, the Scots would have ceased to exist long ago. Yet, with all this the Scots are and have been for centuries one of the most noted racial groups in all the human family.

Such are the other northern peoples of Europe—the English, the Germans, the Scandinavians, the Russians—some of them even drinkers of hard liquor—

and on the average more drunken than the southern and southeastern Europeans. The hopes of civilization, however, seem to rest on these hardy northern races in spite of their drinking habits.

Our Immigration Law Favors Drinking Nations

Just lately Congress passed an immigration bill making the census of 1890 the percentage for admission, which basis strongly favors these drinking nations.

On the other hand, the most abstinent people of the world nowadays, as far as alcohol is concerned—are the Mohammedans (Turks, Arabs and the rest) and the peoples of Japan, India, and China. But these prohibitionists are evidently almost excluded from settling in our country.

Mohammed forbade alcoholic beverages. Christ did not. Neither did Moses.

The "Prohibition" Races

The European nations, as a rule, have all through history been great consumers of alcoholic drinks. Nevertheless it would be hard to persuade even the most ardent of prohibitionists that the Europeans are behind the Mohammedans and Hindus in usefulness and virtue and other essentials of civilization.

We all know that the contrary is the case. As a matter of fact, we see a handful of beer and ale drinking Englishmen holding in subjection 300,000,000 Hindu teetotalers.

All Great Men Were Drinking Men

Moreover, there can be no question that all the great men known in history, from Noah and Julius Caesar down to General Grant, have been drinking men.

There is an inscription about beer even on Tutankhamen's coffin. George Washington was not a prohibitionist, neither was Thomas Jefferson, nor Alexander Hamilton.

In fact, moderate and temperate drinking seemed to be a help to the ablest men in history, because it meant relaxation. Raphael Sanzio, Michael Angelo, and Rembrandt Van Ryn, great painters, were moderate drinkers.

So was William Shakespeare; so were Goethe, Schiller, Heine, Shelley, Byron, and every other great poet I know of.

And how about Bismarck, Gladstone, Moltke, Napoleon? And how about our own generals, Sherman and Sheridan, not to mention Grant? They were all moderate drinkers.

Can anyone mention a single great man in history who was a prohibitionist, unless he was great as a prohibitionist?

Our Early History Favored Temperance, Not Prohibition

If we look for lessons in our own history as to how to deal with intemperance we shall find that under the law of Massachusetts Bay, passed in 1635, no permission was required for the sale of beer and ale, while a license was required for traffic in "ardent spirits."

Whisky Barred In 1637, Beer Favored

In 1637 the courts first forbade the sale of strong water in taverns—prohibiting all intoxicants except beer. This was the first attempt in an American colony to promote temperance by favoring the use of beer.

In October, 1649, it was ordered that every grocer and tavern keeper should always be provided with good and wholesome beer for the entertainment of strangers.

In 1721 the tax on beer was discontinued.

An act was passed in June, 1789, "to encourage the manufacture and consumption of strong beer, ale, and other malt liquors," wherein it is declared that "the wholesome qualities of malt liquors are greatly recommended to general use as an important means of preserving the health of the citizens of the Commonwealth."

Intemperance had grown to a public evil in the colony of Virginia as early as 1623.

Virginia and Pennsylvania Passed Laws Favoring Beer

One of the most important of all colonial laws bearing on the liquor traffic was passed in 1644 in Virginia. Under this law, no intoxicating drinks, except strong beers, were permitted to be sold in the taverns of Virginia. Debts for ardent spirits were declared not recoverable, and a discrimination was made only in favor of beer.

In 1658 a law was passed to encourage the planting of hops. The Pennsylvania Assembly in 1689 imposed an import duty on ardent spirits, but not on beer. In Pennsylvania, as in every other American colony, beer was regarded as one of the necessities of life, which accounts for the discrimination in its favor.

In his address to the Assembly in 1713, Governor Gordon, of Pennsylvania, deplored the decadence of brewing, and recommended that the industry be encouraged.

The lawmakers of Pennsylvania passed acts in 1720 and 1721 to discourage the use of rum and to encourage the making of good beer.

Rareness of Beer Leads to Rum Rebellion

The cheapness of rum, and the superabundance of grain, making every farmer a distiller, together with the economic circumstances at that time, led to a condition of affairs which culminated in the whisky rebellion. Beer became rare, and in 1790 there were no less than 5,000 stills in operation, the proportion being one still for every 89 inhabitants.

James Madison Favored Beer

Before the House of Representatives in 1789, James Madison, moving the low duty of 8 cents a barrel on malt liquors, hoped "that this low rate will be such an encouragement as to induce the manufacture of beer in every State of the Union."

At the great festival held in Philadelphia in July, 1788, to celebrate the ratification of the new Constitution by 10 States, American beer and American cider were the only liquors permitted to be used.

Dr. Benjamin Rush, at one time professor of medicine at the University of Pennsylvania, after whom the Rush Medical College, of Chicago, is named, thought that the true solution of the drinking problem lay in encouraging the brewing industry.

In the course of an essay praising the thrift, industry, temperance and other virtues of the German inhabitants of Pennsylvania, Doctor Rush said:

Few Use Hard Liquor—They Drink Beer and Wine

"Very few of them use hard liquor in their families. Their common drink is beer and wine."

The View of Alexander Hamilton

In his communication to the House of Representatives March 4, 1790, Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, recommending an increase of specific duties on imported spirituous liquors, said:

"As far as the decrease might be applicable to distilled spirits, it would encourage the substitution of cider, beer, and ale, benefit agriculture, and open a new and productive source of revenue."

Thomas Jefferson and Wine

Hamilton's views were fully shared in this regard by his great adversary, Thomas Jefferson.

On December 13, 1818, we find Thomas Jefferson writing to M. de Neuville in advocacy of the culture of grapes in America, as follows:

"No nation is drunken where wine is cheap, and none sober where the dearness of wine substitutes distilled spirits as the common beverage."

And Even W. H. Taft

And to bring matters down to date, permit me to also quote that distinguished statesman and lawyer, Hon. William H. Taft, former President and now Chief Justice of the United States. In his work "Four Aspects of Civic Duty," he says:

Nothing More Foolish

"Nothing is more foolish, nothing more utterly at variance with sound policy than to enact a law which by reason of conditions surrounding the community is incapable of enforcement. Such instances are sometimes presented by sumptuary laws, by which the sale of intoxicating liquor is prohibited under penalties in localities where the public sentiment of the immediate

community does not and will not sustain the enforcement of the law. * * *

"By the enactment of a drastic law and the failure to enforce it there is injected into the public mind the idea that laws are to be observed or violated according to the will of those affected. I need not say how altogether pernicious such a loose theory is. * * * The constant violation or neglect of any law leads to a demoralized view of all laws."

Leads to Secret Drinking

I recommend all of these views to the intelligent lawmakers of our Congress and to the well-meaning but misguided prohibitionists. They now compel the secret drinking of alcoholic poison, because they can not prevent that; but they can prevent and do prevent the use of beer and wine.

The New Industry

Result? A new "industry," the bootlegging industry, has sprung up. It prospers immensely and in some places has almost acquired the size of a trust. And many Government officials are financially interested.

Lawmakers who understand human nature should not be hypocrites. Nor should they be cowards. And they should not permit prohibitionists and the Anti-Saloon League thus to promote drunkenness.

Alcohol Not a Stimulant

There seems to be a general misunderstanding as to the part alcoholic beverages play in the human body.

Alcoholic beverages have often been described as a stimulant. I think that is a mistake. They are not a stimulant. They are the cause of relaxation. Every hard working man needs the relaxation, and especially

in our complex civilization. We need that complete rest, that complete relax.

And that is the reason why so many people who are nervous will take drugs when they can not get alcoholic beverages.

Gentlemen, you have no right to take away this means of relaxation and of rest from those who use it legitimately because there are some who do not. Because there are some weak sisters who are not able to use it normally, why should everybody else be forbidden to use it normally?

Why Not Ban the Playing of Baseball?

I ask you, because there is a man with a weak heart who can not play baseball, would you forbid the game of baseball to everybody? Because there are some people who have weak stomachs and can not eat beefsteak, would you forbid beefsteak to the Nation? Because bodily exercise is not good for some people, would you forbid bodily exercises to everybody?

Moreover, it can not be done.

More Alcohol Sold Than Ever

It is notorious that in spite of all the efforts of the entire Prohibition Bureau immense quantities of whisky and other intoxicating liquors are produced and sold, not only in the remote country districts where that has been done always but especially in large towns and cities.

During the last few months many thousand illicit stills have been seized and destroyed, and yet that is only a small percentage of the many hundred thousands that are still being operated.

What happens under prohibition is simply this:

People Get Poison Instead of Good Whisky

Instead of the people drinking lawfully produced beer and wine or even genuine whisky, although I personally am opposed to whisky because I believe whisky to be a toxin, people now drink strong alcoholic liquors of all kinds and descriptions, most of them dangerous and poisonous.

And while the Government in the past derived hundreds of millions of dollars in revenue annually and at the same time controlled the liquor trade in every respect, that traffic is now absolutely beyond and outside of all control.

This is clearly shown by the police and health records.

Insanity Shows Gain

The arrests for drunkenness and the percentage of insanity caused by alcohol are now much greater than in the days when such beverages were produced and sold under the supervision of the United States Government, and when the honest brewers and distillers paid taxes not only to Uncle Sam but also to the respective States and communities in which they lived.

Free the People From Illicit Alcoholism

In short, I believe that just at the present time Congress could do few things that would prove to be a greater boon to the great mass of the people than to repeal the foolish Volstead Act. In place of it we should adopt a law which will declare that beer containing 2.75 per cent alcohol and wine that contains no more than 12 per cent are "nonintoxicating" within the meaning of the eighteenth amendment.

Thus Congress would free our people from the curse of illicit alcoholism with which the United States is now afflicted from New York to San Francisco and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. The new law would gladden the hearts of many millions. It would put an end to bootlegging and make moderation a virtue when now "forbidden fruits" foster vice. The new law would cause civic morality to flourish again even in the high places that are rather barren today.

Gentlemen, pass a bill repealing the Volstead law and give us back beer and light wines.

Before and After the Election— Modern Version of Aesop's Fable of the Bat

JANUARY 31, 1925

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, Aesop tells a fable of the bat, who in the war between the quadrupeds and the birds posed as a quadruped or as a bird, according to which side was victorious. But the bat was found out and shunned by both sides ever after.

My colleague from Wisconsin, Mr. Frear, reminded me of that fable and of that bat when he made his speech on last Thursday, January 29.

Mr. Frear posed as a great La Follette man last summer when the more or less Socialistic La Follette campaign loomed up big on the political horizon. Mr. Frear in his speech also admitted that he sat on the platform at a campaign meeting when the Republican Congressmen were denounced as enemies of the people and voters were advised to vote for the Democrats. He did not protest.

And, lo, a day before yesterday—January 29—Mr. Frear humbly kissed the flag—no; kissed the elephant's tail (laughter and applause)—and begged for permission to crawl into the hole and to pull the hole in after him. Not in so many words, but that was the gist of the performance. (Laughter.)

We Must Not Hamper Forces of Either Progress or Conservation

Mr. Speaker, it is absolutely necessary that we should have two trends of public opinion in this country, the conservative and the progressive.

This country would soon come to wreck and ruin if we stood absolutely still, if there were no progress. And progress unhampered and unlimited by conservative tendencies would turn everything topsy-turvy. The Russia of the Czar and Russia since are fair examples.

Only we must demand of these forces that their expression be honest. But wherever the struggle between the forces of progress and of conservatism is honest and logical, then just give both of them full play. Do not hamper them. They will work for the best of humanity, of society, of the country.

I say this as an earnest progressive, as a lifelong Socialist.

Socialists Worked Hard For the La Follette-Wheeler Ticket

When the progressive and radical groups got together last summer and nominated or indorsed Robert M. La Follette and Burton K. Wheeler, the Socialist Party of the United States whole-heartedly joined the movement.

The new Progressive alignment had no organization outside of the Socialist Party, the unions, and the railroad brotherhoods. The brotherhoods and the trade unions, however, are not at all trained or equipped to carry on a political campaign. Therefore the bulk of the work everywhere was really done by the Socialist Party. (Laughter.)

I may also state that every Socialist in the country—whether card member or unaffiliated—voted for Robert M. La Follette for President. And every cent the Socialists everywhere, including my home state, Wisconsin, and my home city, Milwaukee, could possibly scrape up for campaign purposes was thrown into the La Follette campaign.

I say all this not for the benefit of my Progressive friends, who probably know it, but for the information of the Republican and the Democratic members.

We Socialists know that political parties must be based upon economic interests. We have always felt—and I have said so repeatedly in this House—that the Republican and the Democratic Parties do not represent the interests of the working farmers and of the city workingmen, because both old parties are under the domination of the capitalist class.

Why We Have "Blocs" in Congress

Moreover, it has been known for more than a generation that the campaign expenses of both old parties—in National, State, and Municipal elections—are paid largely by the capitalist class; and that the capitalists of our country, while as a rule preferring the Republican Party because as a party it is more intelligent (laughter and applause), are just as willing to deal with the Democrats. This was shown during the administration of Grover Cleveland and of Woodrow Wilson, and was shown again by the indorsement of John W. Davis.

There is no difference in principle between the two old parties.

The producers of the country—the people who work with brain and brawn—the workingmen in the cities,

and the farmers have no political organization of their own to express their economic interests.

And that is also the reason why we have various "blocs" in our Congress. We have heard of the "farmer bloc," the "railroad bloc," the "soldiers' bloc," and of several other blocs. They were denounced in the newspapers. It is nonsensical, however, to denounce "blocs" in the papers so long as these economic interests have no other way of expressing themselves on the political field.

"Big Interests" Would Save Money

But while the interests of the workingman and of the farmers are thus not represented at all, it really seems a waste of energy, and also of money, that the capitalist class supports two capitalist parties.

To drive the two parties together into one political body would not only be an advantage to the country at large, but also a financial saving for our "big interests" (laughter), especially when we consider that the contributions they must give at national elections reach millions of dollars.

Arthur Brisbane's Explanation

I have seen only one plausible excuse for the existence of two capitalist parties. It was made by Arthur Brisbane when he said:

"While the Republican Party is dominated by crooked "big business," the people also know that the Democratic Party is the "spare tire" of crooked big business. That Democratic "spare tire" is carried on the back of the big business band wagon, to be used in case a Republican tire should accidentally blow out."

(Laughter.)

"And some voters conclude that they would rather have Republican crookedness with some efficiency than Democratic crookedness without any efficiency."

(Laughter.)

This "explanation" may satisfy some people, but it will not make many contented with the condition.

How the Press Views the Two Old Parties

In Great Britain, France, Germany, and in every other civilized country the leading parties differ materially in political and economic principles. Not so in our country.

And I consider that a misfortune. Here our capitalist press, after both of the big political parties had made their nominations for President and Vice President, had the following to say:

"As between Mr. Davis and President Coolidge, it is hard to discern much difference. Essentially the Democratic and the Republican nominees for the Presidency stand for the same thing." (Chicago Journal of Commerce editorial, July 10, 1924.)

And why should not "big business" have been satisfied with the nomination of Mr. Davis?

According to the pamphlet issued by the La Follette-Wheeler Progressive headquarters, and entitled "The Wall Street Twins":

"J. W. Davis, Democratic nominee for the Presidency, has been attorney for J. P. Morgan & Co., Erie Railroad, Guaranty Trust Co., Standard Oil Co., New York Telephone Co., Coffee Trust.

"At the time of his nomination he was director of National Bank of Commerce, United States Rubber Co., Santa Fe Railroad. (This road obtained an injunction during the recent shopmen's strike and resisted to the bitter end the Baltimore & Ohio settlement.) He ap-

peared as attorney in the Coronado case against the United Mine Workers."

This identity of the two old parties has always been recognized by the Socialists of the United States.

La Follette's Opinion of Both Republican and Democratic Parties

And that is one reason why the Socialists so wholeheartedly supported the Progressive movement and the nomination of Robert M. La Follette, especially since in his statement and platform, presented on July 4, 1924, to the Progressive conference at Cleveland, to which conference I was a delegate, Senator La Follette said the following:

"After long experience in public life and painstaking consideration of the present state of public affairs I am convinced that the time has come for a militant political movement, independent of the two old party organizations and responsive to the needs and sentiments of the common people.

"The rank and file of the membership of both old parties is progressive. But through a vicious and undemocratic convention system and under the evil influences which have been permitted to thrive at Washington, both party organizations have fallen under the domination and control of corrupt wealth, devoting the powers of government exclusively to selfish special interests.

"An analysis of the platforms adopted by the two old parties will show that the real issues have been ignored and that the candidate of either party, if elected, will go into office with no specific pledges whatsoever binding him to the people, while he will be under the most immediate necessity and obligation of serving the party bosses and predatory interests to

whom he owes his nomination and upon whom he must rely for election.

"From 1912 until the present time no honest or continuous effort has been made by a single administration, either Republican or Democratic, to protect the American people from the exactions of private monopoly by enforcement of the criminal sections of the anti-trust laws. These sections should and must be enforced if the power of corrupt business is to be broken.

"While the Democratic Party went into office pledged to destroy monopoly by civil and criminal prosecutions, it withdrew or compromised even the pending civil prosecutions against the trusts during the war and left the American people at the mercy of the greatest profiteers in all history. In the last years of the Democratic administration, under the notorious regime of Attorney General Palmer, monopoly was recognized as beyond the reach of the law, while labor unions, farmers' organizations, and individual citizens daring to assert their constitutional rights against this tyrannical power were singled out for attack and destruction.

"In 1920 the people expressed their resentment at their betrayal at the hands of the Democratic Party by defeating it with the greatest popular majority ever cast against a political party in the history of this country.

"The hypocrisy of the old parties was never more forcibly illustrated than by a comparison of their platform declarations with the actual records of their Representatives in the session of Congress just closed. Professing deep concern for the farmer, reactionary Republicans and Democrats failed to produce a single constructive measure for the relief of agriculture and rejected the only bills which were introduced for this purpose.

"Popular government can not long endure in this country without an aggressively progressive party.

"I stand for an honest realignment in American politics, confident that the people in November will take such action as will insure the creation of a new party in which all progressives may unite.

"If the hour is at hand for the birth of a new political party, the American people next November will register their will and their united purpose by a vote of such magnitude that a new political party will be inevitable."

All this is quoted from the statement and platform of Robert M. La Follette, Independent Progressive candidate for President of the United States, and presented on July 4, 1924, to the Progressive conference at Cleveland, Ohio. It was printed and distributed by the La Follette Progressive headquarters in Chicago and called A New Declaration of Independence.

(Laughter.)

La Follette Called Both Old Parties Our Opponents

I hope that my colleague from Wisconsin (Mr. Frear), who in his speech delivered on Thursday, January 29, claimed that he had never heard Robert M. La Follette denounce the two old parties as hopeless will know better now.

But Senator La Follette did not stop there.

Speaking in Madison Square Garden, in New York, September 25, in the opening speech of the campaign, Senator La Follette denounced both "the corrupt and decadent old parties."

He said that it—

"has taken years of betrayal and a long line of shameful abuses on the part of the Democratic and Republican Parties to convince the people that they must organize for political action outside both old parties in

order to find relief from intolerable political and economic conditions."

He continued:

"Millions of men and women of widely different occupations have reached the deliberate conclusion that both Republican and Democratic Parties as now controlled are the servants and representatives not of the people but of the vast aggregations of corporate wealth which dominate both the politics and business of the country.

"The policies and the candidates of the Republican and Democratic Parties are as like as two peas in a pod, and for that reason I shall hereafter refer to them in this address as 'our opponents.'"

Republicans and Democrats Represent Private Monopoly

Again:

"The best that the Republican Party, for example, can offer with its present candidate is four years more of misgovernment such as we have witnessed during the last four years—the same control by powerful interests, the same cynical bestowal of special privileges on the favored few, the same shameful betrayals of the public trust.

"The policies, appointments, and actions of that administration during its last year, as during its first three, were dictated not by the individuals who happened to occupy the White House but by the forces that control them and dominate the Republican as well as the Democratic Party. The Presidents were merely the servants of the system."

And again:

"But I reiterate that the question of personal honesty is entirely aside from the main issue. Vote the Republican ticket and you vote to enthrone the system that controls it for another four years. Vote the

Democratic ticket and you vote to enthrone the same system with a different representative in the White House. In either case you vote for four more years of government by the private monopoly system."

Republican Party Vest-Pocket Possession of Wall Street

Mr. Browne. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Berger. I will yield to the gentleman after I get through, but I do not want to be interrupted now. I will give the gentleman all the time he wants. He can ask me questions for an hour, if he cares to, either publicly or privately. (Laughter.)

Speaking in Newark, N. J., October 9, Senator La Follette said:

"Every thoughtful man and woman has completely lost faith in the Republican and Democratic Parties."

Answering the question as to why there should be a new political alignment instead of a continuation of the fight for reform within both parties, Senator La Follette declared he had fought 30 years within the Republican Party—

"to restore it to its original principles"—

but he had been unsuccessful, and the party had become—

"year by year more and more a private thing, the creature of big business"—

and—

"today it is the vest-pocket possession of Wall Street, a mere chattel, which, in the last analysis, half a dozen men dispose of as they wish."

The People Demand a New Political Alignment

The Democratic Party came off no better. By 1861 it had become, he stated, the—

"vest-pocket possession of the slave-owning, plantation-owning aristocracy of the South, and has remained such ever since.

"The Democratic Party"—

He said—

"lost its last vestige of democracy. The Republican Party lost its last semblance of freedom. Both the old parties became private things, palsied agencies of the popular will.

"Today the American people, the millions of American people who generously made their sacrifices in the war, are rising as they did in 1776 to repudiate the two cynical masks behind which monopoly, privilege, and economic power seek to hide themselves. * * * The people demand a new political alignment and new instruments through which they may express their will."

Senator La Follette, speaking in Boston on October 30, said:

"The policy of imperialism which is now dominating the American Government is not due to the control of any particular party. It is not a question of politics. Both parties, Democratic and Republican alike, have been used in subverting the Government and turning it away from the traditional policies of genuine Americanism.

"Financial imperialism is the natural and inevitable product of the control of government by the private-monopoly system. With the system in power, it has made no difference whether the administration was nominally Republican or nominally Democratic."

Coolidge the Protector of Fall, Denby, and Daugherty

Speaking in Minneapolis, Minn., on Oct. 16, Senator La Follette said President Coolidge was nominated for Vice President in 1920 at Chicago because of false propaganda "relative to his actions during the Boston

police strike." Also that Coolidge, as Presiding Officer of the Senate, always sided with special privilege, and at one time gave the gavel to an old guardsman "when an especially raw job was to be put over."

He accused Coolidge of being the protector of Fall, Denby, and Daugherty and of not lifting a protesting voice "during the orgy of corruption at Washington."

"When I presented to the Senate evidence demonstrating that naval oil reserves were being leased in violation of law and in betrayal of the public trust Calvin Coolidge sat, as President of the Senate, 50 feet away. He heard every word."

I could extend these quotations ad infinitum.

However, some of my Progressive friends—now so busy crawling into holes and trying to hang on to the Republican Party—may claim that while Senator La Follette attacked both old parties, and especially the Republican Party, the other "Progressives" are innocent.

Now, I do not know how innocent they all are. Most of the members from Wisconsin made speeches attacking both old parties. So did I.

And they were proud of it at the time. So was I.

But I am still proud of the fact that I was invited to speak in eight different States, and spoke to capacity houses for Robert M. La Follette and the Progressive ticket, while most of the other gentlemen are now crestfallen.

Why?

Because they are afraid of losing their positions on certain committees. (Applause.) Some members even claim that they "did not know" that the Republican Party has been attacked by the Progressives.

The Textbook Called "The Facts"

But surely these gentlemen have seen the La Follette-Wheeler campaign textbook called "The Facts."

It was the textbook which speakers for the Progressive candidates used, to which they referred in outlining the issues of the campaign. It quotes many of La Follette's speeches. It takes up the promises of the Republican Party and relates its betrayals.

Referring to the Republican platform promise to bring back balance in the condition between agriculture, commerce, and labor, the textbook says:

"The Republican Party has been in complete control of every branch of Government during the greatest disaster that has ever fallen on the American agriculture. Its leaders have done nothing except to devise schemes to plunge the farmers deeper into debt.

"Coolidge has not lifted a finger to help agriculture, except to encourage a syndicate of Wall Street bankers to take charge of insolvent banks in the West, thus increasing the power of the money power.

"Dawes is one of the Morgan banking group that is primarily responsible for the present distress of the farmers."

Referring to the Republican plank for higher and better labor standards, the textbook declares:

"The hypocritical 'labor plank' in the Republican platform will not deceive any American workingman.

"The workers will not forget Coolidge, the strike-breaker; Daugherty, the labor baiter; and Dawes, the outspoken foe of organized labor."

"The Wall Street Twins"

Here also is a pamphlet published by the La Follette-Wheeler Progressive headquarters and distributed in about a million copies. It is called "The Wall Street

Twins," and has a wonderful cartoon on its title page, showing Morgan's hands balancing both Coolidge and Davis while Morgan is pulling the strings.

We are told "Why does Wall Street regard Coolidge as safe?"

This is why:

"Because in his brief term he has done these things—

"He vetoed the soldiers' bonus and the old soldiers' pension bill.

"He vetoed a bill increasing the wages of postal employees.

"He upheld the Esch-Cummins law.

"He shielded Daugherty and the oil grafters.

"He supported the Mellon tax bill, which attempted to shift taxes from 'big business' to the people

"He reappointed Mellon as Secretary of the Treasury. Mellon is one of the richest men in America. Mellon is or was at one time connected with the Pennsylvania Railroad Co., the Aluminum Co. of America, the Gulf Oil Co., and about 60 other large corporations. Among these Mellon controls a large number of banks."

Now Look at the Record of Dawes, His Running Mate

"Mr. Dawes is the handy man of the international bankers of Wall Street. He is the man they sent to Europe. Morgan is kept in the background as the advisory man.

"He is chairman of the board of directors of the Central Trust Co. of Illinois and connected with other large corporations.

"He is for the open shop.

"He has attacked the Sherman anti-trust law.

"He has viciously attacked Congress, when the latter was investigating his activities as purchasing agent for the American Army in France.

"He has upheld the issuance of injunctions against labor.

"He helped make it possible for Mr. Lorimer to defraud thousands of people."

Are Coolidge and Dawes Better Today Than in 1924?

Now, I will ask my progressive friends from Wisconsin whether they still hold the same opinion of Coolidge and Dawes that they proclaimed up to November 4, 1924?

And if they do—what business have they in the Republican Party? (Applause.)

The Republicans elected Mr. Coolidge and Mr. Dawes with the unprecedented majority of 7,000,000 votes over their Democratic opponents; and with a majority of about 11,000,000 votes over La Follette and Wheeler.

And has anything happened since November 4, last year, to make my colleagues change their opinion about Coolidge and Dawes?

And what is it that has happened?

Are Coolidge and Dawes less under Wall Street domination than they were last summer and up to November 4, 1924, according to my "Progress-if" friends?

The "Progressives" in the Role of "Magdalen"

That story of Magdalen is a beautiful story — I agree with the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. Wood).

But the role of Magdalen fits badly a champion of progress—a fighter for a new idea. Now, I do not want to throw any stones, but we have a plain English word for that kind of girl.

We Do Not Want to Kidnap Them

Now, do not misunderstand me, gentlemen. I do not say all this because I want to take away these warriors from the Republican Party—or from the Democratic Party, for that matter—and add them to the Socialist hosts. Not at all.

After the experiences we had with some of these gentlemen this year we will have to look them over individually and examine them closely before we would admit them to membership in the Socialist Party (laughter)—even if they should apply, which I do not believe they will—because there are no flesh pots in the Socialist political desert. (Laughter).

I am not a Republican nor a Democrat. I have never belonged to either of the two old political parties. I have always been a political protestant and a member of the Socialist Party ever since there was one.

Socialists Always Paid the Price of Pioneering

And we Socialists have never sailed under false colors. Everyone always knew where we stood politically. I have also paid the price in full of pioneering for a new idea.

Any man who claims to be a Progressive, who claims to stand for reforms and progress, ought to be willing to pay the price. If not, then he is a weakling.

Especially in this case the price these gentlemen are asked to pay is so insignificant as to be almost ridiculous—the loss of position on committees.

The Republican Party Has a Right to Own Its Own Organization

The Republicans have a right to control their own

organization. The Republicans have a right to decide who is to represent their views on committees.

Now, let me ask my Progressive friends in all candor: What would have happened to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Longworth), or to the gentleman from New York (Mr. Snell), or to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. Wood), if Robert M. La Follette had been elected President and the Progressives would have had control of the House?

Would the Progressive Party have taken the gentlemen I have named to its political bosom, put them on important committees, and told them they were good boys and all was forgiven?

Progressives and Socialists Preached the Same Rebellion

The excerpts you have heard could be multiplied a hundredfold. They plainly prove that these gentlemen are no more Republicans than I am.

As a matter of fact, we stood on the same platform at the last national election. We preached the same rebellion in the last national campaign.

Only with this difference: I still stand where I stood last summer. If I ever would change my political faith, I would do it without "ifs" and "ands."

I do not intend to sneak into the Republican Party. I ask no favors from the Republican Party. (Applause.)

I am satisfied with the recognition to which I am entitled as a spokesman of a party and of a movement that polled 5,000,000 votes last November. (Applause.)

Should Remember What Farmers Do to Bats

However, much more important is the fact that the common people, the workers, the farmers, the small

business men, can expect no relief whatsoever as long as the Progressive movement is the tail of either of the two capitalistic parties and receives, in the last analysis, its inspiration and dictation from "big business."

Notwithstanding my sympathy with some of the efforts of my Progressive friends, I am free to say that their position always was inconsistent—and that it always was politically dishonest.

They were sailing under a false flag and were using false labels. And they need not be surprised if they lose the confidence and the respect of the voters of both sides—of the conservatives and of the progressives.

These gentlemen should remember Aesop's fable of the bat. Especially my colleague from Wisconsin (Mr. Frear) ought also to remember what the farmers of his district do to the bat. They used to nail bats to the barn door.

(Applause.)

I thank you one and all. (Applause.) I still have two minutes, I believe, and shall be glad to answer any questions.

"Big Bad Bill Is Sweet William Now"

Mr. Underhill. Will the gentleman from Wisconsin yield to me?

Mr. Berger. Yes; for a question.

Mr. Underhill. We might sum up the whole speech of the gentleman in the refrain of the popular song of the day, "Big Bad Bill Is Sweet William Now."

Mr. Berger. Well, there never was any question about that. (Laughter.)

The Ideal Income Tax of Big Business

DECEMBER 12, 1925

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I gave you all a clean bill of health three days ago that you are not Socialists, but after studying this bill closely I will have to change my opinion. This bill in many respects is a real Bolshevik measure. [Laughter.]

I know that if Trotsky and Zinoviev were members of this House they would in all probability vote for this bill [laughter] because it will promote the concentration of wealth and hasten the downfall of the present capitalist system.

Mr. Chairman, you see before you a rather perplexed philosopher. Here is a bill, in the main an income tax bill, written with a great deal of foresight. I might even say that it is written with "foresight" and "hindsight."

Gets Campaign Funds and Also Votes

On the one hand it cuts down the income tax of the richest of the rich, about 3,000 in number, \$100,000,000 a year. Forty-two topnotchers among them will save \$20,000,000 next year.

This will help "big business" and will also help the campaign funds of both of the old parties.

So much for the "foresight."

On the other hand the exemption was raised from \$1,000 to \$1,500 for a single man and from \$2,500 to \$3,500 for a married couple. According to some mem-

bers of the Ways and Means Committee this will release 3,000,000 persons from paying any income tax at all, and the total number of income taxpayers was only 4,270,421 in the year 1924.

This is undoubtedly "hindsight." This feature not only makes it possible for the bill to pass through Congress—the framers can also go out to the people afterwards, especially to the 3,000,000 that were released, and tell them: "See how efficient we are; we have relieved you from paying any income tax."

Average Man Does Not Recognize Indirect Taxes

And since the average voter does not realize that he is paying more than his share of a tax whenever he buys a pair of shoes or smokes a pipe of tobacco, he will cheer it up for the Republican Party up north, or for the Democratic Party down south, because he is not paying an income tax.

As a matter of fact, even among the income taxpayers, 42 men get just as much reduction as about 2,300,000 men get at the other end.

Nevertheless, it is a bright bill from the point of view of "big business," because it follows the age-old tradition of the rulers to throw a sop to the little fellows whenever the big fellows are making a big haul.

No Opposition Party

The revenue bill of 1926, which is before us, is another strong proof, however, of a political and parliamentary condition unheard of in any other civilized country and unknown in the past history of our own except during the war—the fact that there is today no opposition party in existence in the United States.

Two Hearts Beating as One

We have two political organizations absolutely devoted to the same idea—"two minds with but a single thought, two hearts which beat as one"—for capitalism and big business.

We have a so-called opposition called the insurgents.
[Laughter.]

They get their importance from the very fact that in this country we have no opposition party, and people are glad to see at least a semblance of it. Nevertheless, they are only an appendage to the Republican Party, and an appendage that is not wanted.
[Laughter.] All they are—the only place they fill—is that of a tail to the elephant. It is a sore tail and makes the elephant sick. [Laughter.]

Most Americans Pay No Income Tax Now

Moreover, as far as the workers of the country—the farmers and laborers—are concerned, this bill, which deals mainly with the tax on incomes, is of little importance. The income of the masses of the people is small, indeed.

Only the indirect taxes, sales taxes, excise taxes, and other nuisance taxes touch them directly.

The division of the income tax among the various groups of capitalists, manufacturers, and bankers is only of academic interest to the proletariat. If you ladies and gentlemen will look at the figures you will understand why.

There are in the United States something like 21,000,000 families. And, according to the census of 1920, there were 33,000,000 men and 8,500,000 women classified as wage earners, or about 41,500,000 in all.

Now, the number of personal returns filed up to September 30, 1925, was 7,298,481. As a matter of fact, however, we had only 4,270,121 income taxpayers in 1924.

And it goes without saying that the overwhelming majority of these are not wage earners. Now, I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, how much direct interest do the 41,500,000 wage earners have in the various brackets of the income tax bill?

Alas! These people without whose work our American civilization could not exist a single day are not much concerned about the income tax law.

How the National Income Is Distributed

According to the National Bureau of Economic Research, which gets its financial support chiefly from the Carnegie Corporation and similar sources, and whose board of directors is made up mainly of men known to be conservatives, the national income in 1918 amounted to \$61,000,000,000. There are about 21,000,000 families in the country, and therefore the national income in 1918, if equally distributed, would mean for each family an income of about \$2,900.

The same source reports that the richest 1 per cent received 14 per cent of all the income in 1918—a year of abnormally high wages. Even in 1918, the year of war wages, however, the poorest 10 per cent received $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of all the income.

But in 1918 we find that those who earned less than \$1,600 comprised 78 per cent of all the people of the United States, and those who earned more than \$1,600 made up only 22 per cent.

Prosperity for Millionaires

According to the statistics of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue for 1924 there were 213 people in the United States whose incomes were over \$500,000 a year. The number of men whose incomes are \$300,000 and over has increased by 231 persons in the last year. We really had prosperity for the millionaires notwithstanding the 40 per cent surtax.

In its report of 1921 the National Bureau of Economic Research states that there were 521 persons in the United States having incomes of over \$500,000, aggregating \$536,439,618.

These 521 super-rich had as much income as 2,000,000 American citizens who are at the bottom of the income tax scale.

Word "Income" Used in Two Ways

Moreover, the word "income" in these statistics is misleading.

Whenever the word "income" is applied to a corporation or a business, it means the net profit. It means the surplus which remains after provision is made for all expenses and the maintenance and replacement of all machinery.

On the other hand, whenever the term is applied to the individual worker, it simply means his wages or salary. There is no consideration for the human asset that is being used up—none for the replacement of the person worn out by the stress of modern industry—no provision for the raising of a family.

And we know that it is almost a uniform policy among large corporations to employ no man who has passed the age of 45.

Workers Have No Real Income

Some economists tell us that \$1,800 is considered sufficient to provide for the maintenance of a family of average size, with insurance and savings for old age. I personally doubt whether that sum is sufficient. I do not believe that many members of this House would so regard it.

Nevertheless, 82 per cent of the people of the United States receive less than \$1,800 a year. Therefore, if we consider replacement of the individual and take into account the support of the family, they receive no real income at all, if we use the term as it is used for corporations and business.

And as a matter of fact, the replacement of the workers in the United States was largely accomplished by immigration from Europe.

The real income, the surplus over what is absolutely necessary for a decent living, is to be had only by the upper 10 per cent of the population. Yet we are continually being told that we are the most prosperous people on God's earth, and that especially our workers receive an income such as no working class in the history of the world has ever received.

The wages of our workers are undoubtedly higher than those of the European workers, but our workers are exploited more intensely. And remember all workers were originally slaves. In the following epoch they were serfs. The wageworker is simply an evolution from the slave and the serf. The end of the evolution is not yet. And the wageworker in America is far from being free or secure.

Wealth Is Concentrating

All this surplus income of our capitalist class, of course, is the result of the profits made out of the labor of these workers. It is by investment of their profits that all capitalist income and the ownership of all wealth is secured.

And since these profits, gained through manufacturing, trading, rent, and interest—this real income—falls primarily to those who are already rich—the ever-increasing concentration of the ownership and control of all industry is absolutely inevitable under our present economic system.

The most reliable figures as to the distribution of wealth we have are from the United States Commission on Industrial Relations in 1915. Then it was as follows:

The "rich," 2 per cent of the people, own 60 per cent of the wealth.

The "middle class," 33 per cent of the people, own 35 per cent of the wealth.

The "poor," 65 per cent of the people, own 5 per cent of the wealth.

These figures surely have not changed to the disadvantage of the very rich since 1915, especially in view of the war and the war profits, which, according to Government figures, created 23,000 new millionaires, and the statement that 2 per cent of the people own 60 per cent of the wealth hardly holds good today, for the 2 per cent undoubtedly own more than 60 per cent.

One must remember that the large majority of the salaried men and of the average workingmen own nothing at all.

One in Twelve Buried in Potter's Field

Mr. Basil Manly, who was Director of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations and furnished most of these figures, states that in New York city alone one out of every 12 corpses is buried at the expense of the city in potter's field or turned over to the physicians for dissection.

Concentration of wealth is the natural result of the change from the hand tool to the machine, which is a social tool, but which, under our system, is still individually owned. Unless this ownership is also changed—and changed reasonably—we will face a condition that a small percentage of the people will simply attend to the machines or act as foremen and supervisors for a handful of owners, and the great majority will have no means at all of making a living. And what then? What are they to do?

Only People With Property Should Be Taxed

Mr. Arentz. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Berger. Gladly, for a question.

Mr. Arentz. Would not that be a good argument, then, to have everyone pay a little tax?

Mr. Berger. That depends on circumstances.

The old Romans would not let anybody fight in their légions unless he not only did his share toward the up-keep of the Commonwealth but also had some property. A Roman who had no property could not become a soldier of the Roman legion.

Every four years the Roman people had what they called the census. Every citizen was then put into a certain class. He was designated a senator, a knight, or a simple citizen, according to his wealth and origin.

And only one class of citizens—the one that had no wealth at all, that could not furnish its own armor and its own food—was prohibited from becoming members of the legion. The Roman soldier had to furnish his own armor and to provide his own food for two weeks. Those that could not were not permitted to join the ranks, usually they were not expected to fight. The only way they could serve the State was by having children. That is how the term “proletarian” originated.

A slave was not permitted to serve in the army at all, except in time of great stress—for instance, during the Carthaginian War, when Hannibal threatened Rome.

As to everyone paying some income tax—well, gentlemen, if you are wise you will see to it that everybody in our country has some property; that he has a stake in our country. The word “patriot” means having a stake in the patria, an ownership interest in his fatherland. The moment a man has nothing to lose and he becomes hungry he becomes a very dangerous man, and he is far more dangerous if his family gets hungry.

As for paying taxes, I am absolutely in favor of everybody paying taxes—everybody is paying taxes indirectly now—but let everybody also have some property.

Results in Foreign Investment

Another effect of this concentration of surplus wealth in the hands of a few is the fact that enough capital can not profitably be employed in our own country and must therefore seek foreign investments. And we find that the present surplus of American capital is now being invested in Europe, Africa, Asia, and Oceania.

American foreign investments at the end of June, 1925, were estimated at \$9,500,000,000, exclusive of the amounts owed our Government by foreign governments. Foreign investments in the United States amount to perhaps \$3,000,000,000.

In 1914 our total investments were estimated at about \$2,000,000,000. These consisted largely of foreign branch plants in Canada, mines, railroad, and petroleum properties in Mexico, mines in Chile and Peru, sugar properties in Cuba.

· Very Often War Is the Consequence

Of our total foreign investments at that time well over one-third (\$700,000,000 or \$800,000,000) was invested in Mexico, \$450,000,000 in Canada, and perhaps \$150,000,000 in Cuba, the remainder being distributed among Latin American countries, with small sprinklings in Europe as well as in the Philippine Islands and other parts of the Far East.

American investments abroad which began to figure in the international capital account during 1896 to 1914, in 1915 jumped to fifteen times annually what they had been 13 years before the war. They continued to grow until in 1920 our annual investments were thirty times what they had been in the pre-war period, reaching nearly \$1,500,000,000 in that single year.

And the chances are that we may have to use our Army, Navy, and air forces to protect these investments.

This Is an Ideal Bill for the Plutocracy

Now, this is a capitalist tendency; we Socialists have always predicted it. The bill before the House now is simply in accord with that tendency. This bill is a

proposition to help the capitalist class; to make the rich still richer; a bill to make the accumulation of surplus as easy as possible.

The bill before us proposes that the maximum surtax is to be cut from 40 per cent to 20 per cent. Due to the graduation of the tax this means that the very large incomes will pay an average rate of 9.41 per cent on the whole income. There can be no doubt that we are helping the rich.

Please compare with this that 82 per cent of all of the people of the United States earn less than \$1,800 per year, the sum which is supposed to be absolutely necessary for decent living. And remember that over half of all the people of the United States earn less than \$1,600 a year—an "income" of \$200 less than the minimum required for a decent living.

Capitalists Using Power

We are told that the rich need all their money for business. Yes; they need it. According to that old toast, so well known in Wall Street:

"God help the rich! They are burdened with a great deal of property. As for the poor, let them work; they are used to it."

Yes; let the poor work, if they can find a job.

Of course, we are told that the heavy reduction from 40 per cent to 20 per cent will make capital available for more business at home. But there is the fact that nine and one-half billions of dollars even now have sought investment in foreign countries.

The truth is the capitalists have the power; they own both old parties, and they want to make use of their power. Moreover, they have a proletariat in

America that is only thinking of today, not of tomorrow—or not thinking at all. The majority has enough to eat. Their mind just now is on baseball, football, prize fights, and picture shows, and the radio.

Queer Reasoning of Mr. Rainey

It is rather queer, however, that in view of all this my great friend the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Rainey] is against this bill because it relieves entirely the income taxes of nearly 3,000,000 taxpayers by raising the exemptions to \$3,500 in cases of married people and to \$1,500 in cases of single taxpayers.

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Rainey] says none of them asked to be exempted, because the average of their income taxes was only \$7.50. Did he expect that they would also send delegations to Washington to appear before the Ways and Means Committee and pay large retainers and other expenses? These \$7.50 a year income tax men need their money to pay off their installments on their flivvers or their furniture.

Misplaced Sympathy

Mr. Rainey explains that thereby 3,000,000 income taxpayers would be exempted, and in 1924 we had 4,271,421 taxpayers. But why should the Government bother about collecting these small sums, the collection of which usually costs more than the returns yield?

And the tender feeling the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Rainey] expresses for the men whose incomes run from \$11,000 to \$44,000 a year, and who do not get any relief in this bill, is positively funny.

But how about the millions of wage earners who earn less than \$1,600 a year and pay no income tax at

all? Do they not deserve a little of the sympathy of the gentleman from Illinois?

And now as to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Mills]. He is a very able man. Almost uncannily so for one of his wealth. There is a gentleman evidently destined to become the successor of Mr. Andrew Mellon as the Secretary of the Treasury. And I for one would say that if you are to have a plutocratic government the real master is preferable to the flunkey. But the gentleman from New York naturally uses his ability for the benefit of himself and his class. He is supposed to be the main author of the present tax bill.

A 20 Per Cent Honor Limit

What I should like to know, however, is where the gentleman from New York gets his 20 per cent as a limit for the surtax. The Mellon plan of last year provided a surtax of 25 per cent.

The gentleman from New York claims that unless it is just 20 per cent the capitalists will hide their money in tax-exempt securities, or the capitalists will find some other way to deprive the Government of the surtax.

Now, why does the capitalist's honesty reach its limit at 20 per cent? Why not at 19 per cent or 15 per cent? The surtax in most other countries is much higher.

Mr. Mellon, who is some capitalist himself, seems to have been willing to trust his class with a certain amount of honesty up to 25 per cent. Or has capitalism deteriorated since last year by 5 per cent?

I shall find no fault otherwise with the gentleman from New York, however. He is taking good care of the immediate interests of his class—the capitalist class

—or, to make it more exact, of the immediate interest of our ruling plutocracy. And he is also very successful in making the rest of the employers, especially the small fry, believe that the interest of the plutocracy is their interest. That is not the case, however.

Bill Is Boomerang

Nor will the interests of plutocracy be served by measures of that type in the final outcome. It might have been wiser to let "well enough" alone.

The method of taxation as proposed in this bill can have but one result—it will hasten the concentration of wealth in a few hands and bring about the downfall of this system.

If we had a real opposition party in this House, and not two capitalist parties serving ultra-capitalism and "big business," such an opposition party would undoubtedly fight this bill on these grounds.

The Socialists, of course, desire that this capitalist system disappear. We expect to replace it by a more reasonable and more beneficial organization of society. The Socialists want to avoid a sudden catastrophe, however, if that be possible.

And that is why I said at the beginning of my remarks that you see in me a "perplexed philosopher."

On the one hand this measure holds out a promise of a rapid breakdown of capitalism by the fearful concentration of wealth. And it also relieves a large number of small income-taxpayers of paying any income tax.

Will Not Bring Prosperity

On the other hand, this very fact will intensify the

dependence of the great many upon the few, and this will strengthen the chains that bind them.

And the argument that these tax measures are the cause of prosperity is sheer nonsense, of course.

We had so-called "good times" in this country when the surtax was 60 per cent. Many people are making money now when the surtax is nominally 40 per cent.

That sort of argument is on a par with the silly assertion that America owes its prosperity to our great Federal Constitution. And because we have so much freedom and liberty and free speech in our country—especially during the war, you know.

As a matter of fact the Constitution and the surtax have nothing to do with "good times" or "hard times." We are more "prosperous" than the old European countries because here we still have colonial conditions.

And also because our capitalist class profited shamelessly during the late war.

While the war cost many billions of dollars, and several hundred thousand lives, we did not stay in it long enough to ruin our country.

America is prosperous—that is the capitalist class of America is so prosperous—mainly because a handful of people came here some 250 years ago, found one of the richest continents on earth—which cost them nothing, except a few bullets with which to kill the Indians.

Need Opposition Party

Moreover, from the very beginning our employing class had a continuous stream of the most efficient, and intelligent, and cheap labor. For 250 years this labor came in continually. America got Englishmen, Irish-

men, Jews, Poles, Germans, Czechoslovakians, and so forth, for nothing.

They came here at their own expense. And they were glad to work long hours for low wages, because even at that they could do better here than in their own over-populated countries.

But the sacro-sanct Constitution, and the various revenue bills passed by the various Congresses had nothing to do with the prosperity.

The greatest danger confronting our political situation—I must repeat this—is the fact that we have no opposition party, that the Republican and Democratic Parties are practically one.

Until we have a genuine opposition party—based on principles—super-capitalism and plutocracy will have an easier and clearer path in the United States than any ruling class ever had in any other country known in history.

Italian Debt Settlement to Aid Mussolini and Please Morgan

JANUARY 15, 1926

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, the short time allotted to me is hardly enough to express the views of an entire party, but I shall do my best.

Let me begin by saying that our diplomacy and our diplomatists are the butt of ridicule in Europe and always have been. What our great statesmen do not know about the Old World would fill a library. This is due to the fact that our American schools have not taught much about the history, the geography, the ethnology, and the economic conditions of Europe. Therefore, our people do not know much about the conditions across the Atlantic—or in the rest of the world, for that matter—and they are very happy and satisfied. But since we always were a world apart from the rest and self-sufficient, we were self-satisfied and even pretended to be proud of our ignorance.

This Settlement Is a Repudiation

As for this settlement, it is not a settlement. It is simply a repudiation of the debt. You get nothing of the principal—not one cent, if you please—and you get 1.8 per cent of the interest, spread in payments over a period of 62 years. Why not cancel the whole thing and kiss the money goodby? [Applause and laughter.] It would be a more honest way of doing things.

For my part, I would be in favor of canceling all of the debts of our "associates" in the late war right now on two conditions: First, that all should disarm; and second, that they should treat Germany in the same way that we treat them.

As the thing is now, the settlement is made simply to please plutocracy, to please high finance, to please that part of Wall Street which is best characterized by the international banking house of Morgan & Co. And in order to make it possible for Morgan to float a \$100,000,000 loan to the Mussolini government the United States must make a gift of \$2,000,000,000 to Italy. That is what this so-called settlement means.

It will strengthen the hand of Mussolini.

Natural Result of Our War Policy

The proposition before us, however, is the natural and consistent continuation of our war policy. You all know that I believed and still believe that it was a criminal error for our country to take part in the world slaughter. All the predictions I have made as to the results of the "war to make the world safe for democracy" have come true. And more has come true than I have predicted.

We plunged into this war nevertheless. Now we have to pay the price. Only we pay the price in an abnormally stupid way. And without making use of our war experience to protect the world and ourselves against a repetition of the same sort of calamity.

More Soldiers in Europe Today Than in 1913

The World War ought to be over. Nominally it is over. But there are more soldiers under arms in Eu-

rope today than there were in 1913. And there always will be until the hellish pact of Versailles is abrogated. I say again I would be willing to forget the entire indebtedness of over \$11,000,000,000 on condition that all the nations of Europe disarm completely and that they also treat their debtor Germany the same way we treat our debtors.

As it is now, all the nations of Europe together, including Great Britain, are to pay us \$200,000,000 a year—and some of our statesmen think that will be impossible. The same statesmen, however, pretend to believe that it is absolutely necessary and possible for Germany alone to pay \$600,000,000 a year in reparations.

However, what is the use of talking about this?

The United States went into this war as a consequence of many years of propaganda in the press, schools, churches, billboards, playhouses, and everywhere else—a propaganda never before equaled in the history of the world. Some simple folks who read only capitalist papers still believe it was a war to make the world safe for democracy—with the example of Italy, Spain, Greece, and Russia before them.

It was the propaganda of the Allies, well named the All-Lies.

And we still are the associates of the All-Lies.

I have read carefully the speech of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Rainey] in the Record. I believe that Mr. Rainey has rendered a public service by making this speech. I have here a good deal of material about the despotism, terrorism, and murderous activities of the Fascisti in Italy. The book I hold in my hand is an English translation of an Italian book by the late Giacomina Matteotti, a member of the Chamber

of Deputies, who was murdered for writing the book. He describes the reign of murder and terror in Italy.

Sample of Our Statecraft

This Italian settlement is also typical of the character of our statecraft. Mussolini had some of his Italian professors write a number of pamphlets to tell the United States what Italy could pay or, rather, what it could not pay.

And our statesmen simply accepted these screeds at their face value as the gospel truth. They forgot the old adage that it is the business of diplomats to lie abroad for the benefit of their country. They forgot that the Italians have grown up in the school of Machiavelli. And, last but not least, they forgot that it would be a question of life and death for any professor in Italy, even if he did not consider it his duty to lie for the benefit of Italy, if he wrote what Dictator Mussolini did not want him to write. At any rate, our Government did not send an expert commission to Italy to find out the facts.

As for conditions in Italy, post-war reaction and post-war despotism have nowhere reached the extremes they have reached in Italy.

Benito Mussolini, who until 1914 was very much of a communist himself, has now outdone the communists a hundredfold.

Best Men of Italy in Exile

At the present time no papers, other than Fascist and communist, are permitted to exist in Italy. Freemasons, Catholics, liberals, conservatives, and trade unions fall under the same ban. The best men and women of Italy have been driven out of the country.

Mussolini is evidently striving to establish some kind of Fascisti-communism.

I shall give you just a few words more about Mussolini and the Fascisti propaganda. The paper which I hold in my hand is *Il Popolo*, an Italian nationalist paper printed in New York city. The paper is rather favorable to Mussolini. It is the edition of yesterday, Thursday, January 14. I do not speak Italian, but I have studied Latin, and know enough to translate Italian.

Here are just a few lines purporting to be a special cablegram from Rome:

Conditions For Catholic Party

Roberto Farinacci, the secretary of the Fascisti of Italy, sets down the conditions under which they will permit the Catholic Party, called there the Populist Party—I Popolari—to enter the Chamber of Deputies in Rome. Here are the six conditions:

First. They have to declare in writing that Mussolini is a superior spirit. He is a superman.

Second——

Mr. Blanton. Will the gentleman yield right there?

Mr. Berger. Not now.

Mr. Blanton. That is what the Kaiser said.

Mr. Berger. The Kaiser and I were as good friends in the past as are Mussolini and I at present.

Second. That there is no question about the high morale possessed by the Fascisti.

Third. That there is no question about the justice of the Fascisti regime.

Fourth. That Don Sturzo, the founder of the I Popolari Party, is the biggest scoundrel in the world.

Fifth. That the Catholic Party in leaving the chamber with the other parties in 1924 carried on a contemptible farce.

Sixth. That the Fascisti possess the confidence of the Italian people, and that the Populists, the Catholic Party, represent nobody.

All But Fascist and Communist Papers Suppressed

Now, for the benefit of my friend from Texas, I just want to say again that Mussolini was in 1914 a leader of the Socialists who came nearer to the communist point of view than any other Socialist in Italy. Even now he has suppressed all the papers except the Fascist and communist. He is now making goo-goo eyes at Russia. And the final outcome in Italy may be some sort of Fascisti-communism, if Mussolini does not go the way of Julius Caesar and other tyrants [applause], which may happen. I know from history the Italian way of doing. [Applause.]

I am against this so-called settlement because it would not settle anything. It will simply make it possible for Mr. Morgan to lend Mussolini \$100,000,000 or \$200,000,000, which he will use for more militarism. They spent \$179,000,000 for the army last year, although they claim they can not pay more than \$5,000,000 a year to the United States. They will use the money for Fascisti propaganda everywhere, including the United States.

Continuation of Morganatic War Policies

I am against this settlement because it is bound to reopen the settlement with Great Britain and other countries. I am against it because it means that we

have to make a gift to Italy of almost \$2,000,000,000, in order to enable the international capitalists, of which Mr. Morgan is the most shining example, to do business with the Fascisti and make Italy a safe place for the investments of usurious bankers. I am against this settlement because it is continuing the late Morganatic war policies up to the present time. The United States of America has sacrificed enough in life and treasure for the benefit of the plutocrats and international bankers.

It is time to stop. [Applause.]

The World War and the Versailles Treaty

JANUARY 18, 1926

Mr. Speaker, truly the last European war deserves the name of the "World War." It was the greatest calamity—unquestionably so—that ever befell the white race.

According to the best statistics obtainable the World War cost 23,000,000 lives and \$400,000,000,000 in property.

In order to give some idea of what this means just let me illustrate it in the following way:

Here Is an Estimate of the Cost of World War

With that amount we could have built a \$2,500 house and furnished this house with \$1,000 worth of furniture and placed it on five acres of land worth \$100 an acre, and given all this to each and every family in the United States of America, Canada, Australia, England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, France, Belgium, Germany, and Russia.

After doing this there would be enough money left to give each city of 200,000 inhabitants and over in all the countries named a \$5,000,000 library, a \$5,000,000 hospital, and a \$10,000,000 university.

And then out of the balance we could still have sufficient money to set aside a sum at 5 per cent interest which would pay for all time to come a \$1,000 yearly salary for each of an army of 125,000 teachers and, in

addition to this, to pay the same salary to each of an army of 125,000 nurses.

And Enough Would Be Left

And, after having done all this, we could still have enough left out of our \$400,000,000,000 to buy up all of France and Belgium and everything of value that France and Belgium possess; that is, every French and Belgian farm, home, factory, church, railroad, street car—in fact, everything of value in those two countries.

For it must be remembered that the total valuation of France in 1914, according to French official figures, was \$62,000,000,000. The total of Belgium, according to Belgian official figures, was in the neighborhood of \$12,000,000,000. This means a total valuation of the two countries in 1914 of less than \$75,000,000,000.

The Price We Paid

In other words, the price which the leaders and statesmen of the Entente, including the "statesmen" of the United States, made the people of the world pay for the victory over Germany was equal to the value of five such countries as France plus five such countries as Belgium.

And all this was done in order "to make the world safe" for Pierpont Morgan's "democracy," to preserve Great Britain's preponderance in the world's trade, and to make France the foremost military power in the world—more formidable than any ever known in the world's history—and limited only by her terrific indebtedness and inability to borrow more money until the franc is stabilized.

The Hunger Blockade After the War

The most cruel part of the World War was not the ordeal of battle, nor the want which the German people especially had to suffer during the fighting, because they were surrounded by an iron ring—the most cruel part was the hunger blockade after the war, for six months after the armistice had been signed. And in that beastly and inhuman blockade not only Great Britain, but also the United States took part.

Hundreds of thousands of Germans—mainly old people, women, and children—perished. This was one of the most dastardly and cruel acts of the Wilson administration. And it was accomplished after Germany had laid down her arms on the so-called 14 points. These "14 points," however, were never even mentioned at the peace negotiations at Versailles.

What the "Peace" of Versailles Means

The peace of Versailles! Our Government helped to frame it and Woodrow Wilson signed it, although the Senate rejected it.

This peace of Versailles divided up 15,000,000 Germans among the hostile neighbors like sheep to be slaughtered.

Central Europe was Balkanized.

A Monster Frankenstein

A number of new countries was founded, all of them satellites of France, each of them with a big standing army organized and led by Frenchmen.

The peace of Versailles helped to build up a monster Frankenstein in militaristic France and a number

of smaller Frankensteins of the same kind in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania.

On the other hand, the Germans, a nation which a few years ago was the foremost in the world in power, civilization, learning, art, and commerce, has today become a beggar folk, whose very poverty, coupled with the necessity to work cheaply, and with talent for organization, has become a danger to all other industrial nations.

Great Britain One of the "Victors"

As far as the victors are concerned, there is Great Britain, standing around with hat in hand, timidly, almost tremblingly, because England is afraid of the French aerial fleet.

There are millions of unemployed in England. France, however, up to the present day is not willing to permit Europe to become peaceful again. France is still keeping an army in the Rhine Province, sucking the life blood of industrial Germany.

And although England is largely depending on German trade, England is helpless.

France Has Money to Establish a Military Despotism

Then there is France, which apparently drew the grand prize of this war. The fact is that France is maintaining the greatest standing army ever known, numbering about 770,000 men, and is supporting the most elaborate and costly military apparatus in history—out of sheer cowardice. It keeps 150,000 men in the Rhine Province alone, since leaving the Ruhr district.

Not only is France maintaining its own costly military establishment, but she has loaned 450,000,000

francs to Poland, 100,000,000 francs to Rumania, 300,000,000 francs to Yugoslavia, and 500,000,000 francs to Czechoslovakia for the purpose of maintaining their armies and military establishments to assist French aggression whenever France so desires.

France Has No Money to Pay Debts

And while France has been doing all this she has shown only a very slight disposition to pay any part of her debt to the United States—either the principal or the interest—which now amounts to about \$4,000,000,000. In fact, leading politicians in France cynically declare that France should never make any payments.

There can be no question but that the American people are more heavily burdened with taxes today than any other civilized nation, with the exception of Great Britain and Germany. We are overburdened because we must not only meet the expenses of our Government but help to carry the burdens of some European countries, notably France.

Yet France as a government is nearer bankruptcy than any other country in Europe, except Germany, although the French people just now are the lowest taxed of any. The French franc was 20 cents in American money before the war. It is worth about 3 cents now. And France will collapse within five years and will go up in smoke, blood, and communism—unless France changes her course entirely.

United States Gained 23,000 New Millionaires and 200,000 Cripples

And there is the United States. We presumably entered this war because babies' fingers were cut off in Belgium and to abolish militarism in the world. This

war cost \$40,000,000,000 and 123,000 lives, and there were many more that died from the "flu," which was the direct result of the war.

We got out of this war 23,000 new millionaires and more than 200,000 cripples. Also, the well-earned hatred of almost every nation on earth because we had no good reason to enter the bloodshed and no excuse to sneak away after we had helped in framing the hellish pact of Versailles.

War Propaganda Most Efficient in America

The World War was based on a million lies.

This is admitted today, not only by neutral statesmen and historians but also by most of the leading statesmen of the World War itself—by Englishmen, Russians, Italians.

The only country where a dense cloud of ignorance still befores the minds of the people is the United States of America.

Here we are still suffering from the war propaganda—a propaganda which probably was more thorough in America than in any other country on God's earth—partly for the reason that more money was spent for that propaganda in this country than in any other; partly because the same forces which control the newspapers in this country also control the schools, churches, theaters, movie houses, and all other means of communication, expression, and publicity; and partly because our people know less about European affairs than do the Europeans and are more credulous and more docile than most Europeans.

English Propaganda Now Taken Over by France

Great Britain especially had conducted the propaganda for her own case in this country for more than 25 years before the World War. This propaganda was intensified as the World War grew near. Since the so-called peace of Versailles the entire machinery to spread lies seems to have been taken over by the French Government, which has established a bureau for that purpose in New York.

Thus there are some people in America still believing that this was a war "to make the world safe for democracy." Or a war "for liberty," or a "war to abolish militarism," or a "war to protect little Belgium."

Speaking About Belgium

And speaking about Belgium, I want to quote Francisco Nitti, Italian Prime Minister, during the World War.

He says:

That Story About the "Poor Little Belgian Children."

"To bring the truth of the present European crisis home to the world it is necessary to destroy again and again the vicious legends created by war propaganda. During the war France, in common with other allies, including our own Government in Italy, circulated the most absurd inventions to arouse the fighting spirit of our people. The cruelties attributed to the Germans were such as to curdle our blood. We heard the story of poor little Belgian children whose hands were cut off by the Huns.

"After the war a rich American who was deeply touched by the French propaganda sent an emissary to Belgium with the intention of providing a livelihood for

the children whose poor little hands had been cut off. He was unable to discover one.

"Mr. Lloyd George and myself, when at the head of the Italian Government, carried on extensive investigations as to the truth of these horrible accusations, some of which, at least, were told specifically as to names and places. Every case investigated proved to be a myth.

"The source of this ghastly falsehood was strange, indeed.

"When Belgium occupied the Congo she wished to terrify the Negro population. To accomplish her end she committed a few acts of terrific cruelty. Grown men and children had their hands and feet cut off. This circumstance was proved by official documents. It gave rise at that time to severe protests in the American and European press.

"During the war the Germans were accused by certain American, English, French, and Italian people of those very deeds of which a few Belgian commanders had actually been guilty on the Congo 10 years earlier."

Lie About German War Guilt Greatest of All

But the greatest lie of all of them—the lie which lies at the bottom of all present troubles in the world—is the lie that Germany was the sole cause of the World War, because the so-called peace of Versailles rests upon it.

Without that lie the pact of Versailles cannot exist.

This is the position which both Poincare and Lloyd George have repeatedly taken.

Pact of Versailles Rests on Horrible Lie

On December 27, 1920, Poincare declared in *Le Temps* that the fact of Germany's guilt was the legal basis for the Versailles and Paris decisions. On July 7, 1922, Poincare again declared that the peace of Ver-

sailles was not based on Germany's defeat but upon Germany's responsibility for the war.

Still worse, David Lloyd George stated on March 3, 1921, to the German minister, Simons:

"For the Allies the responsibility of Germany is the decisive factor; it is the foundation on which the treaty of peace has been reared. If recognition of this fact be refused or regarded as invalid, the treaty itself falls."

And even our "statesman," Charles E. Hughes, has insisted that preceding any negotiations of peace with Germany our treaty also must contain Germany's acceptance of section 231 of the Versailles peace treaty, which reads:

* * * "Germany acknowledges that she and her Allies, being solely responsible for the war, they are likewise responsible for all losses and damages inflicted on all the allied and associated governments and their subjects in consequence of the war caused by the aggression of Germany and her Allies."

But what is the truth?

Soviet disclosures from the secret archives of the Russian foreign office, supplemented by some from the English foreign office and also by what had been found by the Germans in Belgium, prove that Germany, instead of having been more guilty than the other powers were in starting the World War, was much less guilty.

World Simply Deceived

All the world was systematically deceived and continues to be deceived by the capitalist press and by allied propaganda.

The fact is, Germany did not wish the war and did not provoke it.

The vainglorious Kaiser and the egotistic and stupid

ruling class of Germany simply permitted Germany to be pushed into the trap.

How Russia and France Planned Attack

Among the documents that have come to light are minutes of secret conferences in 1911, 1912, and 1913, in which the Russian Czar was represented by General Gilinsky, chief of the general staff, and France by General Joffre and Minister of War Millerand.

According to these minutes, plans for a joint attack by France and Russia were fully agreed upon. It was also provided that at the first chance both France and Russia should immediately and simultaneously mobilize their forces and transport them to the frontier. It also provided that "These forces shall begin complete action with the greatest dispatch so that Germany will have to fight on two fronts at the same time."

Lies Were Part of Warfare

The publication of these documents also proves that it was a thoroughly planned part of the policy of the French and Russian and British Governments to put the odium of the World War upon the German Government.

The Russian foreign office even issued an Orange Book—containing the official documents of the Russian Government pertaining to the war. Out of the 60 dispatches of the foreign office for the few days preceding the World War it appears that 50 were falsified by omissions and insertions.

Senator Robert L. Owen, of Oklahoma, in a notable speech on December 18, 1923, proved from these documents, and from many others, how the war was plotted

by the Allies. He also mentioned the secret treaty made in 1916 between Russia and France for the division of Germany and Austria.

"Innocent Little Belgium"

And Great Britain—perfidious Albion—of course, was a party to all these agreements since 1903, and promised to co-operate in every respect.

And so was Belgium, which had a military convention with both Great Britain and France.

Belgium had put her armed forces at the disposal of the Entente as early as 1908—six years before the outbreak of the World War—although it was supposed to be a neutral country since 1839, according to the treaty which proved a "scrap of paper." Thus "innocent little Belgium" had made a "scrap of paper" of the same treaty long before the German chancellor had coined the expression.

The "14 Points" Were Not Even Mentioned

But to return to the treaty of Versailles. It is based entirely on the war guilt of Germany.

The 14 points on which Germany laid down her arms were not even mentioned in Paris when the peace treaty was framed.

Germany Compelled to Assume War Guilt

Prof. Harry Elmer Barnes, who studied the question of the Versailles treaty and of fixing the guilt of starting the war, says:

"Germany occupied the situation of a prisoner at the bar. And it was a case where the prosecution simply contented itself with the assumption of the guilt of the defendant. It was not required to furnish the proof.

Germany was confronted with the alternative of signing the confession at once or having her territory invaded and occupied, with every probability that such an admission would ultimately be extorted from her."

The Ruin of Germany

And the results of that treaty of Versailles?

The Allies, and especially France, took everything Germany possessed, not only in war material, machinery, and rolling stock, but also horses, cows, and so forth.

The Reparations Commission established "reparations" regardless of any promises made in the armistice, and fixed no definite sum which Germany is to pay.

The Allies took all the German colonies, French officials took part in revolt in the Palatinate, promoting political disintegration of the German Republic. French troops marched into the Ruhr—the industrial heart of Germany—under the pretense that Germany had fallen behind in her coal delivery, although Germany offered to buy the coal from England and deliver it to France, since the French had given the coal mines of Silesia to Poland.

And French troops still occupy the Rhine Province of Germany, although the council of ambassadors just issued a statement that Germany has fulfilled all demands of the treaty and is completely disarmed.

In short, Germany is ruined.

What the Dawes Plan Proposes

And then there is the Dawes plan. This is simply an attempt of the international bankers to enforce the impossible pact of Versailles.

As we all know, the bankrupt and starved German people are expected to pay some \$35,000,000,000 which the Allies demand to begin with, because they have not set the total sum as yet, and this is more than thirty times as much as victorious Germany demanded of France in 1871.

How Long Can Germany Go On?

Now, neither does the Dawes plan fix the total amount Germany is to pay. It only decides the amount Germany must pay each year for the next five years. The Dawes Commission does not say whether Germany is to pay that tribute for 100 years or for 1,000 years.

Furthermore, the plan provides that Germany must pay her reparations in goods, since the Allies have taken all the gold Germany possessed.

But now the great question remains, How much goods can France and Belgium and England absorb without putting their own people out of work?

The Dawes plan may work for the first two years, because under the pretext of the plan Germany could borrow money from American bankers to fulfill her obligations during the first two years.

But for how long can Germany go on borrowing money for that purpose?

Trying to Enslave the German People

Moreover, only one-half of what the Germans are to pay is to be raised by taxation. The rest is a mortgage on the railroads and on all the private establishments, factories, mines, shops, and so forth, in Germany. These the French can sell to the highest bidder, to the capitalists of their own country or to J. Pier-

pont Morgan, or to anyone else any time the Germans fall behind.

Evidently French and American plutocrats are looking for some pretext to get hold of all the railroads, factories, and mines of Germany, and the Dawes Commission is furnishing the pretext.

And, on top of it all, the Dawes plan does not set any date when Germany is supposed to have paid her debt.

Now, the question is, How long will the German people be willing to work like the slaves in Egypt or the slaves in old Rome for their foreign masters?

There will be only this difference, that the German slaves will be permitted to stay in their own country. According to the Dawes plan, they will have to remain in slavery forever.

Most Devilish Plan of Stripping a Nation

All of which proves it the most thoroughgoing and most devilish plan of stripping a nation that has ever been concocted in the history of the world.

The German Government and the German Reichstag accepted this plan. They did so only under compulsion, because the nation was starving and the French bayonets were at the people's throats. It was only accepted with the hope that something will happen in the future that will show Germany the way out.

What England Fears

And this latter hope is evidently also in the minds of English statesmen. They see no way of being able to coerce France, which, if it so desired, could lay waste London, Liverpool, Manchester, and any other Eng-

lish city, within three days, as the matter now stands. France possesses today the largest and best equipped aerial fleet in the world.

Would Be First Step to Enslave English Workers

On the other hand, the English premier, like every other sensible man, must be aware that if he permits the French capitalists to enslave 60,000,000 human beings—white human beings and highly intelligent and efficient human beings—in that manner, that this would be the first step for enslaving the working class of England and even of France within a short time. A most terrific and bloody revolution, such as the world has never seen before, would sooner or later follow, and this may wipe out the white race in Europe.

Now, this is an appalling situation. It is a danger which is not only facing Europe, of which Germany is a vital part, but our entire civilization.

Why America Is Vitrally Interested

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, there can be no question that American agriculture is in a deplorable condition. Not only the producers of wheat and corn and grains, but also farmers raising swine, cattle, sheep, and other livestock have been hit hard by the depression of the last five years.

The Real Cause of the Trouble

Various measures have been proposed. Among others, the formation of a Government corporation with \$200,000,000 and a guaranty for fixing the price of wheat and other grains—co-operative marketing—granaries, and elevators, and so forth.

All kinds of agencies and factors have been blamed. The bankers, the packers, the speculators, the railroads, and the middlemen on the one hand, and the high tariff and the labor unions on the other, have come in for some share of the blame.

Experts have recommended all kinds of remedies—diversified farming, less acreages in wheat, more dairy farming, more credit, and less credit, and so forth.

There may be a grain of truth in some of these factors. They may have influenced the price of wheat in some parts of the country to a certain extent. Not one of the proposed cures, however, removes the real cause of the trouble for the American farmer—the loss of the great market for American food products, the loss of the central European markets, and more especially the loss of the German market.

Wheat Acreage Is Receding

Surely the acreage for wheat, which is blamed most often, cannot be the cause of the declining price in agricultural products. Our wheat acreage before the war—that is, in 1913—was 47,000,000 acres. In 1919, when wheat saw its highest price, it rose to 75,000,000 acres. But in 1923 it was less than 58,000,000 acres. If we take into consideration the natural growth of our population, it is nonsensical to blame the large acreage, provided our farmers have a market. And the year 1919 was just after our country had seen the wheatless days and the meatless days.

The fact is as follows:

Germany Is a Natural Market

America has a tremendous surplus in the natural resources of her soil, such as metals of all kinds, min-

eral oils, certain kinds of lumber, and especially a surplus in grain, cotton, cattle, and various food products, which our country must export if our farming population is to prosper.

During the World War, when all of Europe was fighting instead of producing, the prices of all our agricultural products were soaring and a general inflation took place.

Germany on her part does not possess any natural deposits or resources of raw material which she could export, even before the war, except potassium and coal.

The German Soil Never Could Feed Its Population

Even before the war Germany could never produce food enough for more than 40,000,000 of her people—and she had 65,000,000. Germany was forced to import grain and grain products, such as flour, bran, starch, and so forth. She also always had to import a great deal of cattle, swine, and meat products. Also much wool and cotton.

As a matter of fact, Germany had to import nearly all the raw material for her industries, with the exception of iron and coal. And nearly all the raw material which Germany needs America possesses in abundance.

Germany's ability to pay for the import of that raw material and to pay for these products of the American farm and of the American packing house was always based upon the ability of the German people to transform the raw material into finished products. For instance, one pound of raw iron may cost very little, perhaps 2 cents, while the same iron when transformed into watch springs is worth many dollars.

Is Even a Better Market Now

However, since the peace of Versailles, Germany has lost one-ninth of its pre-war area, but this one-ninth produced one-fifth of the German pre-war grain harvest. Thus Germany would be an even better market now for our agricultural products if Germany would have the money to buy.

Then there is also this: The remaining agricultural soil of Germany has deteriorated for two reasons. First, Germany has had no agricultural fertilizer in almost 10 years. Secondly, she used up a great deal of German cattle during the war, and many millions others were taken by the French after the peace of Versailles. Thus there is less manure, so that the German grain harvest has been reduced about 60 per cent of its former production for the lack of proper fertilizer.

The production of milk is also one-third of pre-war days, and butter and cheese have declined even more in proportion, so that Germany would be a most excellent market if Germany was in a position to buy.

In short, Germany requires now the import of more foodstuffs than before the war, not only because she has lost some of her agricultural area but also because the remaining acreage produces less.

About Twenty Millions Would Have to Die

The deficit of the German trade balance of 1922 amounted to 2,000,000,000 gold marks and was even larger last year.

It would have been still greater, but the forced under-consumption of food all over Germany and the starvation has kept the amount to that figure. But this underfeeding has cost the lives of hundreds of thousands.

An anti-German writer, in the Review of Reviews, declared three years ago, March, 1923, that if these conditions continue the German people will no doubt decrease from 60,000,000 to 40,000,000, which is about the number that the German soil can feed. The others will have to perish.

Is This Condition an Advantage to America?

The question is now, apart from any considerations of humanity, Is such a condition advantageous to the rest of the world, and especially to America, and more particularly to the American farmer, cotton and wool producers, not to mention the operators of copper, zinc, and iron mines and oil wells, all of whom are suffering today because Germany can not buy?

Millions in Germany are underfed, while the products of the American farms are rotting away because they cannot be sold.

And is it to the advantage of America that these conditions shall continue and that 20,000,000 Germans shall die? I am asking this question as a plain business proposition, apart from any humane considerations.

The "Spirit of Locarno"

But America is not the only country suffering from the German chaos. There is unemployment in England. As late as last December there were still 1,257,000 men out of work in England. And England is paying "doles" to its unemployed today. The industrial fabric of the world is so closely interwoven that the deep injury done to Germany is naturally also felt in England, because next to the United States, Germany was the best customer Great Britain had.

Of course, there are signs of a return to sanity.

There is the so-called "spirit of Locarno" and the much-heralded agreement of Locarno. But that "spirit" of Locarno seems to be only a "near-spirit," something less than "half of a per cent."

Only the Socialists Are Trying to Restore Business in This Case

And it is remarkable that although in this it is the interests of commerce and property that are in question, it seems to be the working class, and only the working class, that tries a solution.

But in England and in France it is the labor parties—the Socialist and the radical parties—that are trying for policies that will restore normalcy in Europe, and with it restore business.

The Tories in England, and the Nationalists in France—and their so-called statesmen—have resisted and are still resisting these sensible policies.

American Politicians Have No Sense

In our own country, where we have even two Tory parties—the Republican and the Democratic—the results are worse in that respect.

If our Government had a grain of sense left we could have righted Europe a long time ago. We decided the World War in favor of the Allies. Without our interference it would have ended in a draw and today Europe would be working. We surely had no valid excuse to enter the murderous mess. And what is worse: Europe has been in a state of war as bad as the armed conflict ever since Germany laid down her arms on November 11, 1918, on Wilson's "14 points."

Any thinking person would now say that it is our duty to help as best we can, especially since the vicious pact of Versailles was largely the result not only of our interference but of American workmanship. It was signed by an American President, Woodrow Wilson, even though it was rejected by the Senate.

United States Responsible

The United States is largely responsible for the situation. The United States, which had no good excuse for entering the war, as every thinking and informed person now admits, really decided the war. Because of the responsibility and also because the United States alone of all the nations possesses the necessary prestige and ability, the United States should take the initiative in calling an international conference to frame terms of peace that will take into consideration the working of economic laws.

We must have a peace that will not attempt to do what the Versailles treaty vainly attempts to do—to keep a nation of 60,000,000 people, who have given much to civilization and, if given a chance, will give much more—a nation in the heart of Europe—in a permanent state of slavery, and in a state of actual starvation.

I Propose an International Conference to Fix War Guilt and a Fair Settlement

Therefore, I have introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives authorizing and requesting the President of the United States to call an international conference to meet in Washington, which is to appoint a commission of experts of neutral nations to

examine the causes that brought about the World War and to publish such secret documents as are still being concealed in the archives of the allied and associated governments. And also to bring about a settlement on the basis of no indemnities, no forcible annexations, and upon the basis of the 14 points, in accordance with which the German people laid down their arms.

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 175) directing the President of the United States to call an international conference for the purpose of revising the terms of the treaty of Versailles and to make public the secret treaties pertaining to the causes of the World War now in the archives of the allied governments and their associates.

Whereas it is the practically unanimous conclusion of historians and leading statesmen of the world, including Englishmen, Russians, and Canadians, that the war guilt placed upon Germany and her government—and solely upon Germany and her government—was one of the many vicious myths of allied propaganda; and

Whereas this fictitious and criminal myth of the sole guilt of Germany was made the basis and corner stone of the inhuman and impossible treaty of Versailles; and

Whereas the chaos in Europe, French militarism, unemployment in Great Britain, the financial distress of our farming population, and a threatening general industrial crisis in America are the results of that sinful pact of Versailles and of the violation of the 14 points which constituted the terms upon which the armistice was agreed to by Germany; and

Whereas the pact of Versailles, according to French

statesmen, is only a modified form of the war, and in spite of the treaties of Locarno and other attempts to mollify what can not be mollified, threatens to result in a new and greater conflagration which may destroy the white race; and

Whereas there can be no doubt about the moral responsibility of the United States of America for the treaty of Versailles, a responsibility which can not be shirked by our Government even though the Senate rejected the treaty, since President Woodrow Wilson helped frame it and signed it; and

Whereas on account of the overwhelming economic and political importance of the United States at the present time no other government has the prestige and the possibility of instituting the steps necessary to restore the political and economic peace of Europe and the world: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, respectfully requested to call an international conference to meet in the city of Washington, D. C., not later than the second Monday in September, 1926, of representatives of all nations that are signatories to the treaty of Versailles for the purpose of discussing and revising that document; and be it further

Resolved, That the said conference appoint a commission of experts of neutral nations to examine the causes that brought about the World War and to publish such secret documents as are still being concealed in the archives of the allied governments and their associates; and, finally, be it

Resolved, That the said conference bring about a

settlement of the World War on the basis of no indemnities, no forcible annexations, no inflated reparations, and on the basis of the 14 points upon which the German people laid down their arms.

The Old Social Question Is Still New

FEBRUARY 3, 1926

Mr. Speaker, the real issue in every modern civilized country is this:

Under the present system, which we call in political economy the capitalist system, the workingman's labor has become a mere ware in the market.

And since the man's labor can not be separated from the man, the workingman himself has become a commodity, whose time is bought and sold. The workingman, or rather his labor power, is subject to the same conditions as every other ware, especially to the conditions of supply and demand and to competition.

The workingman's labor—that is, his time—is bought now in the open market by the highest bidder on the one hand, from the lowest seller on the other.

And the employers—who are really the master class—care only to buy the workingman's time when he is young, strong, and healthy. When he is sick or when he gets old the employer has no use for him.

Not in Business for Charity

The employer is not in business for the sake of charity. He is in business in order to make profits—to make money.

And because of this we can see that our so-called free workers are sometimes worse off—from the purely economic point of view—than the blacks were under slavery before the Civil War.

The Negro was property and represented about a thousand dollars in value—sometimes more, sometimes less. He was property which the master owned. Therefore, the master, if he had any sense, took good care of his human chattel. The master was eager to have the slave as long and in as good condition as possible. When he became sick, or when he died, the master lost money.

The case is entirely different with the white workingman, the so-called free workingman. When the white man is sick, or when he dies, the employers usually lose nothing.

Worst Employer Sets the Pace

And high tariff, or a tariff for revenue only, or free trade, or banking legislation "have nothing to do with the case."

In most cases the employment is absolutely impersonal. The employer does not know his employee by name or even by number. This is invariably the case with a stock company, where the shareholders are scattered all over a city, a State, or all over the country, sometimes over Europe.

Nor can any individual capitalist or employer, no matter how charitably inclined he may be, change anything in these conditions. A business or corporation that should try to run its plant on a charity basis would not last long.

It is simply a matter of competition.

Competition and Labor

And competition has come to have a fearful meaning to the working class.

On the one hand it compels the employers to get

their labor as cheaply as possible; on the other hand it compels the workingmen to compete with one another for jobs. Competition among the workers has become, therefore, a cutthroat competition. It is a question as to who is to live and who is to starve. It is often a question as to whether a man is to stay with his family or to become a tramp.

And the tariff has nothing to do with that question either.

There is always free trade in labor.

Woman and Child Labor

In many cases now the workman is compelled to disrupt his family and send his wife and children to the shop or factory.

For this is the great curse of machinery—or rather of the individual monopoly of machinery—that capital can be coined out of women, and even out of infancy. Thus not alone are men turned into wares, governed by demand and supply, but they are also made to scramble for a precarious living with their wives, sisters, and children.

The evil of child labor is especially glaring down South, where my Democratic friends rule absolutely.

It Is All a Matter of Industrial Evolution

How this came about? It is a matter of industrial evolution.

The following is the theory of Marx and Engels, German economists and philosophers, who spent most of their lives in England studying the workings of the present economic system.

In the Middle Ages a system of small industries prevailed.

This system rested on the private ownership by the workman himself of the means of production. The instruments of labor were then paltry, dwarfish, and cheap; and for that very reason, as a rule, they belonged to the producers themselves.

Since the fifteenth century, and especially since the power of steam was utilized, these limited implements of production have been gradually enlarged, united, and improved, until the common tool of the Middle Ages, and even some of the instruments that were common 50 years ago and later, have been transformed into the machines of today.

In place of the hand loom, the spinning wheel, and the smith's hammer there appeared the mechanical loom, the spinning machine, and the steam hammer. Instead of the single workshop there appeared the factory that combines the united labor of hundreds and of thousands.

At the same time production was transformed from a series of isolated, individual acts into a series of social and combined acts.

The Common Hand Tool Became the Modern Machine

The yarn, the cloth, the metal articles which now come out of the factory are the joint product of the many people through whose hands they had to go successively before being ready.

No single person can say of them: "This I have made." Yet these social tools and social products are treated in the same way as they were at the time when

the tool was an individual tool and when the product was created by the individual.

Thus the present new mode of production remains subject to the old form of appropriation, although the new form of production does away with the very conditions on which the old form was based.

In times of old the owner of the simple tool appropriated or took for his own use his own product, while now—and it is important to grasp this fact fully—the owner of the tool, of the machine, appropriates the work of others. He appropriates this work without a jury and without a verdict.

Private Ownership of the Machine Means the Exploitation of the Worker

And so we see plainly that the private ownership of the means of production, which was formerly the means of securing the product to the producer, has now become the means of exploitation, and, consequently, of servitude.

The development of the tool into the machine separates the workman from his product.

In this way a comparatively small number of capitalists obtain a monopoly of the means of production.

Why Workingmen Resist Introduction of Machinery

We are often inclined to deprecate the resistance of the workingmen to the introduction of machinery.

But these victories of the human intellect over the forces of nature which naturally should be a benefit to all—an unlimited source of blessing to the human race—have often become a means of torture to the toilers.

How many wage earners has the introduction of machinery thrown out of employment? How many lives have thereby been destroyed?

Advantage of Inventions to One Class

Most of the advantage of all new inventions, machines, and improvements now goes mainly to the small class of capitalists, while, on the other hand, these new inventions, machines, improvements, and labor devices displace human labor and steadily increase the army of the unemployed, who, starved and frantic, are ever ready to take the places of those who have work, thereby still further depressing the labor market.

It is from this army that the capitalist class recruit their special police, their deputy sheriffs, their detectives, and some of their minor politicians.

Effects of Competition on Small Business Men

But the wageworkers are by no means the only sufferers. The small employers, the small merchants, and the small bankers are also feeling the sting of an unequal competition.

For every one of these men of business lives at war with all his brethren. The hand of the one is against the other, and no foe is more terrible to him than the one who is running a neck-to-neck race with him every day.

The Devil Gets the Hindmost

Therefore in the factory as well as in the store the wages must be cut constantly, and the sales must be ever enlarged.

The latest improvements, the best labor-saving machinery, must be used, and as little wages must be paid

as possible. The race is for life or death, and "the devil gets the hindmost."

The fierce competition lessens the profit on each article, and this must be compensated for by a greater number of articles being produced and sold; that is, the cheaper the goods, the more capital is required to carry on the business.

The Danger to the Middle Class

Precisely, then, for the same reason that the mechanic with his own shop and working on his own account has nearly disappeared in the struggle between handwork and machine work—for precisely the same reason the small manufacturers, with their little machinery, their small capital, and their little stock of goods, are now being driven from the field.

And the same is the case with the little store that must compete with the department store or the mail-order house, and with the small bank competing with the big bank.

Middle Class Is Anti-Trust

It is that middle class that is yelling most loudly against the corporations, the railroads, and the trusts.

It is that class that wants the Sherman law to be made "more effective." It is that class that would like to turn the wheel of economic evolution backward.

However, we can not destroy the trusts without destroying our civilization.

We Do Not Want to Destroy the Trusts

Moreover, we do not want to destroy them. The trusts bring some system into the industrial chaos. They are the forerunners of a new social order. They

have put the first effective check upon the disastrous evils of competition.

While competition grows more intense among the workers, and while it still prevails among the small traders and small manufacturers, the trusts have abolished competition in the realm of "big business."

The trusts are undoubtedly a milestone in the industrial evolution of the race.

The trusts spell progress and are a tremendous benefit. So far, however, they are mainly a benefit to their owners.

Let the Nation Own the Trusts

What we must do, therefore, is to extend the benefits of this ownership to the entire Nation.

The national ownership of the trusts must be our next great step in evolution. The Sherman law ought to be repealed and a law enacted to nationalize every industry where the output and the prices are controlled by a trust or a privately owned monopoly.

On the other hand, the trusts by their very magnitude have made the viciousness of the capitalist system clear to everyone.

We see that the purely individualist theory of private ownership of "property," which our competitive wage system has made the foundation of society, has resulted in practically abolishing the possibility of private ownership for the great majority of the people.

Distribution of Wealth in the United States

The most reliable figures as to the distribution of wealth we have are from the United States Commission on Industrial Relations in 1915. Then it was as follows:

The "rich," 2 per cent of the people, own 60 per cent of the wealth.

The "middle class," 33 per cent of the people, own 35 per cent of the wealth.

The "poor," 65 per cent of the people, own 5 per cent of the wealth.

These figures surely have not changed to the disadvantage of the very rich since 1915, especially in view of the war and the war profits, which, according to Government figures, created 23,000 new millionaires, and the statement that 2 per cent of the people own 60 per cent of the wealth hardly holds good today, for the 2 per cent undoubtedly own more than 60 per cent.

One must remember that the large majority of the salaried men and of the average workingmen own nothing at all.

As to "Incomes" in the United States

According to the National Bureau of Economic Research, which gets its financial support chiefly from the Carnegie Corporation and similar sources, and whose board of directors is made up mainly of men known to be conservatives, the national income in 1918 amounted to \$61,000,000,000. There are about 21,000,000 families in the country, and therefore the national income in 1918, if equally distributed, would mean for each family an income of about \$2,900.

The same source reports that the richest 1 per cent received 14 per cent of all the income in 1918—a year of abnormally high wages. Even in 1918, the year of war wages, however, the poorest 10 per cent received $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of all the income.

But even in 1918 we find that those who earned less

than \$1,600 comprised 78 per cent of all the people of the United States. And those who earned more than \$1,600 made up only 22 per cent.

Some Official Income Tax Statistics

Conditions have changed for the worse, and the abyss between rich and poor has become wider and more glaring since 1918.

According to the statistics of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue for 1924 there are 213 people in the United States whose incomes were over \$500,000 a year. The number of men whose incomes are \$300,000 and over has increased by 231 persons in the last year.

In its report of 1921 the National Bureau of Economic Research states that there were 521 persons in the United States having incomes of over \$500,000 each, aggregating \$536,439,618.

These 521 super-rich had as much income as 2,000,000 American citizens who are at the bottom of the income tax scale.

You Do Not See This in the Daily Papers

The other side of the medal:

Sixty thousand Americans died of starvation in 1925, Edward E. East, of Harvard University, told a well-fed Cleveland audience recently.

The daily papers did not say much about that, because 1925 was the year that the Corn Belt farmers nearly froze and went naked because they raised too much corn and the big banks and industrial corporations nearly choked to death on profits.

Wealth the Only Social Power Today

The centralization of the control of property is increasing with a rapidity that threatens the integrity of the Nation. The average of wages, the certainty of employment, the social privileges and independence of the wage-earning and agricultural population, when compared with the increase of the wealth and social production, are steadily and rapidly decreasing.

And the very worst of the social temptations is that wealth has become the greatest, one might say the only, social power. All human worth is estimated in terms of wealth—in dollars and cents.

Things can not go on like this indefinitely. White men will not always stand for it. We are by our present circumstances and their consequences creating a race of "white people" in our midst, compared with which the Vandals of the fourth century were humane beings.

Sowing the Seeds of a Violent Revolution

Within a short time, with present tendencies unchecked, we shall have two nations in this country, both of native growth. One will be very large in number, semi-civilized, half starved, and degenerated through misery; the other will be small in number, overfed, over-civilized, and degenerated through luxury.

What will be the outcome?

Some day there will be a volcanic eruption. A fearful retribution will be enacted on the capitalist class as a class, and the innocent will suffer with the guilty.

Such a revolution would throw humanity back into semi-barbarism and cause even a temporary retrogression of civilization.

We have a fair example in Russia. And we Socialists want no Russian solution of American questions.

The Socialist View of the Question

Therefore we say the wage system was a step in the evolution of freedom. But it was only a step.

Without trades unionism, labor associations, and co-operative societies, the wage system would produce a social state lower than that of feudalism.

Social freedom, complete justice, can be accomplished only by the collective ownership and democratic management of the social means of production and distribution.

We realize that all this cannot be brought about by a single stroke—by a one day's revolution. We realize that as long as we are in the minority we have no right to force our opinions upon the majority. Still we know that all legislation, in order to be really progressive and wholesome, must move in that direction—must be in accordance with the modern economic progress.

Socialism Is Not Communism

We are opposed to communism, of course.

Both Socialism and communism have the same origin—and both are opposed to the present anarchistic method of production—and both combat the exploitation of the masses for the benefit of a few individuals.

There is a wide difference between Socialism and communism, however, both in theory and practice.

Socialism simply demands the collective ownership and democratic management of the social means of production. Under Socialism, the consumption is always

to remain individual and only the social means of production can not be owned by individuals.

Communism, on the other hand, denies the individual ownership of all property. Moreover, the communists want not only to produce but also to consume in common.

Until the advent of the bolsheviki, there were very few conscious communists in civilized countries. Communism had often been tried by utopian schemers, but apart from a few religious communities it had always failed.

The bolsheviki are holding on to their power in Russia by having given up in practice most of their communistic theories.

Socialists Against All-Powerful Government

The Socialists are opposed to making any government supremely powerful by adding economic functions to its political power, as has been done in Russia.

We want no all-powerful bureaucracy by any name—no super-government, no "etatism," no "Staats all macht." We experienced its workings during the Wilson administration.

We are also opposed to any dictatorship of the proletariat. In the end, this always means either the dictatorship of a committee, or some commission, or the dictatorship of the mob. It also means violence.

We shall always resist the abuse of even the democratic majority rule, and always insist on sufficient guaranties for the rights of minorities. It is usually the minority that has made human progress possible in the world's history.

As a matter of course, therefore, Social Democrats are in favor of absolute free speech, in favor of a free press, and for unlimited freedom of association of any kind.

Such is our conception of a social democracy.

Our Program in a Nutshell

Now to make a long story short:

We believe that everything that is necessary for the life of the Nation, for the enjoyment of everybody within the Nation, the Nation is to own and manage. Therefore we shall take over the trusts, railroads, mines, telegraphs, and other monopolies of national scope.

Everything that is necessary for the life and development of the State, the State is to own and manage. There are certain business functions that the State will have to take care of, like interurban lines, for instance.

Everything that is necessary for the life and development of a city the city is to own and manage, as, for instance, not only street cars and light and heating plants, but also abattoirs, public bake shops, the distribution of pure milk, and so forth.

Everything that the individual can own and manage best the individual is to own and manage.

That is simple enough.

Aims of the Socialist Party

As I said before:

The Socialist Party endeavors to bring about the collective ownership and democratic management of all of the social means of production and distribution.

We will start with the national ownership of the

country's natural resources, such as mines, oil wells, forests, and so forth.

With this must be combined the national ownership of the means of transportation and communication—railroads, telegraphs, telephones. Furthermore, we must stand everywhere for the principle of public ownership of public utilities.

Our country has made a good start in the reserving of some national forests, only the start came somewhat late.

Our aim is finally to get hold of all of the trusts. The national ownership and democratic management of the trusts is the end of the road for a long time to come.

Future generations will have to take care of future conditions.

World Fairs Wiser Investment Than Army Appropriations

FEBRUARY 16, 1926

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, after all the poetry and oratory that you have heard this afternoon I am going to tell you in plain prose that I am for this bill. I am going to vote for it and I do so gladly. [Applause.]

I will give you the reasons for my decision. I would rather vote for 10 world fairs or vote for 10 international industrial expositions than to vote for one battleship. I believe international fairs help international relations a good deal more than any number of battleships.

A world's fair is a sort of international competition in the achievements of civilization. Every nation participating in it is striving to show the progress it has made in industry, art, science, and culture.

World's Fair Not a Military Show

And therefore I am opposed to any show of militarism at this world's fair, as was originally contemplated by some people who wanted to appropriate \$1,500,000 for the Army and about \$750,000 for the Navy to show them off in Philadelphia.

A world's fair is not a place to display our military strength or to prove our preparedness for war.

I can not see the necessity for a demonstration of our Army in Philadelphia. All we need is a couple of music bands and a few airplanes to add to the cheer

and the spectacular, and we ought to devote the rest to exhibits of agriculture and science and industry.

No War Ever Made This Nation Great

In this morning's Washington Post I read a report of a speech of a gentleman about the Spanish War. He claimed that the Spanish-American War made America a great Nation and put the United States on the map as a world power.

I absolutely deny that any war has ever made this Nation great or even helped it to any perceptible degree. And I am also prepared to prove that every war in which we have participated during the short time of our existence as a Nation could really have been avoided with a little foresight and good will.

The most excusable of all our wars was the Revolutionary War. That was really unavoidable in order to make us a Nation.

Some Historical Facts

But the War of 1812 could have been avoided, and did bring us neither honor nor profit. While school histories make much of General Jackson's defense of New Orleans, and of the battles on Lake Erie, this is simply a camouflage in order to avoid telling the school children that in that war we were licked practically all the time. Such knowledge might be detrimental to their childish war patriotism.

The historical fact is that our troops ran away in Indiana, ran away in Michigan, and they finally, in 1814, ran away at Bladensburg, right near here, although our soldiers outnumbered the British six to one. And our "Anglo-Saxon, white, and Protestant" (Nor-

dic) brothers took Washington and burned the Capitol. The British soldiers held a mock meeting of Congress and declared the United States dissolved and America a British colony. Great Britain was very busy all that time with Napoleon, otherwise we might have fared very badly.

The war with Mexico in 1846 was surely inexcusable. It was opposed by all the best men in Congress. It was a war favored by the South to extend black slavery. It surely did help the United States only in one way—it added to our territory. But wars for the sake of adding territory are not favored much among civilized nations in our time.

Then we had the Civil War. That war also could have been prevented and would have been prevented, if our leading men had followed the advice of Henry Clay. He wanted the Government of the United States to buy the slaves at their full value and liberate them. The slavery question could then have been solved without any bloodshed or waste of treasure.

The extremes on both sides, however, would not listen to that proposition. Nevertheless I deny that the Civil War solved even the Negro question or any other question for that matter. All it did was to add a few dead-letter amendments to our Constitution. And, of course, the Civil War helped neither the North nor the South.

Spanish-American War Unnecessary

And now as to the Spanish War. That war also could have been avoided. It was opposed by most of the big men of that time—even by the conservatives. President McKinley was opposed to it. Mark Hanna

was opposed to it. Speaker Reed was opposed to it. The Army and the Navy and the war patriots, however, wanted to try out our big Navy.

Then came the explosion of the *Maine*. I do not believe that the Spaniards blew up the *Maine*. I do not believe that there is any intelligent man in the Navy today who believes it. If the Spaniards had any intention to blow up the *Maine*, they would not have chosen the time when almost all of the officers were on land, as was the case that night. Everything points to the fact that the explosion was the result of spontaneous combustion in the coal bunkers of the ship.

The glory that was achieved in the Spanish-American War was cheap enough. The Spanish wooden tubs could not and would not stand up, and even their so-called battleships did not amount to much. And we won great naval battles, like the Battle of Manila, without losing a single man, and the Battle of Santiago, in which we lost one.

What did we achieve by that war that we could not have achieved without war?

The freeing of Cuba and Porto Rico could have been accomplished without war and with less expense by handing Spain a piece of money which that kingdom needed badly. And as for the Philippine Islands, you know what Speaker Thomas B. Reed said about the acquisition of those islands.

Prohibition and Enforcement Gains of World War

Now, as for the World War.

The less said about that the better. And I am not going to say much. Most of the intelligent British opinion of today agrees that the world would have been

better off and that the European countries would have **gone** back to normalcy after the war if we had not **joined** as the twentieth nation to bring about a **complete** knockout of Germany.

The World War would otherwise have been a "partie remis"—a battle in which neither side was a victor—and Europe would have peace now instead of being an **armed** camp of hate with a half dozen dictators.

And what did we get out of it? Let us see.

Our share was 123,000 dead, about 200,000 maimed, an expenditure of about \$40,000,000,000—if we figure in what the All-Lies will not pay—prohibition, the "flu," the American Legion, and the Ku-Klux Klan. Fine things to go to war for.

Now let me tell you what really made this Nation great.

Real Cause of Our Greatness

We got one of the richest continents on this globe—perhaps the richest—as a gift and practically free of charge.

We had a continuous stream of the most intelligent, best trained, cheap, and willing labor coming here for 250 years.

We had some of the best inventive geniuses the world has ever produced, and we also made free and full use of all the inventions made by the geniuses of other countries.

We applied the motive power of steam and of electricity as early as any other nation.

It is the railroad systems of this country, the telegraph, the telephones, the steam shovels, the modern plows, the harvesting machines, and appliances of that

kind that made this a great Nation—not the Spanish-American War.

That war simply started us on the road to imperialism.

I consider the World's Fair in Chicago a greater achievement than the Battle of Manila, and the architect, Burnham, in Chicago, who planned it, a greater man than Admiral Dewey, who was supposed to have started the battle with the famous sentence, "Let her go, Gridley."

Inventions Did It, Not the Generals

I am glad to state that this country has never produced a great, shining military genius like Hannibal, Caesar, Frederick the Great, or Napoleon.

From the days of George Washington to the days of Pershing our generals were not much above the average in the galaxy of military leaders. We have a right to claim a number of American inventors of world-wide renown, however.

From the days of the spinning jenny, which made cotton king, to the time of steam as motive power for railroads and ships, down to the days of Graham Bell, who utilized the telephone, and Henry Ford, who sells us flivvers, America's inventive genius was always in the front rank.

This is what our exposition is to show, and this is what I hope it will show.

Some Coolidge Economy

I am very sorry that President Coolidge practiced his economy stunt in cutting down the allowances to \$2,000,000 from \$3,000,000, as was originally intended

by the committee. The President could have, with a great deal more justification and consistency, compelled the paring down of \$100,000,000 each from the Army and Navy appropriations. The \$200,000,000 could have been used to help education or road building or for the advancement of public-health work in our country.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I shall vote for this appropriation. Every world's fair, to my mind, tends to create an era of good feeling among the nations that participate in it and a sort of holiday atmosphere in the country that arranges it.

But I have said enough. I hope that this appropriation for the world's fair to be held in Philadelphia will be accepted by an overwhelming majority. [Applause.]

Despotism During the War and Since Makes Civil Liberties Union a Necessity

MARCH 26, 1926

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, the herd instinct was one of the causes of the survival of the buffalo for a long time—that is, as long as the buffalo had only wolves and other wild animals and Indians to contend with. The same mass habits, however, helped to extinguish the buffalo very rapidly when that animal came into contact with white men and modern rifles.

The psychology of the American man seems to be dominated by a similar herd instinct. It shows itself everywhere—in our habits, in our laws, and even in our clothes. It was undoubtedly useful in the past, but it is a source of very great danger for the future.

Our rulers are aware of that instinct. They appeal to that instinct continuously through suggestion, press, church, and school, or by getting hold of the bell-wethers.

A Very Docile People

The docility of the American is another characteristic. And it is so glaring that it was noticed at once by Lord Northcliffe when he came to this country for propaganda purposes. Watching a "preparedness parade" from the bay window of a club in New York long before the United States entered the war, he was reported in the papers to have said:

"What a docile people; what a docile people!"

There is also another side to it. Our herd, like every other herd, when stampeded is likely to trample under its feet anybody who does not run with it.

Then we hear very much about majority rule and Americanism, although the stampede may have been caused by some crooked special interest waving a "red rag" to start a few timid individuals on the run.

To follow the simile about the buffalo further:

In politics we also seem to have a northern herd and a southern herd. And the southern herd is much more readily "buffaloed" by waving the "red rag" than the northern herd.

The Backwardness of the South

This is partly due to the system of slavery which prevailed in the South before the Civil War. The bulk of the white people of the South, who had no slaves, had no chance for industrial or economic development.

It did, however, give them a false notion of superior "race consciousness."

Southern folks are well meaning, but as a general rule they are woefully lacking even in elementary information about economics, history, and ethnography. Where modern economic development is taking place in the South, they are making headway in many directions.

The South will for some time, nevertheless, remain the backbone of reaction in our country. Nowhere is the percentage of illiteracy greater and the progress of new ideas slower. The South has not produced a great writer, artist, poet, inventor, or even statesman in 75 years, but it has produced the Ku-Klux Klan.

As for constructive ideas—none came from the South since the days of Thomas Jefferson and Henry Clay.

The Gentleman From Texas

This House is so fortunate, or unfortunate, as to have as one of its members an industrious gentleman, very narrow, but in some respects useful. I shall not mention his name, but leave his identity to the House.

It is rather interesting to examine his mental furniture, so to speak. We shall then find that it is made up of a vast number of judgments or prejudgments upon a great variety of subjects—most of them rather complex and difficult.

And he seems to know particularly how far free speech and a free press should be tolerated and when it should be stopped.

On January 4 of this year my industrious friend, the gentleman from Texas, obtained unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the Record on the case of Carlo Tresca and also as to his alleged investigations about the Countess Karolyi and other people whom he calls "undesirables." Mr. Blanton inserted a great deal of extraneous matter covering some 10 pages of the Record in small print concerning the growth of communism in Great Britain, China, the United States, and other countries largely foreign to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. Blanton).

And the gentleman from Texas singled out especially the American Civil Liberties Union.

It Needs No Defense

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I am not speaking here in defense of the American Civil Liberties Union. That organization needs no defense.

I sympathize deeply with the work of the American Civil Liberties Union. Every citizen who believes in freedom, and who knows something about it—must necessarily sympathize with its work.

In order not to be misunderstood, I want to state that I fought my battle without any assistance or help from the American Civil Liberties Union. Because I went through the mill unaided, however, I appreciate the work that organization has been doing for other men.

This Is What Happened to Me

And this is also my opportunity to tell you something about my case, about which most of you gentlemen know little or nothing.

I was opposed to our country's entrance into the World War and said so in speeches and articles.

Early in 1918, four other men and I were indicted upon orders from above on the charge of "conspiracy to interfere with the armed forces" and found guilty of that charge by a "handpicked" Federal jury, each member of which, according to a statement printed in the Chicago Herald-Examiner, had the O K of the American Protective League—which means a branch of the Secret Service, so-called—before he was put on the jury.

The overt acts which formed the alleged conspiracy consisted in the reprinting of the Socialist Party's proclamation against war, adopted at the national convention held in St. Louis, Mo. And also in the printing of five editorials, in which the Milwaukee Leader expressed its disagreement with the policies of the administration regarding the European war.

The following four men were indicted with me: Adolph Germer, W. F. Kruse, Irvine St. John Tucker, and J. L. Engdahl. Two of them were young clerks, whom I hardly knew by name, before the indictment.

The prosecution did not charge that we had ever met to discuss the alleged conspiracy. The prosecution did not charge that we had ever planned or had ever mentioned it to one another by means of correspondence or otherwise.

What the prosecution did charge was that five men holding similar opinions with regard to the war conspired by means of a "meeting of the minds."

This legal fiction outrages common sense, of course.

Under this construction any man, of any party, or of no party, anywhere in the United States could be indicted, convicted, and sentenced to 20 years in the penitentiary—if his opinions agreed with the opinions of any other person upon public questions and were offensive to the men who were temporarily in power.

I was indicted upon articles opposing the entrance of our country into the World War. Some of them were written at that time. But the prosecution also brought into the case articles printed many years before the indictment—one written in 1902, 16 years before I was indicted.

The Position of the Socialists

Opposition of the Socialist Party in all countries against imperialistic and commercial wars is as old as international Socialism.

Opposition in that respect was first formulated in Geneva at the International Congress in 1866. And if opposition to commercial and imperialistic wars means

a conspiracy, then that conspiracy against the World War of 1914 was really hatched out by the Socialists in 1866.

It was well known that Socialists would fight only in wars of emancipation or when their country was actually invaded by armed forces.

It is also worth noting that the proclamations of all the European Socialist parties were worded very much like the proclamation and program which the American Socialists adopted in St. Louis in 1917. Even the phraseology was very much the same.

The American Socialists state in the proclamation that they believed that the American people did not want to enter the World War. That they were plunged into the war by the plutocrats and the profiteers of the country, and their demagogic agitators, their press, their photoplays, their advertisements, their bill posters, and other instruments of public expression. That is what American Socialists believed then, and what they still believe now.

Many Republicans and Democrats said the same. And some members of Congress had criticized the national administration and the war as severely as I did.

Woodrow Wilson and the War

Nobody denied the fact that Woodrow Wilson was re-elected President of the United States in November, 1916, on the slogan "He kept us out of war"—and that he pushed us into the war a few months later.

We all know that Mr. Wilson changed continuously. He changed from "There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight" on May 10, 1915, to demanding a standing army of 534,000 men for peace time in 1919

—after the “Covenant of nations had made wars impossible forever.” In 1919 he also demanded the biggest battle fleet we ever had.

These changes of the position of the President were evidently brought about by certain big capitalistic interests, that had a great deal to gain by our entering the war. However, the Socialists did not accuse President Wilson of any conspiracy with J. Pierpont Morgan and Lord Northcliffe. We concluded that President Wilson considered it his duty to protect these international capitalistic interests.

Under the convenient legalistic term of “conspiracy,” however, as construed by some of our Federal judges as “a meeting of the minds”—whether the persons accused had ever met or not—and with an act like the infamous espionage act, which, by the way, is still on our statute books, and forbids men to even think against the war when the war is on—even members of Congress could have been indicted and found guilty of “conspiracy” individually and collectively.

They could have been indicted, tried, and found guilty for the alleged utterances of persons whom they had not known, and for articles they had never seen—if the right kind of a panel could be gotten together by the administration in power in the United States at the time. They could be indicted far away from their homes, compelled to give bail in another State, and convicted there by juries while Congress was not in session. They would only be protected from such tyrannical procedure while they were members of Congress and Congress was in session.

President Wilson was quoted in the papers as having said that “certain Senators should be gibbeted” because

they did not approve his signing the treaty of Versailles. Supposing Wilson had insisted that this idea of his be incorporated into law. Well, by that time the House had gone Republican, and these Senators happened to be prominent Republicans, so there was no likelihood that such a law would have passed on Mr. Wilson's say so.

But many an American Socialist surely was doomed beforehand as a "German" and as a "Bolshevik" in the capitalist press.

Some More Things That Happened

What happened to me is this:

A citizen of Milwaukee, Wis., I was indicted in several places, and also indicted in Chicago in the State of Illinois. I was compelled to furnish bail in Chicago to the amount of \$100,000. And I was under bail of \$45,000 more on other indictments in several places in Wisconsin for similar articles in the Milwaukee Leader.

The minions of the Department of Justice, with A. Mitchell Palmer, the Attorney General, whom the following administration tried hard to punish for his administration as Alien Property Custodian—that Department of Justice was in possession of all our books and files, not only in Milwaukee and Chicago, but everywhere.

These spies had opened all my letters and the letters of the other defendants for many months, before and after the indictment, and although there was not the shadow of evidence to connect any of us or any member of the Socialist Party with the German propaganda, the prosecution continually hinted at German propaganda.

The Milwaukee Leader and I have been prosecuted under the espionage act in an unprecedented manner. The Milwaukee Leader not only lost its second-class mailing right by order of Postmaster General Burleson, but The Milwaukee Leader and its editor were also deprived of the right to receive any and all kinds of mail, letters included.

As late as 1921, almost three years after the armistice, a person could send a letter to the Kaiser in Holland or to his son, the crown prince, but could not send a letter to The Milwaukee Leader or any of its editors. Even a box of strawberries which was sent to me by a friend in the northern part of Wisconsin was returned to the sender with the legend, "Not deliverable under the espionage act."

And in order to get the proper background to all this, please imagine the capitalist papers of Milwaukee, and of Wisconsin, for that matter, every day asking for a mob to lynch you, in more or less veiled language, under the pretext that you are a disgrace to the City and the State.

Imagine, further, getting letters—anonymous letters, of course—every day, while mail was delivered to you, threatening you with death.

Also imagine patriotic students in the university town hanging you in effigy on lamp-posts and burning you at the stake after solemn processions—in good company, however, that of the late Robert M. La Follette.

And what was worse than any of these things, imagine the Secret Service men going to advertisers, especially department stores, and also reaching by some mysterious influence all of your out-of-town adver-

tisers, and getting them to cut out their advertisements at once; and a daily paper depends to no small extent on advertisements for a living.

This "government" activity resulted in The Milwaukee Leader going down from 12 and 14 pages a day to 8 and finally to 6 each day. The paper lost 17,600 out-of-town subscribers overnight, so to speak, by losing its right to go by mail—the railroads and express companies also refused to accept it for transportation. The readers of the paper in Milwaukee considered this a challenge, however. They not only remained loyal—but they doubled the local circulation of the Leader.

The Infamous Espionage Law

The espionage act, which gave the Postmaster General unlimited discretionary powers and formed the basis of many prosecutions by the Attorney General, A. Mitchell Palmer, was really not an espionage but a peonage law. It made political peons out of American citizens.

Nevertheless, even according to the report of the Attorney General, A. Mitchell Palmer, not a single citizen was ever convicted of being a paid German spy—and not a citizen was ever found guilty of trying to find out military secrets.

So far as there is any record, those accused of such offenses under the espionage act have been either acquitted or interned without imprisonment, because they were not citizens.

American citizens, however, were sentenced to terms of many years' imprisonment for remarks made in private conversation about the World War.

It was a crime to say or write that the World War was caused by commercial rivalry. To doubt that the World War was "an idealistic war" to save the liberty of the world—or to doubt that it was a war to take revenge for the little fingers that were cut off Belgian babies by German brutes—meant that the doubting Thomas was immediately arrested as a pro-German, or at least as a Socialist.

Most educated men the world over frankly admit now that the World War was caused by the struggle for commercial supremacy between Great Britain and Germany, by the pan-slavistic ambitions and intrigues of Russia, and by the desire of France for revenge and for the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine.

Even President Wilson, at the St. Louis Coliseum, September 5, 1919, enlightened the world as follows:

"The real reason that the war we have just finished took place was that Germany was afraid that her commercial rivals were going to get the better of her. And the reasons that some of the other nations went into the war against Germany was that they were afraid Germany would get the commercial advantage over them."

And also on the same day in St. Louis Wilson said:

"Peace? Why, my fellow citizens, is there a man here, or any woman—let me say is there any child—who does not know that the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry? * * * This war was a commercial and industrial war. It was not a political war."

Nevertheless, during 1917 Postmaster General Burleson suppressed about 60 Socialist publications by taking their second-class mailing rights away. These papers were saying the same thing in 1917 that Woodrow

Wilson said in 1919. And both Burleson and Palmer tried their very best to kill *The Milwaukee Leader* for saying the same thing that everybody else is saying now.

And I was condemned to serve 20 years in the penitentiary for saying the same thing in 1917 and 1918.

The Opinion of a Harvard Professor

Says Mr. Zechariah Chafee, professor of law, Harvard University, in his book, *Freedom of Speech*:

"No one reading the simple language of the espionage act of 1917 would have anticipated that it would be rapidly turned into a law under which opinions hostile to the war had practically no protection.

"This feeling was largely due to the hysterical fear of spies and other German propaganda. All of us looking back to 1917 and 1918 are now sure that the emotions of ourselves and everyone else were far from normal.

"It is unnecessary to review the 2,000 espionage act prosecutions in detail, but a few general results may be presented here.

"The courts have treated opinions as statements of fact and then condemned them because they differed from the President's speech or the resolution of Congress declaring war. Almost all the convictions have been for expressions of opinion about the merits and conduct of the war.

"Only once in our history prior to 1917 has an attempt been made to apply those doctrines.

"In 1798 the impending war with France, the spread of revolutionary doctrines by foreigners in our midst, and the spectacle of the disastrous operation of those doctrines abroad—facts that have a familiar sound to-day—led to the enactment of the alien and sedition laws.

"The alien law allowed the President to compel the

departure of aliens whom he judged dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, or suspected, on reasonable grounds, of treasonable or secret machinations against our Government.

"The sedition laws punished false, scandalous, and malicious writings against the Government, either House of Congress, or the President, if published with intent to defame any of them, or to excite against them the hatred of the people, or to stir up sedition or to excite resistance of law, or to aid any hostile design of any foreign nation against the United States. The maximum penalty was a fine of \$2,000 and two years' imprisonment.

"Truth was a defense, and the jury had power to determine criminality.

"Despite the inclusion of the two legal rules for which reformers had contended, and the requirement of an actual intention to cause overt injury, the sedition act was bitterly resented by the people at that time as invading the liberty of the press.

"Its constitutionality was assailed on that ground by Thomas Jefferson, who pardoned all prisoners when he became President.

"Congress eventually repaid all the fines, and popular indignation at the act and the prosecutions entirely wrecked the Federalist Party."

Now, the espionage act of 1917 was in the main a true copy of the law of 1798. With this difference, however: The maximum penalty was raised from a fine of \$2,000 and 2 years' imprisonment to a fine of \$10,000 and 20 years' hard labor in the penitentiary.

Moreover, the truth of a statement was not admitted as a defense in the espionage act.

Compare Lincoln With Wilson

Just to show you how the make-up of the people of our country had changed; Abraham Lincoln waged a

war of four years infinitely more dangerous to the existence of the United States of America, and to the existence of the Union than was the World War, without any infamous law like the espionage act.

The war to abolish chattel slavery divided the sentiment in almost every city, even in the North. It was a war which in the main was fought out and decided within 100 miles of Washington, while in the World War our boys had to travel more than 3,000 miles to get a chance to break into the fight.

And yet Lincoln refused to have a gag law enacted.

It was different under the Woodrow Wilson administration. That administration made a specialty of slick and hypocritical "democratic" phrases and of autocratic, tyrannical, and beastly acts.

There Are No Political Crimes in This Country

Moreover, even today this is the only civilized country in the world where they do not differentiate between political offenders and common criminals.

A man who differed with Woodrow Wilson and Mitchell Palmer and William G. McAdoo, and was found guilty of that terrific crime, was treated as a common criminal, and worse than a common criminal.

And, as a matter of fact, even the present Attorney General denies that there is such a thing as a "political crime" in America.

In other words, if you differed with Wilson and Palmer and McAdoo and Burleson in the interpretation of the World War or concerning the oil-well policy, then you were a common criminal, not a political offender.

And "de facto" that still seems to be the opinion of some lawyers.

For instance, Eugene V. Debs said this was a capitalist war, and for this he served nearly two years as a common criminal, and he has not recovered his citizenship and privileges rights as yet.

A Few Cases Selected Out of Many

Here are some other convictions under the espionage act:

The Rev. C. A. Waldron, 15 years for preaching that Christ did not approve of war and for circulating a religious pacifist pamphlet; Harold Mackley, 15 years for remarks in conversation; both at Burlington, Vt.

Daniel Wallace, Davenport, Iowa, 20 years for speech on conscription and the war; Frederick Kraft, former Socialist candidate for Governor of New Jersey, Trenton, N. J., 5 years and \$1,000 fine for criticism of conscription in a street-corner speech; Vincente Balbas, 8 years and \$4,000 fine for an editorial in his paper opposing the drafting of such Porto Ricans as had declined United States citizenship; J. A. Petersen, of Minneapolis, Minn., Republican nominee for United States Senate, 4 years for speeches and articles during the campaign; at Sioux Falls 25 Socialists sentenced from 1 to 2 years for circulating a petition charging unfair administration of the draft at Sioux Falls; William J. Mead, State Secretary of the Socialist Party, sentenced to 3 years for circulating a petition for the repeal of the draft law at Des Moines; D. T. Blodgett, 20 years for circulating leaflet advocating not re-electing Congressmen who voted for conscription.

The Debs case arose over a speech made by Eugene V. Debs in Canton, Ohio, June 16, 1918, a few months before the armistice was signed. The speech was made

before the Socialist State convention, where Debs was addressing his fellow Socialists. The gist of his talk was that wars are generally caused by capitalist interests and fought by the working classes. Debs denounced the suppression of Socialist newspapers, the imprisonment of Socialists who disagreed with the policies of the administration, and held before the eyes of his audience the vision of a world free from war and capitalism.

He was indicted. On September 9 he went to trial. The day before a conference was held, at which Debs said:

"I have nothing to take back. All I said I believe to be true. I have no reason to change my mind."

When the prosecution completed its case, refusing the aid of his attorney—Debs addressed the jury in his own behalf, repeating the things he said at Canton.

He was found guilty and sentenced, at the age of 66, to serve 10 years in the penitentiary. He served about two and a half years of that term.

These are a few samples of hundreds of other cases.

One of the most flagrant cases was the one involving three Socialists of Albany, N. Y.

The Socialist organization of Albany, shortly after the entrance of the United States into the war, met to consider the distribution of a pamphlet entitled "The Price We Pay." They were told that in Baltimore a case was pending to determine whether it could be circulated legally. After the Federal judge at Baltimore decided that the circulation of the pamphlet was proper, the Albany Socialists went ahead with the circulation.

The Socialists were arrested, tried, and sentenced to serve terms of 6 months, 9 months, and 1 year, and to pay fines of \$500 each.

One of them, a man over 60 years of age, confined to a damp cell for nine months, came out afflicted with rheumatism. He never fully recovered from the illness he contracted in jail. He paid with his life for doing that which a Federal judge had held he had a right to do.

Have Done a Service to All Parties

I was sentenced to serve 20 years in the penitentiary. I escaped only by conducting a very hard and very expensive legal battle for years. I finally won out.

I was lucky enough to have judges like Brandeis and Holmes and White on the Supreme Court Bench when my case came up. And maybe also in having a patrioter like Landis to judge my case. He overreached himself.

As you gentlemen know, I have been rejected twice since that time as a member of this House, although I was legally and regularly elected to my seat and although I had served in Congress before.

All Honor Due to the Fifth District of Wisconsin

And on this occasion, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I also want to express my great admiration and gratitude to the fifth district of Wisconsin, and the gratitude of every genuine democrat of the country to the voters of that district. They have made this vindication possible by adhering so nobly and so persistently to the idea of representative government—and to me personally.

I hope if the occasion should ever occur again, at some other time, and democracy thus be endangered again at some other place, that the next man will find a district as loyal and as enlightened as the fifth district of Wisconsin. This district, in my opinion, comprises the highest average intelligence of a highly intelligent State. A Socialist vote presupposes independent thinking and some courage. I am proud of my State and I am proud of the fifth district of Wisconsin, which is leading that State.

A. Mitchell Palmer's "Idea"

And to come back to these free-speech cases:

The Attorney General, A. Mitchell Palmer, always claimed that the Socialists were to be punished for violating certain provisions of a law—for violating the espionage act—not because they were Socialists and opposed to commercial wars.

This interpretation did not prevent Mitchell Palmer from using the same act and the official Burns secret-service men from making raids on all kinds of radicals, including Socialists, whom he accused of being "reds." He simply figured that waving the red flag would stampede the herd, so that he would not be obliged to tell about his peculiar work as custodian of alien property.

Moreover, that story of the Attorney General that Socialists were not being punished for being Socialists but for violating a certain law is an old story. It is the exact story that the Czar of Russia always told his subjects.

The thinking people of Russia were never punished for their particular beliefs. They were always punished

for violating some provision of some Russian law—for disobeying some ukase of the Czar.

And that is how the Czar raised the terrorists and Bolsheviki. That was the way the Czar prepared the graves for himself and his wife and his children and some 30,000 of his followers.

Bolshevism Simply a Pretext

At the beginning of our trial in Chicago my comrades and I were told by the United States district attorney that the Socialist Party was not on trial. A few minutes after we had been found guilty by a hand-picked jury the same United States district attorney declared in an interview in the papers that "Bolshevism had received its final blow from this verdict." The district attorney must have known, of course, from what he heard during the trial, that Socialism was not bolshevism.

I am not going to explain the difference between bolshevism, Socialism, and communism at this time.

A Few Words on Socialism

All I will say is that Socialism stands for a new civilization and that it is the child and heir of capitalism.

Of course, with people who believe that whatever is, will exist forever, and that we have reached the acme and highest point of civilization—and the end of all things in human economic and political progress—with such people it is entirely useless to argue. But surely no educated man believes that the present conditions are the end of all things.

Every new invention and every new political question prove that to us.

What the Socialists do, and want to do, is to follow closely the course of things—the development of political and economic conditions. We want to find out, if possible, where this development leads. Then, supported by this knowledge, we want to put ourselves in line with the march of civilization—so that civilization will carry us, instead of crushing us, which it would do if we should stand opposed to it.

Since the general introduction of the public school, the proletariat as a whole gets at least the elements of the same kind of an education as the ruling class. The ability to read and write opens to them the same avenue of knowledge and mental power that the ruling classes possess.

The proletariat and the middle class—the city worker and the farmer—do all the necessary and useful work which is to be done under the present civilization. Today civilization depends entirely upon these classes for existence.

Therefore, it will depend very much upon the intelligence of the ruling class and the behavior of the capitalist governments during the next generation as to what will happen to the capitalist class, not only in European countries, but also in America.

What Has Anybody Gained By the World War?

There can be no doubt that the World War was the most imperialistic war ever known to the history of the world. It was a profiteer war in every country that took part.

And what has been accomplished by these sacrifices? Has the world been made safe for democracy? Where? Is militarism abolished forever? Where, except in Ger-

many? All other countries have bigger armies and navies than ever known before.

And all of Europe has been in abject misery from the very day that the diplomats and militarists—especially those of Russia and France—started the world slaughter. The present state of Europe is hopeless.

And as for America in particular, what have we gained by our entrance into the World War? What has America gained, except billions in debts and hundreds of thousands having died or become cripples?

And we have lost most of our political democracy.

Can anybody think of a single thing worth while that America has gained through this war?

All the predictions of the Socialists as to the hellish pact of Versailles—and especially my predictions in *The Milwaukee Leader*—have come true, I am sorry to say.

The capitalist and nationalist rulers have tried to form a League of Nations. What is the League of Nations other than an alliance of the victorious robber governments organized to protect the loot of their victory? That was plainly shown again lately by the proceedings in Geneva.

The British hoped to have the upper hand in that league, because they had so many votes. But France, with the help of the newly created military states, has so far had the best of it. There is more secret plotting going on in Europe than ever before, and the League of Nations is surely not an instrument of peace.

Democratic Leaders Don't Know History of Their Party

But to come back to the American Civil Liberties Union:

Ideas can not be excluded by bayonets, and finally

even the inhabitants of the district which my good friend, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Blanton] represents will get an education. And then they will also learn the history of our country and tell Mr. Blanton about it; because the statesmen of the Democratic Party, and especially Mr. Thomas L. Blanton, do not seem to know how the Democratic Party originated. The Democratic Party owes its origin to a crowd of rebels, demagogues, and soap-box anarchists—that is what they were called at that time.

It owes its origin to the bitter fight of Thomas Jefferson, Matthew Lyon, and others against President John Adams and the Federalists.

In order to stop the infusion of revolutionary ideas from France—where, at that time, the great French Revolution had taken place—in 1798, the Federalist Party passed the alien and sedition acts.

Matthew Lyon, a member of Congress from Vermont, who had earned the hatred of the President, John Adams, by ridiculing his aristocratic pretenses, was indicted, found guilty, and imprisoned under that act. Congress had adjourned when the trial took place. Lyon served his full sentence of four months, but was re-elected to Congress while in prison by his district in 1799.

Like all other men who had been found guilty under the sedition act, Matthew Lyon was highly honored afterwards. He became a popular idol and was repeatedly re-elected to Congress. His \$1,000 fine was paid back to his heirs with full interest. Together with Thomas Jefferson, Matthew Lyon became one of the founders of the Republican-Democratic Party, now called the Democratic Party.

The passage of the sedition act meant the death of the Federalist Party, however.

It is queer that this same Democratic Party, which owed its origin to its opposition to the old alien and sedition acts, passed the so-called espionage act, which is patterned after the old alien and sedition law, only that it is much more drastic and cruel.

Civil Liberties Union a Necessity

As said before, there were about 2,000 cases treated under the espionage act. And as I said before, although the law is called an espionage act, not in a single case did the government convict a citizen of this country of any treasonable connection with the enemy or of really interfering with the operations of the Army and the Navy. Without exception every citizen convicted was found guilty of expressing an opinion adverse to our country's entrance into the war.

In our own country there are still about 90 prisoners under the syndicalist law, and, as a matter of fact, they are war prisoners, because almost all of these laws are the result of the war. And there are about 1,500 men and women today who have lost certain rights of citizenship as a result of these persecutions, which were invariably the result of the war to make this world safe for democracy, but which resulted in having a half dozen dictators in Europe.

Under these circumstances one can very readily understand the necessity of an association like the American Civil Liberties Union.

Without the work of that association despotism and oppression not only by the forces of capitalism and of

capitalist organization would go on untrammelled, but the intolerance of the mob would reign supreme.

The main agency of mob rule in late years is the Ku-Klux Klan.

Politically dominant in large sections of the country, the Klan expressed the hostility of the ruling majority group against the minority by occasional attacks. The Klan attacks Catholics, Jews, Negroes, aliens, and radicals.

At times it also attacks organizers of trade unions and other labor organizations.

The Klan is considerably weaker today than it has been in the past. And since it is weaker it has also changed its tactics from terrorism and lawlessness to politics, just as did the American Legion in 1920. Mobs only attack when the herd acts as a mass.

The Civil Liberties Union did wonderful work in all such cases, and it obtained some wonderful victories in the courts. Of late the Civil Liberties Union has even defended some individuals belonging to the Ku-Klux Klan.

The Civil Liberties Union did more to stop mob rule and lawlessness in this country than all other agencies combined. And it very often had to resist and fight the oppression coming from Government and State officials and municipal officers, especially when the rights of workingmen were in question.

Trash Reprinted in Congressional Record

The matter reprinted in the Record by the authority of the gentleman from Texas pretends to have originated with F. R. Welsh, of Philadelphia, Pa., but, as a matter of fact, it is all based on passages in Whitney's

book, "Reds in America," and on the infamous Lusk report. "Reds in America" is mostly fiction, invented by the Burns Detective Agency and similar organizations.

As for the report of the Lusk committee—which was afterwards published under the title "Revolutionary Radicalism" in four fat volumes—just let me tell you that although the Luskers raided the Rand School, of New York, and forced a trial of that school in the courts of New York, the case collapsed completely. It was thrown out of court by Justice McAvoy.

The Karolyi Case

But among the mass of matter reprinted in the Record there is also the case of the gagging of Count Karolyi, first President of the Hungarian Republic, who arrived in the United States on January 8, 1925. He had come to visit his sick wife, who had been seriously ill with typhoid in New York. Countess Karolyi had come to this country October 26, 1924, on a lecture tour, to help earn money for the family after the confiscation of the Karolyi estates by the Horthy regime.

Before Count Karolyi was able to obtain a visa to the United States a verbal pledge was exacted from him by the American consul in London, acting on instructions from the State Department, that "he would not engage in political activity of any kind." The State Department's ruling at once operated to prevent the count from answering malicious and libelous attacks on him and the countess by the reactionary Hungarian press in this country.

The Countess Karolyi, really having nothing to do with the matter, was refused another admission to this

country by our Government, which seemed to be afraid that she might wave something "red" and scare the herd.

I say it is very fortunate there are organizations in the country that are interesting themselves in defense of free speech and the liberty of the press. With the exception of in war days, there has never been more occasion for such guarding of fundamental constitutional rights.

The Tresca Case

As for the Tresca case I just want to say the following:

The plain facts of the Tresca case are that Carlo Tresca, an Italian citizen, had been a resident of the United States for 20 years, with his home and headquarters in New York City. He had been engaged most of that time as the editor of a weekly radical labor paper, *Il Martello* (The Hammer).

Since the Fascist dictatorship came into power in Italy, the paper has devoted a large part of its space to attacking that dictatorship. It has succeeded in getting a considerable number of copies weekly into Italy, where it has caused Fascist officials much concern.

Prince Caetani, the recent Italian ambassador, returning from Italy to the United States in July, 1923, said in a speech at a public dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria, to Judge Elbert H. Gary, who is an honorary member of the Fascisti, that—

"a certain paper in the United States was embarrassing the Fascist Government and should be suppressed."

The Federal grand jury in New York indicted Tresca on eight counts, all of them under section 211 of

the United States Criminal Code, commonly known as the obscenity statute. He was convicted on the eighth count of the indictment, which charged that he deposited in the mails an issue of his newspaper containing an advertisement of some book on birth control.

It was shown during the trial that the advertisement in question was inserted while Tresca was out of the city, although technically he was responsible for what appeared. But the Government brought in all of Tresca's radical and labor activities in an effort to prejudice the jury, although all of it was totally foreign to the issue.

He was sentenced to serve a year and a day. His sentence was finally commuted to four months by the President.

The Herd Instinct Worse Than Ever

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, now let me add a few words about the work of the American Civil Liberties Union since the World War.

Up to the days of the World War there seemed to have been no necessity for a civil liberties union in this country. Only since we have won the great war to save the world for democracy, to abolish militarism forever, to protect little Belgium, we have found that there is a sore need to protect what few liberties people had left—after we had won the war.

It is stated now that there are more prisoners serving terms for their political and industrial beliefs and activities throughout the world today than at any time in recorded history.

All of which makes economic and political progress very slow and painful.

Every expressed opinion—political or economic—differing from the prevailing opinion of the herd is a criminal opinion, according to the herd.

And of late the herd in our country is also beginning to demand religious homogeneity, based upon literal acceptance of the Protestant version of the Bible. For instance, in Tennessee and Mississippi.

In no country except the United States, however, are persons punished any longer for their opposition to the World War. But since the World War, and as a result of the World War, numberless new oppressions have grown up.

New Oppression Since World War

In Europe, and even in Asia, the struggle of the working class for a share in the control of industry, the popular movements in the monarchical countries for republican government, the resistance of democracies against dictators and dictatorships, and the revolt of the oppressed nationalities against alien rule, are now the chief causes of widespread and violent and bloody repression.

In some of these countries where oppression has been most despotic there are fewer political prisoners only for one reason—the old-fashioned reason, that the party in power shot them instead of locking them up.

The men and women in prison today for political and industrial activities and beliefs belong to various groups.

Many of these groups are bitterly in conflict between themselves, especially various organizations of the working class, Socialists, communists, and syndicalists.

In Russia, for instance, the Communist Party in power still persists in the policy of suppression of political opposition through a sweeping control of the press—by exile and by imprisonment. It is almost impossible to get the facts as to the number of men and women who are thus made martyrs for their opinions in the various countries.

On the basis of incomplete information it is estimated that the total number of persons held for their political and industrial activities or beliefs are between 30,000 and 40,000, chiefly in Italy, India, Hungary, Spain, Poland, Bulgaria, Latvia, Esthonia, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Germany, and Russia. Almost invariably their only crime consists in holding opinions different from the prevailing opinions of the herd. This holds good also in Russia.

They prosecute all those who are not communists in Russia; in Germany, on the other hand, many communists are locked up for differing with the majority.

All of this plainly shows the necessity of an association like the Civil Liberties Union, not only in our country but everywhere in the world.

Important Work of Civil Liberties Union

As to the work of the Civil Liberties Union in America in protecting free speech, in stopping political persecutions, in having sentences of political and economic prisoners commuted or changed, and in having them pardoned, volumes could be written. They have handled thousands of cases of every kind ranging from assisting poor I. W. W.'s to protecting academic freedom, and it is surprising that they could do so much with the limited means at their disposal.

The Civil Liberties Union, which originally started as an association of a few Quakers and liberals trying to help some "conscientious objectors" to preserve their rights, has now spread into the broad field I have indicated, and it has become an organization of historical significance.

The following table shows the violations of civil liberties reported to the Civil Liberties Union during four years and in which the union interested itself:

	Prosecu- tions	Mob Violence	Lynch- ings	Meetings Stopped
1921.....	289	123	64	82
1922.....	846	225	61	28
1923.....	340	80	28	58
1924.....	235	41	16	24

I have good reason to believe that in future history the names of these men and women, who took up the cases of poor and innocent and helpless victims of political and economic conditions, will shine with far greater brilliancy than the names of all statesmen and generals and financiers who pushed us into the World War.

I have also good reason to believe that the work of that association was probably of greater importance and benefit for future generations of Americans than most of the laws that the last five or six Congresses passed—and which would have been better left unpassed.

Who Is a Patriot?

We must not forget, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, that the "patriot" in all important events of history was simply the successful rebel.

And that in every such case it was only the rebel who failed that was denounced as a traitor ever after.

Oliver Cromwell, the father of modern democracy in Great Britain, undoubtedly would have been hanged if he had not succeeded in defeating the forces of Charles I, King of England. If Washington, Jefferson, and Paine had not succeeded in the American Revolution—and they succeeded because most of Europe, including France, Spain, Holland, and other small countries helped them, and Russia and Prussia sympathized with them—if these American patriots had failed in their undertaking, they would have undoubtedly been hanged, and the school books would now tell a different story.

Franklin expressed this idea in the terse phrase: "We must hang together, or we shall hang separately."

It is the final success of an undertaking after all that gives the color and changes the substance of an event.

On the Eve of Greatest Revolution

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, we are just on the eve of the most wonderful technical revolution the world has ever seen.

Less than 10 years ago we considered it a wonderful thing to be able to send a cable message to Europe or to speak by telephone to a person a hundred miles away. We are now in a position to have an audience of many millions any time—audiences of 20,000,000 people are common occurrences on some evenings—and they can listen in on Washington, London, or Berlin.

Just lately it was possible to have a successful operation by radio. Some inventors claim that within a

short time boats will be propelled by radio. Our children and grandchildren may be able to have breakfast in Washington and their dinner on the same day in Timbuctoo or Bombay.

We are told by scientists that we use only about 3 per cent of energy in coal and waste 97 per cent. And as soon as we shall be able to release the energy hidden in the atom, there is no end to the terrible and incredible force and power that will be at our disposal.

More and more society will depend, not only upon the good will of nations toward each other—because any general will be able to sit in his office and wipe out an entire district thousands of miles away, provided the other general will not wipe him out first—but we shall also depend on the good will, education, and well being of every individual in civilized countries.

War will probably not cease for perhaps a century or more—unless the present capitalist system is abolished sooner and even Socialism and communism become considerably modified.

War will finally cease, however, when the truth has sunk in that war is a loss to every belligerent, including the victors. Human rivalry and competition will take different forms in the future.

And with a new world just around the corner, so to speak, some people tell us that free speech is dangerous—and that we must beware of new ideas—and that the greatest thing that has ever happened is the Constitution of the United States, and that we are not to change a dot. And that anyone who suggests anything about an improvement of this document—which has been patched up 19 times—is a traitor to the country

and should be punished because he is evidently in "favor of evolution," and "an anarchist."

We Need More Education—More Good Will

Aye, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, what we need is more insight and more foresight. We need more education and more good will. I say this—to use a phrase of the remaker of the Constitution, a phrase of Abe Lincoln—

"With good will to all, and ill will to none."

Some Socialist Bills—Our Political and Economic Conditions

APRIL 27, 1926

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, I will say again that nobody realizes more than I do the peculiar position I hold in this Congress. I was the first Socialist elected in the Sixty-second Congress in 1910, and it seems to be written in the stars that at least in the beginning not more than one Socialist shall sit in this House.

Whenever the electors of the fifth district of Wisconsin made the mistake of not returning me, then some constituency in New York rectified it by electing a Socialist from there, but we never got further than having one and a half at the same time. [Laughter.] I leave it to the House to judge who the half is. He is a dapper, fearless, fine, little gentleman, but at least he is only half of a Socialist. [Laughter.] I am sorry he is not here just now.

I realize that being alone, I can not pass any legislation. [Applause on the Democratic side.] As a matter of fact, the Democrats, of whom there are a great many more, can not pass any legislation, either [applause on the Republican side], and that the Democrats cannot, may be fortunate for the country. [Laughter and applause.]

All I can do is to function as an interpreter—to show to the people, most of whom know absolutely nothing about Socialism or Socialist theory, what the Socialists would do if they had the power to do it.

Socialism a World Power

This function I consider exceedingly useful in view of the economic trend in our country and the rapidly growing concentration of wealth, on the one hand, and the decline of the independence of the farmer and the workingman, on the other.

And also important in view of the other fact that Socialism has become the greatest power of Europe to-day, and to no small extent also the main bulwark against the threatening despotism of either communism or fascism.

Socialism is the basic idea of the Labor Party of England, which may rule the British realm next year, or sooner, for that matter.

The Socialist Party is the strongest party in France and the largest single party in Germany. Just to show you how important it is to understand the Socialist point of view:

French Socialist Position on Debts Important

An interview in the New York World of last Sunday given by Leon Blum, the leader of the Socialists in the Chamber of Deputies of France, states that the French Socialists are absolutely in favor of France paying the debt to the United States without "ifs and ands," and without subterfuge as to reparations from Germany. M. Blum also says he will see to it that there is a guaranty for the French franc similar to the one for the German mark, and that unless that guaranty is furnished the Socialist Party of France will not accept any settlement with the United States.

Mr. Blanton. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. Berger. Not now; the gentleman from Texas can keep his questions until later. After I have made my statement he will be in a position to ask them with a better understanding. Lack of understanding is always the gentleman's greatest fault. [Laughter.]

Since the 140 Socialist members in the Chamber of Deputies are the main props of the present French Government, that declaration of M. Blum means a great deal, because the moment that the French Socialist Party refuses to co-operate with Premier Briand his administration would fall.

Now, the concentration of wealth in this country is going on to an extent that few people realize.

A Member. It has not struck me. [Laughter.]

Mr. Berger. Nor me either. That is just the trouble. Wealth has reached only a small minority of the people in the United States. Wealth has reached and is being reached only by a minority of 2 per cent. And that is where the danger lies. Later on I may explain where that is bound to lead to.

My Bills Interpret Socialist Aims

To interpret the Socialist position, I have introduced a number of bills in this House, some of which I shall discuss in the short time I have allotted to me.

These bills will give you gentlemen and the people outside some idea as to our hopes, fears, and ambitions. These bills, in themselves, ought to set at rest any speculation caused in the average man by the fear of the unknown.

All I can do is to introduce bills that show what the Socialists would do as a party if we had the power to do it.

Mr. Chindblom. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Berger. I can not yield now, but I will gladly yield later. I know the gentleman from Illinois does not ask questions like a certain other gentleman—simply to have a chance to talk on my time.

Mr. Blanton. This is the first time I ever—

Mr. Berger. I can not yield, and unless I yield I will cut out of my speech any remarks the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Blanton] may choose to make.

Recognition of Soviet Government

One of the bills I introduced pertains to international relations. I introduced on the 17th of December a bill for the recognition of the Russian Soviet Government.

Mr. Speaker, I am a Socialist, not a communist.

I want it understood that at the present time there are thousands of Socialists imprisoned in Russia. Not only that but among the American names that were put on the proscribed list by Lenin and his committee was my own. These communists held me responsible for communism not making any progress in the United States. That shows you how little they know about America.

Both Communism and Fascism Are War Babies

I realize one thing, however, and you will realize that also. Communism and fascism are twin brothers. Both communism and fascism are war babies, the results of the Great World War. One of these babies came into the world red-headed. That was the Russian baby. The Italian baby has black hair. Other-

wise there is very little difference between the two—on the surface at least.

The reason why our ruling class dislikes the red-haired baby so, is because the Bolsheviki laid violent hands on the sacred rights of property—while the Fascisti just as violently are protecting the “vested rights” of those who have vested rights.

This is probably also one of the reasons why our Government was so willing to grant the Mussolini government such favorable terms for the debt settlement.

Nevertheless, now that American bankers and business men are dining with representatives of Soviet Russia and are taking orders and extending credit to them, our Government may as well recognize that the Soviet Government is here to stay.

Moreover, our Government is usually quick enough to follow the advice and orders of big business. Then why not in this respect?

Why Capitalists Hate the Red-Haired Baby

Our policy in regard to Russia has been particularly stupid. It soon was clear to all the world that the Government of Russia was at least as solid as any Government in Europe—and more so. Therefore, all the European Governments, including the British, recognized the Soviets. Only our national administration still fools itself with the hope induced by the czarist agents in America that the Soviet Government will soon be overthrown, and refuses recognition.

It is therefore not surprising that one of the czarist organizations in Europe sent resolutions of thanks to our Secretary of State for the encouragement he was offering czarists everywhere.

The political form of government of the Russian people is exclusively the business of the people of Russia, and we have no excuse whatsoever to interfere.

We may not like the Government of Russia at all—undoubtedly the Russians do not like our Government either—but we have no more right to prescribe for the people of Russia the form of government they are to have than the Russians have to tell us what form of government shall be ours.

So much for the moral and political aspects of the question.

I must repeat it: Our policy toward Russia is actually stupid. Really, to any man who is a student of history it sometimes seems a miracle how we are getting along in this world with the many senseless things that our Government has done in the last 10 or 15 years.

Now as to the economic side. I am not going to give figures, because that would spoil the speech for the average voter.

American Production Needs Russian Trade

Russia undoubtedly can get along without buying machinery and other products from the United States. The Russians can buy them in England and Germany. But our manufacturers—and to a certain extent our workingmen, and even our farmers—are undoubtedly missing the Russian trade.

Moreover, many of our business men are actually dealing with Russia now. And that makes our official stand still more ridiculous.

And nothing can be gained by holding to the untenable position that the Russian people are not entitled to admission in the family of nations because they took

possession of some of the private property of American nationals—of the properties of the Harvester Co., the Standard Oil Co., and others. Our own country has done the same thing with the property of German and Austrian nationals, and is still holding the property.

What is really at the bottom of it is that the American capitalist class resents the idea that the Russian people have dared to proclaim the doctrine that if class governments are to exist, a government of workers and peasants is also entitled to a place in the sun.

To make a long story short, the recognition of the Russian Soviet Government would simply be the recognition of an existing fact.

Fascism—the Black-Haired Baby

I have mentioned the Fascisti before.

The American Government has not only recognized the Fascisti Government but has gone so far in assisting and protecting Mussolini that it canceled 75 per cent of the Italian indebtedness, simply to favor its protege, Benito Mussolini.

But why?

Fascism, no more than communism, believes in parliamentary government.

The fascist and the communist unite in despising representative government and democracy.

There is nothing accidental about this resemblance. It is real.

Fascism and communism have different remedies, but they largely agree in the diagnosis of the disease that democracy has failed during the World War and since.

If democracy had the strength to assert itself everywhere, there would have been no World War. And in their methods both fascism and communism are alike. Both unhesitatingly suppress free speech and a free press. Mussolini declared that he "will wipe his shoes on the prostrate form of liberty."

So much for their resemblances.

The contrasts are far more numerous, however, and more fundamental than the points of resemblance.

Communism is fiercely international and fascism is just as fiercely national.

Meanwhile the rest of the world is looking on.

Labor opinion is naturally everywhere strongly anti-Fascist.

The constitutional bourgeoisie is disgusted by the ruthless suppression of all opposition.

On the other hand, the Tories and the conservatives applaud fascism. Especially the younger element of the Tories in every country tries to build up their own organization on the Fascist model.

The word "Fascism," outside of Italy, is now used to denote all kinds of reactionary activities. In England it means only strikebreaking. In Germany and France, however, it stands for monarchic plotting and even murder.

Fascist Despots Persecute All Dissenters

The present Fascist regime in Italy has taken measures to outlaw, suppress, and persecute all groups within its borders that are not in agreement with the despotic policies and anarchistic methods by which the Fascists have obtained and now retain power. They have singled out for particular attack the Freemasons,

the Catholics, the conservatives, the liberals, the Socialists, and the trade unionists.

There are millions of Americans who are affiliated with the organizations of which the groups persecuted in Italy are an international part. They include the Catholics, the Freemasons, and the trade unionists. We have, therefore, a real interest in what steps are taken to injure those groups in Italy, because agitation is created in our own country.

We Should Demand Humane Treatment for Minorities

In view of the way we are affected and also considering the fact that our people have practically canceled more than \$2,000,000,000 of Italy's indebtedness to the United States, I proposed in a resolution I introduced on January 25, last, that the President be directed to inform the present rulers of Italy that we view with alarm and concern the tyrannical methods that are employed against racial and political minorities in Italy; and also the aspirations of world dominion so repeatedly proclaimed by Benito Mussolini; and that the President use his good offices with the Italian Government to obtain fair and humane treatment for those minorities.

There is nothing unusual about this procedure. We have on a number of occasions used our good offices in exactly the same way. It seemed to me that we could do so again because of the special conditions to which I have called attention.

In doing that the United States would be reaffirming its own faith in democratic ideals and in the principles of equality for racial and political minorities.

I go now from this resolution dealing with an important problem of our international relations to one of domestic concern.

How a Monopoly Is Born

The organization of a \$2,000,000,000 Food Trust, which would control the products the American people will use from the time they are held by the farmer until they are placed upon the table of the consumer, startled the Nation. When the Bread Trust held the center of the stage I proposed that the Food Trust be acquired and operated as a public utility and the appointment of a commission which would determine the value of the property and make compensation therefor to the present owners.

Two plans of meeting the situation created by the organization of this huge monopoly were proposed: One provided for an investigation, and the other, which I presented, provided for Government ownership and operation of the trust.

Investigations are for the most part useless. They have been the rule for a quarter of a century. We have spent \$50,000,000 for investigations during the last year. Not only have these investigations proved futile, but the Sherman anti-trust law and all the regulations, commissions, and boards have been powerless to either hinder the creation or the growth of the huge monopolies to which 115,000,000 people must pay tribute every day of their lives.

The truth of the matter is that monopoly is the natural result of economic evolution and, therefore, inevitable. Competition leads to concentration of wealth, and

finally competition kills competition. The strongest survive and combine, and we have a monopoly.

Competition Passes Away—Monopoly Prevails

In many industries competition is only a matter of history. In its place we have a monopoly system, which has many advantages, but also a great defect or evil; it gives a few men control of the necessities of life, and they naturally use their power for their own advantage.

If monopoly is inevitable, as it seems to be, then the Nation as a whole should be the monopolist. In the case of the Food Trust, it is surely more desirable that it should be owned by the Government in the interest of all the people than that it should be managed in the interest of Mr. Ward and his associates.

We are informed that the Bread Trust has dissolved—the probabilities are that it has dissolved in about the same manner as the Standard Oil Trust was dissolved in 1911—simply keeping separate sets of books for the various companies. Thirty-one sets instead of one.

Coal Monopoly as Bad as Bread Monopoly

If Government ownership and operation of the Food Trust is desirable—it is also desirable and essential for the coal mines and other natural resources, if the people are not to remain at the mercy of a few monopolists.

On Monday, January 18, I introduced a resolution providing for the seizure and operation of the anthracite coal mines.

Now, as on the day of its introduction, I believe that there can be no solution of the coal problem and no

possibility of peace in the coal industry until the mines are nationalized.

During the strike, which lasted over five months, the price of anthracite had risen in some places, notably New York, from \$14 to \$25 and \$30 a ton. Coke had gone from \$3 to \$18, and soft coal from \$6 to \$16. The people paid for the strike, just as they have paid over and over again for the mines.

The coal industry is ripe for nationalization.

The miners in 1923 proposed a plan for the retirement of the capital by the industry itself. By the substitution of 6 per cent bonds for outstanding capital stock, all existing capital in the coal industry could be retired in 50 years at a cost of 28 cents per ton, while the last official figures indicate a present cost for interest, profit depletion, and depreciation of approximately \$1 a ton.

The anthracite mine owners have within the last 10 years levied against the public the sum of \$200,000,000 in inflated valuations, which is charged up against the cost of every ton of coal mined. One dollar in every three carried on the books of the mine owners is water, according to the coal commission.

Nationalization—or Chaos?

It is either nationalization with definite safeguards against bureaucratic management—or chaos. At present a group of 25 men hold undisputed sway over the anthracite industry, upon which most other industries and the welfare of all the people depend.

This is inconsistent with the people's welfare or with democratic principles.

Restore America as Asylum for "Political Protestants"

The attempted exclusion of Countess Cathcart, which followed close upon the heels of the Government's refusal to admit Countess Karolyi and Mr. Saklatvala, a member of the British Parliament, disclosed the danger of conferring discretionary power upon officials who may exercise it in the way our officials have. I therefore introduced a bill to restore America to the rank of an asylum for political heretics or political protestants.

Even if exclusion of aliens on the ground of indiscretions were to become the settled practice of all governments, many wealthy and prominent Americans would find themselves barred from other countries, including Paris and London. Since every country has its own set of morals, exclusion on that ground would make international business and travel impossible.

And exclusion on the ground that the aliens hold political opinions at variance with those which our officials profess, is an unjustifiable procedure. It means the very opposite of the principle of political asylum our country established and adhered to since this people became a nation. I need only point to the French immigration after the French Revolution and the German and Hungarian immigration in 1849 and 1850—our Government going so far as to send a war vessel to England to bring the Hungarian rebel Louis Kossuth to our shores.

Ideas Will Scale Immigration Walls

In our time, when the promotion of international good will is more necessary than ever for the well-being

of the peoples of the world, our officials are reversing time-honored policies and are erecting barriers.

The influx of new ideas and new principles could not be stopped in years gone by, when the means of spreading them were poor; it is therefore clear that they can not be kept out by ridiculous exclusion orders and deportation ukases now.

Open Archives to Bare Truth About World War

My resolution requesting the President to call an international conference for the purpose of revising the Versailles treaty in accordance with the 14 points upon which the Germans laid down their arms in 1918, and also to make public all secret documents now in the archives of the allied governments and their associates pertaining to the causes of the war, which was introduced on February 20, hardly needs an explanation.

The World War was based on a million lies. That is admitted today not only by neutral statesmen and historians but also by most of the leading statesmen of the World War itself—by Englishmen, Russians, Italians, and Canadians.

The greatest lie in all that propaganda, the lie which lies at the bottom of all present troubles in the world, is the lie that Germany was the sole cause of the World War. The hellish pact of Versailles rests on that lie.

But what is the truth? Soviet disclosures from the secret archives of the Russian foreign office, supplemented by some from the English foreign office and also by what had been found by the Germans in Belgium, prove that Germany, instead of having been more

guilty than the other powers in starting the war, was in fact far less guilty.

Once that is recognized, as it has already been established, the treaty of Versailles can be revised so as to permit the recovery of Europe, which also means the recovery of the central European market for our farmers. And this is very important to the United States.

A Pension for Veterans of Industry

A bill providing for the pensioning of all wage earners who are without means of support after attaining the age of 60 was introduced by me while Congress was considering an increase in the pensions of Spanish-American War veterans and their dependents. I heartily supported the proposed increase. It passed this House unanimously.

But in doing so I wished to call attention to the fact that the veteran of industry as well as the veteran of war was deserving of consideration in his advanced years.

We pension soldiers because they render service on the field of battle which is dangerous to life and limb. People understand and approve such pensions. But the work of the soldier of industry is much more necessary and for the most part as dangerous as the work of the soldier on the battle field.

There are more people killed in our industries than in our wars and more people injured in industry than in war.

Any worker who has faithfully labored for a meager wage for 20 years or more has created more wealth than a pension in old age can repay. He has earned the right to be taken care of decently in his old age.

These workers have made civilization possible for everybody, and especially for the comfortable classes.

It is cruel and unjust to expect those who have lived a life of usefulness, creating wealth for others, to suffer the indignities, the sordidness, and the misery of the poorhouse when too old to work.

The wages most of them receive during the years of their labor are insufficient to enable them to lay anything aside for the days when they will be thrown upon the scrap heap. My old age pension bill is, therefore, a measure of simple justice, and it offers no more than other countries have already done for the veterans of industry.

Under the provisions of the bill the highest amount the Government will pay to any person 60 years of age or over—male or female—will be \$8 per week. That will permit an aged couple to receive \$16 a week, and thus help keep the family together.

Those having incomes from other sources will have the amount reduced correspondingly. A certain period of citizenship and residence will be required to make one eligible to receive a pension.

I wish to refer particularly to the immigration question.

Present Immigration Law Destroys Family

When the present law, which separates families and creates untold hardship among families kept thousands of miles apart, was under consideration, I offered two amendments. One of them was designed to help reunite husbands and wives, even though the husbands may only be declarants. In a speech I made in favor of my amendment, I called attention to the importance of en-

couraging and making possible the reunion of families, and that failure to do so must result in breaking up an institution more basic than any other—the present family, upon which other institutions rest.

My amendment was rejected, and in spite of the effort that has been made to liberalize the law along the lines I have suggested, it is now certain that the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization is indisposed to even permit a consideration of the question on the floor of this House.

Instead of liberalizing the law, the committee has been considering legislation for the deportation of aliens who have entered the United States without complying with the entrance requirements.

Aliens Will Be Treated as Criminals

There are just at present several bills pending in the House, some of which would treat every alien as a criminal.

The gentlemen who introduced some of them forget that this country was settled and built up by aliens. Even a member of the oldest white American family can count the generations it has existed in America on the fingers of his hands, and not use all the fingers.

There is, for instance, a bill pending which provides for a compulsory yearly registration of aliens and a payment of a fee of \$10 for the first registration and \$5 for each subsequent registration.

Every alien is to register with the postmaster of the district where he resides, and removal from one district to another must be recorded on the registration card. The card is to be exhibited whenever demanded

by any policeman or any other official designated in that act.

Whenever the physical appearance of an alien changes this must be reported to the postmaster. Presumably, therefore, when an alien gets to be stout or loses weight, or a woman undergoes another physical change or has her hair bobbed, or a man raises a mustache, or shaves his beard—that must be reported to the postmaster and recorded on the card.

Nor is this all.

In case of war or any other emergency, the President is to have the right to herd them all together and fix the place where they must be—in Tennessee or Louisiana, if he so orders.

Violations of this act are to be punished by a \$5,000 fine and two years in the penitentiary, and the culprits are also to be deported. Just imagine this provision in force with a man like A. Mitchell Palmer as Attorney General.

Democratic Nomination as a Punishment

Mr. Johnson of Washington. Would they throw a bomb at him?

Mr. Berger. Maybe he would deserve—

Mr. Johnson of Washington. Does the gentleman think he deserved to have a bomb thrown at him, as was done a few years ago?

Mr. Berger. Would deserve to be made a candidate for President on the Democratic ticket. Do not try to catch me with a question like that, Mr. Johnson, please.

Mr. Johnson of Washington. The gentleman will see——

Mr. Berger. I am almost as bright as the gentleman from Washington.

Mr. Johnson of Washington. But the gentleman puts the wrong thing in the Record.

Mr. Berger. This is the right thing because it is the humane thing. Permit me to tell you that the immigration which is coming now is probably better than what came to this country in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Besides some religious fanatics, it was the scum of Great Britain and Ireland. Pickpockets, jailbirds, and streetwalkers. White slaves—because this is what the “indentured servants,” so called, really were—formed the great bulk even in the eighteenth century. The best immigration came here from 1830 to 1900.

I also think that the suggestion of the Secretary of Labor—who is really a fine man in most respects—that school teachers should help in the espionage only makes that bad bill so much worse.

And above all, unless a tremendous number of inspectors to enforce the act is set up—something like that which we have for the Volstead Act, only much larger—the law could not be enforced. And just imagine the fruitful field for oppression and graft. Because under this act aliens convicted of violations of the act would immediately be arrested and deported.

The opportunities for graft in this instance would be infinitely greater than either those of income tax inspectors or prohibition employees.

Moreover, let us not forget that such an inspector could pounce upon any citizen and demand that he give proof of his citizenship.

According to a statement made before the House Committee on Immigration more than one-half of the native-born citizens of the United States are today unable to produce any record of their birth. And any citizen who could not produce evidence of his citizenship would be subject to penalties under this act, because he did not register.

Jews, Poles, and Italians Desirable Immigrants

Our entire policy in regard to immigration is foolish. It is stupid tyranny. Our rulers do not say it openly, but the purpose is to keep out Jews, Poles, and Italians.

But the Jews are a bright and useful element.

And as to the Italians, God bless them! They will give American life a touch of art, which we sorely need. And you can not say anything against the Poles. There are no harder working people than the Poles in this country. Just go to the mines of Pennsylvania or the rolling mills of Pittsburgh.

Mr. Johnson of Washington rose.

Mr. Berger. I will answer the gentleman from Washington later on, but I want to develop my theme first.

Mr. Johnson of Washington. Let us hire a hall and have it out right. [Laughter.]

Mr. Berger. Yes; in Milwaukee, Chicago, or New York.

Mr. Johnson of Washington. I will share the expense.

Mr. Berger. Not absolutely necessary; I will gladly pay.

Mr. Holaday. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Berger. Not now.

Mr. Holaday. I would like to be the referee.
[Laughter.]

Mr. Berger. I can not accept this offer. The gentleman is not impartial.

Alien Property Robbery Sets Record for Thievery

I have also introduced a bill for the immediate return of all alien property. This is the first time in 300 years, ladies and gentlemen, that a government took hold of private property. There were some examples in the Thirty Years' War in Europe, one of the most ravaging wars that ever took place.

The Speaker. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. Berger. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, for 10 minutes more. I do not take much of the time of the House.

The Speaker. The gentleman from Wisconsin asks unanimous consent to proceed for 10 minutes more. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. Berger. I therefore introduced a bill providing for the immediate return of all property held by the Alien Property Custodian and for the payment of damages resulting from the seizure.

Never since the Thirty Years' War in the seventeenth century was looting done with such brazenness as it was done in the seizure of private property by our Government in the recent war. And this in the face of the official declaration of November 14, 1917, that

"there was no thought of a confiscation of property thus held in trust."

The gentleman from New York [Mr. Mills] also has a bill to return the property, and I am perfectly willing to have his bill substituted for mine. We differ on most things, but he tries to be fair, and he also knows more about finances than I do.

The objection of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Garner] that the restitution of alien property is "a horrible steal" and "legalized theft" must be put down as Democratic rhetoric.

It was often said that the transaction of Uncle Sam in the alien property case was either that of a pirate or of an embezzler. Especially so in view of the Franklin treaty with Prussia in 1785, providing against confiscation of private property in case of war. Franklin procured the following clinching statement to the treaty:

"And it is declared that neither the pretense of war, nor any other pretense whatever, shall be considered as annulling or suspending this and the next preceding article. On the contrary, the state of war is precisely that for which these articles are provided and during which they are to be sacredly observed."

Alexander Hamilton inserted the same provision against confiscation of private property in our treaty with England in 1794. That was the Jay treaty.

Alien Property Steal Led to Other Steals

The alien property steal very naturally resulted in other steals. What has already been disclosed about the manner in which this property was handled should be sufficient to send several of the Alien Property Custodians to prison. They have disgraced our country.

The property should be returned and damages paid for the seizure, detention, and conversion.

Mr. Garner of Texas. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Berger. Not now; I will yield later to the gentleman.

Mr. Garner of Texas. But you ought not to misquote men and make a statement that I never made.

Mr. Berger. I yield.

Mr. Garner of Texas. I say to pay American citizens for German debts is a steal. That is \$190,000,000. I did not say anything about the return of alien property being a steal. I referred to the German debt.

Mr. Berger. It would be a steal, one of the biggest steals the world has ever seen, if the Government of the United States would not return that private property to its rightful owners, as the Government of the United States promised to do.

Just before the Government took this property over, on February 8, 1917, the Secretary of State, with the sanction of Woodrow Wilson, then President of the United States, issued the following statement:

"The Government of the United States will scrupulously respect all private rights of its own citizens and of the subjects of foreign states."

That was the time when the Germans and the Austrians were going to remove all their money from the banks and sell all their interests in American business concerns.

And this declaration of President Wilson may be considered even apart from all treaties of the past and the opinions of Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, and John Marshall on that very same subject, and may

be considered as a pledge of the Government of the United States to take care of that alien property.

Return Property to Rich and Poor Alike

The contention of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. Garner] that the Standard Oil Co. would profit by the return of the alien property, because it has a claim for injuries inflicted on it by the Germans during the war, is simply a play on the prejudices of the ignorant, who get the cold shivers whenever the Standard Oil Co. is mentioned. To my mind, the Standard Oil Co. is not worse than any other big oil company in New Jersey, Oklahoma, or Texas. The sum which the Standard Oil Co. will get on its claim is \$800,000, while the total sum of the alien property is \$327,000,000. The awards of the Mixed Claims Commission total \$190,000,000. The accrued interest on that sum may amount to \$60,000,000.

If the claim of the Standard Oil Co. for any reason ought not to be paid, it is the duty of the gentleman from Texas to make this clear to the Mixed Claims Commission, which has awarded the claim—or even to this House.

If the Mixed Claims Commission has awarded what those citizens claim, they are entitled to it. I do not care whether it is John D. Rockefeller or E. H. Gary—and neither is a particular friend of mine—who gets the award. As long as his claim is just, he is entitled to payment.

Mr. Stevenson. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Berger. Not now. Let me finish my statement. It was claimed that Mr. Mellon, the Secretary of the

Treasury, was interested in five of these companies. Let us suppose he is interested. He has stock in more than 100 companies. Would any award or any judgment that any of these companies receives in a court become invalid because Mr. Mellon owns stock in that company? If that is the case, then the capitalist system would come to an end very quickly, even in Texas.

Mr. Stevenson. If the Court of Claims awarded a judgment against Germany, have we the right to enforce that judgment against the men who do not owe it?

Mr. Berger. I am glad the gentleman asked that question.

Mr. Stevenson. I would be very glad to hear your answer to that.

Taking Private Property to Pay for a Country's Debts Is Without Precedent

Mr. Berger. The alien property in the hands of the custodian does not belong to Germany—it belongs to private persons who are Germans. This is the first time in the history of civilized nations that a government proposes to take property and money from private persons—not from the German State, remember, but from private persons who trusted the pledge of our Government to take care of that property—to pay war claims of its own nationals against Germany.

The World War furnished the first example of that kind in the history of civilized nations, and it is absolutely against all precedent.

Mr. Blanton. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Berger. No. The gentleman from Texas seldom asks wise questions. [Laughter.]

Mr. Blanton. I yielded to you.

Mr. Stevenson. Why should you enforce a judgment against America which is rendered only against Germany?

Mr. Berger. It is not rendered only against Germany.

Mr. Stevenson. It is held that Germany is liable for it. I am talking about the judgment.

Mr. Berger. I repeat, Mr. Speaker, that this money belongs to private citizens. The President of the United States and the Secretary of State solemnly promised they would keep that property as a trust, not for the purpose of paying any damages for which Germany as a country would be held liable but to return it after the war to the rightful owners.

As you know, gentlemen, many of those promises have been broken. This is an old treaty provision, moreover, one which is reinforced by the opinions of men who have been called great in the past—by the opinions of Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, and John Marshall. We ought to fulfill that obligation.

Mr. Blanton. Will the gentleman yield? I yielded to the gentleman.

Mr. Berger. Go ahead, Mr. Blanton.

Mr. Blanton. I want to say that the proposition of the French Socialists in France—

Mr. Berger. We have passed France, Mr. Blanton.

Mr. Blanton. To pay what they owe to this Government is the only sensible thing I have heard come from a Socialist.

Mr. Berger. But the gentleman from Texas is a poor judge. That is the trouble with the gentleman from Texas. He does not know what a good thing is when he meets it in broad daylight. The gentleman is

well-meaning and exceedingly industrious, but as for his judgment, God bless him, he has none. [Laughter.]

Mr. Johnson of Washington. Is the gentleman going to mention Debs?

Mr. Berger. No; we had that out before. I have introduced more than a dozen bills, but I cannot discuss all of them today. However, if you will get me time enough I will discuss every one. I am saying all these things with good will to all and ill will to none, to use a phrase of the immortal Abraham Lincoln.

Administration Fails in Fulfilling Pledge to Negroes

On Friday, April 16, I introduced a bill to make participation in lynchings a Federal offense and to punish both individuals who join such mobs and officials who fail to take proper precautions to prevent lynchings.

The failure of the Republican Party to carry out its platform pledge of 1924 for the enactment "at the earliest possible date of a Federal anti-lynching law, so that the full influence of the Federal Government may be wielded to exterminate this hideous crime," is one of the major crimes of omission on the part of the Coolidge administration.

With a majority in both Houses of Congress powerful enough to carry out every other policy of the administration—including a tax bill that enables wealth to escape its share of the burdens of taxation—the administration could bring sufficient pressure to bear to have the promise made to the people in 1924 kept. That anti-lynching plank, like so many others, helped to keep the Negro in line long enough to enable the Republican

to ride into office. To that extent that plank has served its purpose.

I hope Congress will not adjourn until a genuine effort is made to enact a Federal anti-lynching law.

Thousands of people are being paid to spy on those of their fellow citizens who may be taking an occasional drink in violation of the eighteenth amendment. The Federal Government is spending many millions of dollars each year to deal with the petty lawlessness involved in this sort of violations. But not an effort is made to punish acts which bring injury and death to people, many of whom are innocent, and all of whom are entitled to protection under our Constitution.

Congress Has Power to Punish Lynching

It is not only the duty but it is clearly within the power of Congress to enact legislation which will make enforceable the rights guaranteed to the people under the Constitution. In the fifth section of the fourteenth amendment Congress is given the right to enforce constitutional guaranties, and that constitutional provision is broad enough to authorize the enforcement of the law I propose.

My bill goes a step further than the anti-lynching bills that have been considered in the past. There are teeth in this bill.

A man who joins a mob and proceeds to kill another is a murderer, and ought to be punished in such a way that he will learn to respect the rights of others, and that his friends and neighbors may be deterred from committing a similar offense.

Federal Aid to Combat Illiteracy

I have introduced a bill providing for Federal aid to States in a drive to combat illiteracy.

Under its terms the Federal Government will appropriate \$2,000,000 each year for the next six years, that appropriation to be apportioned among the various States in proportion to their percentage of illiteracy, and subject to the requirement that each State match the amount appropriated by the Federal Government.

It is surprising that the United States, which was one of the first nations to make elaborate plans to furnish an elementary school education to all those within its borders, should now compare so unfavorably with other countries in the percentage of illiteracy.

In England the percentage of illiteracy is about 1.8, while in the United States for the same class it is in excess of 7 per cent.

Illiteracy a Danger to Republic

In a democracy, where much depends upon the people's ability to read and write, the presence of millions of illiterates is a danger.

Illiteracy is greatest in the South. That explains in a large measure why the Ku-Klux Klan got its start and was able to make such headway in the South.

On the other hand, the Klan has made little or no headway in Wisconsin, for example, where the percentage of illiteracy was almost negligible until the recent immigration from eastern and southern Europe.

My bill does not remove the problem of education from the State to the Federal Government.

Under it education remains a State matter. All the Federal Government would undertake to do would be

to encourage the States to increase and improve their educational facilities and thereby reduce illiteracy. The Federal Government, however, has a vital interest in the subject—surely as much as it has in good roads.

The States Would Retain Full Control

My bill does not deprive the States of any rights they now have.

They retain full control of their educational facilities. Their only obligation, which they voluntarily assume before acquiring any of the benefits of the Federal appropriation, is to pay an equal sum with the Federal Government for abolishing illiteracy. The States will benefit; the Nation will benefit. The cost to neither will be prohibitive.

Putting Teeth Into Free Speech Amendment

I have also introduced a bill to enforce the first amendment to the Constitution by making it a Federal offense to violate its provisions guaranteeing freedom of speech, of the press, and of assemblage. It makes violations of the amendment a felony punishable by two years' imprisonment or by a fine of \$5,000, or both.

Much is being said about putting teeth into the eighteenth amendment. That slogan is being heralded by the Anti-Saloon League and its servants in public office. The Volstead Act had that object in view.

But it has never been suggested by any group of "reformers" to put teeth into the first amendment of our Constitution, which was considered the most important amendment by both Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, who otherwise did not agree on very many things.

I regard the first amendment as most essential to the preservation of fundamental rights of Americans. It is also remarkable as being one of the few provisions which instead of limiting the liberty of the citizen extend it.

Moreover, I believe that the first amendment can be enforced without trouble if a law is passed for its enforcement.

Of course, I realize that many Americans of today are different from those of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. American business men today worship Mussolini, who brags that he wipes his feet on liberty.

Certain wealthy Americans today envy Italy, Spain, and Greece their dictators.

They find fault with the Russian Communists, not on account of their methods or because a small oligarchy is ruling Russia, but because Trotsky, Lenin, and their friends have laid hands on property. One hears every day business men deploring the fact that Congress is in session and wishing Congress would adjourn forever. And such an obedient Congress at that.

Of course, we hear a great deal about Americanism and Americanizing. Capitalist newspapers give prizes for the best essays on the Constitution even though the most important parts of that Constitution are a dead letter and are to remain so.

Patriotism today does not mean the greatest good for the greatest mass, but means military display—flag day, navy day, defense day.

And democracy today means jobs for "deserving Democrats."

If Thomas Jefferson would rise from his grave to-day, the Democratic statesmen of the South would put him into jail immediately as a dangerous radical, since he said that violent revolutions are needed every 25 years to preserve liberty.

No Freedom Can Exist Without Free Speech and Free Press

As to our Constitution—the right of the people to speak freely, to write freely, and to have the right to assemble for the purpose of discussing their grievances lies at the basis of all other rights.

At this very moment men are held under \$30,000 bail at Passaic, N. J., merely because they dared to exercise the right of free speech, even though they exercised it only on a privately owned lot. Free speech has become next to impossible in this country.

And then there is the recent case of the *Mercury*, a monthly magazine published in New York, and edited by America's foremost critic, Henry L. Mencken. Because it published a story which some prudes thought was immoral but which many people believed was in reality a highly moral lesson by showing up the hypocrisy of some of the yokel towns of the Middle West, its sale was forbidden. When a judge in Boston freed the magazine, the Postmaster General forbade its circulation.

Now, with all due respect to the Postmaster General—I do not believe that he is an absolute judge of either good literature or good morals. He ought therefore to be deprived of the autocratic power that he has of ruining any publication at random if he so chooses. The Postmaster General, like any other mortal, should

be compelled to go to the courts and prove his case against the publication before he could stop its circulation. I would give no man living the unlimited censorship over free speech and over free press.

If a publisher of a paper or a magazine has done any wrong—and that has been proved in court—then the man responsible should bear the consequences and be punished. But censorship of the type we have in this country is the plutocratic devil's own invention, and was nurtured from a little stripling by hypocrisy, crookedness, and cowardice until it grew up and became the big tree of the present day.

It originally started with the Postmaster General, together with the Attorney General getting the right to deprive papers that contained advertisements of the Louisiana lottery, with which Southern gentlemen tried to recoup their fortunes, of the second-class mailing privilege.

Have We Lost Faith in People's Rule?

Mr. Speaker, have the American people lost their faith in democratic institutions? There seems to be less concern here about the loss of civil liberty than in any western European country. There is surely less resistance against Federal, State, and local tyranny. We have truly become a docile people.

Our working class, apart from the farmers, is mostly made up of aliens and semi-aliens. It is furthermore made up of all kinds of nationalities, races, and religions, who have little love for each other and little coherence with each other. For those reasons the American proletariat is surely more poorly organized than

any working class of any civilized western European country.

Owing to the colonial conditions which still prevail in our country, the standard of living is higher in this country and the living conditions undoubtedly easier, especially since the war has turned Europe into a general poorhouse.

Nevertheless, even the native American worker is satisfied, if he has enough to eat, if he can go to a movie and see a game of baseball or a prize fight occasionally. If, on top of all that, he can also have a cheap automobile, then the goal of his wishes has been reached.

The slogan in our country today, as in Rome of antiquity, seems to be "panem et circenses," bread and games.

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, we have all but stopped immigration—even immigration from Germany, England, and the western countries of Europe, where people on the whole have a higher average education.

What we are trying to do now is to mold all of them into one form, which we proudly call the American mold. And they are all to think alike, and to speak alike, and to act alike. They are all to believe that the present, social, political, and economic order is the best that the world has ever produced or ever will produce. And that our Constitution, which was patched up 19 times, is the most perfect and the most sacred document ever received by man since the decalogue.

And we are teaching the young people in the public schools to salute the flag, and to revere the Daughters of the American Revolution, and to believe that George Washington never told a lie.

And at the same time E. H. Gary, the president of the United States Steel Co., is an honorary fascist and is sighing for a dictator in the United States.

Others of the same type and the same mode of thinking are sighing with him.

And wealth, or the ability to make money, is the only thing that counts in our country today.

Whither Are We Bound, Columbia?

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, what is the outcome of this to be? Democracy seems to have lost caste with the older stock of the American people—I say older stock advisedly, because there is no old stock.

Our political life seems to be stagnant. Our parliamentary life is almost extinct. We have only one political party, and that is the plutocratic Republican Party of Pierpont Morgan, Doheny, and company, of which the Democratic Party is but a poor appendage—without any program, without any leadership, without any reason for existence, solely held together by the race question down South.

The world cannot stand still, and economic evolution does not stand still. Colonial conditions are disappearing daily more and more in our country. Cheap land is almost gone now. The most dissatisfied class today is the farmer class.

What is the outcome to be, then? Will it be communism? Will it be fascism? As my bills prove, I want neither. But I am afraid future generations may not respect my wishes any more than the present generation does.

Therefore, I say: Columbia quo vadis? Whither goest thou, United States of America? [Applause.]

The Speaker. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has again expired.

A Vicious Act That Must Be Repealed

APRIL 27, 1926

Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill to repeal the so-called espionage act which was passed during the war.

The impression prevails that the war-time laws which made it a crime punishable by 20 years in the penitentiary to criticize the war policies of the Wilson administration have been repealed.

That impression is wrong.

The espionage act is still on the statute books, to be revived the moment war is declared.

Not One Conviction of Actual Espionage

The espionage act was the most outrageous measure ever enacted in the United States. Under it 2,000 men and women who dared to exercise their constitutional rights of free speech and free press were convicted and sentenced to terms up to 20 years. Not a conviction was had of any citizen charged with actual espionage.

That law not only made speaking and writing a crime, but even thinking against war was a crime, for if you thought as others did there was a "meeting of the minds"—and a conspiracy.

The strangest feature of it was that it was enacted by the Democratic Party, which was born of the opposition to the "alien and sedition acts," enacted by the Federalists in 1798.

The Republican Party, of course, ably assisted the Democrats in 1917.

The old alien and sedition acts were not nearly as vicious, however, as the espionage bill; the maximum penalty for its violation was two years in the old law.

Exists Only to Assure Profiteers and Patrioteers

The only purpose of retaining the espionage act on the statute books is to assure financiers and profiteers and patrioteers, whenever it suits their ambitions to push us into the next war just as they pushed us into the last war, that all opposition will be silenced. It will be used in the next war, as it was in the last, not to punish espionage but to stifle all criticism of international murder.

The time to wipe that law off the statute books is now. When war is declared those advocating its repeal will be subject to a prison sentence of 20 years.

French Debt Settlement a Victory for French Militarism

JUNE 2, 1926

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, J. M. Keynes, who was the financial and economic expert of the British Government when the so-called peace of Versailles was concluded, says in his book *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* that it seemed to be next to impossible "to de-bamboozle that old Presbyterian, Woodrow Wilson," who seemed really to believe all the propaganda that the allied governments had put forth during the war.

When I listened to the discussion yesterday, and to the opinions put forth by both sides, by those in favor of the bill pertaining to the French debt settlement, and also by those opposed to it, I could not help but remember that sentence in Keynes' book.

Only with this difference:

It was not just Woodrow Wilson who was bamboozled by that propaganda, but the entire American people, and that includes even men like the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. Collier] and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Rainey], who opposed the proposition. And I will admit that the gentleman who seems to have been less bamboozled than the others is Mr. Mills, of New York, who spoke for the settlement. Big business is rarely bamboozled. [Laughter and applause.]

And Mr. Mills claimed that France could pay if forced to pay, and when speaking about the devastation of northern France he admitted that the cannons of the Allies, including our own cannon, were probably as much responsible, or even more responsible, for the havoc than the German cannons.

European War Was Not Our War

Where I must differ with the gentleman from New York is where he makes the claim that this European war was our war. It was not. It was not any more our war or our business than the war between Turkey and Greece in 1922 was our war or our business.

I admit, of course, that our country, as a matter of fact, was not absolutely neutral since 1914, when the war began. From the very first day our "big business" began to sell ammunition and war material and to lend money to one side of the controversy only. Big business could not have sent ammunition, war materials, or food to the other side even if it had tried, because the British Navy ruled the sea, but big business was largely pro-ally to begin with.

And after our capitalist class and our profiteers and financiers were so far engaged financially that anything less than a decisive victory of the Allies would mean a tremendous loss of money to our big business, then as a matter of course we entered the war.

But let us remember that the public opinion of our country had been prepared for this step by a propaganda unknown and unparalleled in the history of the world in its intensity and magnitude. A propaganda carried on in the press, the schools, the theaters, the magazines, the billboards, the churches, and every-

where else. And the American people to no small extent are still under the spell of that propaganda. [Applause.]

But nevertheless the truth is coming out. This was not our war and we had no excuse whatsoever for getting into it. We had no quarrel with Germany. No sane American thought of the possibility of war with Germany in 1913.

Our Entry Responsible for Present Chaos

And if we had not gotten into the terrible mess the World War would have ended as a "parti remis"—ended without a knockout for either side, would have ended by a general exhaustion of the war fiends of Europe. That was the situation in 1917. The two sides would have concluded a peace by negotiation, and all of Europe would have gone to work to reconstruct the economic fabric and to heal the wounds of the greatest struggle known in history.

As it was the United States entered as the twentieth nation, with the resources of 115,000,000 people and of a prosperous continent. We sent over 2,000,000 fresh soldiers and dealt the knockout blow.

The Price We Paid—and What We Accomplished

It cost us \$40,000,000,000, 120,000 dead, and over 200,000 maimed. And we accomplished the complete economic ruin of Europe—about six dictatorships—and the building up of the biggest military machine ever known in the history of the world in France.

Neither Alexander the Great, nor Julius Caesar, nor Napoleon the First, nor Kaiser Wilhelm had nearly as big a standing army as France has today, although

neither the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Green] nor the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Burton] was willing to touch on that subject.

Now as to the capacity of France to pay.

I will say at the outset that I agree with the gentleman from New York [Mr. Mills] when he says:

"All told, however, all of the data that I have examined indicates that France's fundamental economic position is stronger than ever, and this means, of course, that if there were no other factors involved her capacity to meet her foreign obligations would indeed be satisfactory."

And I also agreed with him when he said:

"No one is more vitally interested than we are in the peace and prosperity of the world; no one desires them more fervently and sincerely. Fair play, open dealing, and mutual trust, respect, and understanding are the forces we rely on."

Mr. Sproul of Kansas. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Berger. No. If the gentleman can get me more time, I will yield.

But for that very reason we ought to be equally fair to all. If Mr. Mills admits that "France's economic position is stronger than ever," why, then, should not France pay at least as much of her indebtedness to us as does Great Britain, for instance?

France Emerges as Leading Military Power of World

France has emerged from this war as the leading military power of Europe and of the world.

Its colonial empire also is only second to that of Great Britain, although France does not need any colonies, for the simple reason that France has no surplus

population. Moreover, the French are notoriously bad colonizers—always have been bad colonizers—because the French have a tendency to intermarry with the natives.

Colonies Used to Train Troops for War

Nevertheless, France, with a population of about 39,000,000, has now the following colonies: In Asia, 317,047 square miles; in Africa, 5,245,727 square miles; in America, 33,166 square miles; in Oceania, 9,190 square miles, a grand total of 5,817,797 square miles—a colonial territory almost twice as large in area as the United States. For a people of about 39,000,000—which uses these colonies mainly as a training field for its troops in the bloody business of war—this continuous war business is certainly an unprofitable business.

And that is exactly what France has used her colonies for most of the time. Algiers was that training field in the past; Morocco is going to be in the future; and Syria is such a training field at the present time. And everybody who has followed colonial development during the last 30 years knows by what manner of means the French and the Belgians have exploited the Congo.

But to come back to the debt settlement.

I would go a step further than the gentleman from New York [Mr. Mills]. I would forego all our Treasury claims to our European debtor nations provided that the European countries would do the same thing toward each other, and provided also that they disarm. [Applause.]

Why the Enormous Military Establishment France Is Maintaining?

I ask you, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, where is the justification for France to keep up a standing army of 660,000 and over 2,500,000 in reserve and 2,560 airplanes of the first class and about 4,000 airplanes in reserve when there is really no other enemy in sight than the poor Syrians and the Berbers of the Riff? Germany is completely disarmed.

And especially in view of the fact that it will be impossible for France to balance her budget and keep up the standing of the French franc while France is maintaining this enormous army. [Applause.]

I ask again what excuse does France have to keep up a standing army about six times the size of ours? Our population is about three times that of France and our national wealth, according to French statements, is seven times as large, but according to neutral economists is at least five times as great—but the standing army of France is about six times as big as ours.

France Does Not Pay a Cent of the Principal

As to the French debt settlement, however, I want to call the attention of this House to the fact that the proposition before us really does not provide that France should pay a single dollar of the principal of its war debt to the United States.

France owes us about \$4,000,000,000, with $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent interest, which is the rate our Government paid and pays for the money loaned to France.

This means an annual payment of interest of \$170,000,000. If you examine the bill before you, however,

you find that in none of the 62 years does France propose to pay \$170,000,000. For the next few years we get nothing. The installments grow up to the sum of \$95,000,000 a year.

Mr. Mills. One hundred and twenty-five million dollars in the seventeenth year.

Mr. Berger. All right; but remember, please, that even at that not only does France not pay back a single cent of the principal borrowed from the United States, but she does not even pay back the interest on that capital in the 62 years, which our taxpayers must pay.

And also remember that France is expected to get \$250,000,000 annually from poor, beaten, starved, and bankrupt Germany for the next 37 years to come. The Germans need expect no sympathy here, of course.

We Lose Between Five and Six Billions of Dollars

A gentleman speaking yesterday puts down the loss of the United States on this transaction at \$3,000,000,000. I can not see how he got that figure. If we compute the interest, the loss is between \$5,000,000,000 and \$6,000,000,000.

Talk about being magnanimous. This is generosity toward France going to an extreme, especially in consideration of what we are willing to do for our American farmers.

Of course, it is simply being done to provide an excuse for our financiers in Wall Street to lend France \$300,000,000 or \$400,000,000 at 6 per cent interest. These financiers can say then that the economic position of France is unequalled and that the American public will be safe in buying the French bonds they have to sell.

A Dangerous Investment

However, if I am permitted to advise our friends, Pierpont Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, and others who probably will have charge of the transaction, I would suggest to them that they do not sell these bonds to the American public, for the following reasons:

The French bonded indebtedness is so terrific that it can never be paid at all. We were told here yesterday that in 1913, a year before the war, the French debt amounted to \$6,290,000,000, owing to the fact that France spent a good deal more money on its army than Germany did. And that France also helped to finance the Russian Czar. At that time, in 1913, our own debt was less than \$1,000,000,000, and that of Great Britain was three and a half billion dollars.

But on April 30, 1925, the internal bonded debt of France—that is, the debt that France owed to its own citizens—amounted to 286,000,000,000 francs. It is true that this internal debt is largely being wiped out by the fall of the franc.

But that is just the trouble.

Savings of Small Bourgeois Class Are Being Wiped Out

It creates a tremendous amount of dissatisfaction by wiping out the savings of the small bourgeois class, and this may make a communist—mind you, I say a communist, not a Socialist—out of a petty bourgeois.

Remember, gentlemen, France has had two communistic uprisings in the past. One in 1796 and the other in 1871. And such a communist uprising, even if finally suppressed, may have terrible economic consequences.

Can Stabilize Franc By Dropping Militarism

Incidentally, let me also say that France does not need any American gold to stabilize her money.

The National Bank of France has in its cellars more gold than the Bank of England. The Bank of France has twice as much gold as the Reichsbank in Berlin. The Bank of France has seventy-eight times as much gold as Switzerland, where the franc retains its old value.

With the 3,684,147,000 gold francs at the Bank of France, and about 1,900,000,000 gold francs held abroad, the stabilization of the franc would be easy if France would drop her militarism and balance her budget.

There is no historic or military excuse for it at present anyway. Germany is completely disarmed.

Moreover, we must remember the historical fact that during the last 300 years France has invaded Germany nineteen times, while the Germans invaded France only three times—during the period of the French Revolution and Napoleon, in 1870, and in 1914.

Strassburg, the capital of Alsace, was taken by Louis XIV in the midst of peace and without any declaration of war in 1681.

Must Vote Against Debt Settlement

For the reasons I have given and others which I could enumerate if I had the time, I shall vote against the settlement, which is really no settlement at all, nor can it stabilize the franc unless France disarms.

Incidentally, I want to say to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Lozier], who made a good speech yester-

day, that he was in error when he said that the Socialists of France were opposed to any settlement with the United States or to any payments to be made by France to the United States on account of this debt.

French Socialists Oppose Militarism

On the contrary, the Socialists of France hold very much the same position I do here. They are opposed to French militarism, and they even want to go as far as the capital levy—a levy on French capital—in order to stabilize the franc. The nationalists and “patriots” of France, the militarists and the bourgeoisie of France, are opposed to any payment. They consider the money loaned by the United States a military subsidy that need not be paid back.

The Socialists are in favor of paying the debt, although they would like to see a general cancellation of all the war debts everywhere if such could be accomplished.

“Radical Socialists” Are Not Socialists at All

When you read in the papers about Socialists and Socialist radicals in the French Parliament, you are very apt to misunderstand the political situation. Only the unified Socialists and the so-called independent Socialists are Socialistic parties.

The so-called “radical Socialists,” of whom Herriot is the leader, are neither radicals nor Socialists. They are nice little bourgeois, something like our populists in days gone by.

To make a long story short, I know that opposition to this settlement is rather useless. To begin with, this House has very little to say as to foreign affairs any-

way. Moreover, the Republican majority, and a good share of the Democratic minority, will blindly follow the lead of Mr. Mellon, Mr. Morgan, and "big business." They followed that lead, only with the party strength reversed, in getting us into the World War.

We Pay Again for Entering War

The fact is that we are still paying for the World War, and that we will continue to pay for many years. Just now the American farmer is paying more heavily than any other class in America, but I can see the time—and the time is not far off—when the workers in the cities are going to pay for it. As the proletariat of England is already doing.

Imperialism, Past and Present Kellogg, Mexico and the Red Spook

JANUARY 18, 1927

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the House, I really did not intend to take the floor at this time. I am under a physician's care. Moreover, we have had enough oratory.

A War Requires Above All Much Mental Preparedness

I read in the papers and heard on the floor of this House, however, something about a war with Mexico in which the United States may become involved. And the moment I heard the word "war" I felt like the old military steed that heard the bugle. I am an old war horse. I went through a war for four years and a half, and my "croix de guerre"—my cross of war—consisted of a sentence to serve 20 years in the penitentiary. Some cross to bear.

After looking over the situation carefully, however, I am not a bit afraid that there will be war. There is not the slightest danger.

The American people are not ready for any war. Wars nowadays must be mentally and psychologically thoroughly prepared—prepared by a drum fire of propaganda. We did not even have a preparedness parade as yet, as we had in 1916:

**"Mad Dog of Europe" and Belgian "Baby Fingers"
Were Part of the War of the "All-lies"**

The World War, for instance—there was a war for which the world was mentally well prepared. The British imperialists began their propaganda as early as 1896. By 1914 everybody knew that the Germans were not Germans at all—that they were Huns—and that Germany was "the mad dog of Europe."

And that was wise of the governments.

It would have been very difficult to induce the English people and the German folks to slaughter one another for purely commercial considerations. It would not do to tell their people that it was a question of world's trade, or of the rule of the seven seas. Each government had to persuade its nationals that the other people were not human, that they were fiends. But the clever British and French propaganda was infinitely superior to the clumsy German talk about "a place in the sun."

Remember what our American folks had to be told for about three or four years before we got ready to enter the war? The daily press, the movies, the magazines, the playhouses—even the schools and churches—were just ablaze with stories about the misdeeds of the Huns and their Kaiser. We were told as early as 1915 that unless we got into the war "the Kaiser would come over here and take all our money away." And, as usual, those that had the least money to lose were scared the most.

And people believed it. And some people in the mountains of Tennessee still believe it. And then, also, the stories of "the Belgian babies whose fingers

were cut off." The British ambassador, James Bryce, vouched for the truth of these stories. And about the French babies that hung in the butcher shops, like pigs. Some people not only believed that, but claimed that they had friends who had seen them.

Of course we had to go to war to stop all that beastly cruelty.

People Begin to See Through the Propaganda

But, alas, how now? You could not tell even the most credulous Ku-Kluxer in Texas that Calles would come over here and take our money away. He would surely answer that Texas could at any time lick Mexico single handed.

It would take quite a little propaganda before the bulk of the American people would become ready for war with Mexico. First and foremost, they would want to know why they should have any war at all.

There are millions of Americans who are beginning to see now that we were bamboozled and flimflammed into the World War; that it was not a war to protect the small nations; not a war to make the world safe for democracy; not a war to do away with militarism; not a war to make an end to all wars.

Yet all of these reasons for entering the World War were given at the time to the "intellectuals" of the Nation.

Of Course, Our Capitalists Own the "Patria" and Are the "Patriots"

The truth is that no one is anxious to have a war just now—except a small clique of young militarists in the War Office.

President Coolidge does not want war, and poor Kellogg does not want it. Some papers close to the oil magnates, a few Knights of Columbus fanatics, and the Hearst organs talk about war—but it is evidently done for the purpose of intimidating the Calles government in Mexico. Our American capitalist class is not ready for any war.

Of course, if the American capitalists should really want war with Mexico or with anybody else they could have it quickly enough. Our capitalist class owns the press, controls the churches, rules the schools; speaks through the radio, the playhouses, and the billboards; and possesses all means of publicity and of communication.

The capitalist class owns the "patria," and therefore has the first call on all "patriotism."

The capitalist class, as a matter of course, also owns both of the old parties in Congress and out of Congress.

Therefore, if our capitalist class really wanted war with Mexico, who would be here to stop it?

The Republican Party would be for it about 98 per cent. And the Democratic Party, whose stronghold is nearer Mexico, would be for it 99 per cent.

Who would oppose it?

The Opposition Would Fall in Line

The peace societies? They would adjourn, as in 1917, and the ladies would knit stockings, jackets, and possibly do some Red Cross work for the soldiers.

The Ku-Klux Klan? That is a patriotic society, and in killing Mexicans their members would be killing

Roman Catholics and some Negroes, which is not against a "Klansman's creed."

The American Federation of Labor? It would want \$1 more wages per day for the munition workers.

The farmers? They would simply demand \$2.25 for a bushel of wheat.

The Liberals? Where was the New York World during the war? It was Woodrow Wilson's mouth-piece. Where was The New Republic? Its editors were in the War Department, or working for George Creel.

In short, there would be no real opposition if our capitalist class should be really determined to go to war with Mexico.

Therefore—Why Trot Out the Bolshevik Spook?

But I am disappointed in the way the President and Mr. Kellogg handle this situation. It is really humiliating.

There is Mr. Kellogg. He knows all this, or ought to know it. He has lived in this country for some time. Therefore, why did he have to take refuge behind that worn-out scarecrow, the "red spook," for this particular war whoop? Why did he have to trot out Bolshevism to fortify his position?

Mr. Kellogg's Dark Red Plot in Mexico

When Mr. Kellogg was invited to appear before the Senate committee to explain the basis and the justification for our Government's policy in Nicaragua, and also the policy against Mexico which is interwoven—he left with the committee a paper entitled "Bolshevism aims and policies in Mexico and Latin America."

From this paper we learned that there is in Mexico a deep and dark plot which originated in Moscow to combat American imperialism—and particularly American imperialism in Latin America. That plot is to be carried out by the American Communist Party, called the Workers Party, and it is this plot that gave the Secretary of State, and evidently also the President of the United States, the cold shivers.

**Probably—Neither Mr. Kellogg nor Mr. Coolidge
Ever Met a Communist**

Now, I will say this: I very seriously doubt whether Mr. Kellogg, or Mr. Coolidge, has ever seen a real live communist. There are so few of them in the United States.

Now, I can proudly claim that I have seen, met, and spoken to some. And I had some very serious disagreements with them—and I never shivered the slightest bit.

As a matter of fact, I sat in committee more than once with the arch-Bolshevik, Nicolai Lenin, long before the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, and before Nicolai Lenin became a world figure.

Nicolai Lenin represented one of the four or five Russian parties, and I represented the American Socialist Party at the old Internationale in Brussels. He expressed the views of the extreme left wing, while I stood for the doctrines of the social democracy.

Nicolai Lenin did not convert me to communism, and I did not convert Lenin to social democracy. As a matter of fact, neither of us tried.

So-Called Workers' Party Originated From a Split in 1919

Now, to begin with, I believe a man has a right to be a communist if he believes in communist theories. He has as much right to be a communist as Pierpont Morgan has to be a Republican, or A. Mitchell Palmer to be a Democrat.

But as for the Communist or Workers Party in America—well, I know something about that also. I ought to know. It originated in 1919 by a split from the Socialist Party. The seceders were mainly members of the foreign language sections, who believed that the red streak they saw in the east of Europe was the dawn of a new day for all humanity, whereas it simply meant "good night" for Russian czarism.

Was Kept Going by Mitchell Palmer's "Secret Service"

And the organization of the communists was very much accelerated by the contemptible way these fanatics were treated by the Department of Justice under A. Mitchell Palmer, whose secret service men acted as "agent provocateurs" and often wrote their platforms.

The outcome was the so-called Workers Party, which is supposed to have received some money from the Bolshevik Government in Russia. The Workers Party could not have received very much because the Workers Party was in clover only while the "agent provocateurs," of the Department of Justice, kept up its organization. At the present time, it is as near nothing as is A. Mitchell Palmer's reputation for honesty.

At that time, however, for some reason or other, Charles E. Hughes also got scared and seemed to believe that the Bolsheviki, unless stopped, would put the "red flag" on the White House.

Calles Protested Against Communist Propaganda

But to come back to Mr. Kellogg's documents.

It is hard to see how he can make out a case of Bolshevism against Mexico. All that Mr. Kellogg has to show is Tchitcherin's statement that he wished the American Workers Party would make propaganda in Mexico against American imperialism.

But Calles, the President of Mexico, protested against the Communist pretense to use Mexico as a basis for any kind of propaganda.

Moreover, our State Department must have known of the protest because just two days after the Calles protest, the Associated Press reported it from Mexico City.

Kellogg's Mexican Documents Annihilate Kellogg's Theory

Mr. Kellogg's so-called evidence consists in resolutions by Russians in Moscow or American Communists in Chicago—saying that they would like to combat American imperialism in Mexico. Anybody who has any idea as to how prolific are the Communists in resolutions—would not pay the slightest attention to evidence of that kind. It is unmitigated trash.

But at the end of Mr. Kellogg's statement given to the Senate Committee, what do we find? We find three Mexican documents. And these are the only three.

All of them are protests against any attempt to use Mexico as a base for Communist propaganda.

Especially strong is the protest of the Mexican Federation of Labor to the Russian ambassador against his giving moral and economic support to the Communist group—"enemies of the Mexican Federation of Labor and of the Mexican Government."

Are we to go to war about that?

Policy Is Imperialistic and—Stupidly So

The only case that Mr. Kellogg seems to make out is—that the Bolsheviks are opposed to American imperialism.

Are we to go to war with Mexico because a few Bolsheviks preach opposition in Latin America to our imperialism?

There can be no question that the present policy of the United States in Central America is imperialistic, and stupidly so.

The Effort to Establish Orderly Procedure by Treaty

Let us first consider our actions in Nicaragua.

The policy of the United States in dealing with revolutions in Central America was defined in the Washington treaty of 1924, which was signed by Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Salvador.

The United States did not sign that treaty; President Coolidge himself points out, however, that the treaty was made in Washington, under the auspices of our Secretary of State, and that therefore the American Government has felt a moral obligation to apply its principles in order to encourage the Central Ameri-

can States in their effort to prevent revolution and disorder.

The main principle of that Washington treaty is that no recognition will be extended to anyone who achieves power by virtue of "a revolution against a recognized government." The purpose evidently is to back the forms of constitutional government in Central America—in the hope that eventually orderly procedure will become fixed.

Diaz Is the Beneficiary of the Chamorro Revolution

Now, let us see how our State Department has lived up to these principles.

In October, 1924, Salorzano and Sacasa were elected President and Vice President of Nicaragua. There was no question of the legality of their election, and recognition was granted to them. Ten months later the American marines were withdrawn from Nicaragua, and within two months a revolution, led by General Chamorro broke out. There was the situation the treaty condemned.

What did our State Department do? It kept its hands off.

It refused to intervene to save Solorzano and Sacasa; but when they were overthrown they refused to recognize Chamorro because he had achieved power by a revolution against a recognized government.

All this was perfectly correct so far.

But while the State Department adopted the theory of non-intervening in the case of any help wanted by Solorzano and Sacasa, it abandoned this theory when it came to dealing with Diaz.

Now, who is Diaz?

Diaz was one of the most active partisans of Chamorro, the revolutionist. Diaz is now President only because Chamorro overthrew the legally elected Government. Diaz is the ultimate beneficiary of the Chamorro revolution, and our marines are now in Nicaragua upholding his authority.

The question is, How can the United States Government justify nonintervention to save Solorzano and Sacasa, who were legally elected, and at the same time justify intervention to protect Diaz, who is the direct beneficiary of the kind of revolutionary movement our Government has solemnly announced it would not tolerate?

Diaz Reign Unconstitutional From Every Point of View

The claim of Diaz to the presidency rests upon an alleged election to that office by Congress.

There are two vital objections to this claim. First, the body holding the alleged election was not the legal Congress of Nicaragua; second, that even the legal Congress would have had no authority to make such an election.

The revolutionary forces under General Chamorro expelled the Liberal members of Congress, who, together with the anti-Chamorro Conservatives, constituted a majority of that body, and filled up the vacancies with Conservatives without a vestige of title to such position.

Also Millions of Americans Opposed to This Imperialism

But to get back to Mexico, which I think at present is the crux of the matter.

I ask again, Are we to go to war with Mexico be-

cause Bolsheviks in Chicago and Moscow preach opposition in Latin America to our imperialism? There are millions of Americans opposed to the imperialistic policy of our State Department. And I am one of these millions.

And this may be the proper time to say a few words about imperialism and colonies, which are closely interwoven with imperialism.

Colonies in Ancient Times

In olden times, when two nations went to war with each other—and in those days, at the beginning of civilization, nations usually meant city nations—the victor nation would kill most of the vanquished and enslave what was left. The victors usually took possession of the lands and distributed the acreage among its victorious soldiers. That was the custom in the Roman wars. And these soldiers who got the land which was taken from the enemy were called “colonials.”

Commercial nations, however, like the Phoenicians, did not as a rule start their colonies by conquest. They were satisfied to acquire land for trading posts, and to do business by bartering—buying and selling—with the tribes in the surrounding territory.

At the time of the downfall of the Roman Empire, Rome had by its method of colonizing—and by the colonists marrying and mixing with the natives—practically Romanized the then known ancient world, as far as Britain to the north and North Africa to the south.

When the various German tribes broke in and made an end to the Roman Empire, this event also meant a certain type of colonization. The victors usually

took two-thirds of all the land and gave it to the German tribesmen. One-third was left to the natives, the Germans forming a sort of feudal nobility. This was generally the case in Italy, France, Spain, and Great Britain. Thus new nations were formed—the Italian, the French, the Spanish, and later the English.

After that no colonists were sent out of Europe for a thousand years.

The Effect of the Turks Taking Constantinople and Asia Minor

And then came the discovery of America.

Trade and manufacturing had expanded in Italy and Germany, and also in the Flemish cities, on a large scale. Since the Crusades considerable commerce, especially in spices and silks, had developed with the Far East and particularly with India. That commerce was entirely in the hands of Venetians and Genoans and other Italians, who got their wares through Constantinople and Asia Minor. This trade was interrupted by the Turks breaking into Europe and taking possession of the Near East and Constantinople.

European sailors were therefore looking for a way to India that would not compel eastern commerce to pass through the Turkish domain. Especially the Spanish in those days seemed to be interested in that respect, not only as traders but also as devout Christians looking for converts, marching with the sword in one hand and the cross in the other.

Spanish sailors discovered America.

Colonies Since the Discovery of America

The Spaniards were poor colonizers, however. They were mainly after gold, silver, and slaves. As soon as

they had conquered most of the New World and made Christians of those poor Indians, the Spaniards set them to work in the mines as slaves. The Spaniards themselves were satisfied to rest on their laurels.

I will not go into a detailed history of all this, only to say that Spain very quickly lost all the advantages of having a world empire. And they soon lost even the empire, after having had some unpleasant experiences with Holland and France, and finally and definitely when England became the mistress of the seas.

Both the Spaniards and the French were poor colonizers. The Spanish mainly because they were brutal exploiters and murderers and because they had not the faculty of developing the lands in their possession.

France failed because the French very readily mix with the native population and form a race of half-breeds, as, for instance, in Canada or even in Indo-China.

Thus the English became the great colonizers of the West. The German race did not figure in this, because most of the religious wars were fought out on German territory during all that time.

The Meaning of "Imperialism"

And now a few words about the meaning of imperialism.

The word "imperium" in Latin signified the world rule of the Roman Republic.

For a little while during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it seemed that Spain would rule the world. Even little Holland and Sweden held the "imperium" for a short period, nevertheless only England

could claim to be a world power during the last 150 years, especially after the downfall of Napoleon I.

But the term "imperialism" as it has been used in an economic sense the last 100 years is only very loosely connected with imperialism in a political sense.

Under Profit System, Producers Can Not Possibly Buy Back With Their Wages All That They Produce

The basis for economic imperialism is as follows: Under the capitalist system, which is also called the profit system or the wage system, no workman employed in a factory or a shop for wages gets the full value of his product. The employer must make a profit or the employer would have to go out of business. The more profit the employer can make the more successful he is as a business man.

Thus it comes about that the producers of a nation as a whole under the present profit system can not possibly get enough pay for their products to be able to buy back with their wages what they have produced, and yet these producers form the bulk of the buyers of the Nation. There is a surplus of products in every civilized country where the wage system prevails that must look for a market elsewhere. That is practically the case in western Europe and in the United States—and of late also Japan, since Japan accepted our capitalist civilization.

And remember this surplus production is growing very rapidly with the improved machinery and as machinery improves. It is getting increasingly harder to get a market anywhere. And markets we must have, because under the present system we are not produc-

ing for use, but for sale—producing only for those who can buy.

In other words, while there can be no doubt that workmen and farmers could use all the surplus—or at least most of it—if they had the means with which to buy, our workmen and our farmers can not do so.

The Struggle for World Markets, High Tariffs, and Control of Backward Nations

That surplus production must look for markets elsewhere then. But where?

Every civilized country, or at least every country that is highly developed industrially, is in exactly the same fix.

The English capitalist class and the French capitalist class and the German capitalist class and the Belgian capitalist class, and so forth—all produce more with their improved machinery than any of them can sell in their own country. They all look for foreign markets.

To a certain extent they could exchange their products, of course. But there is the rub. Most of these countries put up high tariffs. They want no foreign imports to come into their own country, because then they would produce still less and their own people might be unemployed.

Thus it comes about that except for certain products of which this or the other country may have a monopoly for some reason or other—as, for instance, rubber, coffee, potassium, and so forth—the surplus production must be thrown into the world market, where all compete with each other. Every civilized country is continuously on the lookout for new mar-

kets; they look for them in Asia, Africa, South America, and wherever there are backward peoples who can not produce these things themselves.

About Exports, Missionaries, and Wars

According to official figures the United States exported in 1926 products to the amount of \$4,753,000,000. In 1925 Great Britain exported about \$3,865,000,000 worth of products, while Germany exported that year about \$1,500,000,000, France about \$2,162,000,000, and Belgium about one-third of that of France.

In order to stimulate the demand for their products they sent out missionaries to make Christians out of African savages, in order to make them ashamed of going without trousers or shoes or hats or other things of which civilized nations have a surplus.

Not so long ago England even had two wars with China—one in 1839-1842 and another in 1863—because the Chinese Government refused to permit the smuggling of opium from India into the Chinese Empire. The English won the wars, and the drug that was considered poison in England was poured into China at the rate of one ton per hour for 12 hours every day for some 60 years, until the Chinese revolution in 1911 brought the traffic to an end.

Where "Oil Blessings Flow" Rivalry Most Vivid

This is only one aspect of economic imperialism. But the other and probably more important side of economic imperialism is the search for raw material—oil, metals, rubber, lumber, and so forth.

These savage, barbaric, or backward peoples are in possession of very valuable lands—excellent for agri-

culture or covered with wonderful forests, or containing valuable minerals, and, above all, containing oil—oil which has become one of the greatest assets of the present day. Capitalist nations will stop at nothing to get hold of such lands.

The Double Root of Imperialism Under the Capitalist System

And there is also this: In every civilized country the capitalist class is looking for fields to profitably invest the surplus capital of which I have spoken before. Because capital which is not profitably invested very soon ceases to be capital.

Thus these capitalists—especially English, French, German and American capitalists—who have been looking around with vigilant eyes for chances to invest their capital watch these undeveloped areas and are eager to make use of them. That is usually done first by “concessions.” They get the right or the privilege to build railroads, operate mines or oil wells, to start big ranches, to plant fruit trees, banana trees, sugar cane or pineapple plantations, according to the nature of the country.

So we have a double source of imperialism. One is the continued profitable disposal of the huge output of surplus commodities of all industrially developed nations. And the other is the necessity of commanding the sources of supply of the raw materials for these industries and also to invest money profitably in undertakings.

British Imperialism Has Changed Its Attitude

Now, as long as Great Britain had a natural monopoly of the raw materials and of the markets of the

world, British manufacturers and merchants were rather indifferent as to the growth of the British Empire. There were even some British economists and politicians who regarded most of these colonies as rather useless encumbrances, involving an expense on the British taxpayer.

But with the increasing competition and with the entry of the manufacturers and merchants of the United States and of Germany, and even of Japan, into the world market, this point of view changed.

Pacifist in 1847—Warlike in 1897

Thus, for instance, John Bright, a cotton manufacturer in Manchester in the middle of the nineteenth century—a period when British cotton goods had the undisputed control of the markets both in England and abroad—was a pacifist. John Bright was also a convinced free trader, an anti-militarist, and a radical leader.

But Joseph Chamberlain, of Birmingham, his successor in the leadership of the radicals, although he had just established a monopoly of screws in Great Britain, 50 years later was just as convinced that pacifism was a fallacy, and he was even willing to consider a high tariff. He said:

"The empire is commerce. It was created by commerce, it is founded upon commerce, and it could not exist a day without commerce. For these reasons, among others, I would never lose the hold which we now have over our great Indian dependency—by far the greatest and most valuable of all the customers we have or shall ever have for England. For the same reasons I approve of the continued occupation of Egypt; and for the same reasons I have urged upon the British

Government the necessity of using every legitimate opportunity to extend our influence in that great African continent which is now being opened up to civilization and commerce; and lastly, it is for the same reasons that I hold that our navy should be strengthened until its supremacy is so assured that we can not be shaken in any of the possessions which we hold or may ever hold hereafter."

That speech was made in 1897.

Finally Open Threat Against Germany in 1906

This powerful but crude imperialism of the leading British statesman of that time was reinforced by the more polished utterances of Lord Milner, for instance—who, together with Cecil Rhodes, was largely responsible for the Boer War. Lord Milner said in an address to the Manchester Conservative Club in 1906:

"You can not have prosperity without power. We Britons of all people depend for our very life not on the products of these islands alone but on world enterprise and commerce. This country must remain a great power or she will become a poor country. * * * But greatness is relative; physical limitations alone forbid that these islands by themselves should retain the same relative importance among the vast empires of the modern world which they held in the days of the smaller states—which England held before the growth of Russia and of the United States—which England held before united Germany made those giant strides in prosperity and commerce, which have been the direct result of the development of military and naval strength."

And, as a matter of fact, we all know that when in the first six months of 1914 German world trade became as large as the British the World War did not delay.

The Flag Must Also Protect the Money Lender

I have spoken of economic imperialism mainly as to its selling and producing aspects, but there is also this to be considered:

When capital has accumulated in large fortunes, when the rate of interest is beginning to fall at home, then our capitalists discover that there are many uncivilized races, or even races who have a very ancient civilization, that are weak and can not defend themselves—all of whom can be more easily exploited than the fellow citizens at home. Then the export of capital to such countries becomes much more attractive to the profit-making capitalists than its use for the extension of manufacturing facilities at home.

Now, if the adage is true that trade follows the flag, then the flag must also follow the money lender and protect him.

Barbarian Must Be Taught Honesty— With the Help of Guns

There is also this: These backward peoples have a moral code of their own. And they do not enter willingly into lasting business relations with civilized men.

Our business men will tell you that it is therefore necessary for the purposes of trade and culture that these backward nations, or ancient nations, be compelled to live up to such rules of conduct as will make trade possible and lucrative for civilized white men who had invested their money.

To this end ships, marines, and an Army and Navy are indispensable.

A warlike front becomes necessary all the time. And armaments and warlike demonstrations have become a

part of the regular apparatus of business, so far as business is concerned with the world market.

Some Data As to Our Foreign Investments

Now, as to American foreign investments.

We are told by Stuart Chase in the New York Times of June 27, 1926, that—

“Not far short of 25,000,000,000 American dollars are today reposing in lands outside the territorial boundaries of the United States.

“In 1900 we had only \$500,000,000 invested abroad, the bulk of it in Mexico, Canada, and Cuba. In the same year foreign investors had the equivalent of some six or seven billion dollars in American enterprises.

“During the next decade our own investments abroad increased sharply. In 1909 they aggregated two billions, in 1913 two and one-half billions, half of it in Latin America and a quarter in Canada.

“Then came the war. From a debtor Nation we turned suddenly into a creditor Nation, with a prodigious balance on our side of the ledger.”

Figures prepared by the finance and investment division of the United States Department of Commerce bring up the grand total for loans of private citizens to foreign governments and investments in foreign undertakings to \$9,522,000,000.

“America for the Americans”—i. e., for the American Capitalists

In this the Western Hemisphere leads, with investments of 71 per cent of the grand total, Canada holding 27 per cent and Latin America claiming 44 per cent, or more than twice the total for Europe, and five and one-half times the aggregate for Asia and Oceania.

We Americans believe evidently in our own half of the map, for we have put 71 per cent of every \$100 invested in America outside of the United States.

And this must continue.

"Our" Investments in Mexico—Many Interests Besides Oil

In view of these figures, it is also of great interest to know how much American money we have invested in Mexico and by whom it is invested.

American property in Mexico is estimated to be worth approximately a billion and one-half dollars.

Oil lands, refineries, and appurtenances constitute the bulk of the property. They are worth about \$500,000,000.

Mining and smelting account for another \$300,000,000; plantations and timber, \$200,000,000; railway holdings, \$160,000,000; manufacturing enterprises, \$60,000,000; merchandise stores, \$50,000,000; street railways, power companies, telephones, and what not, \$10,000,000; and "concealed interests"—partnerships in concerns which have Mexican or other foreign names, and so forth—another \$250,000,000.

The "big five" American companies in the oil business are dominated by Standard Oil. This controls the "Continental," also the Huasteca Co., formerly owned by E. L. Doheny.

Another of the "big five" is the Freeport-Mexican, controlled by Harry F. Sinclair; Mexican Gulf, owned by the Mellon family of Pittsburgh, and the Texas Co. (Ltd.) are the fourth and fifth.

The Guggenheims, owning the American Smelting and Refining Co.; the Phelps-Dodge Co., of Arizona,

controlling the important copper mines; the American Metals Co., operating around Monterey and headed by Morrow, partner of J. Pierpont Morgan; and the Green Cananea Consolidated Copper Co., controlled by the copper king, John D. Ryan, and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., are among the most important mining concessionaires.

The Ryan-Rockefeller outfit owns the famous Anaconda, of Butte, the greatest copper concern in the world.

Among the big American landowners in Mexico are Harry Chandler, publisher of the Los Angeles Times; William Randolph Hearst, of the Hearst newspapers; John Hays Hammond, prominent engineer; J. O. Jenkins, United States consulate agent who was kidnaped by Mexican bandits a couple of years ago; and George Carnahan and Charles Sabin, New York bankers, and others.

By scanning these names—and this list is by no means complete—one can readily see why all this agitation about Mexico and where it originates at the present time.

It Is a Pity That the Struggle With Roman Catholic Church Came Just Now

It is unfortunate, of course, that just at present the Mexican Government is in a bitter struggle with the Roman Catholic Church, trying to separate church and state in Mexico, as church and state have been separated in every civilized country. This makes the position of the Mexican Government much more precarious and adds the voices of the Catholic Church dignitaries, of the Knights of Columbus, and of the Catholic papers

to those that are clamoring for our interference in Mexican affairs.

What Is Likely to Happen If the Capitalist Program Can Be Worked Out in Regard to Mexico

To sum up the situation as it appears today—

First. The United States is not much interested in Nicaragua, *per se*. Those canal rights—the canal is still only a paper canal—no one will take from us, for the simple reason that no one is strong enough. Moreover, Mexico had better justification for recognizing Sacasa than we have for recognizing Diaz. Nicaragua is not the issue, anyway; Mexico is the issue.

Second. Our Government is using Nicaragua to force a showdown with Mexico. Basic irritations are over Mexican policies toward American interests—oil and land primarily. The Roman Catholic Church is only secondary. Nicaragua, however, provides the "external issue."

Third. Communistic plottings in Mexico and Latin America are of no account, although the irritation to our Government is increased by similar reports from "secret agents" in the Philippines, China, and other countries. And Kellogg evidently likes to believe these ghost stories.

Fourth. We seem headed toward precipitating a revolution in Mexico to overthrow the Calles Government and to substitute a reactionary government which would assure the property rights of American capitalists in Mexico.

Fifth. Such a revolutionary movement is already definitely organized. It is generally directed by its leaders from the United States—Washington, Los

Angeles, and El Paso. American capitalists owning industries and land in Mexico are its principal supporters. Their candidate for the presidency is De la Huerta, now in the United States. His program is to suspend by military decrees the 1917 constitution, which is objectionable to the interests," to substitute temporarily the 1857 constitution, and subsequently to call a new constitutional convention that will serve American vested property rights.

Sixth. Lifting of arms embargo would precipitate that kind of a revolution. Mexican revolutionists already have some arms and munitions, most of which were smuggled from the United States. Sacasa also got his arms in this way from New York.

Seventh. Regular war between the United States and Mexico is improbable. Naval and military forces would be used "to protect American interests" against "revolutionary chaos," and to help Huerta after he is recognized by the United States.

Whether this program can be carried out in its entirety I very much doubt, even though this is a capitalist world and the United States is the foremost capitalist country in the world.

Logic of Imperialism—the World to Those Who Can Make the Best Use of It

And now we ought to consider in a few words the question of imperialism from a purely historical point of view.

There are those who point out that all colonization in America, especially in the United States and Canada, was imperialistic to a large extent, since the land had been taken away from Indians who had possessed it.

Others point to the fact that, after all, the earth belongs to humanity as a whole, and especially to those who can make the best use of it.

And that, therefore, it is foolish and silly to let some wild tribes, or a more or less barbaric or backward nation, occupy hundreds of thousands of square miles of land which they can not and would not put to good use, and keep the land more or less vacant, while there are 300 to 400 inhabitants to a square mile in England or Germany or Belgium.

120,000,000 Taking the Place of Handful of Indians— and Consider Also the Result of Former Imperialistic War With Mexico

These historians say that there are today 120,000,000 people living in a high state of civilization in the United States, while there were never more than 500,000 Indians at any time living as hunters on the same territory.

We are also told that while the war against Mexico, waged against President Santa Ana in 1846, was undoubtedly one of the least justifiable our country has ever waged—unless it was our entry into the World War—still the result of the Mexican War made it possible to carve out six States, among them California, part of Oregon, Colorado, Oklahoma, and so forth. There are more people and they enjoy a much higher civilization in every respect than would the inhabitants had they remained with Mexico.

But Colored Races Are Waking Up

These are philosophical problems which I can not solve. They involve the question as to whether human

beings are happier under a complex civilization, with its many wants and duties, or happier leading the simple life of a backward nation.

And there is also this to be said:

The uncivilized or less civilized parts of the globe are mostly in the hands of the colored races. And these races are beginning to wake up. The World War has taught them a few things. Especially that a bullet fired out of a modern rifle by a colored man is as deadly as when fired by a white man.

They have also learned how to use the power of the boycott and are using it effectively in India and China against the English—and the Spanish-speaking peoples will use this weapon against America.

Fascism as Defense of Capitalism Will Not Work for Any Length of Time

Moreover, there is social disaster threatening in every civilized country.

Italy, which is itself a sort of industrially backward country, has temporarily staved it off by organizing the Fascisti to subjugate the proletariat by open violence. In our country the danger is more remote on account of colonial conditions still prevailing. But even here we find private armies everywhere organized as detective agencies who serve under various pretexts, mainly as deputy sheriffs.

We Want No Violent Convulsions in Civilization

But remember, gentlemen, if you believe in property as a creed, so is Communism a religion for those who believe in it. You can not kill ideas with a club. And you can not keep up the present system the moment

the great mass is persuaded that it has outlived its usefulness and that it is the enemy of the happiness of mankind.

The Communist Party is absolutely insignificant. And the Communist theories may be ever so wrong; but if you keep on persecuting the Communists sufficiently, you will make heroes and martyrs of them.

And when the battle will be on in earnest, it will be a struggle like the religious wars, but it will be waged with a ferocity, a self-sacrifice, and a persistence that will make the religious wars of the seventeenth century seem like little riots by comparison.

I do not want any violent convulsions. I want to see a Socialist Commonwealth grow out of the present economic and political conditions by natural evolution.

The Profit Idea Is Not an Ennobling Idea

But there can be no doubt that after a whole century of trying out the dictatorship of the capitalists for the purpose of private gain it has failed to commend itself to the judgment of the democracies throughout the world. Whatever one may think of the motive of profit-making being indispensable for business, no one will dare say that it is a high motive or a noble aspiration.

Everybody will agree that it does not lead to the production of art or beauty, that it is inimical to friendship, and that profit-making is not the parent of love.

Even the keenest profit-maker instinctively resists the introduction of the profit motive into his own family relations. There he wants the opposite principle to prevail.

If North America Is to Become a Unit—Let's Try "Peaceful Penetration"

And to come back to the Mexican situation. Suppose it is written in the stars that there shall be only one economic and political unit on this continent from the North Pole to the Panama Canal, is there only one way to accomplish this? Can this be done only by using brutal and ruthless force against weak and defenseless neighbors? Is there no such thing as peaceful penetration?

If Our Culture Is Higher—Let's Prove It

Does the highest culture of the white race consist in making dollars and investing them with the largest possible profits? Is this our destiny?

If our culture is higher than that of our neighbors, let us prove that in a cultural way.

I am against the policies of our State Department and shall use all civilized and humane means to oppose them.

Justice to Farmers Will Be Charity for Europe

FEBRUARY 14, 1927

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I have listened to the arguments and have read the literature on the various bills intended to remedy the sore plight of the American farmers, and I admit that it was not an easy task to make up my mind.

You see, it is this way:

Whenever I heard the critics of the McNary-Haugen bill point out the weaknesses of that measure and prove that it is economically unsound, that it is hard of execution, and that it will help very little, and even that help can be only temporary, I felt that I had to agree with the critics.

And then when I listened to the arguments of the proponents of the bill, showing up the shortcomings and impossibilities of the other two bills before the House—the Aswell and the Crisp bills—I was in the same position, I could not help but agree.

In short, I found myself in the position of that "Pennsylvania-Dutch" justice of the peace who listened to the lawyers in a damage case. He agreed at first with one of them and then with the other. And finally he said that they were both right, and decided that the constable had to pay the costs. [Laughter.]

The Haugen Bill

In this case the critics on both sides seem to be

right, and the people will have to pay the cost. [Laughter and applause.]

Thinking the matter over, however. I thought that of the various evils before us it might be wise to choose the smallest. And I believe that the McNary-Haugen bill in its present form is the least dangerous. [Applause.] And it also possesses a virtue which none of the speakers has so far pointed out.

Mr. Chairman, I admit that when the McNary-Haugen bill was up last year I voted against it. I was not quite sure at the time that I did right. I am going to vote for it now, and I am not any more certain that I am right now.

The fundamental differences in the bills before us are as follows:

The Crisp and the Aswell bills require a direct subsidy from the United States treasury while the Haugen bill does not. [Applause.]

The Crisp bill makes it directly and definitely a price-fixing measure. The Haugen bill does not. [Applause.]

Farmers Want No More Credit

All the farmers' organizations are opposed to the Crisp and Aswell bills. They prefer no legislation at all to those. It is not more credit that they want; they want to dispose of their surplus. [Applause.]

The Haugen bill makes for a continued policy of orderly marketing. The Crisp bill wants to function in certain emergencies only. The Aswell bill will turn it over to a Government corporation. The Aswell bill is the most "Socialistic" bill, but it is the devil's own Socialism. [Laughter.]

Complete political control is established by both the Crisp and the Aswell bills. In the Haugen bill the farmers' organizations will control. And if they make a failure of it they can not blame anyone else. [Laughter and applause.]

Neither the Aswell nor the Crisp bill provide for a restraint on overproduction through an equalization fee. The Haugen bill does.

Of course, we must admit that a great deal of log-rolling has been done by the adherents of the Haugen bill. Considerable swapping of votes has taken place. Cotton was taken in. Tobacco and even rice are now considered basic products. [Laughter.]

But logrolling takes place in the passing of all big bills.

And I can understand why even the country bankers should be so interested in this measure, especially in states like Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska, where the farmers can not pay up their mortgages and can not even pay interest on them, and where bank failures have become epidemic.

Mr. Howard. Not in Nebraska.

Mr. Berger. Some of them are in Nebraska. I have a list here.

The Haugen bill will undoubtedly also get some Democratic support, for the simple reason that the Democrats will want "to put the President in a hole." The President will either have to sign the bill and thereby repudiate the position he took in the past, or he will have to veto it and face that great Pullman farmer, Frank Lowden, of Illinois, who farms the Pullman porters, as the farmers' favorite son. [Laughter and applause.]

The greatest danger of the Haugen bill is that if it should be successful it will still further encourage overproduction of the staple products. Of course, that is not a danger that is facing the farmer immediately.

Farmers Will Get Premium on Their Exports

Another fault of the bill is, we are told, that the farm products will be sold cheaper in Europe than at home. In other words, farmers will get a premium on their export. All the big manufacturing corporations of America, however, are exporting and selling their products abroad cheaper than in America.

I have seen a list of 57 big corporations that are selling their products cheaper in Europe than they are here, so if the farmers do this, I will forgive them.

Mr. Wefald. Especially the Harvester Co.

Mr. Berger. Especially the Harvester Co. The gentleman is right.

Besides, in the case of the Haugen bill, this fault is in reality a virtue, as I shall show later on.

Everybody agrees that the present overproduction of 30 per cent in wheat, of about 30 per cent in cotton, and of more than 20 per cent in other farm products is caused mainly by the fact that since the war we have lost our European markets, especially the English and the German markets.

As a matter of fact, there were less foodstuffs produced in 1925 in the world than were produced in 1913.

Europe Needs Our Surplus Food

So these peoples need our grain and our farm products as much as ever, or more than ever, only they can not buy because the war has ruined their buying power.

And both in England and in Germany the working class now must exist nearer the starvation line than in hundreds of years in the past. Our farm problem is simply a question of finding a market for the surplus of our farm products.

By making it possible for these working people of Great Britain and Germany and other European countries to buy their flour and their meat cheaper we not only enable them to get on their feet again, and in course of time become good customers again, but we are also doing a very humane and Socialistic thing. And that is the main reason why this time I am going to vote for this bill, especially since it has been improved.

The following thought also deserves attention:

We had no real cause for getting into the World War. Without our help and interference—which practically took place the very first day the war started, because we sold munitions and war materials—the war would have ended about three years sooner, and it would have ended in a “draw.”

\$40,000,000,000 for World War

We got nothing out of our interference in that war, except 123,000 dead, about 200,000 maimed, and a war expense of about \$40,000,000,000. Our reward was prohibition and the “flu.” And we earned the hatred of every European nation.

All participants would have gone back to work in 1915 if our munition makers and profiteers had not kept them in, and Europe would have been on its feet a long time ago. And our farmers would not have lost their markets.

It is only a matter of plain international justice that we should pay for the sin of our interference. [Laughter.]

Now, who is to pay?

Profiteers Will Not Pay

We can not make the profiteers pay. They are the real patriots—they own the “patria.” And they did not make us go into the war to pay out even a part of their profits again. They are “paytriots” because they can make others pay.

The American working class, at least as far as it is organized, will also resist, although the profiteers are very willing to have the workers pay in the form of lower wages and longer work days.

Under these conditions, as a natural consequence, the farmers who are very poorly organized, had to pay through the loss of their markets for the sin of America going into the war.

Mr. Sabath. When the gentleman says the farmers were not patriots—

Mr. Berger. Oh, no. I say they were patriots.

Unjust to Make Farmers Pay Alone

I think that it is very unjust to make the farmers alone pay for that sin. I am willing that we should help to atone for the war sin by paying the farmers the export premium. I am willing that the European working people shall have bread cheaper than we have it ourselves. I am for the Haugen bill.

We are always told that this is the richest country in the world. According to the conservative estimate of the Commerce Department, we have accumulated

more wealth in the last 12 years than all of England accumulated in the whole 1,000 years of her existence.

The national wealth of England is one hundred billions; of Germany, forty billions; of France, fifty-two billions; of America, three hundred and twenty-one billions. The United States today boasts of as much wealth as England, Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, and Japan combined.

Now, what is the use of being the richest country in the world if you can not be charitable?

I shall vote for the Haugen bill as a measure of charity and justice—charity to our European workers and justice to our American farmers.

Nor is the giving of legislative aid to certain classes a novel procedure.

We Help Manufacturers

It was always given to the manufacturers. In fact, the tariff walls that we have erected since the very beginning of our national existence were simply put up as a protection to the manufacturers.

It was always given to the railroads in innumerable land grants, subsidies, and other forms of Government bounty.

We have always given liberal aid to the bankers; hardly a session passes but what we enact some bills for their benefit.

Even the workmen, stepchildren as they are and always were, have been given some benefits through legislation, such as eight-hour work days, child labor laws, workmen's compensation laws, minimum wage laws, and so forth.

We began the work of this Congress by giving millions in the form of reduced taxation to the richest of the rich. We gave billions to our European debtors, with which they can now compete more successfully in their race of building warships and arming battalions.

Why Not Help Farmers?

Only the farmers, although they represent the most important industry of our country, and a population of 30,000,000 dependent on the farms, have received no remedial legislation whatever.

They are in great danger of being pushed down to the level of the European peasant if they do not look out.

Our ruling class demands that the American farmer shall provide food and raw material for American industry and for American labor at prices no higher than foreign manufacturers and foreign labor get them for in foreign countries, while these manufacturers are enjoying the benefits of a high tariff at the present time, and have enjoyed these benefits for many years in the past.

Mr. Aswell. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Berger. When I get through with my statement I will yield. If the gentleman could get me some more time, I will be pleased to yield now.

Mr. Aswell. I just want to ask one question. How many farmers has the gentleman in his district?

Mr. Berger. I have some few thousand of them. Moreover, I represent every Socialist farmer in the country. Gentlemen, I am one of the Members who speaks rarely, and whenever I have something to say I wish you would give me a chance. [Applause.]

They call the farmer a "yokel," a hayseed, and a rube, and make a laughing stock of him. In all seriousness, the farmer is the most necessary and the most useful factor in civilization, because without him we could not eat.

Farmer Now Under Dog

In any event, I am for him because he is very much the under dog at the present time. We Socialists are always with the under dog. And therefore I shall vote for the Haugen bill, even though it may not be quite sound economically and may help only temporarily. [Applause.]

Please remember the entire capitalist system is not sound economically. And it will not last forever, either.

Robert M. La Follette—His Efforts Helped the World

FEBRUARY 20, 1927

Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen, I shall speak of Robert M. La Follette from the viewpoint of a Socialist, of a Wisconsin Socialist, and of a man who for more than a quarter of a century was the spokesman of an organized opposition to some of his policies. We opposed him not because we deemed him too radical, but because to the minds of the Socialists these policies were inadequate, half-way measures. But though we opposed him often, I will say in justice to him that he was the most powerful and constructive champion of real democracy the Republican Party has produced since the days of Abraham Lincoln. He undoubtedly was the most forceful, most fearless, and probably also the most influential exponent of progressive thought in the United States Senate.

Started Teapot Dome Investigation

There was no more aggressive and efficient fighter against every kind of corruption in the Congress of the United States in this generation than Robert M. La Follette. It was La Follette who uncovered the conspiracy to get possession of Teapot Dome and of the California naval oil reserves, although other men received a good deal of the credit for it later on. And he made that fight, at first, single-handed.

While it was my good fortune to know Robert M.

La Follette for a long time, we never got near enough to become really intimate. However, we were intimate enough for me to become acquainted with his beautiful family life. The Senator was fortunate in getting a mate of exceptionally fine qualities and of having unusually bright children. He was very much devoted to all of them.

Robert M. La Follette proved to be a great leader in many respects. He was one of the foremost defenders of the people's rights against the railroad corporations and greedy capitalists in general.

His World War Record

At no time, however, did his star shine brighter than during the World War. No other Senator or member of the House of Representatives of that period can show a record equal to his, and he rightfully declared at a meeting held in Milwaukee in answer to a question that he would not exchange his war record with that of any other Senator or Congressman in the United States.

In matters of labor legislation and in legislation for the welfare of the farmers, which, in these cases, means legislation for the betterment of the human race, no other statesman in this period has achieved as much as he did. And there is also this to be said, that not one of the laws passed through his efforts was ever declared unconstitutional.

It is due to Robert M. La Follette and to the spirit which La Follette aroused that a number of these measures, most of which were Socialistic in their origin, took shape and form and were enacted into law.

Thus, for instance, Wisconsin was one of the States which had a system for the direct election of United States Senators by the people before the adoption of the sixteenth amendment. It was the first State to provide for the nomination at the primary of candidates for the United States Senate.

Wisconsin Leads in Legislation

Wisconsin was among the first States to have an effective anti-pass law. Before the passage of that law the railroads used to give passes to members of the legislature and influential politicians in order to make them subservient to their wishes.

Wisconsin was one of the first States to require lobbyists to register and to file statements of their fees and expenses.

Wisconsin was the first State to forbid the use of the lobbies of the legislative chambers to lobbyists, and compelled them to confine their activities to appearances before committees.

Wisconsin was one of the first States that passed a civil service law, and even today the Wisconsin law is the most complete and comprehensive.

Wisconsin's Educational Laws

Wisconsin passed the first compulsory part-time school law in 1911. And we still have the best vocational schools in the country.

The first university extension courses on the English model were organized by the Universities of Chicago and Wisconsin, and Wisconsin is still the leader in that field.

Wisconsin was among the very first to organize an agricultural college in connection with the State university, and also one of the first to organize an agricultural experiment station. Wisconsin established the first short course in agriculture, and organized the first dairy school. Wisconsin was also the first State to organize agricultural high schools.

Agitation for an income tax began in Wisconsin in 1903, and a constitutional amendment providing such a tax was adopted in 1908.

Wisconsin was the first State to make the income tax a practical working measure and a source of real revenue. Since then many States have followed Wisconsin's example.

Wisconsin's ad valorem railroad law was not the first of its kind. Authorities agree, however, that the Wisconsin ad valorem method is the best example of taxing railroad property.

Wisconsin and Pennsylvania were the first States in which the tuberculin test was used. It was made compulsory in Wisconsin in 1911.

Wisconsin was one of the first States to enact legislation for the protection of the dairy interests.

Wisconsin enacted a pure food law as early as 1897.

The industrial commission act of 1911 was the first law in the United States which centralized all labor laws in a single department.

Wisconsin's Labor Laws

While safety laws and factory inspection did not originate in Wisconsin, Wisconsin was the first State, nevertheless, to adopt the modern type of safety legis-

lation, to compel employers to furnish a safe place of employment.

And while Wisconsin was not the first State to enact a child labor law, today it is as advanced as any State in the Union, and has the best enforced law in the country.

Wisconsin was one of the first States which enacted workmen's compensation laws, and the Wisconsin law was the first to become effective. It is still regarded as the model law of that type.

Wisconsin was the first state that made it compulsory for employers under the compensation act to insure their risk, unless exempted from doing so by order of the industrial commission. This has been copied since by a number of other States.

Wisconsin is the only State in the Union which has made an attempt to restore apprenticeship in industry. Wisconsin's experiment has attracted wide attention, and has been commended by both employers and employees. A parliamentary committee in New South Wales, Australia, recommended the enactment of an apprenticeship law on the Wisconsin model.

Wisconsin is the only State in the Union which has prohibited all night work for women in factories and laundries.

Wisconsin was also one of the first three States which enacted a mandatory minimum wage law.

Wisconsin was one of the first three States that enacted full crew laws for railroads.

La Follette's Influence

All of these, and many other measures, became law through the influence of La Follette and La Folletteism,

while they were, of course, backed up by organized labor, the progressive farmers' movement, and the Socialist Party. However, there can be no doubt that without the spirit aroused by La Follette most of these measures would never have been enacted into law.

Socialists Co-operated for Progress

Robert M. La Follette had a wonderfully magnetic personality, and I will say that he was the only man in Wisconsin who accomplished the hard feat of cutting deep into the Socialist vote whenever he was on the ticket and whenever we had a man up against him. On the other hand, he told me frankly more than once that for his real progressive measures he could always bank much more on the Socialists in the legislature than on his own men. And I considered this a great compliment to our Socialists.

When La Follette decided to quit both old capitalist parties and to lead a third party movement, the Socialists of the Nation indorsed his candidacy—after the Socialists of the State of Wisconsin had silently indorsed him for Senator by not putting up a candidate against him. That 5,000,000 men and women, regardless of former political affiliations, cast their ballot for him in the 1924 election, although outside of the Socialist party, which was not organized in every State, the progressives had no political organization of any kind—showed what a wonderful grip Robert M. La Follette had on the imagination of the common people.

Robert M. La Follette was a man of great industry, exceptional ability, honest motives, and had an unusually high sense of public duty. The world is better because he lived.

In Memory of Meyer London Socialist Congressman from New York

MARCH 2, 1927

Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen, on June 7, 1926, the announcement was made to this House of the untimely death of the Hon. Meyer London, a former member of this body, who had served in the Sixty-fourth, Sixty-fifth and Sixty-seventh Congresses, representing the twelfth congressional district of New York. He had passed away on the evening of June 6, the day before, a few hours after he had been struck by an automobile while crossing the street near his home in New York city.

To the members of Congress who had the privilege of serving with him during the six years that he was a member of this body—years which undoubtedly tested the worth of men—Meyer London was known as an earnest man, a deep thinker, a ready and eloquent speaker, a keen intellect, a worthy opponent, and a champion of the rights of minorities, whether they be political, racial, or religious. In the verbal encounters in which he engaged while serving his constituency here and defending the views he held—and these encounters were numerous, since he was the only Socialist to serve in this body in the six years he was here, and one of the only two Socialists ever elected to this House—he gained for himself the esteem of his associates, who

enjoyed the high plane to which he elevated every discussion in which he participated and the clean-cut way in which he met the opposition.

But to the 500,000 people who left their homes and factories to pay their final tribute at what was said by the press to have been the greatest outpouring at any funeral ever held in the city of New York and to the millions of others all over the Nation who had either listened to his eloquent and soul-stirring appeals at the numerous meetings he addressed in various parts of the country or who had read of his work in and out of Congress he was more than a skillful debater, more than a deep thinker, more than a Representative. They remembered him as one who voiced their aspirations in the days when they were the victims of merciless exploitation, who cheered them on during long and weary weeks of strikes when nothing but starvation stared them in the face, who sat up nights with strike commissions endeavoring to obtain for the men and women of labor who were out on the industrial battle line a little more of the things in life that make life worth living.

They knew him as a neighbor, who though he had risen to serve them in the highest councils of the Nation returned to them whenever the cares intrusted to him would permit, sharing with them their joys and their sorrows.

Was Champion of the Poor and Lowly

In short, to them he was a champion striving to realize the hopes of the lowly and the disinherited, employing his talents to make the road they had to travel a little easier, the goal to which he directed them more readily attainable, giving of himself the best there was

in him so that the great ideal of Socialism, which inspired him, might also inspire them and lift them out of the sordidness and greed to which an industrial civilization had committed them.

Meyer London was born in Kalvaria, Russia, on December 29, 1871. His father, Ephraim London, suffered in addition to the disabilities to which all Jews were subjected at that time in the land of the Czar, the handicap that went with being a radical.

A few years later, Russia promulgated her infamous laws discriminating against Jewish students, and forbidding all save a small proportion of them any higher education. Meyer London decided to leave Russia, and at the age of 18 arrived in the United States to live on the lower east side of New York.

Spent His Spare Time Reading

He endured, in his early years in this land, the privations of the immigrant. Fortunately for himself, and for the cause to which he was to devote his life, he succeeded in obtaining a position in the public library, where he could spend his spare time reading. Here he read and re-read the classics, not only those of his native tongue but those in the English language as well; he studied the great orations, and particularly those that were delivered in the cause of human liberty in all ages and in all lands; he acquired an intimate knowledge of history, modern and ancient, and prepared himself to render service to the people among whom he lived.

Evenings he attended the New York University Law School, from which he graduated in 1898, receiving his degree of LL. B.

The east side of New York, into which most of the newcomers found their way—at least for the first few years of their residence in the United States—was undergoing a racial transformation at about this time, and with it a transformation of ideals and aspirations. It was rapidly becoming the Ghetto, famous, on the one hand, for the dreamers, the idealists, the intellectuals who were thrown together in an alien land, and, on the other hand, for the exploitation to which the greed of the earlier immigrant exposed the newcomer in the sweatshops which marked the beginning of the cloak and suit industry.

Compelled to work 12 and 14 hours a day in the dingy rooms of the huge, black tenement houses, into which light and air penetrated with great difficulty, these intellectuals and dreamers would spend their evenings seeking mental satisfaction and relaxation at the various educational and debating clubs that were then being formed. They discussed and debated the theories of the world's philosophers and attempted to apply to the problems they discussed the views that they had acquired, very often secretly, in the land of the Czar, from which most of them came.

It was in these circles that Meyer London as a youth moved. His readiness in debate, his profound knowledge of the problems which were being considered, and his keen mind soon distinguished him, and in a little while he became the leader of one of the dozen or more radical groups.

London first identified himself with the Socialist movement, in which he was to play a leading part the rest of his life, in 1897, when, with a group of other

radicals, he joined the Social Democracy of America, organized by Eugene V. Debs.

At the turn of the century Meyer London was preaching the principles of Socialism on the streets of New York, from improvised platforms, or in smoke-filled halls even less adapted for the purpose of meetings. He believed then, as he did throughout the many years of his labors, that the only revolution worth while, the only one that could endure and really benefit society, was a revolution of the mind, at the basis of which must be the education of the masses. To the work of education he applied himself.

But in preaching the gospel of a new social order, in which the noblest sentiments of human brotherhood would achieve reality, London did not lose sight, as did so many others equally imbued with the idea, of the necessity of improving the material conditions of those to whom the realization of Socialism must of necessity seem the work of decades, possibly centuries. He had not only given them an inspiration to hope for some distant co-operative commonwealth toward which they could work, but he appealed to them to organize into trade unions and to demand better living conditions in the immediate present.

He became active in the effort to organize the cloak and suit workers, who were then probably the lowest paid workers in any industry, to improve their situation by obtaining increased wages, a reduction in the hours of labor, and, what was of even greater importance during the period of the sweatshop, more sanitary workshops.

Active in Labor and Socialist Movements

Meyer London was thus active in both the labor and the Socialist movements which, in the needle trades, came to be almost one. It was the Socialists who had lifted these workers out of their misery and the worst evils of industrialism, and it was to the Socialists that they looked for guidance and support.

But in addition to representing the unions as their attorney, defending them in the courts, presenting their demands to various conferences and commissions, serving them on strike committees which would sit days and nights mapping out a strategy that would bring victory to the workers in their numerous contests with the employers, and as strike leader rallying the men and women to remain steadfast in the face of untold privations and hardships which are incidental to every strike, London conducted a number of notable legal battles in defense of the American principle of political asylum.

The most famous of these was the Jan Pouren case. Jan Pouren, a Russian revolutionist, had escaped to America after having committed what was essentially a political crime in Russia. The agents of the Czar in the United States apprehended him and sought his extradition to Russia, where it was certain death awaited him. The Socialists took the initiative in the fight to obtain his release, and London led the battle which ended with Pouren's release and the vindication of the dearest of American institutions—an asylum for political refugees.

In 1912 London was the Socialist candidate for Congress on the lower east side. He was making the race

in a district which had been considered the impregnable stronghold of Tammany Hall. But it was more than a struggle between two political parties—it was a contest between two different elements of the community, and London's name had come to be synonymous with everything clean, with everything idealistic in that community. He received the support of all the better elements, regardless of political affiliation. He failed of election, but the closeness of the contest heartened his friends and dismayed his opponents.

Two years later he succeeded in being elected as the first Socialist to be chosen to Congress from the eastern part of the country, and the second in the Nation.

His Election Victory For Workers

Ordinarily the election of a member of Congress is, of course, a source of gratification to his friends and to the members of the organization which aided in securing the victory. But the election of Meyer London in 1914 on the lower east side of New York was more than a victory of that sort. It brought joy to the hearts of the workers of the entire country, and to none more than to the people of the tenement house district of New York. They had elected one of their own, the man who meant more to them because he gave more to them than any other individual they knew.

The press accounts of that election told of how thousands of people throughout the city stayed up all of the night, eagerly awaiting the outcome of the election. In the early hours of the morning, when it seemed certain that nothing could overturn London's lead, the east side went wild with joy. Young and old, orthodox

and reform, professional men and shopworkers joined in celebrating the victory of their favorite.

The following Sunday afternoon 12,000 people filled the Madison Square Garden, the largest hall in the city, to commemorate the election of London. They paid an admission fee, and thousands of others, only too willing to pay, were turned away for lack of room.

London came to Congress in December, 1915, almost a year and a half after the outbreak of the European war. He served during the period when the propaganda of the Allies brought about the so-called preparedness campaign and the demand on the part of the vested interests that we enter the war to save the Allies. "National honor," "Stand by the President," "Protect our rights,"—these were the slogans that filled the pages of the Congressional Record of that Congress.

The task of the peacemaker is always a difficult one, but it became especially arduous in the face of a nationwide propaganda that we enter the European war on the side of the Allies.

In a number of speeches on the international situation, London appealed to Congress to preserve the influence it possessed as the one great Nation not already in the maelstrom of war for the work of peace and reconstruction. He proposed the calling of a congress of neutral nations for the consideration of terms of peace, and when the specter of war became more menacing, and the danger that the United States would enter it imminent, he offered another resolution declaring it to be the purpose of Congress not to engage in war with any foreign nation unless it be to defend our country in time of an invasion of our territory.

He repudiated the conventional conception of na-

tional honor, declaring that the national honor of the United States can not be violated by any people other than the people of the United States. He opposed the preparedness program on the ground that a large standing army was not only useless but dangerous, and contended that "the larger the American army, the smaller the American people."

During that Congress he opposed the sending of an army into Mexico to capture Villa, voted against tabling the McLemore resolution, which provided that Americans be warned to stay off armed merchantmen flying the flags of belligerent nations, and began the campaign he continued during the balance of his service in Congress for a system of old-age pensions.

Interpreted Nobler Side of America

He inaugurated in that Congress the practice of reporting periodically to his constituents on the work of Congress, and it would be at these meetings, attended mainly by immigrants, that he would interpret the nobler side of America—that side which had given to the world some of the greatest fighters for human liberty. He pictured to them the lives of the liberators our country had produced, and distinguished them from the America of the exploiters, whom they had come to know in their struggle for a livelihood.

After interpreting to the immigrant masses he represented the ideals of the Nation they had adopted, he would return to Congress to interpret to his colleagues the hopes which moved the immigrant masses and to tell of the contributions they were making to America. He opposed every effort to restrict immigration.

But to him, to those whom he represented, and to

the Nation at large, the most important Congress in which he served—the most important Congress, for that matter, in the history of our country—was the Sixty-fifth Congress, to which he was re-elected in 1916 and which was called into special session on April 2, 1917, to comply with President Wilson's demand that the United States declare the existence of a state of war between our country and Germany.

Spoke and Voted Against World War

On the opening day he renewed his appeal that the President call a conference for the purpose of submitting terms of peace to the warring nations. On April 5, the day before the war was declared, he addressed the House, appealing for peace. But all talk was in vain. The die had been cast. Years of propaganda had had its effect. Nothing could stay the hand that thrust us into the maelstrom of the European war. With 49 other members of the House, which included practically all the leaders of the Democratic Party, he voted against the declaration of war. He later voted against the conscription law.

The position in which he found himself in the war Congress was a trying one. He knew its causes, and knew that the war was not of the people's choosing. He knew that the United States could gain nothing by its entry. In these views he was in agreement with the sentiments expressed by the Socialist Party in the proclamation it adopted at an emergency convention held in St. Louis the same week.

But while agreeing with the members of his own party on their analysis of the commercial origin of the war, he was unable to accept their view that having en-

tered the war he could or should resist its prosecution. He accordingly voted "present" on some of the war measures, and on others he voted in the affirmative.

But if he could not altogether adhere to the position his party had taken at its national convention, he could even less accept the views and approve the acts of the 100 per centers and the super-patriots in Congress, who in their professed ambition to make the world safe for democracy made their first assault on the liberties of the American people. The hatred they sought to engender, the jingoism which inspired their every word and deed, the use of such words as "Huns" and "vandals" in describing a people who have contributed so much to civilization, as have the German people, and the sanctimonious airs assumed by those who had some thievery of their own to conceal—all this added to the hardships he had to undergo during those critical years. To attempt to restrain the fury of the non-combatants under conditions such as these was surely not an enviable task.

His course satisfied neither the members of his party nor his colleagues in Congress. He could travel the whole road with neither. In the House he was criticized for his failure to co-operate in the wholesale destruction and violation of constitutional guaranties, attempted under the guise of measures to more effectively prosecute the war, when they were, in fact, intended to persecute those who were unwilling to accept all the fabrications made in the various war offices. On the other hand, his party associates, displeased by the attitude he assumed in voting for war measures, were equally critical.

Voted Alone Against Espionage Act.

The difficulty of his position may best be illustrated by citing the fact that while in the Senate of the United States 26 men courageously opposed the espionage act, which should have been called a peonage act—it made this a Nation of peons—in the House Meyer London was the only one to cast a dissenting vote. If he had done nothing else in his public career, this vote of his would have entitled him to a position among the great liberators of our age and to the everlasting love of freedom-loving men and women. He also cast the only dissenting vote in Congress on the resolution declaring war against Austria-Hungary. In matters of war, he said, he was a teetotaler—he refused to take the first intoxicating drink.

Only those who are not carried away by the mob instinct—and in war time only the most courageous can escape the herd psychology—can appreciate the burdens that such a struggle imposes. Deserted to a very large extent by those whom he loved but whom he was unable to satisfy, frequently denounced by the others, he bore the trials and tribulations of those days with a fortitude that must have been born of the years of sacrifice and service he rendered the cause of his fellow men. Standing alone was not a rare position for him to be in—more than once he had been denounced by those in whose cause he labored—but he contended for what he thought was right, doing his duty as he saw it.

The Russian Revolution and the series of events to which it gave rise afforded London an opportunity to serve as an interpreter of the hopes which prompted the Russian masses to overthrow czarism and to endeavor to take their place among the leading democ-

racies of the world. His knowledge of Russia's history, of the struggles in which it had engaged, of the aspirations of its people, and of the ills from which they were seeking relief in revolution served to remove to some extent the barrier to which misunderstanding had given rise. He was frequently consulted by President Wilson as to the policies to be pursued with respect to Russia and as frequently informed the President that the policies he had adopted would produce a condition the very opposite of what they were intended to produce, that they would strengthen the dictatorship and weaken the democratic elements in Russia, who preferred to take care of themselves without the assistance of governments they mistrusted. He opposed, for example, the sending of the Root mission to Russia, for he knew how any mission headed by Elihu Root would be received by the liberals of Russia.

But whatever his views with respect to the Bolsheviks of Russia—and he opposed them and the dictatorship upon which they rested and rest their power—he continued to plead for the recognition of the Soviet Government, once it had shown that it possessed the elements of stability.

He was, both during the war and immediately thereafter, one of the leading exponents of a league of nations—not the league that emerged from the Versailles conference which he, in common with most liberals, here denounced, but a league which would give to the people instead of to the diplomats the control of international relations.

Urged a Negotiated Peace

His principal field of endeavor in the Sixty-fifth Congress was, of course, international relations, in

which he continuously urged a negotiated peace—one that would not create, as the Versailles treaty has created—more dangers than it removed. But his speeches, all of which were delivered extemporaneously, covered a wide field of domestic problems as well; so wide a field that I shall have to resist the temptation I had of attempting a partial enumeration of them.

In 1918, after serving two terms in Congress, he was defeated, the two parties having fused against him on the ground that it was necessary to replace him with a 100 per cent patriot—one who would not reason why. A number of special conditions contributed to his defeat, as did a disaffection on the part of some of the radicals of his own party, who disapproved his war stand. With all of these untoward conditions confronting him, he lost the district by a very narrow margin.

That his popularity among the large masses who considered him their leader did not abate, and that his defeat was due to the temporary conditions to which I have adverted, was demonstrated two years later when, notwithstanding a fusion of the two parties who united on one candidate, he carried the district by a clean-cut majority. The passions of war had begun to subside. Meyer London's adherence to what he believed to be his duty to his people and to the country of his adoption had come to be appreciated, even by those who disagreed with him most violently.

He returned to Congress in 1921 to find the perplexing problems of reconstruction still unsolved. In the prisons of the Nation there were still 2,000 men and women who had been sentenced to prison terms ranging up to 20 years because they doubted and refused to believe and repeat all the lies they had been told

about the idealistic purposes of America's participation in the war, and who dared to disclose their doubts and disbeliefs. Millions of people—just how many millions the Government was unable to determine—were out of employment as a result of the dislocation of industry brought about by the signing of a peace treaty.

In a number of speeches he called attention to the failure of the war to accomplish a single one of the purposes for which its instigators declared it was fought. He recalled the prediction he made when he opposed the declaration of war to the effect that each belligerent would get something for itself if it won, but that the United States would win nothing if it did win. Events have demonstrated that the one thing the United States did win was the enmity of every one of the European nations—those that we helped as well as those we opposed—and that instead of promoting the cause of peace and making the war one to end war, it resulted in the creation of dozens of new hatreds, each one of which might lead to another catastrophe.

He recalled, also, the failure of the administration's policy toward Russia—a policy he opposed all along—and again pleaded for the recognition of the Soviet Government, the stability of which could no longer be questioned.

Sought General Amnesty Under Espionage Act

He sought a general amnesty for the release of all who had been convicted under the espionage act, thus to put an end to the war the United States was conducting against its own people long after it had concluded an armistice and signed a treaty of peace with its former enemies.

I shall not take up in detail the numerous measures he sought nor the proposals he opposed. Time will not permit. But this, I am sure, can be said—that in his every act and in his every word he sought to help promote the common good, to bring nearer realization the day of human brotherhood, to make possible the establishment of a social order in which no man will live upon the labor of others. In his adherence to these purposes he never wavered, he never faltered, he never lost faith. He remained throughout a courageous and noble soul.

In 1922 the legislature of his State, controlled by the Republicans, gerrymandered his district and succeeded in defeating him for re-election to Congress. It was evident, after the gerrymander had been approved, that the district could not be carried by the Socialists—the Bowery had been added, and that never was good Socialist territory—but with the certainty of defeat confronting him he entered another campaign determined to go down, as he knew he must, fighting.

Used His Legal Talent Only For the Poor

He returned to private life, and to the people who loved and honored him, to the lower east side of New York, into which his years of sacrifice and devotion had brought a little more sunshine, a little more sunlight, where the homes were brighter, their occupants happier because of the sacrifices he had made. He engaged in the practice of law, never taking a case that he did not fully believe in, never employing his talents save to help the poor, for whom he felt with every fiber of his being.

He combined, in a rare degree, those elements which

will shed increasing luster on his name in the years to come. You will look in vain to the statute books of the Nation, in whose councils he served, to find the laws that he might have helped enact. But if you will go down into the poverty-stricken sections of New York, or to any of the similar sections of industrial cities, and look into the faces of those he heartened by his inspiring appeals and observe the manliness that his work of organization in times of industrial strife created in beings to whom life would have otherwise been barren and contemplate the souls he had enriched by the example he had set you will find some of the things he accomplished for the land of his adoption.

He was aware that he was but a pioneer in just another battle of the age-long struggle of mankind to obtain a large share of happiness—a struggle which is never completely won nor ever completely lost—but unlike many others who dream and pioneer blazing paths for future generations to follow, he succeeded in adding to the immediate happiness of the people he served. When the familiar figure of Meyer London would appear at some mass meeting of strikers, it would be to rally and inspire them. He was then the dreamer and the crusader, picturing to his audience his dream of a world free from oppression and strife. But a few hours later, when the same figure would appear at a conference of representatives of the employers and the strikers, it would be to fight with all the resources he could bring to bear, not for the realization of his dream but for a few dollars more in wages, for better working conditions, for a few hours more each week in which the workers and their families would enjoy some

leisure, so that they may have time to work and dream of a new social order.

He would dream, but not make dreams his master.

His Success Not Measured by Wealth

If the success of his life were to be measured, as it is customary to measure it today, by the wealth he was able to lay by, it could be put down as a failure. After 30 years of service to the cause of labor, out of whose ranks many had come to join the ranks of the wealthy, every day of which he fought the battle of the lowly, employing talents that the corporations pay huge sums to obtain, he left about \$4,000—his total earthly wealth. Judged by that standard, it would be fair to say he had failed.

But if the success of his life were to be determined not by what he was worth, but by what he had done for the good of others, the inspiration he furnished to cheer on the weary and encourage the crestfallen, the lives he enriched by his association with them in a common cause, and the example he set, he had succeeded in a degree far beyond any that can come to the life of the average individual today. Judged by that standard, he was a success.

It will perhaps be a consolation to the widow, who had to bear a large share of the burden that comes to the life of the agitator—a burden that few can appreciate or understand—and to the daughter who survives him, as well as to the immediate relatives whose devotion to him in his numerous struggles sustained him in many dark hours, and to those who had the privilege of knowing him and loving him, to know that he will be remembered, his name revered, his devotion

to the cause of humanity admired for generations to come, and that he erected for himself a monument more enduring than any the mind of man can devise—a monument which “neither unending years nor the flight of time itself” can destroy, because it lives and will continue to live in the hearts and souls of men.

A Plea for Men and Women Who Are "Not Paying" the Income Tax

DECEMBER 10, 1927

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, all of the members of the House who have had the floor so far have spoken for the men and women who are paying the income tax. They have spoken for the well to do and the rich.

How About the Others?

Now I want to say a few words for the men and women who do not earn enough to pay an income tax. I may be the only one to speak in their behalf—although they are the people without whose toil and effort the income taxpayers could not exist for a single day—they are the people without whom civilization could not exist for a single day.

I could not get a copy of the bill until yesterday, and therefore I shall not go into details, some of which require considerable study and can not be understood off-hand. Furthermore, copies of the hearings on the bill did not become available until last night, and I did not have the time, of course, to read through 1,014 pages since last night.

Nevertheless, I found it extremely interesting as far as I went, and I hope that all you gentlemen will read it. To me it was as interesting as a novel. However, not having had sufficient time to read the bill or study

the hearings, I can not make as extended a speech as I would like to. [Laughter.]

We do things on a grand scale in our country. We dispose of \$4,000,000,000 in five hours general debate.

Elephant and Donkey Vie in Serving Their Master

There is one remarkable circumstance that must impress itself even upon a casual observer. And that is this: It is simply wonderful how you Republicans and Democrats agree. We again have a coalition revenue bill as we had two years ago. This bipartisan harmony is simply wonderful. [Laughter.]

The elephant and the donkey both agree to serve their plutocratic masters. This is so much the more remarkable since this could be the time, if ever, that my friends of the Democratic side could have a chance to show some reason for their existence. But they do not want to show any reason. Evidently they have no reason. [Laughter.]

As for the Republican Party, that is surely the capitalist party par excellence. And Mr. Mellon is its leader in financial matters and makes it do his bidding. And it does his bidding well. [Laughter.]

The Steady Drive to Untax the Profiteer

Ever since the war both old parties have made a drive to untax wealth and untax the profiteers.

They have done this in various ways. They have done it by the repeal of the excess profits tax. By the reduction of the supertaxes. By the substitution of a flat rate of 12½ per cent on "unearned increment," which flat rate is to be further reduced in the bill before us. By the virtual repeal of the estate tax two years

ago. By the huge treasury refunds to individuals and corporations of great wealth.

According to the well-known statistician, Mr. Basil Manly—the Republican-Democratic coalition has reduced taxation upon great wealth and profiteering corporations by the enormous sum of \$2,885,357,155 during the years 1922, 1923, and 1924. This is not counting the effects of the revenue bill of 1926, which was more favorable to the plutocrats than any of the previous revenue bills.

The revenue bill of 1926 reduced the surtaxes on incomes of over \$50,000 by \$108,000,000, according to the estimates of the Treasury Department. It reduced the estate tax by almost one-half and allowed a credit of 80 per cent of State inheritance taxes. This saved the big fortunes of our country at least \$75,000,000 a year. The same bill also provided for making a retroactive repeal of the high tax rates of 1924 and refunding all taxes paid under them.

To this should be added the huge refunds allowed to individuals and corporations by the Mellon administration. From July 1, 1921, to April 30, 1925, these refunds amounted to \$459,000,000. Of these refunds the Couzens committee has reported that its investigations indicated that \$308,000,000 represented improper allowances.

Plutocrats Save More Than Three Billion Dollars

Thus the aggregate amount saved to our plutocracy by the Harding-Coolidge administration, under the leadership of Secretary Andrew Mellon, and with the help of the Democratic Party, is more than \$3,000,000,000. The plutocrats in turn showed their appreciation by con-

tributing liberally to the campaign funds of both old parties, as shown in Supplement A of this speech.

The bill before us is still going ahead with the program of untaxing wealth.

In all of this time that the Republican administration, aided by the Democratic group in Congress, was lifting the burden from the shoulders of the wealthy profiteers—the interests of the working class and of the poor people in general were not considered at all. That class does not seem to exist in the minds of our rulers. But even the middle class is not taken care of, as one can readily see by examining the hearings.

Mr. Mellon's Melon Flavored by Democratic Lemon

The bill before us is simply another melon which Mr. Mellon, of the Republican Party, proposes to cut for the benefit of plutocracy. And the Democratic Party is simply willing to go Mr. Mellon one better.

There is my distinguished and brilliant friend from Texas [Mr. Garner]. He was willing to accede to the demands of the United States Chamber of Commerce and reduce the taxes of our ruling class by \$400,000,000. In other words, the Republican melon that is to be cut to the tune of \$225,000,000 is to be flavored by the Democratic lemon to the amount of \$400,000,000. [Laughter.]

Even Middle Class Is Not Protected in Our Congress

I said that even the middle class is not represented as it should be. Of course the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. Green], did put up some resistance against the United States Chamber of Commerce and against the

so-called Taxpayers' League, which, as a matter of fact, is a tax dodgers' and tax liars' league.

My friend, the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Rainey], helped Mr. Green to oppose the demands of these groups. But their opposition was feeble, very feeble, indeed. So on the whole even the middle class is not protected at all in this Congress.

It is important, to fully understand the tax question, that we realize that there are two opposite theories of taxation contending in our country.

Graduated Income Tax Prevents Shifting of Taxes

One is the progressive theory of taxation, which is that the largest share of Federal revenues be raised by direct taxes, in proportion to the ability of the individuals and corporations to pay them and in such manner that they can not be shifted to the shoulders of the public.

This is the principle of the graduated income tax, of the graduated estate tax, and of the graduated tax upon excess profits. This principle has been tried out in the modern countries of western Europe and has been found to be scientific, practical, and efficient. And it is advocated not only by the Socialists but also by the progressives of all parties in every country.

The Tax Theory of the Privileged Class

Then there is the opposite theory of taxation—the reactionary theory—which holds that the greatest possible share of the Federal revenue should be raised by indirect taxation. It is the old theory of the privileged classes. Under the pretext of imposing a flat rate upon the rich and poor alike—they can easily shift the tax to

the backs of the masses, since the masses naturally consume the largest quantities.

This is the principle of the high tariff, of the sales tax, of the tobacco tax, and also of the flat tax rate on corporations in our country. All of these taxes can easily be shifted on to the great mass of American consumers. This method of taxation is out of date, unscientific, and unjust. It has been discarded by every modern and truly civilized nation of Europe. It is now only advocated by those who seek to relieve wealth of its just burden.

This reactionary system of taxation, however, is still advocated in the bill before us. It is the result of the alliance between the conservative Republicans and the conservative Democrats, just as the bill two years ago was the result of the same compact.

The Meaning of the Term "National Income"

Now, we are told that this is the richest country on earth. Undoubtedly that is true. The gross income last year was \$90,000,000,000. This was the national income. It was the value of our production.

In other words, that means the income of Mr. Ford, Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Mellon, of the General Motors, of the gentleman from Texas, myself, and 117,000,000 others constituting our population.

Mr. Garner of Texas. The gentleman better correct that statement.

Mr. Berger. Why?

Mr. Garner of Texas. The report shows what the income is. The production of this country was \$90,000,000,000, not the income.

Mr. Berger. Exactly. Economists use the words "na-

tional income" to cover what are really the gross annual receipts of the people of the United States. It is the gross income. It is the general production, controlled by General Motors, Mr. Ford, and the entire capitalist class. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. Garner] and myself do not control much of it.

But Who Have the Riches?

And that is exactly where the other side of the question comes in. How is this gross income distributed; how is it divided?

Now, gentlemen, I will give you some official figures.

According to the reports of the Department of Labor, of the 117,000,000 people the "poorest" class alone comprises 76,000,000 people, and they receive about 38.6 per cent of the national income—less than \$460 per person. This class includes not only manual and office workers but also the small business man, many managers, engineers, and the like.

According to Prof. Irving Fisher, who, in order to make the figures as favorable as possible, accepts the highest estimate of our national income as \$90,000,000,000 for 1926, 93,000,000 people out of our 117,000,000 people comprising our population in 1926 had about \$500 income each.

These 93,000,000 people comprise the combined "poorest" and "lower middle-class" groups in the study made by Prof. Wilford I. King's Four Population Groups.

Four-Fifths of Nation Hardly Make Expenses

This means that, according to Professor Fisher, pro-

fessor of economics at Yale University—the American people as a whole are not prosperous.

In fact, an examination of our living costs will show that four-fifths of our people, or more than 90,000,000 people out of our 117,000,000, are hardly making necessary expenses.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics has prepared a budget which it states represents a "minimum of health and decency." The average cost in several cities of this minimum budget in 1926 was found to be \$2,432.39.

Assuming the income of those in this class of 93,000,000 to be on an average \$500 each, or \$2,500 for a family of five—and these are the most favorable figures—the overwhelming majority of our people—93,000,000 out of 117,000,000—get no more than enough to afford them the very "minimum of health and decency."

Two-Thirds of People Do Not Get "Minimum of Health and Decency"

The situation grows worse, of course, when the "lower middle-class" group is left out and the "poorest" group alone is considered. That group, representing 76,000,000, had an average income of \$2,300 in 1926. That income, the National Industrial Conference Board has estimated, would be little more than enough to buy the minimum requirements of an average family of five among industrial or office workers. And the conference board's budget allows nothing for emergencies—for a vacation, for unemployment, for old-age savings of any kind, for sickness.

So that is how much 76,000,000 out of our 117,000,000 people get from prosperity and our national

income—not enough to allow for a vacation, or for unemployment, or for old-age savings of any kind, or for sickness.

But that is not the worst feature of this so-called prosperity.

Between Ten and Twelve Million People Always on Verge of Starvation

Besides and below these 76,000,000 people who get so little of our great national income, there is the "submerged tenth"—from 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 people—who are on the verge of starvation all the time.

Is it not a tragic joke that we are the most prosperous country on the face of the earth, that we are so rich that we do not know what to do with our money, but that of the approximate 90,000,000 of the poor class, 76,000,000 can not get enough for more than a bare living, and that about 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 are always on the verge of starvation?

The joke will probably appeal strongly to these people when they read President Coolidge's statement that "the test which now confronts the Nation is prosperity."

Mr. Edgerton's Greatest Fear

And then comes Mr. Edgerton, president of the Manufacturers' Association, and says:

"The abnormally high wages and the low living costs of the so-called working classes are a danger to our country."

Get that? "The so-called working classes." And did you get "the abnormally high wages"?

Let us quote a few illustrations.

Some Instances of "Abnormally High Wages" Cited

In the steel mills of Chicago workers earn \$3.12 a day when they are employed—and they are not always employed.

Railroad workers in 1926 had an average income of \$17 a week; and there are 200,000 such laborers.

In the lumber industry of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Oregon the average earnings were \$17.77 per week, and the lowest paid laborers get only \$10.48 a week. "Abnormally high wages."

In the mining industry the average wage was \$22.78 a week, but the lowest paid received \$10.34 a week; and many of them did not work half of the time. "Abnormally high wages," of the "so-called working classes."

The Social Effects of This Condition

The obvious results in the case of these 10,000,000 or 12,000,000 people, who do not get enough to live on, it was said at a recent conference of social agencies, are "sickness, either chronic or acute, probably malnourishment, tuberculosis, delinquency."

One of the serious social effects of such low earnings as those referred to is the effect upon poor health. Numerous studies recently made by the United States Public Health Service indicate clearly that both sickness and death are more frequent among those with low incomes than among those with incomes adequate to comfortable living.

A study of infant mortality made by the United States Children's Bureau, which gives the mortality rates by earnings of the father, shows that there is a general decrease in mortality as the earnings of the family increase.

That, gentlemen, is the state of prosperity with which no less than 10,000,000 or 12,000,000 American people were "blessed" in 1926.

Where the Riches of the Richest Country Go

But where do these \$90,000,000,000—our national income—go to? Let us see.

The tax on incomes was lower in 1925 than in 1924, but though the rate was lower, the sum collected by the Government was 6 per cent greater in 1925 than in 1924.

The Chairman. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. Berger. Give me 15 minutes more?

Mr. Garner of Texas. Yes; just as long as the gentleman wants.

Mr. Berger. Oh, I could go on for an hour, but I doubt whether you would have the patience to listen to me that long. In any event, Mr. Chairman, somebody ought to say these things in this House.

I just remarked that the tax rate was lower in 1925 than in the year before, yet the sum collected was larger. That sounds impossible, but the reason is simple.

Small Incomes Become Smaller; Large Incomes Grow Larger

The big decrease was in the number of those that had less than \$5,000 income. They paid little or no tax. But the big incomes had increased so much more.

In 1924, 75 men paid on incomes of \$1,000,000 or more. In 1925, 207 paid on incomes of \$1,000,000 or over.

Forty and five-tenths per cent of the total income

tax was paid by the people with incomes of more than \$100,000 each.

Ten thousand persons on the top of the list paid as much as 2,337,000 taxpayers at the bottom of the list. As a matter of fact, 0.29 of 1 per cent paid more tax in total than some 95 per cent of the total number paying a Federal income tax.

The Three Classes

Of course, these incomes are reinvested. That is how the concentration of wealth proceeds.

In 1915 the Commission on Industrial Relations divided our people into the following classes: The "rich," 2 per cent of the people, own 60 per cent of the wealth. The "middle class," 33 per cent of the people, own 35 per cent of the wealth. The "poor," 65 per cent of the people, own 5 per cent of the wealth.

This statement was based on an extensive study of available information made by Prof. Wilford I. King, a statistician of conservative views, and published as a report of that commission.

Mr. Garner of Texas. What department?

Mr. Berger. It was a special commission on industrial relations.

Mr. Garner of Texas. A Government commission?

Mr. Berger. Yes; it was a Government commission.

Now, these conditions have not been improved since in favor of the poor classes. We had a war since, as you all know, and you also know what that war meant. The war created 23,000 millionaires which we did not have in 1915.

Definition of "Income" Beneficial to Rich

Moreover, this classification is simply more or less a matter of definition. The word "income" as applied to individuals is given both in law and custom different meanings which is rather unjust to the individual.

Income for Corporations Means Income After Deductions Are Allowed

Income as defined for corporations and business establishments generally means net profit—means the profit after liberal deductions for expenses of operation, maintenance, depreciation, replacements, and all other items have been made. This is considered an absolutely correct procedure. It should be a legitimate means of insuring the conservation of the property devoted to the business, although it is now being used to a large extent by public utility corporations and other capitalist interests to conceal a considerable share of their profits.

Definition of "Income" For Wage Earners Allows for No Deduction

Income as defined for individuals, however, and especially income for wage and salary earners, means gross earnings with no deductions for the maintenance and the replacement of the human machine. In the accounting of individual income there are no allowances for expenses of operation, or replacement, or depreciation, or preservation of the human machine. Everything that comes into the possession of the wage or salary earner during the year is counted as income.

This difference in definition is not only a matter of custom but has become embedded in law. And because

of this fact, the income tax bill before us and all the income tax laws that we have had until now discriminate grossly against individuals—particularly against workmen, salary earners, and professional men.

In order to put individual income accounting on the same basis as corporation accounting, we should count as income only the surplus over the earnings necessary for the support of a family of the average size, together with savings sufficient to provide for his old age and the rearing of a family and the wear off that comes with old age and death. Thus we would insure the maintenance and replacement of the human machine.

Concentration of Wealth Hastens Downfall of Present System

I hear some gentlemen saying, "All of that may be true—it is probably true—but what's the use of saying it."

The answer is simple. Policies and methods that are in use in our country can have only one result—they will hasten the concentration of wealth in a few hands and surely bring about the downfall of the entire system. And it may bring about a catastrophe similar to the revolution in France at the end of the eighteenth century or similar to the revolution which took place in Russia 10 years ago.

We Want a Change, But No Catastrophe

We Socialists desire, of course, that the capitalist system disappear. We expect to replace it by a more reasonable and more beneficial organization of society. But we Socialists want to avoid a sudden catastrophe—if it be possible to avoid it.

Remember, gentlemen, our ruling class had "good times" when the surtax was 60 per cent. Why not restore the 60 per cent again and prevent the abnormal concentration?

The fact remains that unless you find some way to stop this fearful concentration of wealth in a few hands, you are bound to have a revolution that will destroy not only capitalism and the capitalist class, but it may destroy civilization.

The best evidence of the concentration going on at the present time is the fact that we now have no less than ten billion dollar corporations.

They are the United States Steel Corporation, the Southern Pacific Railroad, the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, the New York Central Railroad, the Union Pacific Railroad, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, the General Motors Co., the Ford Co., and the American Telegraph and Telephone Co.

And this in face of the fact that 82 per cent of our people do not earn enough money to pay an income tax at all, although the exemptions are only \$1,500 for a single person and \$3,500 for a married couple.

Now, if we had a real opposition party in this country, such a party would advocate the abolition of all nuisance taxes, including the tax on the automobile, including the taxes on tickets, and any and all sales taxes, but would demand the doubling of the taxation on the incomes in the higher brackets.

Trying to Out-Mellon Mellon

However, instead of that, this afternoon we were told in a speech by a prominent Democrat, the gentle-

man from New York [Mr. Jacobstein], that we should still further lower the taxes on the corporations. He even proposed an amendment to direct the Secretary of the Treasury to give back some of the money already collected from the corporations.

He said:

"We must get out of our heads the idea that when we reduce the corporation tax we are reducing taxes for a few people. We used to have the idea that a reduction of the corporation tax benefited only a few people. My estimate is that 75 per cent of the aggregate reduction goes to the stockholders of corporations. It goes to 3,000,000 people."

Alleged Diffusion of Stock Ownership a Myth

I disagree with the gentleman from New York in this respect. Stockholders do not number 3,000,000, and the bulk of them own only a small percentage of the total stock of the big corporations of our country.

The report of the Federal Trade Commission on "National wealth and income," issued in 1926, tells us about the holdings of common and preferred stock by the employees in the various manufacturing companies. We are told that "of the total value of stock of all companies reporting employees had 1.5 per cent of the common stock and 1.9 of the preferred stock."

In the United States Steel Corporation, for instance, which has a comparatively very large distribution of its stock among its employees, 1.5 per cent of the stockholders hold 57 per cent of the stock. And in the International Harvester Co., which also makes a great showing of selling stock to employees, 207 stockholders have 83 per cent of the stock.

So much for the stock ownership by employees,

which has been advertised very extensively during the last few years.

Employees, of course, represented a much larger proportion of the total number of stockholders than they did in the total value of the stock. In other words, the average holding of the employee stockholder was very small.

Nor Does Middle Class Own Much Stock

But the middle class of our Nation does not own any considerable share either.

The concentration of ownership goes on in spite of the so-called stockholding schemes. For instance, 1.3 per cent of the number of stockholders in the railroads of this country hold more than one-half of the outstanding stock.

In the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey 1 per cent of the stockholders own 64.2 per cent of the stock.

All the figures published invariably show that a very small percentage of the stockholders own more than half of all the stock in the big corporations of our country.

Middle Class Furnishes the Lambs to Be Fleeced

The middle class may occasionally furnish some of the lambs to be fleeced in Wall Street by venturing in stock speculations, but the middle class does not share in the control of our big corporations.

In the United States there are probably not more than one or two million belonging to the stockholding class if duplications are eliminated. The rest of the 110,000,000 people own no stocks or bonds.

Mr. Green of Florida. How about the inheritance tax?

Mr. Berger. I would double that.

Mr. Green of Florida. I thought your party believed in it.

Mr. Berger. It does.

Your Florida politicians and capitalists will bust the State of Florida. Very soon you will not have money enough to build roads, and not money enough to keep working people in the poorhouses when they get old.

Mr. Green of Florida. There are only four States that pay more inheritance taxes than Florida.

Mr. Berger. They still must pay the Federal inheritance tax, of course. But all the millionaires who want to defraud their respective States of the legitimate estate tax go down to Florida and register there—very much in the same manner as the same people break the Mann Act and register in another State for another illegitimate purpose.

Money Needed for Solution of Many Problems

Again, I say, we ought to abolish nuisance taxes and double the taxes in the higher brackets. We then would have money enough to pay an old-age pension for the needy workers of 55 and over. We would have money enough to take care of the Mississippi and all other rivers. We would have money enough for reforestation, and even money enough to do away with illiteracy in the United States. And if we did not want to do anything else, we could pay our war debts, at least.

Poverty Is No Longer Necessary

Dean Kimball, of Cornell University, in a speech to the American Society of Engineers, said:

“For the first time since the world began we are in touch with the abolition of poverty through the tremendous output of our products.”

In other words, that means that for the first time in the history of the world we can produce nearly enough of everything for everybody. All we have to do is to advance the science of distribution sufficiently so that it will parallel the science of production. Then for the first time in the history of the world we could, in our country at least, give and assure every willing worker the full value of his product—and the full satisfaction of all his reasonable needs.

America Must Stay Out of European Wars

JANUARY 13, 1928

Mr. Steed wants a declaration by the "accredited spokesman" of the United States that if members of the League of Nations should ever take action against an aggressor nation, America would stand by the league.

The "accredited spokesman" can not do it.

Two Reasons Why It Can Not Be Done

Apart from our traditional American policy, from which our country has deviated only once—that is, during the World War—there are two tremendous obstacles in the way: First, the "treaty" of Versailles, which is a pact of hate and perpetuates hate, and to which we can not become a party, and second, the competition for the world's markets is bound to create serious dissension between Great Britain and America within a generation, unless there is a strong Socialist Party in our country similar to the Labor Party in England. Diplomatic declarations are worse than useless.

To begin with, by promulgating the "world Monroe doctrine" that Mr. Steed suggests, we would in fact guarantee the "status quo post bellum"—guarantee the condition created by the pact of Versailles, which our Senate rejected.

Mr. Steed virtually wants us to underwrite the decisions of the League of Nations in which we have neither seat nor voice, according to a solemn referen-

dum of our people. Underwrite only the righteous decisions, of course. But undoubtedly the decisions that Great Britain favors will always be "righteous" since this declaration is to be made at the behest of England, which has six seats in the League of Nations. The other side will always be the aggressor. We know history.

United States to Be World Constable

And the United States is to act the part of a world constable. A peaceable constable, but—we know history. That constable is apt to turn into a highwayman.

The so-called treaty of Versailles now serves as the "legal" basis of all the transactions of Europe. The pact of Versailles is the "world's charter" and the League of Nations was simply created in Versailles as an instrument of the pact. Ask Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Poincare, etc.

This pact of Versailles, which is the quintessence of 1,000 years of European hatreds and jealousies, is at the bottom of all the troubles of Europe, including the troubles of England, which are far more serious than the world knows. Why should America indorse it by standing behind the decisions of the League of Nations?

Until that infamous pact is scrapped Europe can have no peace and England no prosperity. And it makes not a particle of difference what kind of a new theory the President of the United States might promulgate at this time or any other time.

As to the troubles which are certain to arise between Great Britain and America on account of the competition for the world markets—more later.

Nations Must Pay Price For Supreme Crime Against Civilization

But let us clearly understand that the European nations—and particularly England—are paying the price for the World War. Great Britain can not expect to take part with extraordinary stupidity in the greatest crime against civilization without having to pay for it. The price may be England's position as a world empire, and it may be less. That depends on England's wisdom or England's luck. But England must pay the price. All of Europe has to pay the price. And even America is beginning to pay. Ask our farmers.

Germany Had No Choice

And to return to the treaty of Versailles. It is based entirely on the "sole war guilt" of Germany.

The 14 points on which Germany laid down her arms were not even mentioned in Paris when the peace treaty was framed.

Prof. Harry Elmer Barnes, who studied the question of the Versailles treaty and of fixing the guilt of starting the war, says:

"Germany occupied the situation of a prisoner at the bar. And it was a case where the prosecution simply contented itself with the assumption of the guilt of the defendant. It was not required to furnish the proof. Germany was confronted with the alternative of signing the confession at once or having her territory invaded and occupied, with every probability that such an admission would ultimately be extorted from her."

Lie About German War Guilt Greatest Lie of All

It is generally admitted today, however, by all those who read the documents pertaining to the origin of the

war, that the worst of all the innumerable war lies is the horrible lie that Germany was the sole cause of the World War. The pact of Versailles rests upon it.

The disclosures of the secret archives, which were published by the Soviets, supplemented later by those from the German and English foreign offices, prove that Germany, instead of having been more guilty than the other powers in starting the World War, was infinitely less guilty than any of them.

In America we were told, however, that Germany, the "mad dog of Europe," had prepared for 44 years to fall upon the entirely unprepared civilized world in order to chew it up.

We entered the war because babies' fingers were cut off in Belgium by the Huns. We Americans went to war to "abolish militarism in the world forever."

But now we are to have our reward!

America Is to Help "to Deter an Aggressor"

Now comes Mr. Steed, formerly editor of the London Times and at present editor of the Review of Reviews, in London, and says:

"It's a fundamental truth that without the moral support of the United States there can be no certainty of world peace. Should there ever be a 'next war'—which God forbid, for it would probably mean the Bolshevization of Europe—it is inconceivable that one side or the other could triumph without the moral backing of America.

"Englishmen used to say 'my country, right or wrong.' They say it no longer—or, at least, a strong and influential body of them understand that for Great Britain to pursue any policy likely to lead to war, or to attempt to use war or the weapon of blockade for

the formation of any specific interest, would be to forfeit her title to the respect of mankind and to court the destruction of the British commonwealth of nations. * * *

"Modern Englishmen ask themselves and would fain ask the American people whether at some future time, after due deliberation and uninfluenced by any save purely American considerations, the accredited spokesman of the American people could not declare that the United States abhors aggressive war and that it will never weaken the hands of other nations which may band themselves together for the purpose of deterring an aggressor or compelling him to desist from aggression."

Mr. Steed remembers that when the British Government in 1920 wanted to send troops to help Poland fight Russia the British trade unions declared categorically that they would stop every wheel in England on 24 hours' notice.

"Let George Do It"

Evidently this is the strong and influential element in Great Britain now that would not go to war, "right or wrong," for their country. These workers want to be shown.

And since, as he explains at the beginning of his article, the League of Nations is failing to secure the peace of the world, in spite of the Locarno agreements, because neither Great Britain nor France, nor any other of the great military or naval powers, seems to be willing to diminish its armaments; and since it is clear that Germany can not remain permanently disarmed in the midst of armed neighbors unless the Germans agree to be the slaves of their neighbors forever; therefore Mr. Steed is willing to let "George do it."

And not George V (Coburg) but the successor of George Washington in the District of Columbia is to do it—in case that members of the League of Nations should take joint action against an “aggressive nation.”

British Diplomats Would Always Show Us the Enemy

In other words, Mr. Steed proposes that the United States, which by a referendum of the people has refused to join the League of Nations, should underwrite the league and its decisions by a declaration of “the accredited spokesman.”

No “accredited spokesman” has a right to make such a declaration. That is fortunate—otherwise we would soon have a chance to repeat our recent experience. We would soon get a chance to fight some “mad dog of Europe” or Asia. We would fight many more “wars to end all wars.” The British Tories would always be willing to show us the enemy.

Profits Not Ideals Got Us Into the War

Nevertheless, we are told by Mr. Steed that our “idealism” is not quite fully appreciated in Europe, even at the present time. There are still many ingrates in France and England who believe that we went to war because our munition makers and food speculators, who had profiteered to the tune of \$7,000,000,000, wanted still more profits. There are some even in America who say that the fiscal agents of the Allies, Morgan & Co., had about a billion and a half coming from the allied governments, which indebtedness was a poor asset, in spite of all the innumerable victories they had won in the American papers every day, until the United States got into the scrap.

The truth is that no "idealism" got us into the World War. It was an incredible war propaganda—propaganda which probably was more thorough in America than in any country on God's earth. Parliament was told that the British Government spent about \$500,000,000 during the war for that purpose, with the explanation that this was the best investment England had made. It was.

The War Propaganda in America

More money was spent for propaganda in our country than in any other, and for a much longer period, but that was hardly necessary. The same plutocracy interested in getting the country into the war also controls most of the newspapers and controls the schools, churches, theaters, cinemas, and all means of communication and publicity.

Idealism? All that these propaganda agencies—including the myriads of four-minute speakers—accomplished was to awaken a certain mob spirit ready to murder and lynch. That spirit still prevails.

Of course, some young men volunteered—not very many—for what they called patriotic reasons.

In a sort of a hazy way they believed they were defending their country and their homes, lest "the Kaiser would come over and take all our money away."

Most of Them Are Now "Debamboozled"

But that kind of a story could not be repeated in our country for a generation to come—not even in order to enforce a decision of the League of Nations.

These young men are so disillusioned now that they would not even fight to keep up the Polish corridor

through Germany or to hold the Tyrol for Italy, although the League of Nations is guaranteeing these and many other things. In fact, most of our soldiers realize today that they have been "bamboozled" much worse than "that old Presbyterian" in the White House.

A proclamation such as Mr. Steed suggests would raise a tremendous outcry against that President and his party about meddling again in Europe.

Let Europe Unite on Economic Lines

If Europe wants to have peace, Europe must scrap the pact of Versailles and get together on reasonable political and economic lines. The best method would be the formation of a United States of Europe, framed after the pattern of Switzerland, where Germans, Frenchmen, and Italians live together peaceably and happily.

Or if that can not be accomplished as yet, let them unite in two or three large economic units. These could get together again on many international, political, and economic questions.

That's the only solution. A "world Monroe doctrine" would not only add to our troubles but also to the troubles of Europe. Just ask Mexico or Nicaragua.

Food, Raw Material, and Trade Are Main Causes

And now as to the other reason, the probability of difficulties with Great Britain.

The causes of modern war, and especially of the World War, are clear to any observer. Most countries of Europe are limited territorially and are densely populated. The food that can be raised is insufficient to support the large population, and the natural re-

sources can not supply the requirements of the industries. This is obviously the case in Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Belgium, and some other countries.

From this condition arises the rivalry for acquisition of foreign colonies, the efforts to defend and extend the oversea possessions and the policies of militarism and navalism. For many centuries sea power meant world power.

Nationalistic Hatreds and Past Histories Are the Other Causes

Add to this the memories of previous wars. There were 23 wars between France and Germany in 300 years. The French invaded Germany nineteen times and the Teutons retaliated four times. Add also the national hatreds and the thoughts of revenge—the policies of the “balance of power” in Europe, which was Great Britain’s aim for centuries—the secret intrigues of diplomats—the fears and suspicions and megalomanias bred and fed and spread by the vicious nationalistic press in all nations—Pan Slavism, Pan Germanism, Pan Gallicism, and Britannia that must rule the waves—and the powerful armament and munition interests that reap rich harvests out of war—and there we have the sinister background.

No American declaration could make any change in these historical factors.

Capitalist System Inevitably Breeds Imperialism

But deep at the bottom of modern struggles lie even more fundamental causes—causes rooted in the very nature of capitalist production.

Under the present system the wages received by the

workers of any industrialized nation are insufficient to enable them to buy back with their wages what they have produced. The employing class makes a profit on their labor—and must make a profit in order to carry on business. Thus a surplus of products accumulates. The capitalist class, being small in number, can not consume all of the surplus. This surplus must be exported to foreign markets.

Moreover, in every industrialized nation—which today means every western civilized nation—it becomes increasingly difficult for the capitalists to reinvest their accumulated profits to advantage in their own country. These capitalists are constantly forced to look for new fields of profitable investment.

Thus capitalism inevitably leads to imperialism. This in turn brings about vast armaments and big navies. And sooner or later it brings war—not only to subjugate backward nations but also to destroy competitors.

Great Britain has been, so far, very successful in destroying competitors for the world market. Great Britain has annihilated the sea power of Spain, France, Holland, and Germany. Who is to be next?

Mussolini May Also Try It

Of course, reactionary governments sometimes also deliberately plunge countries into war for the purpose of crushing progressive movements by creating “patriotic” excitement. This was evidently the case in Russia, for instance, where the Czar used the issue of Pan Slavism—or the world rule of the Slavic race—in an effort to hold down the Russian revolutionists. That is the reason why the “little white father” was

so willing to make the plunge. Mussolini may try a similar stunt.

By the way, the only good that resulted from the World War was the dethronement of the Hohenzollerns, Hapsburgs, and Romanoffs, although all of this might have been brought about without a world cataclysm.

Socialists Predicted Coming of World War

At any rate, for more than half a century before the World War Socialist writers and speakers warned the world of the impending tragedy, but the warning went unheeded. It is even possible that the capitalist world, constituted as it is, could not heed the warning without undergoing a thorough change, which capitalism fears.

Thus the World War came in spite of the warnings and protests of the Socialists and in spite of the personal desires of many of the capitalists themselves.

America Now Great Britain's Competitor

But the same elements and forces are still at work. Germany is crushed. But business is business still. Germany's place in world politics and also in the world market is rapidly being taken by the United States of America. We are now Great Britain's most powerful competitor.

The statistics issued by our Department of Commerce tell a vivid story.

If the people will remain blind to the terrible lessons of the World War and continue as they did with war pacts, secret alliances, declarations by "accredited spokesmen," leagues of nations, balances of

power, etc., we may have a repetition of the disaster. In other words, if the main causes that brought on the World War—the causes that brought England into the World War—are left to operate, then this World War was surely not the last war.

Then it was only the first of a series of wars, each of them more terrible, more tragic than the one before. And the result may not even be Bolshevism, it may be the wiping out of the white civilization and possibly of the white race.

The Next "Mad Dog" Will Probably Chew Up the British Empire

If England should determine to uphold its rule of the Seven Seas and its final control of the world's markets—as the Tories want England to do—by insisting on keeping up a larger navy than any other country, then, undoubtedly, England may also fight. And it will get its allies wherever it can; even in Asia. But most certainly England will not be able to "Copenhagen" its next adversary. The next "mad dog" will probably chew up the British Empire.

And so long as these causes continue to operate, any underwriting by the United States of any of these leagues or alliances can help nothing. Any declaration may simply furnish additional pretexts.

And that is absolutely unnecessary, because there always will be pretexts aplenty for a war when one is wanted. And as inventions and science are put to the service of militarism the wars will become more horrible.

Socialist Parties a Blessing

Socialism would have no such problems, of course. And even Socialistic governments under the present form of society could readily find a solution. This is one of the reasons why even a big Socialist Party is a blessing to any civilized country, and would be a blessing to America.

I understand, however, that we can not abolish capitalism overnight. Any such attempt would only bring more misery.

And we do not have a Socialist Party commensurate with the size and importance of the country in the United States today, although there are such parties in Great Britain, Germany, Austria, and the Scandinavian countries.

My Proposition

Therefore, this is my proposition:

Scrap the pact of Versailles and all the other pacts dictated by war, hatred, and hell.

Let the representatives of all the civilized nations of the world be assembled in a great world conference for the purpose of undoing, as far as possible, the evil effects of the World War and preventing its repetition.

Wipe Slate Clean of All Debts and Indemnities

Let us wipe the slate clean of all the war debts and indemnities. Germany by this time has paid about one hundred times as much as she should have paid. The reparation claim is a barefaced fraud. Allied cannons did as much damage as did German guns.

Self-Determination for Minorities

Have referendums in all the various countries where there are strong minorities—under the rule of foreign governments. Let such people themselves decide whether they want to stay under that foreign rule. Give them their independence if demanded by two-thirds of the inhabitants of any contiguous district that borders on a nationality of their own.

Abolish Economic Barriers

Wipe out the economic obstacles, border lines, and tariffs all over Europe. America is a continent and a world of its own. Have absolute free exchange of production in Europe. Take in Russia also, if Russia is willing to come. If America troubles Europe by an eccentric high tariff, let a united Europe put up the same kind of a tariff against America. We are bright and will soon learn.

An International Congress and an International Court

Have an international congress, with certain well understood legislative powers over international affairs. And establish a genuine international court to construe these international laws. America ought to join in that.

Use Only Economic Pressure to Enforce Decisions

Appoint special commissions of neutrals to consider international disputes as they may arise. Such decisions to be enforced, if necessary, by economic pressure without resort to arms.

International Control of Strategic Waterways

Have international control of strategic waterways, such as the Dardanelles, the Straits of Gibraltar, and also the Suez, Kiel, and Panama Canals.

Assure Freedom of the Seas

Have absolute neutrality and freedom of the Seven Seas. Divide up the colonies among the great European nations. We do not need any. In order to make all of this possible there must be as complete and universal a disarmament as necessary. And it ought to be brought about as speedily as possible.

Prohibit Exportation of War Materials

And by all means let us have absolute prohibition of exportation of arms, war equipment, and food supplies for war purposes from one country to another.

Some of these propositions may look Utopian. But they are not. All of them are practicable.

If these steps are taken there can be no doubt that wars will be a thing of the past, at least within the white race.

As a primary measure, however, as the "*conditio sine qua non*"—the pact of Versailles must be scrapped. Otherwise "the next war," which God forbid, will mean the Bolshevization of Europe.

Salary Increase for Federal Employees

Statement Before the House Committee, 1928

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, every effort to improve the conditions of the men and women who work for the Government enlists my support and co-operation, for many reasons. In the first place, because there is so much room for improvement. In the second place, Government workers, while they can and do organize, can not and do not use the powers of organization to the same extent and along the same lines that workers in private employment can and do. In the third place, I have always preferred to have the Government be a model employer—one that would set the example and pace for private employers.

In addition to these three general reasons, which find me in accord with most of the demands made on behalf of the Government worker for higher wages and better working conditions, I have a special interest in the measure you now have under consideration—H. R. 6518, introduced by Representative Welch—because it sets a minimum wage for Federal employees. It sets the minimum a little too low; that is my only criticism of it. Instead of \$1,500 it should be \$2,000.

In the last Congress I introduced a bill—H. R. 12954—providing that the minimum for all employees of the Federal Government should in no case be less than \$1,800. I now believe that amount to be too low, and I have introduced the bill making the minimum \$2,000.

However, I am for the Welch bill until we can get something better. It is an improvement over existing conditions, where the minimum is the starvation wage for which many employees are compelled to work.

It does not require a detailed study of present living costs to show that it is impossible for any person to provide for himself and his dependents on a salary that is less than \$1,500 a year. As a matter of fact, it can not be done—or at least not done decently—on \$1,500.

Some time ago the Bureau of Labor Statistics prepared a budget which it stated represented a "minimum of health and decency" for a family of five. The average cost in several cities of this minimum budget in 1926 was found to be \$2,432.39. Workers earning less than that amount must deny themselves and their dependents some of the essentials that go to make up a "minimum of health and decency."

Of course, the large majority of the workers in private employment do not get this minimum, in spite of the prosperity with which they are supposed to be blessed. But with organizations to represent them and the power to use the weapons available to trade unions, such as the strike, many of them are able to approach that minimum. And those who fail to organize for better conditions and higher wages may have themselves to blame to some extent.

The situation of the Government worker is different. He must rely on Congress and its sense of fairness and justice. Knowing that the wages received by so many employees fall far below the minimum which Government agencies have established, Congress ought to provide at least that minimum.

Is the Government too poor to discharge this obligation to its workers?

Shortly before this Congress convened there was a good deal said and written about the surplus in our Treasury. It was viewed as a calamity and administration leaders were worried as to just how to prevent a repetition of it. Income tax reduction was finally proposed as a solution—not income tax reduction for the poor—the poor do not earn enough to live on, much less to pay an income tax on—it was tax reduction for the superwealthy, the men and women whose incomes run into the millions of dollars. Of course, they are the campaign contributors, or, at least, belong to the class from which the campaign contributions of the two old parties must come.

The tax reduction bill that finally passed the House of Representatives provided for a reduction of taxation to the amount of \$225,000,000 as proposed by the Republicans. The Democrats thought, however, that this was not sufficient relief to give these plutocrats—they wanted to reduce income taxes by \$400,000,000. Any way they apparently compromised, and \$225,000,000 may now go back to the pockets of the rich if the Senate agrees to the bill.

A Nation that can afford to be so generous to the rich who are now enjoying all the luxuries of life that money can buy—enjoying more than is good for them—ought to be able to pay a decent wage to its workers, a wage sufficient to give them at least a "minimum of health and decency." Such a nation can not plead poverty in the face of such generosity to its upper classes.

It is estimated that if the pending bill providing for a minimum wage and for a readjustment of salaries

should pass it will cost the Government between \$30,000,000 and \$40,000,000 annually in addition to the present appropriations for personnel. If we must be liberal to the rich and help them escape the slight burdens of taxation, let us return to the rich \$40,000,000 less than the income tax bill provides for and use that amount to give the Government employee and his dependents a few more of the comforts of our present civilization which his labor entitles him to.

Instead of compelling these workers to adopt Coxey's army tactics in order to influence the committee and to have their appeal heard effectively, let us say to them before this session concludes its labors: "While we always have been over-liberal with the rich and returned to them substantial gifts every time a new Congress convened, we have not completely forgotten you and yours. We have passed this bill and have improved the minimum wage."

Retirement Act for Federal Employees

Statement Before the House Committee, 1928

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, on May 19, 1926, shortly after the present retirement provisions were adopted by the House, and before they were approved by the Senate, I offered a bill (H. R. 12285) amending the retirement laws so that employees in the classified civil service may be retired at the age of 60, on an annuity equal to two-thirds of the basic annual salary earned for the year immediately preceding the one in which the retirement is effected, and providing a deduction from the compensation paid an employee of 2 per cent of the employee's salary.

These provisions, gentlemen, were more liberal than the ones proposed at the time, and much more liberal than those that were finally approved. Despite the liberality of my own proposal, as compared with other proposals, I believed then, and I believe now, that by enacting a law containing those provisions we would be doing no more than performing an act of simple justice to the large body of men and women who spend a lifetime in the service of the Government.

Retirement measures are part of the general movement, which has made considerable progress abroad, and which is slowly coming into its own in our own country, to discharge the obligation that the community owes to those who have worked faithfully all their mature years, and who, after all those years, find them-

selves facing old age without means and no place to turn, except to the poorhouse, where the community must still care for them, but under conditions that are degrading to all concerned.

We have been slow in accepting the principle involved in this obligation, and when we could no longer escape it, we attempt to meet it half-heartedly by giving the retired employees less than we knew to be the minimum required by them to maintain themselves in the closing years of their lives.

While the bill you have under consideration (H. R. 25) falls short of what I think it should be, I am here to appeal for its enactment because it is a substantial improvement over the present law, which it proposes to amend.

I am in favor of it because it raises the limit that can be paid as an annuity from \$1,000 per annum to \$1,200 per annum. It is the view of those who have made a study of living conditions that \$1,800 is the irreducible minimum required to maintain an average sized family in the United States. In view of that, I think it is not asking too much that the maximum to be paid ought to be \$1,200 a year, particularly since only a part of the retired list will be entitled to that maximum, and the large majority will fall far below it.

The bill under consideration also provides that in computing the annuity to which an employee may be entitled the salary received by such employee during the five years next preceding the date of retirement should be used as basis, instead of during the 10 years next preceding the retirement, which is the provision in the existing law.

Even this proposed change is less generous than the

one in Great Britain, where the last three years' salary constitutes the basis of computation, and in Chicago, Massachusetts, Netherlands, Norway, and Portugal, where the final salary is used. However, it represents an improvement in a way, and brings the law to a point where it is as generous as it is in some of the States.

The computation of a pension on the basis of a salary earned within the last five years before retirement, rather than upon the last 10 years, is fairer to the worker from the viewpoint both of the cost of living, which he will have to meet, and the standard of living, to which he has become accustomed and which I hope will improve as the years go by.

I hope that the committee will approve H. R. 25 without amendment. I hope so because I would like to have the Government of the United States, as an employer of labor, set a standard in advance of the standards prevailing in private industry and also set the pace for private employers to follow. The Government should be a model employer. This will prove to be best even from the point of view of economy.

By Its Fruits Ye Shall Know the Volstead Act

FEBRUARY 15, 1928

Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, I have introduced a bill to leagalize the manufacture and sale of light wines and beers.

Now, let me define, first, what is understood by light wines. Light wines are those containing 12 per cent or less of alcohol. And beer is the usual beverage of barley and hops with an alcoholic content of 4 per cent or less.

Volstead Law Is Making Our Nation a "Hard-Liquor" Nation

My reason for introducing that bill, above all, is the fact that the Volstead Act is arbitrary, unscientific, and nonsensical, and that it can not be effectively enforced under present conditions.

Furthermore, that the eight years of attempted enforcement of the Volstead Act have brought about disastrous consequences to the morale of our country. During these eight years crime has increased and drunkenness has increased. The reason for that is simple. Beer and light wines can not be obtained readily, but one can get whisky. People bought and used whisky which they got from bootleggers.

The kind of whisky people can get, however, is inferior and harmful and instills poisons in hundreds of thousands of our people, especially of our young people.

Since we have prohibition our Nation has not only become a Nation of home-brewers, making inferior beer to take the place of the good old beer that we had in the past, but, what is worse, our people drink again "hard liquor." And that is a great pity, since in 1917 we were just on the point of getting used to light wines and beers.

Creating "Law Jams"

One of the worst aspects of the Volstead Act is that violations of law have ceased to be regarded as crimes. Violations are so common that the Federal courts are congested with liquor cases. The beginning of 1928 has seen one of the worst law jams and court congestions in the history of the country.

Prohibition cases are chiefly responsible for that. At the present time criminal litigation alone, based on violations of the Volstead Act, represent more than 50 per cent of all the criminal litigation in the Federal courts.

And another feature of this is that fully 15,000 dry cases must be nolle prossed by Federal district attorneys because the Government's evidence has collapsed.

I shall submit a table showing the record, by years, of the Volstead law arrests and prosecutions, which will give a view of court congestion.

Spying Is a Job Neither Decent Nor Honorable

And since the Volstead Act is a bad act, it naturally needs "bad actors" to enforce it.

When prohibition was getting under way a suggestion was made in Congress to select all the agents by civil service. The late Wayne B. Wheeler, however, ob-

jected strenuously. He and his Anti-Saloon crowd wanted a hand-picked crew—and having full sway in Congress—Congress let Wayne B. Wheeler have his way.

The result was a bad failure. Therefore lately the Anti-Saloon League began to clamor for a civil-service examination, which the old force had also to undergo. And although the test was not scholastic and had nothing to do with book learning—and the questions were very simple, practical questions—75 per cent of the present 2,000 supervisors, inspectors, and agents of the Federal prohibition enforcers were unable to pass the examination.

The failure of these men to pass so simple an examination caused considerable comment all over the country.

But that result can also be explained very readily.

The service under the Volstead Act is one which in the main appeals only to persons of a low grade of intelligence or those who can not find any other jobs. "High-brow" prohibition agents—which in this case would mean prohibition agents who can read and use common, everyday intelligence—would perhaps be all right if the job they were called upon to do was either decent or honorable.

Cellar Snooper Knows Less Than Eighth-Grade Boy

As everyone knows, however, the prohibition agent, with few exceptions, is rarely asked to do anything that is decent or honorable. Most of his time he is supposed to spend snooping on his neighbors and otherwise making a nuisance of himself. And not a small part of his time he must spend making a hash of the

spirit, if not of the letter, of the Constitution of the United Staates under the pretext of enforcing the eighteenth amendment.

And thus the Prohibition Bureau begot a crowd three-quarters of which could not pass an examination, which any boy or girl who had finished the eighth grade in a public school would easily pass. Out of a force of 2,000 men three-quarters of those spies and cellar snoopers failed to qualify in that examination.

So much for this side of the question.

Please Look at the Money Spent

But now as to the other side.

National prohibition finished the eighth year of its existence on January 16, 1928.

The financial outlay by the Federal Government for the enforcement of this act during the eight years follows:

Prohibition Unit	\$75,716,860
Coast Guard, approximate	70,000,000
Department of Justice, approximate	32,000,000
<hr/>	
Total	\$177,716,860
Nor is that all.	

And Look at the Income Lost

There has been, on the other hand, a definite loss in revenues that the Government derived from spirits and beers. These amounted to \$483,050,854.47 in 1919 and \$443,389,544.98 in 1918.

In the eight years before 1918 the internal revenue receipts from these sources were:

1910	\$201,008,670.88
1911	211,804,579.55

1912	212,042,339.92
1913	223,314,452.21
1914	226,179,689.76
1915	223,948,646.09
1916	247,453,543.52
1917	284,008,512.62

This was an increase from 1910 to 1917 of more than \$80,000,000 in annual receipts. Discounting the two abnormal years of taxes collected and assuming that the eight years from 1920 to 1928 would have seen a like increase in these revenues, the total that might now be expected if prohibition had not come would be close to \$350,000,000 or more a year.

Figures Proving Drunkenness Steadily on the Increase

And the most significant result is that drunkenness has increased continuously.

Drunkenness increased almost as fast in 1926 as it did in 1925 and somewhat faster than it did in 1924.

The 602 cities and towns reporting arrests for drunkenness showed an increase from 650,961 in 1924 to 687,812 in 1925 and 711,889 in 1926. I have no figures for 1927 as yet.

In 534 cities and towns arrests for drunkenness in 1926 increased 136 per cent above 1920 — above the first year of national prohibition.

In 403 cities and towns reporting for 1914 to 1926, arrests for drunkenness in 1926 were higher than in any previous year with the one exception of the war-boom peak of 1916. The 1916 peak was 563,792 for drunkenness, and 1926 almost reached that peak year, being 559,074.

More Drunkenness In the National Capital Than Ever

Intoxication in Washington, the National Capital, has apparently risen to new high altitudes. At any rate, all previous records for commitments to the District of Columbia Jail for intoxication were shattered in the last fiscal year, ending June 30, 1927, according to the annual report of the superintendent of the institutions submitted to the District of Columbia Commissioners. The largest total commitment for a single offense in the year was for intoxication.

The report pointed out that intoxication accounted for 49.2 per cent of the total for all offenses for which prisoners were committed to the jail, and that the intoxication cases, which numbered 5,874, exceeded by 820 the number of prisoners sent to jail for the same offense in the preceding year.

Conditions in the former so-called dry States are very much worse today as compared with 1914 than are conditions in the so-called wet States. In the dry States the number of arrests for drunkenness went up sharply in 1926 and exceeded any year heretofore.

Report of Federal Council of Churches on Drinking Among Young People

But the most distressing result of the Volstead Act has been the increase in drinking among boys and girls and young people generally. There have been reports to this effect in the press so constantly from all over the United States that the matter has become common knowledge.

The Federal Council of Churches in its investigation of the subject sent questionnaires to 2,700 social workers, who, as a class, are prejudiced in favor of

prohibition. Yet the great majority of the replies received stated that they observed more drinking by young people than in pre-prohibition times. Sheriffs and chiefs of police of towns and district attorneys give similar testimony.

The attorney general of South Dakota, a dry State before prohibition, said:

"There is a strange psychology about this liquor problem that makes it doubly significant. It is beginning to affect a different type of persons than it did before. Now it is the youngster of the family of means who is toting the bottle. The boy thinks it is smart to have a bottle on the hip, and the girls encourage the boys to do it. And they rush about in cars. It is one of the most menacing phases of the whole situation."

Raising a New Crop of Drunkards

While there is not much authoritative statistics as yet upon the subject of drunkenness among the young, apparently the largest increase has taken place among those from 15 to 25 years of age.

The Police Department of Washington, D. C., has classified the arrests for drunkenness by ages, and its figures are illuminating. These official figures completely confirm the other evidence on the subject as to the Nation on the whole and leave no doubt that there has been a very considerable increase in drunkenness among the young. This can only mean that each year we are raising a new crop of drunkards which is much larger than the annual crop we used to raise under the saloon.

Abandon All Hope of Benefit From Volstead Act

When we also consider that drunkenness generally has already increased to the pre-prohibition level, and

that drunken children have increased far above what was ever known to be before in our country, we can not escape the conclusion that the Volstead Act is an absolute failure—that it surely has not promoted temperance and sobriety.

Moreover, since conditions have become worse, not better, each year since we have prohibition, and with the "next generation" drinking as never before, there seems to be no hope that the Volstead Act can ever accomplish its purpose.

So much for the effect of prohibition and the Volstead Act on the young folks.

Deaths From Alcoholism On the Increase

But what about the injury wrought by the bootlegger, moonshine and poison whisky on adults?

We happen to have some statistics on that question.

Figures obtained by the New York World from the United States Census Bureau indicate that the mounting death rate from alcohol, on which the attention of the country was focused sharply at the national convention of State public health officials held in Washington May, 1927, has not been checked.

Statistics up to December 31, 1926, have been completed for the United States registration area.

They show a picture even more dismal than that unfolded in Washington. There were 4,109 deaths from alcoholism in the United States registration area, which covers nearly all the States, in the last year for which records are available. There were, in addition, 7,591 deaths from cirrhosis—hardening of the liver, a disease which physicians ordinarily attribute to alcohol.

Starting with 1920, when the reaction from prohibition began to set in, there has been a steadily mounting tide of deaths from these two causes. In virtually every State in the Union, whether known as wet or dry, the percentages have been mounting. There is a general agreement among experts who have studied the subject that the enormous increase in deaths is to be attributed quite as much to the quality of the liquor obtainable as it is to the quantity.

In 1920, two years after the eighteenth amendment was adopted, only 20 persons were recorded in Chicago as dying from alcoholism. In 1927 there were 340 such deaths, an increase of 1,600 per cent for the eight-year period.

Detailed figures showing that the bootlegger is far more deadly than the pre-prohibition saloonkeeper in his heyday were made public in New York at the bureau of vital statistics of the department of health. The death rate from alcoholism for 1927 is 13 per 100,000, or slightly more than the rate for measles in peak years.

Bootlegger Far More Deadly Than Saloonkeeper In His Heyday

The figures reveal a startling rise beginning in 1921 and continuing year after year until in 1927 all records for the deadly effects of alcohol, good or bad, are smashed. The 1927 total is, so far as can be learned, the greatest in the history of the city.

The Chicago (Ill.) Journal of January 5 says:

"This editorial writes itself. The coroner reports that in 1927 there were in Cook County 433 deaths caused wholly by alcoholism and 161 homicides and deaths by accident clearly due to alcohol. The total,

594, is the ghastly record for 12 months of the Anti-Saloon League and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union brand of prohibition. The number of deaths due to alcoholism is mounting steadily year by year. The "drys" will chant songs in praise of the holy eighteenth amendment and the sacred Volstead Act, but the cemeteries are filling up."

If My Bill Became Law It Would Prevent Murder and Promote Temperance

The country evidently can not go on like this.

That is why I introduced my bill to permit the manufacture, sale, and use of light wines and beer.

I am of the firm conviction that if my bill becomes a law—and the Volstead Act is amended accordingly, and also accompanied by suitable revenue legislation—that we would eliminate all the evil effects of the present method of enforcing the eighteenth amendment. And we would also obtain what the eighteenth amendment was passed for—a greater degree of temperance.

My bill, should it become a law, would stop the growth of the bootlegging industry, check disrespect for the Constitution, eliminate scandalous corruption, and prevent murder by poison whisky. And in addition it would produce a handsome revenue which could be used for beneficial purposes.

Will Anti-Saloon League Permit Old Parties to Accept It?

Let us hope that the Anti-Saloon League—which absolutely controls both the Republican and Democratic

Parties in Congress—will permit the committee to report out my bill.

I submit herewith a table showing the number of arrests for intoxication year by year:

Summary of Arrests for Intoxication.

(Figures from police departments)

		"Wet"	"Dry"		
	403 places	States—	States—	534 places	602 places
		280 places	123 places		
1914	531,574	425,781	105,793	.....	.....
1915	528,426	413,059	115,367	..	.....
1916	563,792	452,029	111,763	.....	.....
1917	546,351	445,467	100,884	.....	.....
1918	428,725	358,635	70,090	.....	.....
1919	312,136	252,301	59,835	.....	.....
1920	237,101	175,326	61,775	281,561	.....
1921	321,195	244,656	76,539	376,794	.....
1922	429,886	329,215	100,671	510,150	.....
1923	506,104	393,350	112,754	597,201	.....
1924	521,474	408,034	113,440	612,389	650,961
1925	540,151	423,927	116,224	642,957	687,812
1926	559,074	434,444	124,630	664,101	711,889

Big Business Naturally Leads to Imperialism and War

MARCH 15, 1928

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, it is very hard for a Socialist to get over his point of view to an assemblage like this. You have a different psychology. I understand you very well, because I had it once upon a time, but you do not understand me. You still linger today where I was yesterday.

The "Pacifist" Scares Every Militarist

Moreover, the average man, especially the average Congressman from Chicago, does not know the difference between Socialism, anarchism, nihilism, communism, and rheumatism. [Laughter.] They are all fearful and wicked "isms" to him.

Anything he does not like is Bolshevism or communism. Or when he is very angry he may even call it Socialism. But the greatest epithet in his little mind is to call a man a "pacifist."

To be a pacifist is the acme of depravity and high treason to the "payriot" afflicted with the 100 per cent "kill 'em dead" militarism, a disease very common in our country since we went into the World War to avenge the "little baby fingers of Belgium," "make the world safe for democracy," "and abolish war forever."

Our Country Invaded Only Once in History

At that, gentlemen, I want you to understand that the Socialist movement, as such, was not and is not a pacifist movement. The Socialists, however, did not and do not believe in commercial, dynastic, imperialistic, or nationalistic wars.

The Socialists always did and still do believe that wars sometimes can not be avoided, if we want to emancipate or free a nation or a class from oppression or exploitation or slavery. And, furthermore, I want it understood that we will always fight to defend our country in a case of actual invasion by hostile forces.

Such a case happened to us only once in the history of our country—in the war with England (1812-1815) and will probably never happen again. Our nation was very young and weak when the British came up the Potomac, sacked Washington, and burned the Capitol. The British would be rather ill advised if they tried such a mean trick now.

“Defensive” Wars Usually a Smoke Screen of Diplomats

Nevertheless, since the World War, it is true that the Socialist parties of the world have become more pacifist than ever. They now positively reject the so-called “defensive” war, because it is hard to define, as the World War has clearly proven, and is usually only a smoke screen of the diplomats. [Applause.]

Alas! Germans Did Not Read the Washington Post and Wall Street Journal

One of our colleagues asked me if it be a fact that Socialists would fight only in wars for liberty, how was

it that the Socialists of Germany in the last war fought against the French and their allies?

My answer is that the Socialists of Germany read only German papers. There they were told that the Russians and the French and the English were envious of the growth of Germany in trade, culture, and power, and wanted to destroy the Reich.

Then these German Socialists were also told, and it was proven to their satisfaction, that the Czar's Cossacks had crossed the Niemen and were murdering men and violating women and laying waste to the country. These Socialists then naturally believed that their country was invaded and that they had to defend their homes.

You see, these German Socialists did not read the Washington Post or the Wall Street Journal. And in their benighted ignorance they did not know that this was "a war to make the world safe for democracy," to "abolish militarism," and to "end all wars forever." And they really never found it out, either. Had they read the Washington Post, the Wall Street Journal, and similar papers they would have been enlightened upon that subject. [Laughter.]

"Devil Dogs" Become Tentacles of "Devil Fish"

Socialist parties the world over have always opposed large standing armies. These are invariably class armies. And Socialists are especially opposed to hired armies, because such troops naturally become the willing tools of the class or of the government that hires and pays them.

And Socialists are also opposed to large navies, since their chief function is to protect foreign invest-

ments. Thus the navy becomes the strong right arm of imperialism—and the marines become real “devil dogs” and tentacles of the “devil fish,” of the octopus of capitalism.

Modern Imperialism Natural Outcome of Modern Capitalism

And this offers an opportunity to explain the meaning of the term “imperialism.” The word “imperialism” did not originate with the German Empire, as many Americans, and particularly many American newspaper editors, imagined during the World War. It came from the word “imperium” and harks back to the days of world rule by the Romans.

Many nations held the “imperium.” For a while during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it seemed that Spain would rule the world. After the decline of Spain, little Holland and Sweden held the “imperium” for a short period, but only England could lay claim to be a world power during the last 150 years, especially after the downfall of Napoleon I.

The term “imperialism” as it has been used during the last two generations is only very loosely connected with “imperialism” in a political sense. Modern imperialism as understood is based on modern economics and is deeply rooted in the very nature of capitalist economy.

Why We Have a Surplus of Commodities

Under the present wage system, also called the profit system, the wages received by the workers of any industrialized nation are insufficient to enable them to buy back with their wages everything that they have

produced, because as a class the workmen can not receive the full value of their labor. The employing class makes a profit on their labor, and must make a profit in order to carry on business.

And since the workers of a nation have not received the full value of their production, they naturally can not buy back that production with their wages. That also holds good for the farmer who gets skinned by the capitalist system in various ways. And, after all, the workmen and farmers form the great bulk of the Nation.

Thus a surplus of products accumulates.

All Capitalist Nations Struggle for World Market

The capitalist class, being small in number, can not consume all the surplus. The surplus must be exported to foreign markets. All the western nations, where capitalism has developed, are compelled, therefore, to look for foreign markets, for the world market, to dispose of that surplus.

Moreover, in every industrialized nation—which to-day means every western civilized nation—it becomes increasingly difficult for the capitalists to invest their accumulated profits to advantage in their own country. These capitalists are constantly forced to look for foreign fields.

Every civilized country, or at least every country that is highly developed industrially, is in exactly the same position in that respect; and of late Japan, since Japan has accepted our capitalist civilization, has joined this struggle and strife for the world market.

Use Even Religion as a Vehicle

According to official figures the United States exported in 1927 products to the amount of \$4,968,485,000. In 1926 Great Britain exported products to the amount of approximately \$3,260,000,000, while Germany, in the same year, exported products to the amount of almost \$2,000,000,000; France, about \$2,362,000,000; Belgium, about one-third of that of France; and Japan, about \$1,000,000,000.

In order to stimulate a demand for their products modern nations even use religion as a vehicle. They send our missionaries to make Christians out of African savages in order to make them ashamed of going without trousers or shoes or hats or other things of which civilized nations have a surplus.

The Opium War

During the last 100 years England even had two wars with China—one in 1839 to 1842 and another in 1863—because the Chinese Government refused to permit the smuggling of opium from India to the Chinese Empire. The English won these wars.

The drug—although considered poison—was poured into China at the rate of one ton per hour for 12 hours every day for some 60 years, until the Chinese revolution in 1911 brought the traffic to an end.

This is one aspect of economic imperialism.

Where "Oil" Blessings Flow

The other and even more important side of economic imperialism is the search for raw material—oil, metals, rubber, lumber, and so forth.

Some of the savage, barbaric, or backward peoples

are in possession of very valuable lands—excellent for agriculture, or covered with wonderful forests, or containing valuable land minerals, and, above all, containing oil—oil which has become one of the greatest economic assets of the present day.

Capitalist nations will stop at nothing to get hold of such lands.

Spread Civilization and Make Money

I have spoken before of capitalists looking around for chances to invest their capital profitably. And that is also natural enough, because capital, which is not profitably invested, very soon ceases to be capital.

Thus these capitalists, especially English, French, German, and American capitalists, cast their eagle eye upon the undeveloped areas of backward nations. They are eager to develop them—to spread civilization and to make money.

That is usually done first by "concessions." They get the right or the privilege to build railroads, to start big ranges, to plant fruit trees, banana, coffee, sugar cane, or pineapple, according to the nature of the country.

Here we have the two main sources of imperialism.

One is the continued profitable disposal of the huge output of surplus commodities of all industrially developed nations. The other is the necessity of commanding the sources of supply for raw materials for these industries, and to invest money in profitable undertakings.

We Are Willing to Make These Backward Nations Honest

There is also this to be considered: These backward peoples have a moral code of their own. And they do

not willingly enter into lasting business relations with civilized men. Those backward folks do business in their own way and according to their own notions. They often lie and cheat and are hard to do business with. [Laughter.]

Our civilized business men will then tell you that it is therefore necessary for the purposes of trade and civilization that these backward nations—or ancient nations—be compelled to be “honest”; that they be compelled to live up to such rules of conduct as will make trade possible and lucrative for civilized Americans, Englishmen, Germans, or other “Nordics” who have invested their money. [Laughter and applause.]

A warlike front therefore becomes necessary all the time, and armaments and warlike demonstrations have become a part of the regular apparatus of business, so far as business is concerned with the world market.

Point of View Changes With Increasing Competition

True, these business men and investors originally do not dream of making any conquests. They do not think of war. They are at first indifferent as to the territorial growth of their country. All they want is to do business, but that point of view changes the moment their investments are in danger.

Thus, for instance, as long as Great Britain had a natural monopoly of the raw materials and the markets of the world British manufacturers and merchants were rather indifferent as to the growth of the British Empire. There were even some British economists and politicians who did not care for the Colonies and considered them as rather useless encumbrances, involving an expense to the British taxpayer.

Exactly the same thing happens in America today; some of our American economists and politicians do not think of navies, armies, and war in connection with the world market.

But with the increasing competition—and with the entry of the manufacturers and merchants of the United States and of Germany, and even of Japan, into the world markets—the British point of view changed.

I Know Better

And now as to the American foreign investments. We are told that——

Mr. Evans of California. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Berger. Not now. Afterwards I will. If I were a believer or adherent of the present system, I would be a Republican of the blackest kind. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. Butler. Does the gentleman want more time?

Mr. Berger. I am not a believer of the present system, however; I know better.

Mr. Butler. Then I decline to yield the gentleman more time. [Laughter.]

Socialists Can Consistently Urge Disarmament

Mr. Berger. Now, the fact is this: Anybody who believes that this capitalist system is to last forever, or for a very long time to come, and who desires the greatest possible development of our strength in the world market, must also stand ready to defend this trade and these investments to the fullest extent.

He must also be willing to have a strong armed force, especially a big navy.

Of all political creeds and organizations only the Socialists can with good conscience and good logic agitate and vote for disarmament and world peace.

May Have Some Interesting Experiences

Under the present system, however, I am not in a position to decide whether 15 cruisers or 75 cruisers are sufficient to secure our position in the world market and defend our investments. If we should get into trouble with any first-class power or with any combination of powers, as, for instance, Great Britain and Japan—or Great Britain and some European allies—we would undoubtedly have some interesting experiences.

I do not say this is going to happen in the near future, since Europe is financially busted and the horrors of the World War are still fresh in mind.

Of course, some men, though not students, instinctively fear that this will happen, although for the sake of policy they do not express this fear.

America Simply Accepts the Superiority of Great Britain

The proposition of building only fifteen 10,000-ton cruisers, contained in the majority report, is the result of that policy.

These gentlemen say the program of 25 cruisers to be built at the rate of five a year for five years would have been interpreted as an aggressive program by Great Britain. With 25 cruisers of the 10,000-ton class the American navy could attack and imperil British commerce in the event of war, and a successful attack of that type would mean the end of Great Britain's rule over the seven seas.

But with only 15 cruisers of that class America can not do very much. We surely could not dispute the British control of the high seas and could not do much damage to the British trade. [Applause.]

It is a halfway measure only—neither big enough to do any harm nor small enough to do any real good. And it officially accepts the inferiority of America to Great Britain, for the time being.

A war in which we can use that navy against a first-class power for anything except for the purpose of destroying commerce, is now almost impossible. The navy now is very largely a matter of window dressing, and it is only very handy against second-rate or backward nations.

Why Hell Broke Loose in 1914

Now to sum up this side of the picture, remember:

Capitalism inevitably leads to imperialism. The slogan of our business men will inevitably be "Civis Americanus sum," I am a citizen of America and have to be backed up by the army and navy.

And sooner or later this brings about war—war not only to subjugate backward nations but also to destroy competitors.

When, in the first six months of 1914, the German world trade became as large as the British—the World War did not delay.

Who Will Be Next?

True, Germany is crushed. But Germany's place in world politics and also in the world markets is rapidly being taken by the United States of America. We are now Great Britain's most powerful competitor.

The statistics issued by the Department of Commerce tell a vivid story.

And anybody who reads the English papers and periodicals with an open eye can already feel the deep resentment.

Great Britain is determined to uphold its "imperium" and its rule of the seven seas.

Great Britain has so far been very successful in destroying its competitors for the world market. Great Britain has annihilated the sea power of Spain, France, Holland and Germany.

Whom will Great Britain try to annihilate next?
[Applause.]

Eighty-two Per Cent for Past and Future Wars

I do not want to answer the question. I leave it to some of you gentlemen to speculate about. I hope that by the time this question has to be answered we shall have Socialist governments in all the great civilized countries—Socialist governments (or at least Socialistic governments) that will know how to avoid war.

And that is the only hope. Remember—the Hon. Andrew W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1927—attributed 82 per cent of the Federal expenditures for 1927 to past and future wars. The following words of our Secretary of the Treasury, taken from his most recent report to Congress, are well worth considering:

"* * * only about one-sixth (of the taxpayer's dollar) is being used for all the multitudinous types of ordinary civil functions added together. One-half of each tax dollar is used for the service of the public debt. * * * The remaining one-third of the tax-

payer's dollar is spent on military expenditures for national defense or payments to military veterans.

"* * * In modern times the Federal tax burden of one generation is largely determined by the military activities of the preceding one. In the fiscal year 1927 expenditures for interest on the public debt exceeded by over \$140,000,000 the aggregate amount of ordinary civil expenditures and exceeded the amount of all retirements of the public debt by nearly \$70,000,000."

Even militarists admit that preparedness for war only leads to war.

What the Chief of the British General Staff Says About Preparedness

Field Marshal Sir William Robertson, one of England's distinguished soldiers, who served from 1915 as chief of the Imperial general staff of the British army, made the following statement in a recent address:

"We no longer agree, without qualification, that the best way of preventing war is to prepare for it. Instead of preventing war, we know that preparations are apt to precipitate it. Never in history were preparations so complete or so widespread as during the 50 or 60 years previous to 1914, and yet never were wars so frequent as in that period."

This is one of the hopeful signs of change of general sentiment; but, of course, it will not do away with the cause of wars.

America Would Never Have Gotten Into the World War

A more hopeful sign is that the resolution of our distinguished colleague, Senator Theodore E. Burton, prohibiting the export of war materials to an "aggressor" nation, has been changed by a unanimous vote in the Hodse Committee on Foreign Affairs to place an

embargo on the shipment of such materials "to any nation which is engaged in war with another."

This is a most excellent modification, because it touches business—war profits. And because it places our power directly against war. If such a law would have prevailed in 1914, the war would not have lasted over six months, peace would have been concluded shortly after the Marne.

I can appreciate the change of sentiment among our leading men.

When the Powder Trust Had Its Little Joke

I remember that at the convention of the League to Enforce Peace, held in Philadelphia in 1915, when I put in a resolution to place an embargo on ammunition—not even on food, mind you, only an embargo on ammunition—to both sides of the combat, this was ruled out of order with the characteristic remark that such a resolution was "more German than germane."

The witty and "humane" remark was made by Justice Gray, the attorney of the Du Pont Powder Trust. [Laughter.]

The Powder Trust, of course, showed a profit of as much as \$560,000,000 in one single year of the war—and the trust had many reasons to oppose my resolution. That murderous interest was not German and not American, but it was "germane."

Myths—Guilty Nation and Innocent Nation

And another most hopeful sign of our times is found in the current discussion—not of who won the World War, but who was most guilty in bringing on the war.

The question of relative war guilt has been hotly debated of late—the opposing sides mostly resting their case on official documents.

The simple fact, however, is this:

“The myth of the guilty nation” is always accompanied by “the myth of the innocent nation.”

Through a reckless and lying propaganda each nation soon became obsessed with the glory of victory and with the illusion of the depravity of the opposing peoples. In each country, also, for the time being, as Romain Rolland observed, “The people hated worst of all those who refused to hate.”

Degenerating Effect of Wars

There is one phase which is generally ignored, but is more important when we consider the subject of international war, and that is the inevitable decadence in the effectiveness and virility of warlike nations. Thus the warlike German tribes of the early Middle Ages have all disappeared entirely.

I just mention the Goths, the Vandals, the Longobards, and others.

It was proven that owing to the Napoleonic wars the average size of the French people was diminished by more than one inch.

Prepare For Peace and You May Get Peace

Mr. Schafer. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Berger. No; I can not. I will only repeat that capitalism, wherever successful and full grown, necessarily leads to imperialism, and imperialism inevitably leads to war. If we want to abolish war we must abolish the causes of war and the reasons for war. Build-

ing war vessels, making poison gas and armored tanks will not abolish war. Neither will pious resolutions and peace tracts. Modern wars have economic causes.

As for preparedness, I agree with the English general whom I have just quoted, that if you prepare for war you will surely get war. And I will add, if you prepare for peace you may have peace. [Applause.]

Relief for Unemployed Without Degradation or Charity

MARCH 26, 1928

Mr. Speaker, in connection with the discussion which is taking place concerning the problem of unemployment, I desire to call the attention of the House to my bill (H. R. 12205), which provides for the establishment of a Federal compulsory unemployment insurance system similar to the one now in vogue in other modern industrial nations.

It is a sad commentary on the state of our social reform legislation that the only time unemployment receives any consideration at all—and then mighty little—is when it reaches such proportions that it becomes impossible for those in power to pretend not to see it, or on the eve of a presidential election, when political capital can be made of the situation by one of the contenders for the nomination raising the issue so that it can no longer be dodged.

As a matter of fact—and any student of industrial and economic conditions will verify this—unemployment is not an accidental condition, nor caused by the laziness of individuals.

Every civilized country where the present capitalist system prevails has recognized that unemployment is an inevitable and inescapable condition of our industrial system, which always requires an army of unemployed, as a sort of reserve.

Reserve Army of the Unemployed

The size of that "reserve army" will vary, but in the United States it is never less than 1,000,000, and in times of business depression it reaches the staggering proportions of 3,000,000, 4,000,000, or 5,000,000.

The distress in which these millions of people and their dependents find themselves could be relieved if they had saved enough during the periods in which they were employed to keep them in times of unemployment.

But an examination of what it costs for the average-sized family to live, and what the average worker earns while employed, discloses that the large majority of our people—76,000,000 of them, according to official Government figures—do not earn enough to lay anything by for such emergencies as sickness, unemployment, or old age.

And fully between 10,000,000 and 12,000,000 of our people do not get enough to live on while they do work, as I had occasion to show during the discussion on the income tax bill.

If these people and their dependents are not to be permitted to starve, in the face of an abundance which their labors helped create, relief must come either from private charitable institutions, bread lines, and soup kitchens, or it must come as a result of an organized and scientific system of unemployment insurance.

Many Prefer Starvation to Charity

Charity, whether public or private, is degrading to people who are ready and willing to work. There are many who prefer to die of starvation or commit suicide rather than resort to it.

Moreover, public charity is a costly method, as a large part of what charity collects for its activities goes to pay for salaries, drives, and incidentals. And it is inefficient when the demands made upon it become general. At such times it is also impossible for private relief agencies to take care of the situation.

The other method, a system of compulsory unemployment insurance, enables the worker to obtain a claim to come forward as a creditor and no longer to be regarded as an object of charity, since he paid for his share of the insurance. This unemployment insurance is not a dole.

This is the method used to meet the problem by other industrial nations. They know that it must be faced, and that it can only be faced satisfactorily and efficiently by compulsory unemployment insurance. England, Germany, Italy, the Scandinavian countries, Belgium—in fact, every industrial country of Europe—has adopted this method.

My bill establishes a system whereby the obligation of each group in society towards meeting what is a social problem can be discharged on a fair and equitable basis.

Worker, Employer and Government Each to Pay One-Third

The wage earner, while he is employed, contributes one-third of what it will be necessary to raise any one year, to take care of the unemployment relief. The employer of labor, for whose profit the wage earner works and who discharges the worker after he has created a surplus which the employer finds it difficult to dispose of, contributes another third. And the Government, which has a primary interest in preventing

widespread distress because of the effect such distress has upon the social fabric, pays the balance.

To avoid the possibility of some depending upon this kind of relief even when work is available, I have provided that the unemployment benefits shall not be paid where suitable employment can be furnished to an applicant by any of the branch offices of the United States Employment Service, which will aid in administering the provisions of the law.

There is also this: The benefits under the act are limited to six months in any one year, and the payments are never to exceed more than 50 per cent of the average earnings of the applicant. There is no inducement in this for men to stay out of work when there is work, no inducement to become lazy, but there is at least sufficient relief provided to keep workmen and their families from starvation when there is no work to be found.

I have been asked by Members of Congress what it would cost the Government to provide the one-third that it will have to pay into the fund. In ordinary times, when the number of unemployed does not exceed more than 1,000,000, I have estimated that the Government's contribution to the fund for six months of the year would have to be between \$90,000,000 and \$100,000,000 annually. It would temporarily increase in times of depression according to the number of unemployed, but it ought never to reach a larger sum than \$350,000,000 even in a great and continuing industrial crisis—what is called a "panic" in common parlance.

Not a Formidable Sum

That ought not be considered a formidable sum by those of this House who have been clamoring for and

voting tax relief for the superwealthy every time Congress met. The present House has voted a reduction of about \$225,000,000 in taxes of the rich. That money—the loss of which would hardly be felt by the superwealthy—would take care of America's participation in this fund for several years.

And if we take into consideration the fact that the aggregate amount saved to our plutocracy during the Harding-Coolidge administration is more than \$3,000,000,000—three thousand million dollars—we can not claim to be too poor to discharge our obligation to those who through no fault of their own are thrown out of employment.

In any event, my proposal has been tried in other countries, where similar conditions prevail, and found workable. These countries, not nearly as rich as ours, can afford to give this relief. It is undoubtedly needed.

I am confident that sooner or later my plan will be adopted, and the sooner it is adopted the less suffering and misery will our people have to undergo in the intervening years.

To Preserve the Home Give the Old Folks a Pension

MARCH 28, 1928

Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen, on February 27 of this year I presented to the House a bill (H. R. 11474) providing for the establishment of a system of old-age pensions by which every person 60 years of age or over without means of support would receive from the Federal Government a pension of \$12 per week.

That bill was introduced for the purpose of meeting one of the major evils of the present industrial system, where after the labor of a lifetime a wage earner or a farmer finds himself facing old age in want, and of meeting it in a way that will not degrade the beneficiary, as is the case where it is done by public or private charity.

Why a Pension Is Justified

The principle of paying a pension to those who have rendered service to their country is not new. We pay pensions to the veterans of our wars, and we do so because we realize that soldiers perform a duty on the field of battle which is dangerous to life and limb, and that they perform that service for what is believed to be for the good of the country.

If service to the country, however, or the dangers incident to such service, justify the granting of a pension to a war veteran—they also justify paying a pension to the veteran of industry whose service is far more necessary and infinitely more useful.

More Dangerous Than War.

Under our present industrial system, where it is often cheaper to expose the workers to injury and death than install safeguards which will prevent accidents—service in the factory, in the mine, and on the railroads is attended with as much danger frequently as it is on the field of battle. More people are killed in our industries than in our wars.

And more people are crippled in our industries than in our wars.

Twice As Many Killed and Injured In One Year.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor reports that in 21 States out of 48 there were no less than 599,781 killed or injured in a single year, in 1920—more than twice as many in one year as were killed and wounded as a result of our participation in the World War.

And in one State—Pennsylvania—there were 1,136,000 killed or injured in industry during a period of six years, 1916 to 1921.

If, therefore, the right to a pension depends upon the risks that one takes, the veteran of industry is no less entitled to a pension when he becomes too old to work than is the veteran of war.

Their Labor Makes Civilization Possible.

Or if the right to a pension is to be determined by the service one renders his country, the veteran of industry again is no less entitled to a pension in old age than the veteran of our wars. A man or woman who has labored for 20 years or more, receiving in return for his or her labors a small share of the wealth created,

has contributed more to society than any pension in old age can repay.

It is their labor which makes civilization possible for all, and more especially for the rich.

The Example of Other Countries

Besides, the question is not whether society will take care of the man who has given all he has had the major portion of his life, but whether it will do so through public and private charity, which is costly to the community, inefficient, degrading to the recipient, and destructive of the home—or whether it will be done by the Government, systematically, economically, and decently.

Other countries in which the Socialist Party is strong enough to compel consideration of the problems of the worker, and where the ruling class finds itself facing an intelligent and well-organized working class, have not only decided that the superannuated worker shall be taken care of in his old age but that he shall not have to become the object of charity, public or private.

Paternalism? Well, How About the High Tariff, About Land Grants, Etc?

Newspapers which have commented on my bill since its introduction brought forth the usual argument that this was a form of "paternalism" which should be shunned at all hazards because it is contrary to the "genius" of our institutions; and, besides, it is unnecessary, for if there are any in old age who face the poorhouse it is due to a lack of thrift in their younger

years or to a wanton and reckless disregard of the future.

The "paternalistic" issue is raised whenever any measure is offered which proposes to give to the great mass of the people some small part of the special privileges which the ruling class of our country has enjoyed from the beginning, and which it receives today in the form of tariff protection—subsidies, land grants, and the like.

How About Paternalism to Superwealthy?

The use of the Government and the powers of government to enrich the monopolists is not, in the eyes of these editors, paternalism.

Returning to the superwealthy hundreds of millions of dollars paid in taxes every time Congress meets is not, in their opinion, paternalism.

The granting of millions of acres of land to railroad companies, and enabling those railroads to charge excessive rates, never seemed to them to be paternalism.

Paternalism Only Bad When It Helps the Poor?

But when it is proposed to aid the farmers through some sort of relief legislation there is an immediate hue and cry that the farmers seek to make this Government paternalistic.

And when it is proposed that the Government, which has used its powers, derived from all the people, to benefit a handful who now control the Nation's basic industries—shall help out the hundreds of thousands of people who on the evening of their lives must face the poorhouse—the same cry is made.

Some Figures About a Workman's Budget

The other argument made against my proposal is that, if the worker were thrifty, steady, and honest, he would not be in want in old age. No better refutation to that need be offered than the one which the Federal Government has provided by its own official figures.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics has prepared a budget which it states enables a "minimum of health and decency." The average cost in several cities of this minimum budget in 1919 was found to be \$2,262.47 for a family of five.

This budget is modest. It would provide the following:

1. Nourishing food.
2. Houses in low-rent neighborhoods and with the smallest number of rooms consistent with decency (about four rooms and bath).
3. The upkeep of household equipment, but with no provision for the purchase of additional furniture.
4. Clothing sufficient for warmth, "but with no more regard for style than would permit one to appear in public without slovenliness or loss of self-respect."

The "Luxuries" He Is Permitted Under This Budget

Under this budget there is allowed one woolen suit, one woolen dress, and one winter hat every second year, but there is no provision for silk stockings or dresses, and no house slippers.

The family could spend \$80 a year for doctor, dentist, and oculist; \$20 a year for amusement and recreation, and that, of course, leaves a vacation in the coun-

try out of the question; \$10 for union dues, \$13 for church and religious organizations; and \$52 for incidentals.

A small allowance was made for insurance and car fare, but practically none for saving, either for periods of unemployment, or for old age, or for sickness which might go beyond the \$80 allowed annually in the budget.

Less Than Enough to Lay By Anything

In 1926 the bureau prepared another budget, raising the amount required for a family of five in any large city to \$2,432.39 a year.

At the same time reliable statistics show that fully 76,000,000 people had an average income in the same year of \$2,300—less than the amount considered by the Bureau of Labor Statistics necessary for a “minimum of health and decency”—less than is absolutely essential for the modest budget prepared by the bureau—less than enough to lay by anything for the time when old age will make him useless as a worker.

How, then, with the very best of intentions, with the utmost thrift, with steadiness in employment, can the workers—these 76,000,000—avoid facing old age in want?

Small Business Man Also In Great Danger

The situation so far as the average business man is concerned is not much better. Among the hundreds of letters that have come to my office since the introduction of the bill calling attention to the plight in which people 65, 70, 75, and 80 years of age find themselves, there were some from business men who thought

a few years ago that they would not face starvation in old age, but who were suddenly thrown from the high horse on which they had been riding, and now find themselves as destitute as the poorest among the working class.

In the case of these business men it may have been an accident, but as big business acquires a greater degree of control, as corporations continue to displace the small dealer, and wealth continues to concentrate in ever fewer hands, the middle class, so called, will require more of this relief than those who are in it now imagine possible.

Dependency of Old Folks Growing Worse

But in the case of the workers and farmers, insecurity in old age is no accident. It is practically certain.

There are now approximately 2,000,000 aged people in the United States dependent upon others for part or entire support. This problem will grow more acute with the years.

The cutting off of employment possibilities when one enters his forties or fifties—and the increase in the span of life made possible by science—creates a long stretch of dependency, which will grow longer as time goes on.

Preserve the Home—Enact This Bill

It is cruel and unjust to expect charity and the poorhouse to provide the necessary relief.

We can preserve the home when it means most to these elderly people, and do so more economically and efficiently than it is done today, by enacting an old age pension bill.

Speech Accompanying Socialist Platform

APRIL 20, 1928

Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen, like every new phase of civilization, Socialism thus far has received the attention only of the oppressed and the lowly. The opulent and the rich have no reason to wish for a change of our system.

Until of late, outside of the working class, only students of history, of political economy, and a few advanced thinkers have given any attention to the principles of Socialism in our country. Most people have but a very vague idea even of its basis. Nevertheless Socialism is in the foreground of discussion.

Have We Reached the End of All Progress?

Socialism stands for a new civilization.

Of course, with people who believe that whatever is will exist forever, and that we have reached the acme of civilization, it is entirely useless to argue.

But surely no educated man believes that the present conditions are the end of all progress.

That we have not reached the end of our national development is clear. Every new invention and every new political question proves that to us. And it would be sad indeed if we had reached "the end" of political and social reforms while progress is still being made in all other fields of human knowledge.

Not the Result of Any Agitation

To begin with, it is unnecessary to explain that the Socialist movement is not to be traced to the irresponsible work of individual agitators or eccentric persons.

That was the argument against us when the Socialist movement was young, but now that some 40,000,000 voters throughout the civilized world are enrolled under Socialist standards it could not very well be maintained that all of this is the result of "soap-box oratory."

Seek Opportunity for All

Our aim is as follows:

In regard to political reform, the Socialists demand the rule of the people, i. e., democracy.

On the economic field we demand Socialism, i. e., the collective ownership of the social means of production and distribution.

Thus, we seek social democracy—a democracy which is founded on economic independence and upon the political and industrial equality of opportunity for all.

We Are Not Simply "Trust Smashers"

Determined as the Socialists are in their opposition to the present capitalist system of industry, still they never consider the concentration of capital the cause of all evil.

Socialists do not now and never did try to smash the trusts. They always considered the trusts as the natural outcome of capitalist evolution. Socialists always appreciated the advantages of industrial production on a large scale as compared with the small-scale production which preceded it.

We are opposed, however, to the private ownership of these trusts.

What the Trusts Mean Today to Everybody

While the trusts remain in the hands of a few who happen to own and control them, the bulk of the Nation finds itself at the mercy of monopolists. From the cradle to the grave, everyone must pay tribute to these monopolists. Everything the people require—and require as urgently as the air they breathe—is owned by a trust.

We all see it. We all feel it. We all know it.

We also fully understand that the owners of stock in our corporations and trusts—the owners of these sheets and strips of paper—which, under our present system, stand for “capital”—virtually decide how much we shall pay for our meat and our bread, how much for our oil and our coal, and how much we are to spend for our houses, clothing, and so forth.

In other words, they decide how well or how poorly we are to live. In the end, therefore, they really also decide how long or how short a time we are to live.

The Wolves Succeed Best

And the wageworkers are not the only sufferers.

With the increase of power and concentration of wealth the educated and professional class depends more and more upon the capitalist class.

Our teachers, professors, speakers, editors, and writers, and ministers, doctors, and other professional men are more and more at the mercy of the capitalist system. There is a continuous increase of the educated proletariat.

College teachers are getting retainers from electric-utility companies. The power magnates, in their conventions, are laughing over the ease with which they are making mouthpieces of the intellectual guides of our young people.

The power trust has many university professors on its pay roll.

A Grafters' World

On the other hand, money making is not a matter of education.

On the contrary, the more vulgar and wolfish the man, the more readily he succeeds.

And wealth, usually expressed in dollars, has become the American deity. The "almighty dollar" is not only a figure of speech. It is by parting with a little share of his wealth that the rich man gets his dangerous powers. It is the monopoly of that which all want—some of which all must have—that makes his power so fearful.

The big grafter, or his heir writes his check and gets all the good or bad things his heart desires. He gets adulation, professional skill, wine and women, and all the luxuries that money can buy—and the world can furnish. Organized finance in particular is all-powerful.

It is inevitable that under such circumstances wealth should also become the root of all evil. Wealth being the greatest social power, it is naturally the worst of all temptations.

Our present system creates grafters, criminals, thieves, and prostitutes.

The Psychology of the Present Time

And instinctively the average citizen seems to understand that graft is inherent in the present system and a part of it. This is the reason why "the man on the street"—and especially the business man—passes over the complaint about general corruption with a shrug of his shoulder or with a cynical smile. Recent events have again glaringly proved the old adage that a millionaire can not be found guilty of any crime in America.

It has become almost impossible to convict a grafter before a jury of "his peers"—especially in Washington.

We must change this "Hermesian" psychology, of course, before we can have a better world. I use the word "Hermesian" because Hermes was the god of commerce and thievery for the ancient Greeks.

Politician Tries to Get "His" Share

It is of greater importance, however, to remove the temptations, the occasions, and the chances for graft. Public ownership, if generally adopted, would do away with most of the chances.

As long as we have swamps we naturally shall have mosquitoes.

And as long as powerful politicians can give away our natural resources to grafting capitalists, these politicians will certainly try to get their share of the swag. And we shall have corruption rampant in our public life.

Punishment alone will never stop it.

Giving Away the People's Inheritance

Therefore, we say that of the many crimes of commission and omission with which the capitalist parties

—the Republicans as well as the Democrats—can be charged, the handing over of our wonderful natural resources to greedy exploiters and grasping corporations is the greatest, the most flagrant, and the most indefensible. And it is still going on.

The Republican and the Democratic Parties are equally guilty. This unholy alliance of "big business" and government has the approval of both. And both old parties also oppose public ownership. They both favor a policy that despoils the Nation of its dearest possessions—a policy that corrupts the morals of the people.

Parties Act From Self-Interest

These conditions are plainly before us in spite of the smoke screen raised around our present system by its beneficiaries and their hirelings.

What remedy can the old political parties bring to the people?

Parties, like individuals, act from motives of self-interest.

Now both of the old parties are owned by the capitalist class. The capitalist class pays the millions necessary for their political contests. This is a fact no longer denied by the leaders of both Republican and Democratic Parties.

And what can we do about it?

Must Rely on Education, Plus—

There is only one party in the field standing for the "new idea." There is only one party representing on the political field the necessary outcome of the evolution on the economic field. That is the Socialist Party.

It relies upon education and even more so upon the development of the industrial forces. Both of these factors make for Socialism.

We Want a Peaceful Revolution

The Socialist Party, while its ultimate purpose is to change completely the present economic system, is none the less evolutionary and constructive.

Social reforms are advocated and welcomed by all Socialists for many reasons.

In the first place, by reforms we hope to stop the continued pauperization, and consequently also the degradation of the masses of the people. If real social reforms are seriously taken up and carried out with determination, these reforms will advance our people considerably.

But the main reason for our favoring them is because such reforms, if logically carried out, offer the opportunity of a peaceful, lawful, and orderly transformation of society.

Violent revolutions may happen, of course. But like bloody wars, such revolutions are the worst and most expensive method of accomplishing anything.

Appeal to the Best in Man

The Socialist Party is the only true reform party in existence. We agitate for the organization of the masses. We educate, we enlighten, we reason. Our party is constructive. We appeal to the best in every man, to the public spirit of the citizen, to his love of wife and children.

An Interpreter for Social Democracy

MAY 9, 1928

Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen, I appreciate your courtesy in granting me time at present to explain some of my bills. I am well entitled to the time, however, as the only Representative in this House of a school of opinion which has several million adherents in our country. Moreover, I have never tried to obstruct the business of the House, even when I was sorely tempted to do so.

Mr. Tilson. I thank the gentleman personally; he has been helpful rather than obstructive.

Mr. Berger. I appreciate this remark of the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mr. Speaker, I am a pioneer, as you know.

Sowing the Seed—Future Generations Will Harvest

And remember, ladies and gentlemen, the lot of the pioneer is always a hard lot, no matter which the line or what the field. Whether a man goes out into the primeval forest to blaze a path for civilization and build a home for his family, whether a man finds new facts for science and medicine, the pioneer always has to overcome immense difficulties. And especially in new lines of thought one has to combat tradition, prejudice, ill will, misunderstanding, hatred, and a thousand other obstacles.

Nowhere is this more evident than in the realm of

law and politics, where usually old-established economic interests and social prerogatives are well intrenched. After all, however, this pioneering work must be done in every line by somebody, or else humanity would come to a standstill. We Socialists are simply sowing the seed for future generations to harvest.

Even in my lifetime I have seen many an idea which we Socialists have originated, and which was denounced at first as anarchistic, un-American, and dangerous, become a part of the law of this country—Federal as well as State and municipal.

To interpret the Socialist position, I have introduced a number of bills in this House, some of which I shall discuss in the short time allotted to me.

Socialists Are Opposed to Any Violent Revolution

These bills will give you, ladies and gentlemen, and also the people of the country, some idea of our hopes, fears, and ambitions.

These bills in themselves ought to set at rest any speculation caused in the average man by the fear of the unknown.

All I can do is to introduce bills that show what the Socialists would do as a party if they had the power. These measures, and many others like them, will sooner or later become the law of the land, if we are to avoid a social explosion like the one in France at the end of the eighteenth century, which cost Europe 5,000,000 lives. Or the one in Russia 10 years ago, which has cost, according to some figures, about 2,000,000 lives, and is still far from being finished.

Now, we Socialists are opposed to any violent revolution.

And I especially do not want any because I am convinced that a violent revolution would probably take on a worse aspect in this country than anywhere else. Anything bad in our country is done more thoroughly, you know.

Now, as to a few of the bills which I have introduced this session.

Federal Aid to Reduce Illiteracy

Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen, on January 30, this year, I introduced a measure proposing Federal aid to the various States for the purpose of reducing illiteracy.

The bill provides that the Federal Government appropriate \$2,000,000 annually for the next six years—that appropriation to be apportioned among the various States in proportion to their percentage of illiteracy, but subject to the requirement that each State appropriate a similar amount.

The United States was one of the first nations to make an elementary school education generally available. It is therefore unfortunate that our great and rich country should now be trailing other and poorer nations which started later than we did.

Mr. Fletcher. The gentleman says we are lagging behind other countries.

Mr. Berger. Yes; in comparison with other countries.

Mr. Fletcher. By illiteracy, the gentleman means those who can not read or write?

Mr. Berger. Yes, sir.

Out of every 100 Americans over ten years of age,

six are unable to read or write their names, according to the Federal Census.

Richest Nation Could Well Afford to Become Most Literate

We have a larger percentage of illiterates than France, England, Wales, Scotland, Sweden, Norway, Netherlands, Switzerland, Denmark, or Germany.

Germany, for example, has practically no illiteracy—the percentage being 0.03 per cent. In the United States the percentage of illiteracy is 7.7 per cent.

Our 5,000,000 adult illiterates are just about equal to the total population of the continent of Australia.

And the percentage of illiteracy, according to the Census Bureau, for native whites of native white parentage is decidedly higher than for native whites of foreign or mixed parentage.

All of that is not only unfortunate, but it is also unnecessary.

We claim—and rightly so—to be the richest nation on earth. We can very well afford also to make it the most literate.

Illiteracy Begets Tyranny and Mob Rule

The menace of illiteracy is especially threatening in a democracy, where so much depends upon the people's ability to read and write.

We may assume that the Communist regime would not have made headway in Russia, and Fascism would not have taken root in Italy and replaced democracy, if there had not been so much illiteracy in those two countries. And in the degree that illiteracy will disappear, democracy will assert itself.

And as to our own country—where illiteracy is greatest, as in the South—such groups as the Ku-Klux Klan and other mob movements are able to get their start and even make headway for a while.

Only Obligation of State to Pay Same Sum as the Federal Government

Even the most faithful adherent of State rights need not fear to support this bill.

My proposal does not shift the problem from the State to the Federal Government. Nor does it deprive States of any of the rights they now have. In my bill education still remains a State matter.

The State still continues to have full control and every right, as in the past. All that I propose to do in this bill is to encourage the States to increase and improve their educational facilities, and thereby reduce illiteracy.

By acquiring the benefits of the Federal appropriation the States only assume the obligation to pay an equal sum with the Federal Government for the abolishing of illiteracy. The States will thereby benefit and the Nation will benefit.

Newspapers Expressed General Approval

Congress has set a precedent for this by making Federal appropriations for good roads. And everyone will agree that abolishing illiteracy is worth at least as much to the Federal Government and to the Nation as good roads. And the cost of the plan under my bill is surely not prohibitive. It is rather moderate.

I might add that the comment which the bill caused

in the press all over the country shows a general approval of this measure.

So much for this.

A Bill to Guarantee Free Speech

Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen, a bill "to put teeth" into the first amendment to the Constitution by passing an enforcement act was introduced in the House by me on February 14 last. This measure makes it a Federal offense to violate the provisions guaranteeing freedom of speech, of the press, and of orderly assembly. It makes violations of the first amendment a felony punishable by two years' imprisonment or by a fine of \$5,000, or both.

Much is being said about "putting teeth" into the eighteenth amendment—the prohibition amendment. Putting teeth into the eighteenth amendment has become a favorite phrase of the Anti-Saloon League ever since the "dry" amendment was adopted.

It has never been suggested by any group of these "whisky reformers," however, to put teeth into the first amendment to our Constitution, which is much older and certainly much more important.

Jefferson and Hamilton Believed Amendment Most Essential

Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton did not agree on many things. Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, nevertheless, agreed that the first amendment, which guarantees the right to speak freely, write freely, and peaceably to assemble, was the most important amendment of our Constitution.

All thinking people believe with Thomas Jefferson

and Alexander Hamilton that the first amendment—guaranteeing free speech and a free press—is most essential to the preservation of the fundamental rights of Americans.

First Amendment Stands for Freedom

This amendment is also remarkable as being one of the few provisions of the Constitution which, instead of limiting liberty, extend it. For instance, the eighteenth amendment undoubtedly restricts personal liberty, which the first amendment undoubtedly extends.

Moreover, I believe that the first amendment can be enforced fully, because it means freedom; while the eighteenth amendment can never be enforced entirely, because it forbids freedom.

We Have Different Kinds of Americans Now

Unfortunately, human liberty meant more to Americans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries than to the American today.

Certain American business men today worship Mussolini, who bragged that he "wipes his feet on liberty," and who abolished the last vestige of democracy in Italy. These same business men find fault with the Russian Communists, however—not because they abolished democracy but because they violated the sacred rights of private property.

Wealthy Americans today envy Italy, Spain, and Turkey their dictators. One hears every day business men deploring the fact that Congress is in session, and that the Senate is investigating "big business" and the methods of oil magnates and of the Power Trust.

Some business men even express the wish that Congress would adjourn forever.

A member of the other House who represents big business made the pious statement not long ago that if he were dictator one of the first things he would do would be to abolish the Federal Trade Commission and the Interstate Commerce Commission. Why? Because they occasionally expose the corrupting influences of big business.

But They Would Jail Thomas Jefferson

We hear a great deal of Americanism and Americanizing, of course. There is much lip service paid to our Constitution. Capitalist newspapers give prizes for the best essays on the Constitution. But the most important parts of that Constitution are now dead letters—and are to remain so, as far as these newspapers are concerned.

Americanism now means that children and immigrants must learn how to salute the flag.

And patriotism today means military display—Navy Day, Defense Day, Flag Day.

And democracy, if it means anything at all, means jobs for “deserving Democrats”—and the hope that Al Smith will get a chance to shake the “plum tree.” [Laughter.]

If Thomas Jefferson would arise from his grave today, the Democratic statesmen of the South would put him in jail immediately as a dangerous radical. [Applause and laughter.] Jefferson said that violent revolutions are needed every 25 years to preserve liberty. [Laughter.]

Conditions in Russia, Italy, Pennsylvania, and Colorado

There can be no question that the right of the people to speak freely, write freely, and to assemble for the purpose of discussing their grievances lies at the basis of all other rights.

But free speech has become next to impossible in our country, especially whenever strikes and economic problems are in question.

Everywhere in the civilized world strikes are now recognized to be the leading economic weapon of the working class—except in Russia, Italy, Pennsylvania, and Colorado. [Laughter.]

Church Hymns Considered Revolutionary in Pennsylvania

Even the right to worship has been denied in Pennsylvania.

Judges disposed to do the bidding of the mine owners in Pennsylvania have not only enjoined the strikers from congregating, from holding meetings, from speaking to each other, but in one instance the injunction even provides that the men and their families shall not gather at the church to sing religious hymns, because the company complained that the singing of these hymns inflames the strikers.

The same judge has even forbidden the strikers, most of whom are actually starving and homeless, from receiving any kind of aid from others, thus sentencing thousands of miners and their families to starvation.

Not as Well Organized as in Western Europe

Mr. Speaker, have the American people lost their faith in democratic institutions? There seems to be

less concern in our country about the loss of civil liberties than in any western European country. There is surely less resistance among our folks against Federal, State, and local tyranny. We have truly become a docile people.

The trouble is that our American working class, apart from the farmers, is mostly made up of aliens and semi-aliens.

Furthermore, it is made up of all kinds of nationalities, races, and religions, who have little love for each other and little coherence with each other. Certain employers play upon these animosities. These are the reasons why the American proletariat is more poorly organized than any working class of any civilized western European country.

So Happy With "Bread and Games"

Owing to the colonial conditions that still prevail to a certain extent—the standard of living is higher in America than in Europe and the living conditions are undoubtedly easier—especially since the war has turned most of Europe into a poorhouse. That explains the psychology of being "satisfied with anything at all" of the immigrant worker.

Nevertheless, even the native American is satisfied if he has enough to eat, can go to a "movie" and see a game of baseball or a prize fight occasionally. If, on top of all that, he is permitted to have a cheap automobile and a little "radio" on monthly payments, and in some places a little home brew, then the goal of his wishes has been reached.

The slogan in our country today, as in Rome of antiquity, seems to be "Panem et circenses," bread and

games. But in old Rome bread and games were furnished free; here the populace must work for bread and pay admission whenever they want to see a game.

And Revere the Daughters of the American Revolution

Mr. Speaker, we have all but stopped immigration, even immigration from Germany, England, and the western countries of Europe, where people on the whole have a high average education.

We are trying now to mold them all into one form, which we proudly call the American mold.

All are to think alike and to speak alike and to act alike. All are to believe that the present social, political, and economic order is the best that the world has ever produced or ever can produce, and that our Constitution, which was patched up nineteen times, is the most perfect and the most sacred document ever received by man since the decalogue.

And we are teaching the young people in the public schools to salute the flag and to revere the Daughters of the American Revolution [laughter] and to believe that if anybody wants cheaper electric service he is a Bolshevik. [Laughter.]

Superpower System Is Superimportant

Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen, on April 30, 1928, I offered a bill providing for a national public superpower system.

The bill contains features for the conservation of the Nation's natural resources—the co-ordination of irrigation and flood control, navigation, and hydro-electric power production—the enlargement and expansion of

the Reclamation Service in the field of agriculture—and also Federal aid to states, counties, districts, cities, townships, and other political subdivisions in the development of a superpower system, with service at cost.

Socialists' Warning to Predatory Wealth

In proposing public ownership and public control of superpower the Socialist Party and the Socialists in general are the most conservative and genuinely conserving force at work in our Nation today.

And let me warn you that the predatory interests, and especially those that are now in the Power Trust, are doing all they can to bring about a violent revolution, in which they will undoubtedly suffer the fate of the tyrants of previous epochs and be wiped out entirely, probably with their wives and children. Not only to benefit all the people today, but also to prevent a fearful catastrophe, we Socialists are suggesting the taking of steps that will allow for a peaceable and orderly change.

He From Whom "Oil" Blessings Flow

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has just admonished the big oil magnates—connected with Teapot and oily "jack pots"—to be honest. This gesture of piety must have impressed some people. Do you know why he asked Col. Robert W. Stewart to resign as chairman of the board of the Standard Oil Co. of Indiana?

Colonel Stewart revealed in his testimony before the Senate committee that \$759,500 of the bonds of the Continental Trading Co., which company netted a profit of \$3,000,000, he put to his personal account in the bank.

Stealing from the Government is one thing, but

grabbing from the Standard Oil is another. We must draw a line somewhere. Is it any wonder that John D., Jr., became indignant to the point of demanding honesty in "big business"?

Moreover, after a man is a multi-millionaire it pays him to preach honesty so that people will respect his ownership and shall not by wicked means try to get his wealth away from him. [Laughter.]

There can be no doubt, however, that the superpower lobby and the interests it represents constitute today one of the most corrupting influences in the United States.

The Corrupting Influence of the Superpower Utility Companies

The Federal Trade Commission during recent weeks has been piling up a mass of documentary evidence and direct testimony which proves that the utilities industries are engaged in a campaign of propaganda and corruption of enormous proportions. The object is to influence public thought and legislation against public ownership in any form, against Federal legislation, and specifically against the Boulder Dam and Muscle Shoals bills.

During the war we have become familiar with many forms of propaganda, but the superpublicity experts employed by power companies have improved upon the system and brought it to a state of perfection. [Applause.]

Pinning the Bolshevik label on opponents and undertaking to censor school textbooks are samples of this high-power efficiency.

Mr. Fletcher. Is Dr. Frank Bohn a member of the Socialist Party?

Mr. Berger. He was, but he left the Socialists during the war. During the war Bohn was in charge of the American spy system in Switzerland—in charge of our so-called secret information service in Geneva.

Mr. Fletcher. Was he associated with "Big Bill" Haywood?

Mr. Berger. I do not think he was, but it is possible. Bohn was a Socialist, and Bill Haywood was an I. W. W. You know occasionally a black sheep will get into any party, but the Socialists kick them out.

Facts in the Power Trust case are as follows:

Will Become Either the Slave or the Overlord of Nation

The next phase of civilization will be based upon the general use of electric power. The home as well as the factory and the farm will be dependent upon the general extension of this power. If this superpower is wisely controlled for the benefit of all the people, it will become the slave of the Nation.

If it is not publicly controlled, but left in the hands of a few overlords to be used for their greed and profit, that power is bound to enslave humanity.

Concentration Rapidly Proceeding

Today five companies control almost one-half of all the electric power used in America. About 20 concerns control more than four-fifths of all the electric energy in our country.

This concentration of control has brought with it large and increasing profits to those on the inside who

have control. In 1922, for instance, the profits of the electric industry were \$338,400,000. In 1926 these profits rose to \$587,400,000, which means an increase of more than \$250,000,000 in three years.

Greatest Lobby Ever Organized

And hand in hand with this concentration goes the corrupting influence of this octopus. Not only Congress but state and city legislative bodies feel now the presence of this lobby.

It has been well characterized in Congress as the greatest lobby ever organized in this country—and its spokesmen boast that it represents \$18,000,000,000.

Octopus Buys Up Professors and Hires and Fires Teachers

College professors are getting Electric Trust "retainers" to preach against public ownership and to boost the "advantages" of private operation. Servile colleges get big donations as a reward.

The Federal Trade Commission reports that the managing director of the National Electric Light Association recommended to the trust—that it not only hire and bribe university professors, which it did—but also use all other means to discharge teachers and to remove textbooks that the trust did not want.

This was accomplished in a number of States.

How the Power Trust "Takes Care" of Its Friends

About a year ago Mr. Insull, of Chicago, contributed \$200,000 to the senatorial campaign of the chairman of the Illinois Public Service Commission and also a neat little sum to the fund of his Democratic opponent, who happened to be the Democratic boss of Illinois.

In 1922 the electric interests on the Pacific coast acknowledged the expenditure of more than \$500,000 to defeat the water and power act of California.

Recent investigations brought out incredible conditions in that respect.

Newspapers and preachers were subsidized, and two former governors and two former United States Senators are among the men retained to help the Power Trust get what the trust wants and keep what the trust has. The trust has spent millions and is ready and willing to spend millions more.

Whenever it is necessary and whenever the agents of the Power Trust think it advisable they not only dine and wine members of legislative bodies, but these agents of the octopus assure such legislators that they "will be taken care of" when they retire to private life.

Every One of Us Helps to Pay These Wages of Sin

Nevertheless the question has been asked not only by Socialists but even by capitalist papers not yet in the ring of the power companies:

In the last analysis, who is it that contributes the \$1,144,000 being spent this year by the National Electric Light Association for propaganda and "educational" purposes?

Why, it is you and I and everyone else who turns on an electric light to read or plugs in an electric iron to press a frock. [Applause.]

All the money comes out of the rates collected from the household consumers of the country. The National Electric Light Association gets a portion of the gross receipts of each electric light company which records the contribution as an operating expense.

Each of us is thus taxed by a monopoly to provide funds used against us by a propaganda and lobby organization that buys professors, corrupts newspapers, and "influences" legislators. [Applause.]

Of course they want to control "public opinion." It means many millions of dollars every year to them. And we, the consumers, must hand them the money used to corrupt and control public opinion as they choose.

Public Ownership

The only way to bring a halt to this menace of wholesale corruption and grand thievery is to adopt the principle of public ownership. Public ownership is not Bolshevism, of course.

Public ownership means simplicity of organization, no stock selling propaganda, and no corruption. It means more than this.

What Public Ownership Means

It means electricity at home at the cheapest possible price and at the lowest rates. It means the revolutionizing of our industrial life. It means the revolutionizing of our transportation. It means an abundant supply of electric current for every city. It means the revolutionizing of agriculture not only by cheap fertilizer but by its use for all kinds of work, and especially burdensome work, on the farm, because a 10-horsepower motor is equivalent to the power of 2 teams of 2 horses each and 10 men. It means the conservation of coal, oil, and gas. And it also means the co-ordination of flood control, irrigation, and navigation and hydro-electric power by the development of our great waterways.

Compare Rates in Canada With Rates in United States

We have before us a most conspicuous example of such public control, even on a comparatively small scale, the case of Ontario, Canada.

Despite the fortune spent by the Power Trust to discredit the efficient example of that Canadian Province, we know that Ontario, starting on a very small scale 20 years ago, today owns numerous great generating plants along the Canadian border and is co-operating with 380 municipalities to supply electricity at cost.

From charges ranging from 7 cents per kilowatt under private ownership—the rates have been reduced until in 1926 the average price for domestic users throughout the Province of Ontario was only 1.8 cents per kilowatt—that is, less than 2 cents per kilowatt.

And even this low charge permits the retiring of the bonds issued by the Hydro-electric Power Commission within 40 years.

Save Our Country From Bondage

In the United States we permit private companies to whom we have given most of our resources to charge exorbitant rates for the benefit of private bond and stockholders. To judge from the example of Ontario, the profits must be exorbitant. [Applause.]

We can still save future generations from bondage by enacting the bill I have introduced for the public ownership of superpower. If you do not adopt this measure, or a similar one in the near future, you are courting grave trouble.

As to the Dawes Scheme

Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen, today I have introduced a resolution authorizing and directing Presi-

dent Coolidge to call an international conference for the purpose of revising the so-called reparation terms, the Dawes plan, and the provisions of that pact of hate, the Versailles Treaty.

I have done so because I am convinced that a European economic crisis which will also affect the United States will be precipitated shortly when the larger of the reparation sums under the Dawes plan will have to be paid by Germany.

The First Test Is Near

On September 1, 1928, within less than three months, the Dawes scheme will be subjected to its first test. On that day Germany will have to make a payment of about \$625,000,000. It is clear from the most superficial study of European conditions and of Germany's finances that Germany will not be able to meet this obligation.

It will be the first test because the money that Germany has paid each year since the Dawes plan became effective was paid out of loans made by Germany in foreign countries, mainly in America. This, obviously, can not go on forever.

Germany can not go on paying debts by making more debts.

Capitalist and Nationalist Folly

The only way by which Germany could pay any reparations at all, as a former English chancellor of the exchequer pointed out, would be by having a surplus of exports over imports. At the present time Germany imports \$300,000,000 more than she exports. In order to pay reparations at all she would have to change the import surplus of \$300,000,000 to an export surplus of \$625,000,000.

That is plainly impossible. And if it were possible, it would mean flooding the British and American markets with cheaply made German goods, which would put so many people out of work that it would create a revolution in England and hard times in America—in spite of our high tariff.

As it is, Great Britain, France, and America are making the German people work longer hours and accept a lower standard of living than ever before. Capitalistic and nationalistic folly—and capitalistic and nationalistic greed—are defeating their own ends.

Our Farmers Are Much Interested

At the conference which I propose that the President should call it will be necessary to consider not only the Dawes plan and the immediate disaster that faces Europe but the entire subject of reparations and the Versailles treaty—since these things can not be divorced.

Americans, and especially our farmers, are very much concerned in this central European market—over \$2,000,000,000 annually. Our farmers have lost this very desirable market through the war and are regaining it very slowly. [Applause.]

Germans Were Deceived

On November 5, 1918, the allied governments declared that they were willing to make peace with Germany on the terms laid down by President Wilson in his various declarations, especially the so-called 14 points.

It was upon this understanding that Germany laid down her arms. And in this understanding there was no intention of Germany paying any indemnity at all.

President Wilson said, "There shall be no contributions, no punitive indemnities."

It has been estimated by British experts that \$10,000,000,000 would cover all the damage done in France and Belgium.

Victors Were Ruled by Hate Only

The American delegation did try to place the reparation claims at a reasonable figure, but Lloyd George, a demagogue, and Clemenceau, the incarnation of hate, demanded fantastic sums.

It was always clear that Germany could pay only by exports; that she could not export without importing raw materials; and that she had no money with which to buy raw materials.

Moreover, it was clear that if Germany exported enough to pay an indemnity she would compete with England, and England would be in even greater economic distress.

It is hardly necessary to mention the French invasion of the Ruhr, which was simply an outburst of French nationalist hatred. It did not achieve its purpose, which was to separate the Rhineland from Germany. But the unlimited issuance of paper money to assist the striking workers of the Ruhr—who struck against the French annexationist schemes—brought chaos into German finance and German economics.

In order to find a way out the Dawes scheme, so-called, was introduced.

What the Plan Provided

The plan, which the American international bankers had devised to accomplish the impossible—to squeeze

blood out of the bloodless German turnip—was adopted in January, 1924.

The Dawes plan did not fix the amount Germany was to pay. But it provided, first, for the restoration of German economic unity by having the French leave the Ruhr; second, for a loan of \$200,000,000 to Germany; third, a partial moratorium for four years, during which Germany would pay sums ranging from \$250,000,000 to \$450,000,000 annually; and fourth, that Germany pledge certain revenues and her railroads and telegraphs as security.

This plan was never expected to last for any length of time, of course. And the Dawes scheme will break down—just as it was intended that it should.

America Must Try to Undo Some of the Damage Done

Germany has by this time anyway paid nearly 10 times as much as she should have paid.

The Versailles treaty, the reparations, and the Dawes plan which followed, all rest upon the infamous lie that Germany alone was guilty of provoking the World War. The Dawes plan must be dropped and the indemnities refused.

France, which is extremely prosperous, but who declines to pay her just debts, must be shown her place in the world—for the good of the world.

America did not sign the Versailles treaty, but we are the leading nation, economically and politically. Having misled the Germans by Wilson's fourteen points, and having helped bring on the era of political insanity and economic chaos in Germany by entering the war we should now also help to undo, at least to some extent, the damage we have done.

So much for the Dawes scheme.

A Bill to Increase Compensation of Totally Disabled Veterans

Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen, veterans of the World War who have been totally disabled as a result of their military service will have their compensation increased under the terms of a bill introduced by me on May 9.

Compensation for those totally incapacitated for any work is raised from \$100 to \$150 per month, while veterans who are totally blind get an increase from \$150 to \$250 per month. Loss of both eyes and one or more limbs entitles a veteran, under the terms of my bill, to \$300 per month.

This Can Not Even Be Termed Generosity

Although the World War was the result of European capitalistic and nationalistic rivalries and hatreds—and we were dragged into the bloody mess by a lying propaganda unparalleled in the history of the world—and although none of the pretexts of those who dragged us into it have been achieved—the men who went into the slaughter, went there believing that they defended our country. And, therefore, when they came out with eyes and limbs gone they can never be compensated sufficiently. The least that we can do is pay them enough to keep them secure against want.

Generosity—if that is what it is to be called—is all the more justified when it is recalled that these men, with very few exceptions, did not go voluntarily. They went because the law said they had to go. More than 90 per cent of the American Expeditionary Forces were chased across the ocean obeying laws with the making of which they had nothing to do.

As a matter of fact, many had just voted Wilson into office because "He kept us out of war."

We must remember that neither the propaganda of the years preceding the war, nor all the horrible stories of German atrocities, nor all the high-sounding phrases about fighting to preserve democracy—really impressed our young men sufficiently to make them rush to the recruiting stations when war was declared. Officers in charge of recruiting stations reported immediately after the declaration of war that there were very few volunteers. In this respect, also, the late war differed from the American Civil War, when over 90 per cent of the soldiers were volunteers.

Our men were conscripted and sent to France. That is, if they were poor. If they were rich—many were commissioned in the naval reserve, or given swivel-chair jobs in Washington.

War Profiteers Ought to Be Taxed to Pay to War Victims

Convinced as I am that we committed a crime against our people and against the white race when we permitted our international bankers and munition makers to plunge us into the World War—I am equally convinced that the 23,000 millionaires the war created can afford to pay, and should be made to pay, along with all other profiteers, the minimum requirements of those who have been disabled for life—the victims of the war.

This bill ought to be passed without delay.

Mr. Tilson. The gentleman's bill is founded on disability and not on rank?

Mr. Berger. Of course; I am a Socialist, you know.

Mr. Tilson. I am a Socialist to that extent.

Mr. Berger. The gentleman is more of a Socialist than he knows.

Telephone and Telegraph Actually a Monopoly

Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen, recent investigations have confirmed the impression that has prevailed for a long while that the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. has destroyed practically all competition in the telephone business, dominates the field in which it operates, and is piling up tremendous profits, not only directly from its income for services, but in a dozen other ways less generally known.

I believe that when a monopoly reaches the stage where no competition can prevail against it, it ought to be acquired by the Government and operated in the interest of all the people—and not left in possession of a little group.

I therefore introduced a bill on January 23, 1928, providing for the national acquisition and Government operation of telegraph and telephone lines.

Compels Many People to Pay Toll

The American Telephone & Telegraph Co. does 72 per cent of the telephone business in the United States. It dominates the rest. It is supposed to be the richest corporation in the world.

Through its control of the Western Electric Co., of which it owns 98 per cent of the stock, and from which all other telephone companies are obliged to purchase telephone apparatus on a cost-plus basis—the telephone trust exacts tribute from the American people. The tribute is paid from the time the apparatus is made,

down to the time the telephone user is compelled to pay the rate for the service he gets.

Private Monopoly Charges as High as Four Times as Much as Publicly Owned Institutions

Practically every important nation in the world, excepting the United States, owns and operates its telephone and telegraph system in connection with the postal department. Practically every Postmaster General of the United States (since the telegraph was invented) has pointed out the advantages that would result from its government ownership and operation. At 17 different times committees of Congress have investigated this matter, and in every case have concluded that public ownership was desirable and have recommended such action.

In spite of all this, the Telephone Trust, with the publicity and propaganda created by the fortune it has made through fleecing both the public and its employees, has been able to hold on to a monopoly.

The investigations that have been made of the system of public operation now almost universally adopted, show telegraph rates under private ownership are from two to four times as high as in countries under public ownership. Long-distance telephone rates are from three to seven times higher.

Our telegraph rates run from 25 cents to \$1 and over per message. Where the systems are publicly owned they cost from 10 cents to 24 cents for the same messages.

Even Worse in Case of Telephone Rates

The contrast in telephone rates is even more striking. For 100 miles we pay three times, for 300 miles

five times, and for 400 miles six times, and for 700 miles eight times as much as the rate under public ownership for the usual three-minute conversation.

In other countries under public ownership, the rates are about 1 cent a call on the average. In our country, under private ownership, the local rate averages more than 5 cents per call.

Thus, we find that our rates for electrical communication average, in the case of the telegraph, two to four times—in the case of the long distance telephone, three to seven times—and, in the case of the local telephone, two to four times—the rate for such service where the wire systems are publicly owned and operated, as they should be in this country, as a part of the postal system.

Immense Savings Under Public Ownership

Public ownership will have three important advantages, each of which will benefit not a special group but the entire Nation.

In the first place, it would result in important economies which cannot be effected under private ownership.

Instead of having several systems of wires, exchanges, and equipment, one system would be sufficient to take care of both the telegraph and telephone service. The telephone wires and other equipment are sufficient to handle the telegraph service at the same time, thus avoiding the tremendous loss resulting from duplication.

Theodore N. Vail, the late president of the Western Union, made the statement that the gross reduction of charges that would be made possible by joint use of the

wire systems would be from 2 to 25 per cent. This would mean a possible saving of \$50,000,000 a year.

Would Be Doing Away With Duplication

Public ownership would do away with the operation of 25 private companies doing a commercial business in the United States. Two of these companies duplicate their agencies in more than half of the country—the Western Union and the Postal Telegraph.

In most places, you have probably observed that one company maintains an office a few doors away from the other. Why this duplication? Whom does it benefit? And who pays the cost for this waste of men and materials? The public.

While there is an enormous waste resulting from this duplication where there is much telegraph business, in many places where service is needed occasionally but business is not plentiful, there is no service at all. Neither the Western Union nor the Postal Telegraph will open a branch in those places.

Thus private companies develop the overpaying territory and neglect the territory where business is rarer.

The Government, which even in 1922 already had 52,000 post offices, could use those offices also for telegraph stations. Every community in the country would thus be assured telegraph service. The saving that could be effected from the present duplication in the busy districts would more than cover the cost of the extension of the service to the entire Nation.

Compare Postal Service With Telephone Service

Not only is Government operation bound to be more economical but it will also be more efficient. In 1912

the United States ranked second among all the nations in the matter of postal efficiency—a remarkable tribute to the greatest enterprise upon which our country is engaged.

In the matter of telephone service the United States ranked ninth.

The success of the parcel post also confirms the view that Government service is more efficient, as well as more economical, than private enterprise.

Employees Would Reap Greatest Benefits

All the people, and especially the small business man, would benefit from public ownership. But the workers engaged in the industry would gain the most. The Government would not spend money for spying in order to prevent them from joining a trade union. The Government would give them decent wages and decent working conditions.

They get neither now.

For Sake of Economy, Efficiency, and Honesty

Regulation has failed to deal with this problem.

Regulation did stimulate corruption. Regulation always fails when big business and Government officials get together to settle matters that concern millions—hundreds of millions—of dollars.

For the sake of efficiency, for the sake of economy, and for the sake of honesty let us make the telegraph and telephone system part of our Postal Service. [Applause.]

To Protect Minorities in Rumania

Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen, on March 26, this year, I offered a resolution providing that treaty

relations between the United States and Rumania be terminated because of Rumania's persecution of racial and religious minorities.

The atrocities to which the resolution referred were perpetrated in Rumania on various minorities—including Catholics, Lutherans, Baptists, Jews, Germans, and Magyars—and they were perpetrated with such brutality as to justify reading Rumania out of the family of civilized nations.

Increased Rumanian Territory

The cruelties and brutalities practiced by the so-called "successor" countries of Europe, especially Rumania, again disclose how foolishly we acted when we poured out life and treasure on the European battle fields in order to make possible the existence of these nations.

As a result of our sacrifices, Rumania increased her territory from 53,000 square miles to 123,000 square miles, and acquired jurisdiction of 18,000,000 people in place of the 8,000,000 she ruled before.

Small Size of a Country No Excuse for Great Depravity

The United States, being largely responsible for bringing these minorities under her power, owes them the duty to protect them against the atrocities of that semi-civilized, medieval government. The fact that Rumania is smaller than some of the other nations gives her no right to sink below the standard of all civilized countries.

We Abrogated Treaty With Czar

In 1911 our Congress voted to terminate treaty relations with Russia, because the United States did not

want to be a party to a treaty with any Government that discriminates between American citizens on the ground of their religious views. That decision was largely the result of the persecution to which the Russian Czar subjected religious and racial minorities.

The time has come when Rumania must be made to realize that it can not revert to a state of barbarism without incurring the contempt of other nations.

Rumania Must Realize This Is Twentieth Century

A severance of treaty relations seems to me to constitute the most effective step short of war that we can take to discharge the obligation we owe the persecuted minorities.

That ought to make Rumania realize that this is the twentieth century.

For Forest Reserve in Each State

Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen, in order to adopt a comprehensive policy of reforestation, the effect of which would be, first, to reduce the dangers of disastrous floods, and, second, to replenish the timber resources of our country, I introduced, on April 2, this year, a bill providing for the establishment of a national forest reserve in each State.

Forests Best Binders of Soil and Best Reservoirs of Water

The Mississippi flood, with the tremendous toll it has taken of life and property, will not have been a completely unmixed evil if as a result of the huge loss, our people would see the need of adopting a national reforestation and conservation policy.

While the danger of floods resulting from heavy, long-continued rains, or the rapid melting of masses of snow, could not altogether be removed by reforestation, it is conceded by all students of the subject that forests are better binders of the soil and better surface reservoirs of water than any other form of vegetation on the face of the earth.

The 160,000,000 acres of actual or potential forest land draining into the Mississippi can render substantial service in the prevention of floods in the valley. And 14,000,000 acres of agricultural soil that are carried away each year as a result of the denuded forests in that region could be preserved by adopting a sound forestation policy.

We Have Immensely Reduced Our Forest Land

Besides the flood-control advantage of forestation, our denuded forest land tells a vivid and tragic story of the recklessness with which our natural resources have been wasted to enrich a few at the expense of the rest of the people.

Continental United States originally contained 822,000,000 acres of forest land.

We have permitted by expansion of settlements and cultivation, the operation of timber-using resources, and the waste caused by American carelessness as to fires and insect pests, the reduction of this vast area to 138,000,000 acres of forest.

One of the worst features of the situation is the unbalanced geographical distribution of the standing timber that remains, three-fourths of the forest land being located east of Great Plateau.

Do We Want a Chinafied United States?

The remaining softwood saw timber is disappearing eight and one-half times as fast as new growth is replacing it, and our hardwood saw timber is disappearing approximately three and one-half times as fast as it is being replaced.

A Chinafied United States—barren of forests and brooks, but subject to periodic inundations—confronts us.

Let us halt the policy of destruction and begin to undo the damage—by passing the bill I have introduced.

So-Called "Espionage Act" Still on Statute Books

Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen, I presented to the House, on February 20, this year, a bill providing for the repeal of the so-called "espionage act," which act, in spite of its name, has nothing to do with espionage. The law was enacted shortly after the United States entered the World War for the purpose of preventing any criticism of the origin or conduct of the war.

The impression prevails that the draconic war law which made it a crime punishable by 20 years in the penitentiary to criticize the war policies of the Wilson administration has been repealed along with all other war measures. That is an error. The so-called espionage act is still on the statute books and is automatically in force the moment our country gets into war with any other.

Citizen Might Find Himself in Penitentiary

The danger of the law would become very real should any administration continue to pursue imperialistic policies in Mexico, Nicaragua, or any other place.

If intervention in some foreign country should ripen into an official declaration of war—a citizen would find himself silenced under penalty of a 20-year penitentiary term if he expressed sentiments not in accord with those of the administration.

Democrats Revived Law Against Which They Had Fought

The so-called espionage act was the most outrageous measure ever passed in our country.

Its nearest approach was the alien and sedition act in 1798, of which it is an almost verbatim copy in many respects. That old act resulted in the wiping out of the Federalist Party and in the birth of the Democratic Party, as a protest organization against the Federalists. And it is almost tragic-comic that a Democratic administration revived the vicious law.

Only Democratic Version Much Worse

Moreover there is this difference between the espionage law and the law of 1798:

In the alien and sedition act the maximum penalty was a fine of \$2,000 and imprisonment for two years, while the espionage law provides a penalty of \$10,000 fine and 20 years imprisonment. And in the old law the truth of a statement was admitted as a defense, while under the present espionage law the greater the truth the harder the punishment.

No Citizen Found Guilty of Espionage

Under the espionage act 2,000 men and women who dared to speak and write the truth as they saw it—a right guaranteed to them by the Constitution—were

sentenced to prison terms ranging up to 20 years. Not a single citizen, however, was found guilty of espionage.

No Such Act in Civil War

The law was defended on the ground of war emergency. But Abraham Lincoln waged a war far more vital to the Nation's existence—and with sentiment divided everywhere, including the North—and fought out mainly within 100 miles of Washington—without an espionage act.

This Is the Time to Repeal It

The only purpose in retaining the law on the statute books is to assure the ruling class that they can plunge this Nation into war whenever the protection of their investments abroad may require it.

Anyone objecting will be put behind bars immediately.

This is the time to demand that the law be repealed.

For the Purpose of Calling a Constitutional Convention

Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen, I have proposed an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing that Congress may call a constitutional convention for the purpose of revising our Federal Charter.

Was a Political Cloak to Fit a Baby Nation

The necessity of rewriting our Constitution must appeal to all who can visualize the tremendous changes—political, economic, and social—which have come over the Nation since the present Constitution was adopted in 1789, and who understand that a constitution that was adequate to the needs of 1789 can no more suit the needs of 1928 than a garment made to fit a child can fit an adult.

It Was an Entirely Different Country

When the present Constitution was adopted a great part of the country was still covered with a vast primeval forest.

The largest city, Philadelphia, had about 30,000 inhabitants. There were only a few towns which had a population of from 2,000 to 5,000.

Manufacturing in the United States was then in its childhood, most of it was in Philadelphia. The use of steam and electricity was unknown.

Corporations in the present sense were unknown; a corporation then meant a city or a township. There were no railroads, no telegraphs, no telephones.

Public schools did not exist, and schools of any kind were few and far between.

The Wisest of Men Could Not Have Foreseen Present Conditions

The Constitution made at that time, when the population was 2,500,000, mainly pioneer farmers with a fringe of merchants in the small coast towns, was suited more or less to those conditions.

Even then, however, it was considered by many a miserable piece of patchwork, that had to be amended 10 times before the colonies agreed to ratify it.

But the wisest of men could not have foreseen in 1789, when this was a little frontier country, the political and economic conditions of 1928. No less than 19 patches have been placed on our political cloak, but these patches have failed to make it fit modern conditions.

Designed to Thwart the Will of Common Herd

I know that nothing offends and antagonizes the "vested interests" more than a criticism of the Constitution. That has become particularly true since our country embarked upon its imperialistic ventures.

They know that the present Constitution was designed by the wealthy class of that day—the speculators in scrip and big landowners, and their representatives—with a view to preventing the people from exercising their political influence. For many years only those who had a certain amount of wealth could vote.

Only one-sixth of the people had the voting franchise at the time the Constitution was ratified—and most of them did not vote.

The worst features of a monarchy were included in the office of the President, who has more legislative power than two-thirds of both Houses of Congress, besides immense executive and administrative powers.

Everything was designed for the purpose of making it easy to defeat the will of the common people.

Our Constitution Broke Down at Every Test

The defenders of the Constitution—and they include many who do not even know its contents—always attribute this country's rise to power to the Constitution. They claim it stood the test.

If our country has prospered, this was due to our colonial conditions, our virgin soil, our inexhaustible resources, and our immense immigration, which gave to the United States the cheapest and most intelligent labor of the rest of the world. It was not due to our Constitution. And the country did not become great

and powerful on account of the Constitution. On the contrary, whenever the Constitution was subjected to a test, as in 1860 and 1917, it failed.

Social Welfare Legislation Now Almost Impossible

We must make the Constitution more flexible, so that it can be changed by a majority vote of all the people. We would deny to the Supreme Court power to pass upon the constitutionality of acts of Congress.

We would make possible the enactment of child welfare, minimum wage, and other social welfare legislation, which is almost impossible under the present Constitution.

My Mission in This Legislative Body

Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen, I realize that standing alone I can not pass any of this legislation. But as a matter of fact, neither can the Democrats, of whom there are a great many more, pass any legislation they propose. And, for that matter, most of the Republican members can not.

All I can do is to function as an interpreter. I can try to show to the people, most of whom know absolutely nothing about Socialism or Socialist theories, what the Socialists would do if they had the power.

This function I consider exceedingly useful in view of the economic trend in our country and the rapidly growing concentration of wealth, on one hand, and the decline of the independence of the farmer and the workman, on the other.

This Is Not Democracy

Let us think it over. What did it profit to restrict the prerogatives of kings and the privileges of nobles

of the past through long struggles and violent revolutions, as long as the privileges of wealth remain intact?

Distributing votes and concentrating wealth did not fulfill the promises of democracy.

A handful of men in our country have the power for weal or for woe—political, financial, social—greater than the power of millions of people combined.

Call this state of things whatever you will, but do not call it democracy. Claim for it what advantage you please, but do not claim that such a "democracy" is advantageous to the masses.

We Must Solve Problem of Distribution if Republic Is to Survive

The principle which should guide a democratic government—the principle which should guide every honest government—is the principle of subordinating the individual to the general welfare, and that principle requires a broad application.

If a man is not allowed to steal a loaf of bread from others to satisfy his hunger, then a man ought not to be allowed to steal a million loaves from others and steal them every day to satisfy his greed.

We have solved the problem of production; we must solve the problem of distribution, or our civilization will break down.

In short, our present so-called democracy can not defend its very name against the encroachment of plutocracy. And, what is worse, the pseudo-democracy can not defend its very existence on the ground of equity,

or morality, or even of expediency—unless it becomes social democracy. Only then a real republic, “res publica,” will become possible and will endure. [Applause.]

Lynching—A National Evil Which the Government Must Stamp Out

MAY 19, 1928

Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen, in a bill I introduced on April 12, this year, I proposed that the Federal Government take drastic steps to abolish lynchings by having the Federal Government prosecute civilians and officials who have any part in lynchings.

Any citizen who joins a lynching party would be liable to five years' imprisonment and a \$5,000 fine. Police officials whose duty it is to protect individuals in accordance with the laws, and who fail to take the necessary precautions to protect them against mob attacks, would be liable to twice that penalty.

Communities in which lynchings occur would forfeit \$10,000 for each lynching taking place in those communities.

Republican Promises and Republican Performances

Four years have passed since the Republican Party pledged itself, in its national platform, to the enactment "at the earliest possible date of a Federal anti-lynching law so that the full influence of the Federal Government may be wielded to exterminate this crime."

During those four years 79 persons were killed by lawless mobs, while the Republican Party, which had made this platform pledge, and which had a majority

in both Houses of Congress to carry out its other policies beneficial to special-interest groups, failed to keep its promise to outlaw lynchings.

This betrayal of those whose votes the Republican leaders obtained by making this platform pledge is an encouragement to lawless communities to continue the barbarous practice.

In 1927, 16 people, entitled to the protection of our laws, were lynched, seven of them in the State of Mississippi alone, which State holds the record for the year.

Democrats Think Lynching Is a "State Right"

The first duty of a government is to maintain the authority of its laws over the territory it governs. That duty our Government has failed to perform.

I hope that the Seventieth Congress will not conclude its work until the majority party—the Republicans—enact a Federal anti-lynching law. I make this appeal to the Republicans, because the Democrats here seem to insist that the right to lynch a person is a State privilege [laughter], and that any Federal legislation seeking to abolish that valuable privilege is an encroachment on State rights. [Laughter.]

The Democrats do not think it is an encroachment on the rights of States to have a Federal prohibition agent come snooping around your home to find out whether you take a drink. So far the Federal Government may go, according to the claims of my Democratic friends. But to have Federal agents come into a State to punish lawlessness which deprives people of their life and limb without a trial or a hearing—that, say the Democrats, is an invasion of State rights.

Mr. Fletcher. The gentleman does not mean all Democrats?

Mr. Berger. I do not mean all of them. There are some very fine and noble Democrats, as there are fine and noble Republicans. Only they have not yet seen the light.

Congress Must Defend Its Own Law

It is not only the duty of Congress but also clearly within the power of Congress to enact this legislation.

In the fifth section of the fourteenth amendment Congress is given the power to enforce constitutional guarantees, and that power is broad enough to authorize the enactment of the bill I propose.

Not Stronger Than Situation Requires

My bill is stronger than any other anti-lynching bill that has been proposed. There are teeth in it. It is not any stronger, however, than the exigencies of the situation require—or the menace with which it is intended to deal would justify.

Mission of the Member of a Small Minority in Congress

MAY 19, 1928

Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen, I am to speak on the mission of a pioneer of a new idea and the position of a member of a small minority party in this House.

Mr. Speaker, all great political parties, both in our country and abroad, were originally small minority factions. They usually stood for some great idea or some principle that was unpopular with the ruling powers, and worked for it until it was achieved. Then the small minority party became a great majority organization.

How the Democratic Party Got Its Start

This was the case in our country with the old Democratic-Republicans, organized against the Federalists at the end of the eighteenth century, when the Federalists had passed the drastic alien and sedition law to suppress the "demagogues" and "democrats" who were deemed to be dangerous to the vested interests of that day.

"Democrat" and "demagogue" in those days were held by the ruling powers in about the same esteem as the "Bolshevik" and "radical" of today.

Later on the Democratic-Republican Party dropped

the word "Republican" and called itself Democratic Party. Those were the days of Thomas Jefferson.

Republicans Attracted Elements Opposed to Slavery

The modern Republican Party also had a modest beginning. It was founded in Ripon, Wis., in 1854, by simple farmer folks in opposition to the ruling party of that day—the Democratic Party. The Republicans soon attracted all the elements opposed to chattel slavery and cast a rather respectable vote in 1856 for John C. Fremont, the "pathfinder"—although not nearly as large as the vote cast for the late Senator La Follette four years ago.

Owing to a split in the Democratic Party in 1860 the Republican Party won out under the leadership of Lincoln and Seward. It is unnecessary for me to recite the history of the two old parties since.

Only the Spook of Dead Issue Left

All I can say is that there is absolutely no difference of principles, methods, or aims between the two old parties now. They are both ultra-conservative and even reactionary. And apart from the Negro question down South, which is still spooking there as a dead issue—both old parties are absolutely alike in every respect.

An opposition party, however, is necessary in a democratic Republic—if democracy is to survive.

Even the Mere Discussion Always Provokes Thought

At the present time it is the few straggling and struggling independents that form a rather remarkable opposition. They expose corruption and spot grafters,

but can not bring about basic changes. Still these few members of the opposition are of the greatest importance to the country.

The reason for this is very simple: Even one man, as you know, can put on the electric light in a dark room and show up any pilfering that is going on.

But these independents are even more important because by their fearless activity they prevent the ruling capitalists from abusing their power too much. Thus they form a sort of safety valve against the bursting of the political boiler. And also because they form the nucleus for new movements and for progress.

They prepare the public mind for new ideas, which must be discussed, even by the papers and organs of the ruling class. Such discussion, no matter how prejudiced it may be, provokes thought, and leads people to study.

Congress Would Vote Differently on War Today

A striking example of the fact that the work of an independent opposition does not always fall on barren soil may be seen in the position Senator Robert M. La Follette, Sr., and I took during the recent World War.

While both of us very much denounced—in many places in Wisconsin we were burned in effigy—and while I even got a 20-year sentence and was excluded from Congress a few times for my opposition to the entrance of our country into the war—it is pretty certain that today 90 per cent of the members of Congress, if Congress had to vote on the same war question again, would undoubtedly vote against it.

Must Do All the Departmental Work for His Constituents

As to the duties which devolve upon the spokesman of a minority in a legislative body, let me say, to begin with, that he has to do very much of the same kind of work that all the other members, including those of the majority, have to do.

Only he must do them more intensely. And he usually has more of that kind of work to do.

The minority member must give consideration to all the problems which affect individually and collectively his constituents whenever they are brought to his attention.

He must obtain for his constituents of all classes the consideration to which they are entitled. He must represent them in adjusting matters before the departments and assure to them fair and full attention of any claims they may have.

Was Successful in Most Cases

In this respect I have been rather fortunate.

The heads of the various departments to whom I have been obliged to turn for and in behalf of my constituents on all sorts of business have uniformly and always been courteous and fair. They have, in many instances, gone out of their way to provide the relief I sought.

To some extent this may have been due to the fact that I did not indiscriminately seek favors, regardless of whether my constituent was entitled to them or not. When the case was meritorious—and I was convinced that it was meritorious—I interceded, and almost invariably succeeded.

In this respect I gladly acknowledge that my thanks are due to the administration—from the President down to the last department chief.

Minority Representative Must Show His Colors

In addition to these duties—and we all know that they constitute an important part of a Congressman's activities—the Representative of a minority—and especially of a minority such as the Socialist, with a program of industrial, social, and political reform—must endeavor to propose measures which, if accepted, would afford relief from pressing ills. He must introduce propositions applicable to existing problems, and must strive to secure for them the widest possible hearing.

And in voting on bills that are presented he must so conduct himself as to advance measures designed to bring the greatest good to the greatest number, and to try to defeat legislation that will merely entrench special-privilege groups.

Presence Helpful and Desirable

In this connection it would be well to say that a member of the minority can serve the principles he advocates without becoming an obstructionist. The gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. Tilson), the able floor leader in this House of the Republican Party, made the observation during a speech of mine last week that "I was helpful in conducting the business of this House, and not obstructive," and he took that occasion to thank me personally.

The minority Representative has the additional advantage that he is not bound by any party which serves

the big interests. This freedom is extremely useful and beneficial.

As to the measures introduced by a minority member, they, of course, have little chance to become law immediately. During my service in Congress I have not succeeded in having the bills I introduced passed.

Still, it is the general opinion among the majority of Congressmen of both old parties that, for instance, presence in Congress is very helpful and desirable. My propositions provoke a great deal of thought and discussion both among the members and also in the public press.

Ideas Are Like Seeds in New Field

Alone among 531 representatives in the two Houses of Congress, I did not expect—and I am sure my constituents did not expect that I would have many proposals incorporated into the statutes of the Nation the moment I proposed them.

After all, however, I was no worse off in this respect than the representatives of the Democratic Party, numbering hundreds of Members, whose chances of enacting legislation of any importance are no better, while they are in a minority, than are mine.

Moreover, I was no worse off in that respect than the average member of the majority party, who has little to do with legislation, except to vote "yes" or "no" as the party leaders tell him, when a measure is presented.

For me the same rule holds good that holds good with all intelligent voters. I would rather vote for something I want and which is beneficial, and not get

it—than to vote for something I don't want, and that hurts, and get it.

My soul object in introducing bills was to show my colleagues and, to the extent that the public press would permit, show the Nation what the Socialists want done and what they would do if they had the power.

Many of the ideas which the Socialists have introduced were like seeds sown in a new field. Some seeds are undoubtedly wasted; others grow up and bring a hundredfold harvest.

And many of the propositions which we originated and which were decried by the conservatives as impracticable and even dangerous have become the common property of the people in Nation, State, city and county.

Most Social Progress Is of Socialist Origin

For example, when I first came to Congress in 1910 I introduced an old-age pension bill, so that those who labor a lifetime may not find themselves in the poor-house when they are too old to work. There was not a State in the Union that had enacted such a measure or had given it serious consideration. Today there are six States with old-age pension laws on the statute books—and numerous others considering the enactment of such laws.

The same holds good about our propositions as to child labor.

In fact, it may be said that practically all the beneficial progressive legislation in the social, economic, and political fields was of Socialist origin. Thus we have done wonderful work—even as a minority—not only in the preservation and enlarging of political free-

dom, but also in legislation helpful in the protection of men, women and children.

The Progressive Campaign of 1924

Still there can be no doubt that if we are to make progress in the field of social relations as rapidly as it is being made in all other fields of human endeavor, if the inventive genius of men is to serve all our people instead of a few, a new party alignment is necessary. Our Republic can not endure without such a realignment.

We must have a new party with progressive views and progressive ideas. It is absolutely useless to put new wine into old bottles.

It will be recalled that the Socialists attempted to bring about a new alignment in 1924. As a result of that attempt, 5,000,000 voters, undeterred by all the threats of panics and loss of the "dinner pail," followed our standard bearer on a program which for the time promised relief from the oppression of our plutocracy.

The campaign showed that the Socialists and progressives could and would work together. And the registering of 5,000,000 votes for a program that was denounced by every plutocratic newspaper and from every political platform was an achievement of which they have just cause to feel proud.

Must Be Done Again

Unfortunately, the progressive group in the House of Representatives did not show the same degree of persistence and courage that these 5,000,000 voters did. While the 5,000,000 voters were not scared by talks of

panics and other dire threats, the members of the progressive group—or most of them—were frightened by the loss of committee assignments and threats of other reprisals. Some of them became extremely apologetic for the stand they had taken in the presidential election.

I say that was unfortunate, because the time is ripe for a political realignment, and because so large a number of our citizens indicated four years ago that they were ready.

I hope that the progressives will soon muster enough courage to stand by their guns and become a nucleus for a new and larger movement.

I know it is a difficult task. But it has been done in the past and it will be done again.

A New Alignment Absolute Necessity

When it was necessary for the solution of chattel slavery to create a new party the Republican Party was organized by uniting the Free Soilers, the Abolitionists, and the remnant of the old Whig Party. I am confident that we shall very soon have a new political party based upon what the Socialists, Farmer-Laborites, and the progressives desire, and united to oppose the autocracy of the present-day capitalism.

It is true that capitalism is infinitely stronger and better entrenched than were the slave owners in their day. The economic trend of our civilization, however, the better education of the masses, and the greater power of resistance of the common people are factors that will enable us to overcome this disadvantage.

This new alignment, as I have said, is an absolute

necessity. It must be honest, consistent, and give the common people of all classes relief.

The General Outline

It must stand for measures that remove the causes of corruption. It must take away the temptation for corruption.

It must bring more and more activities that are necessary for the welfare of all under the control of all.

It must also try to enact legislation that will enable the individual to live a fuller and freer life.

Such a party must not only take special care of the city worker and of the farmer but also of the small business man while the present system lasts.

Socialist Party Steadfast in War and Peace

The only party which has always stood for securing the greatest economic advantage for the largest number of individuals is the Socialist Party. It is the only party that has always sought to remove corruption by removing temptation.

It is the only organization that stood upright in war and in peace.

My Guiding Line

The Socialist Party is willing to co-operate with any and all other organizations and with any and all individuals striving for the same aims and objects, however different their individual point of view, provided they are consistent and sincere in their desire to promote human welfare and national progress.

As for myself, well, that was my guiding line in the National Congress of the United States. And that will always be my aim and object in the future.

The "Reformation" of Tammany Hall—A Few Pages From Its Past Career

MAY 29, 1928.

Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen, in every Congress in which I have served since the Volstead law was enacted by a Democratic Congress, with the aid of Republican votes, I have offered bills designed to make legal the manufacture and sale of light wines and beers under conditions that would prevent the return of the saloon.

My position on the subject of prohibition—like the position of the Socialist Party—has been clear and consistent from the very beginning.

Prohibition Neither Possible Nor Desirable

Realizing that many of the ills which resulted from the liquor traffic were due, in no small measure, to the fact that the private profit motive was permitted to have full sway, I have advocated, and the Socialists generally have advocated, the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors under Government supervision.

By yielding to the demand of the Anti-Saloon League that bone-dry prohibition be foisted upon the country, the two old political parties not only failed to remedy the ills of the liquor traffic; they brought about a condition which defeats true temperance.

I am more convinced than ever that bone-dry pro-

hibition is not desirable, even if it were possible, and not possible even if it were desirable.

The Hypocrisy of "Wet" Politicians

It is not my intention to enter at this time upon a discussion of the grounds upon which my conclusions rest. They are set forth at some length in my speeches of June 6, 1924, and February 15 of this year. Anything I would now say concerning the failure of prohibition to prohibit would of necessity be a repetition of what I said on those occasions, with the only difference that additional facts might be cited to support the position I take and have taken.

But prohibition comes to the fore as a political and campaign issue in the pending presidential election. The deceptive tactics employed by the leaders of the two old parties regarding the prospects of enforcement or modification are such as to justify consideration of that particular phase of the subject. Dishonest business and dishonest politics appear to go hand in hand, and after the orgy of corruption through which the Nation has passed—or attempted, perhaps unsuccessfully, to pass—our people are no longer amazed or shocked at the hypocrisy which surrounds the prohibition enforcement question.

I am not now referring to the hypocrisy of the law, or to the lawmakers who vote dry and drink wet, or to the prohibitionists of the Anti-Saloon League variety who profess to expect enforcement when they know that the people they are supporting neither observe the law themselves nor desire to have it enforced as to others. I refer now to the hypocrisy of the so-called "wets"

to whom prohibition has become a means of riding into office.

"Law Enforcement" Covers Multitude of "Wet" and "Dry" Sins

But pardonable to a certain extent as that may be in the case of individuals, to whom the office may mean more than principle, the situation is different when candidates for presidential office and the national political organizations embark upon the same program of deception, knowing that they are creating hopes they can never gratify—and which they never intend to try to gratify.

The temptation to which these politicians and their machines have now yielded is to come out for modification where sentiment is wet, for observance where it is dry, and for law enforcement where sentiment is pretty evenly divided.

A glaring instance of this unmitigated hypocrisy was furnished at the Republican National Convention in Kansas City. The "drys" in the Republican Party announced their "determination" that the party should come out for "strict observance" of the prohibition laws.

New Promises for Old

It did—by adopting a plank in the platform which reads:

"The Republican Party pledges itself and its nominees to the observance and the vigorous enforcement of this provision of the Constitution."

Was the Republican Party ever opposed to law enforcement? If it was, it never admitted it. On the

contrary, it always stoutly proclaimed its adherence to law enforcement.

Four years ago, when it drafted a platform, it included this plank:

"We must have respect for law. We must have observance of law. We must have enforcement of law. The very existence of the Government depends upon this. The substitution of private will for public law is only another name for oppression, disorder, anarchy, and mob rule.

"Every government depends upon the loyalty and respect of its citizens. Violations of law weaken and threaten government itself. No honest government can condone such actions on the part of its citizens. The Republican Party pledges the full strength of the Government for the maintenance of these principles by the enforcement of the Constitution and of all laws."

The Republican Party was returned to power four years ago. It had an opportunity to make good its pledge to use—

"the full strength of the Government for the maintenance of these principles by the enforcement of the Constitution and of all laws."

If it did not carry out its pledge then, why promise now? And if it did carry out its pledge, then why proclaim an intention to do what they claim to have done?

Why, then, this hue and cry about law enforcement?

A Good Time Was Had By All

The fact of the matter is, of course, that there is no enforcement of the Volstead law, that the leaders of the Republican Party know it can not be enforced, and they have not the slightest intention of attempting the impossible.

Not only do they not intend to enforce the law—

they do not intend to observe it, although the plank reads, "The Republican Party pledges itself and its nominees to the observance" of the law.

Observance, like charity, should begin at home. Yet the delegates to the Republican National Convention—the leaders of the party throughout the nation, those who adopted this solemn declaration to "observe" the prohibition laws—were consuming more liquor during the convention than was being consumed anywhere else in the United States.

According to press reports, just before daylight each morning during the sessions of the convention wagons made the rounds of hotels collecting empty liquor bottles. From one of the larger hotels the average was 15 barrels of quart and pint bottles a day.

Enough Drinks and Dry Planks to Satisfy All

And the most joyous tippling was done, according to press reports, on that midnight hour when the resolutions committee broke up after adopting the driest prohibition plank ever written into the platform, a plank pledging the Republican Party to "observe" the law they were busy violating.

The plank will satisfy the Anti-Saloon League; it can now claim that it got what it demanded in Kansas City. It will satisfy the bootlegger, who will continue his nefarious practice, purchasing immunity for violating the law by contributing to the local campaign funds of the Republican Party. And the average citizen, who is opposed to prohibition but who can still get his hootch even though it might give him blindness, will likewise be satisfied.

Republican Party—Consistent in Its Corruption

Thus the hypocritical attitude of the Republican Party is to be continued, getting votes from the "drys" because the party is dry in theory and getting votes from "wets" because the party is wet in practice.

All one can say about the rottenness it discloses is that it shows the Republican Party to be consistent—consistently crooked. A political party that could produce so many corruptionists in high office in such a short time—and many more who still blush unseen—can well claim to be consistent.

But What of the Democrats?

But if it is hypocritical—disgustingly hypocritical—for the Republicans to pretend to advocate either observance or enforcement of the Volstead Act, what is to be said of the Democratic Party, whose present leader, Alfred E. Smith, is to become the Moses of the "wets," the man who will lead them—and also the "drys"—out of the cellars right to the bars and the railings?

It was the Democratic Party that was mainly responsible for the eighteenth amendment and the Volstead Act. It was the delegation of the solid South, the backbone of what is left of the party of Thomas Jefferson—which may explain why it has no backbone—that was the principal force behind the prohibition movement. United States Senator Morris Sheppard, of Texas, framed and introduced the eighteenth amendment. The South furnished the bigotry and fanaticism and the capitalists the sinews of war, which made the prohibition movement and its leaders go round.

It is this delegation from the solid South to our Congress that has not only resisted every attempt to re-examine the mistake that was made when bone-dry prohibition was attempted but it has even been willing to cast aside without the slightest compunction every constitutional right found in our Constitution in order to enforce the unenforceable Volstead Act. Using the entire Army and Navy is but one of the minor demands of this crowd.

Present Dry Plank Is Drier Than Ever

And now the Democratic Party outdistances the Republicans in double dealing and hypocrisy. While nominating for President a man who professes to be a wet, it adopts a platform plank on prohibition which is even stronger than the one Bryan had inserted in the Democratic platform four years ago.

Four years ago the Democratic plank on prohibition merely promised "to respect and enforce the Constitution and all laws." This year the plank not only condemns the Republicans for not making prohibition enforcement effective but "it pledges the party and its nominees for an honest effort to enforce the eighteenth amendment."

The plank adopted this year was written, it is reported, by Senator Carter Glass, of Virginia, leader of the dry contingent at the Democratic convention. And Bishop James Cannon, of the Methodist Episcopal Church South—and one of the leaders of the Anti-Saloon League—said the plank suited him.

This is the crowd Governor Al Smith will lead in this campaign.

The New York World, which insisted that "the Democratic Party should not nominate Governor Smith if it wants Volsteadism," and which maintained that to nominate Smith on anything but a wet platform "would be little short of contemptible," will now find itself helping this contemptible performance.

Who's Who in Tammany's History

And now let us see—who is Al Smith?

A number of books have been written on Tammany, but the most extensive and the most readable one that has yet appeared is by M. R. Werner, entitled "Tammany Hall." The chief sources of the author are the numerous investigations that have been made of Tammany in its long criminal career, and out of the huge mass of documents he has succeeded in culling the more important phases of the organization.

A Start in Life—One Million Stolen

By the time that Andrew Jackson came to the Presidency in 1828 Tammany had already assumed two phases which have been conspicuous into the modern period. These are the appearance of the grafter and the marketing of "philanthropy" by its leaders.

In the period of Jacksonian Democracy Tammany was radical and shared the grievances of the workers of the cities against the old suffrage restrictions, but before the end of the thirties this attitude became a compound of demagoguery and an itch for office for the sake of the loot that was available.

One of its henchmen, Samuel Swartwout, collector of the port of New York, made a hasty trip to Europe, leaving a shortage of over a million dollars. He was

accompanied by another worthy official who had stolen over \$72,000.

The Depredations of "Philanthropic" Tammany

These first raids were simultaneous with the appearance of "philanthropy" when its leaders distributed food among unemployed workers during the panic year of 1837. Unfortunately for "philanthropy" it was discovered that one of the most prominent Tammany leaders, a police justice—

"gained his money by extorting it from counterfeiters, thieves, and prostitutes who were brought into his court."

By the middle forties brothels into which unfortunate girls of the working class disappeared became a rich source of funds for Tammany "philanthropy." The house of prostitution had become a permanent fixture of the Tammany system of revenue for its leaders. From the evidence one gathers there was a general schedule of rates collected from madams and inmates, while arrests for cause and without cause provided fees for various officials.

The police system had by this time been fairly well penetrated by this grafting on brothels while various offenders in jail were released and others permitted to escape for the value of their votes and services on election day.

The outlines of modern Tammany were fairly complete a decade before the Civil War. The boozing kens had already become an integral part of the system as well as the low dive and the half-savage gangs whose members might be hired to rob a till, cut a throat, or stuff ballot boxes at elections. Occasionally a Tam-

many leader fell out with the chieftains and annexed a gang of his own and a gang war followed, but as a general rule the insurgent made peace with the chiefs who alone could satisfy the appetites of those who wanted office and the plunder that went with it.

The Forty Thieves Blaze the Trail

In the early fifties came the reign of "the forty thieves" in the board of aldermen, a body where the later notorious Tweed was getting schooling for the most extensive grafting ever known in the history of politics. The period of old graft survived and it was not to mature as a ripe contribution to municipal science till after the war, but the thieves sold ferry leases and franchises to the highest bidders.

Even Tammany "patriotism" produced dividends.

They raised the bills for fireworks in the city celebration of the Fourth of July in 1852 and dividends were even extracted from corpses. In transporting the body of Henry Clay from the city to Albany the thieves padded the bills for undertaking and included one bill of \$1,400 for liquors and cigars. There was a difference of \$70,000 between the real value and the price paid for a paupers' cemetery. Meantime "philanthropy" was not forgotten. It paid.

Enter the Tweed Ring

Fernando Wood, whom another writer called the "prince of rascals," was elected mayor in 1854, and then for two successive terms. Street-cleaning graft, of which we are again hearing something in Walker's administration, had been a valuable source of profits, but in Wood's administration he and his family raked

in quite a bag of cash from it. Tammany was pro-slavery and so was Wood, who complained that New York City investments in southern slavery would be lost if the South seceded from the Union. The mass of the Irish voters organized by Tammany and influenced by a pro-slavery clergy carried the city against Lincoln in 1860 by a heavy majority.

Wood and the pro-slavery elements paved the way for the Tweed ring—and here we come across some remarkable analogies with the Tammany Hall of 1928.

A Shirt Front Helpful to Tammany

A. Oakley Hall was mayor during the looting of the city by the Tweed gang, while the New York Herald, which had proposed a war of foreign conquest to obscure the issue of slavery, became the organ of Hall. By the time the gang had become all powerful they seriously considered moving next to the Federal money vats.

The plan was to elect Governor John T. Hoffman President in 1872, send Hall to Albany as governor and Tweed to the United States Senate, while Comptroller Sweeney was to remain in New York City to rule the city treasury.

Had the plans matured it is said that Hoffman was to send Tweed as American ambassador to London.

Change the names and observe how some of these plans fit with the program of today. For Hoffman read Smith and for the New York Herald read the New York World. Perhaps Walker is slated for London. Tammany was supreme in New York in 1870 and it is supreme in New York today. The looting and graft were rife gossip then; the sewer and street grafts are rife

now. History is never repeated, but analogies occur just the same. It is certain that Smith is the shirt front to-day as Hall and Hoffman were in the previous period.

Boss Tweed Steals \$70,000,000 or So

The Tweed ring added one accessory to its rule which was essential. It had not been neglected by previous gangs of looters, but Tweed and his associates operated on such an enormous scale that it was more essential than ever. He had filled the courts with his agents, the most conspicuous of whom was Judge Barnard, later impeached for his crimes, but the press was always a source of danger. The following paragraph tells the story:

"Six or eight men on almost every newspaper in New York were put upon the city's pay roll at salaries of from \$2,000 to \$2,500 a year. They were engaged in no municipal business, but their duty consisted in writing blurbs in favor of Tweed and his associates as part of their newspaper work, for which they also received pay. Another effective method of controlling the press and public opinion was by means of corporation advertising. The ring gave legal and municipal advertising to 26 daily and 54 weekly newspapers at exorbitant rates. Writers were also hired to send letters to newspapers in other cities praising the members of the ring individually, Tammany Hall as an organization, and the administration of the city generally. These were copied by the New York papers after they appeared elsewhere, and they created the impression that the entire Nation admired the city government."

Tweed later testified that occasionally an article was brought to the ring, and the writer was paid to kill it.

They even arranged for newspaper attacks on the ring so filled with errors that they were easily answered,

and the ring thus added to its prestige. As much as \$5,000 was paid for this type of article. When the legislature was in session the Albany newspapers enjoyed rich incomes from the ring for a variety of services.

When the storm began to beat around the ring one of its agents, an eminent lawyer, offered the Times \$5,000,000 through Comptroller Connolly, and Thomas Nast was offered \$500,000 to abandon the attacks. The two men would not be bribed, and the exposures followed. The rats scattered. Tweed died in prison. The real extent of the looting probably never will be known, but the estimates run as high as \$75,000,000.

Republicans Get Their Share of the Loot

The evolution of Tammany had reached the stage of having trusted Republican allies, which feature has continued to the present day. Tammany is no more Democratic than Standard Oil is. It is a capitalistic business concern handling certain wares, and it needs Republicans as well as its own professionals.

The Republican State committee chairman, Cornell, discovered during the reign of Tweed that—

“Seventy-five per cent of the officers of the Republican county committee and 75 per cent of the Republican district leaders were either in the pay of the Democrats or held sinecures from Tweed and Tammany Hall.”

Perhaps this care of Republicans was also a phase of the “philanthropy” in which Tweed, like other Tammany leaders, indulged.

While the spotlight was focused on the Tweed ring John Kelly was enjoying a pious trip to the Holy Land. His letters home dwelt upon—

"the Mount of Olives, the way of the Cross, and the Holy Sepulchre."

Kelly had already made a pile out of the office of sheriff.

Piety and Plunder Go Hand in Hand

While abroad he commissioned an artist to execute some religious paintings which he presented to St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York and then ascended the Tammany throne as successor to Tweed. Kelly's contribution to the institution was to perfect a system of assessing candidates and Tammany officeholders upon a percentage basis according to the salary the offices paid, and the day before election became known as "dough day." This was the day for distributing the money to the district leaders for carrying elections.

Affectionate co-operation with Republican leaders continued.

"There was an unwritten, unmentioned agreement between the Democrats and the Republicans to take care of each other's election district captains with jobs even when one party was not in power"—

writes Werner. Gangs were employed and election days were a drill of thieves in thievery.

Kelly's personal fortune was half a million dollars, and in 1886 he was buried from the church to which he had given the paintings upon his return from the Holy Land. This combination of piety and plunder runs through the history of many Tammany Hall leaders.

The Era of Honest Graft Begins

Richard Croker was next in line for the Tammany throne and his reign is conspicuous as the period of the

rise of the great corporations, the attraction of Tammany leaders to corporation investments, and the beginning of a system of "honest graft" which George Washington Plunkitt, a Tammany illiterate, expounded with naive candor in the first few years of the present century.

Crocker himself invested in New York corporations, and it was in his reign that alliances between Tammany and large corporate enterprises had their origin.

His successor, Murphy, developed the partnership to that quiet mutual understanding which all but the simple-minded know exists today. This also provided another source of revenue for Tammany campaign expenses. The organization had now drifted far from the days of early Jacksonian Democracy when Tammany would purchase an occasional dwelling in the name of a dozen workers so that they could qualify for the franchise.

The understanding with Republicans reached high enough at one time to even include Platt, the Republican high potentate of New York State.

No Source of Graft Is Left Untouched

While the "cadet" and the procurer stalked through other eras of Tammany rule they are also conspicuous in the reign of Crocker. Here we also get occasional glimpses of forms of vice so foul and disgusting that they are unprintable. The most important source of graft was preying upon prostitutes and levying on brothels and saloons.

"There were also side lines of graft which involved the sale of wines and beers to houses of prostitution

and the supply of cigars, cigarettes, food, clothing, jewelry, furniture, and medical attendance."

They were valuable concessions as—

"the profits were large and the purchases could be made compulsory by the threat of the law. There were also abortionists, midwives, and baby farmers, who worked with the police and the district leaders, or who paid them for protection from the laws."

Charles Murphy, the Man Who Made Smith, Succeeds Croker

The author declares that the complete facts regarding the financial investments of Tammany leaders in houses of prostitution are not available—

"because the Tammany men always covered themselves carefully by using their friends' rather than their own names."

Croker left Tammany Hall for Ireland a millionaire, and as the author remarks—

"New York experienced a period of rule by an absentee landlord, for Croker spent the next few years of his political career in England, Ireland, and on ocean steamers. Government by cable was what some of the newspapers chose to call it."

At his death his estate was estimated at \$5,000,000. This was only a small portion of the total gouged out of the people of the city by the Tammany vampire.

After a short experiment with a triumvirate of three leaders, including Charles F. Murphy, the latter became leader. It was under the Murphy regime that Al Smith blossomed into a "statesman," that the "new Tammany" came into being, that "honest graft" eventually emerged as a system, and that relations with corporations became established on a basis of mutual respect.

Big-Hearted Tim Sullivan—He Left Only \$2,000,000

Murphy had been dock commissioner and had organized a contracting and trucking company which leased docks from the city and—

“made 5,000 per cent on its investment.”

Of the corporation opportunities and investments of the leaders of the “new Tammany” the author writes:

“In the twentieth century the leaders of Tammany Hall were in the contracting business or were interested in water, gas, electricity, or railroads, rather than prostitution, liquor, gambling, or extortion; for it was Murphy’s great and lasting contribution to the philosophy of Tammany Hall that he taught the organization that more money can be made by a legal contract than by petty blackmail.”

Of course, the old forms of graft survive, as we know from the current milk, sewer, and street-cleaning scandals, but the larger forms of income are derived from inside connections with capitalist enterprises.

Tammany must continue to receive the support of the voters if its leaders are to fatten on the millions who live in the disease-breeding fire traps which they call homes, so the leaders continue to toss “philanthropy” to the dupes.

“Big Tim” Sullivan worked “philanthropy” on a large scale; his distribution of food, clothing, and money to the Bowery wretches of his district was estimated at \$25,000 annually. but as Werner observes—

“the political profits of his district were estimated between seven and eight times as much as he gave away.”

Political returns were also reaped when Sullivan headed gangs of Bowery thugs from one polling place to another on election days. When he died Sullivan’s estate was estimated at between two and three millions.

Distress, Disease and Death the Price of Tammany "Charity"

The "charity" given by Tammany leaders costs them nothing. It is an investment that pays dividends in cash and votes. The poor devils who are swindled by this sob stuff pay the cost in disease and often death. Professor Merriam, of Chicago University, makes this striking and truthful comment regarding Tammany "charity."

He points out that the boss—

"gives \$100 to charity but accepts \$1,000 for voting against any ordinance for better housing. He pays the funeral expenses of the man who dies because the boss killed the law to safeguard the machinery on which he worked. He helps the widow, whose suit for damages was blocked under a system he was paid to perpetuate."

I may add that the worker goes to his death in fire-trap buildings because fire hazards are ignored by Tammany inspectors who are close to real-estate interests. The worker's family is the prey of disease because Tammany contractors are opposed to municipal housing. One may add to these illustrations to show that Tammany "charity" is a tiny part of the profits derived from distress, disease, and death which afflict the working-class families of the city.

Murphy Puts Smith Through Tammany's School

Murphy passed on his reward in April, 1924, with a big funeral ceremony in St. Patrick's Cathedral. His estate was estimated at over \$2,000,000.

The book ends with the passing of the sainted Murphy, but we also get a glimpse of Al Smith in the clos-

ing pages. Smith, it must be remembered, is the modern "shirt front" behind which Tammany hopes to enter Washington as the Ohio gang used Harding for the same purpose. Al Smith would have no chance if he had wallowed in the dirt as the other leaders have, so he has been groomed for the job with the knowledge that he must be "clean." He is, except for his acquiescence in election steals, for responsibility for these crimes is inevitably shared by all leaders, including Smith.

But Smith's share in the impeachment of Governor Sulzer in 1913 shows that he is just as capable of going along in a dirty political job as any other of the leaders.

Smith Obeys Charley Murphy

Al Smith was speaker of the assembly of the State of New York and Robert F. Wagner, now United States Senator, was the Tammany leader in the State senate. Smith took orders and played Murphy's game. So did Wagner. Sulzer was not proven guilty of any offense in office that would warrant his removal. Every count against him had reference to his actions before he was elected governor.

The removal of Sulzer was a legislative crime, and Smith shares in that crime. Moreover, Sulzer could have looted the State treasury with the consent of Murphy if he (Sulzer) had consented to obey the vulgarian Murphy. Werner declares:

"Governor Sulzer was impeached because Charles F. Murphy wished to avoid exposure of Tammany graft in the State government."

From Fourteenth Street to Washington?

Shortly before the impeachment of Sulzer State Senator Stilwell was being tried for accepting a bribe, and Murphy told Sulzer that Stilwell would be acquitted. Murphy added:

"How do you expect a Senator to live on \$1,500 a year? That is only chicken feed."

In other words, Murphy told the man he later threw out of office that Tammany Senators were expected to accept bribes because their salary was only "chicken feed."

Stilwell was being tried by a Tammany-controlled senate, and he was acquitted of the charge by a vote of 28 to 21. Now for the sequel. Stilwell was later indicted in New York County for bribery upon substantially the same evidence which was rejected by the Tammany Senators and was convicted and sentenced to two years in prison!

Certainly the sainted Al Smith and the "new Tammany" are entitled to move next to the Federal money vats, and the "liberal" New York World may be congratulated on selling Smith to the Nation as a "progressive" and "liberal."

Here is the story of the evolution of Tammany Hall by way of the boozing ken and the brothel through decades of "philanthropy" for its dupes, through debauching of elections, and enriching of vultures.

And Al Smith is its brightest flower.

He Will Now Be Wet—and Admits It

In order to get the nomination, Smith—or rather his friends—had to do a lot of trimming and hemming and hawing. He had to be all things to all men. His friends

down South, where dry sentiment is strong, proudly pointed to the fact that he was in favor of law enforcement. His friends up North, where sentiment is wet, pointed to the fact that he had signed the bill repealing the State enforcement act.

Of course, during the campaign Smith will be wet. It was politically unwise to be wet while he was trying to get dry delegates to support him for the nomination. Having gotten the nomination, it may be politically unwise to pretend that he is a dry. There is more to be gained by being wet during the campaign than by being dry.

The reason for this is simple: The South, where the dry sentiment prevails, is Democratic anyway. It will not go Republican. And outside of the South wet sentiment is strong, and it will be for that vote that the Democratic Party will have to make its bid. Therein lies what hope the Democrats have of returning to the pie counter, from which they were separated almost eight years ago.

Victory of Smith Followers Would Make Modification Impossible

But supposing the Democrats win and Al Smith gets into office, can that affect the course of the prohibition movement?

No one who knows the situation can honestly contend that it will have the minutest effect on the Volstead law.

That law can not be changed without Congress, and there will be no group in Congress more unyielding in their opposition to a change in the law than the Democrats, most of whom will be from the solid South.

They may represent less people than a Congressman from a Northern or a Western State—just as a Senator from the State of Mississippi represents only about one-sixth of the population that a Senator from New York does—but their votes count for as much in Congress, and no progress can be made with that solid vote to overcome.

Then It Was "He Kept Us Out of War"

Democratic politicians who intimate that a modification of the law will be possible with the election of Smith are deliberately misleading the voters. A victory for the Democratic Party this year may mean the destruction of all constitutional and civil liberties in a vain effort to enforce the law.

In raising this issue the Democrats are trying to repeat the trick they played on the American people in 1916, the last time they elected a Democratic President. That time the battle cry was, "He kept us out of war." They came near fooling the people of Wisconsin into supporting Wilson that year—much nearer than they have come since or ever will come.

Modification—Another False Slogan

In 1916 the Democratic President could have kept us out of war. The battle cry of modification will have harder sledding; the people now know, first, that the Democrats can not be relied on to do what they can do; and, second, that modifying the prohibition law is one of the things a Democratic President could not do, even if he wanted to.

I believe that eventually the prohibition laws will be modified. I can think of few things that would be more

helpful to the future progress of our people than a repeal of these laws. But it will not be accomplished by politicians who betray the people by misleading slogans and false campaign issues.

Both Old Parties Responsible For Prohibition Mess

The Socialist Party, although always opposed to prohibition—I do not know of any one of its elected officials who ever voted for it—refused to become a party to this deception. At its national convention in New York City, held in April, it declined to incorporate a plank on the subject. A majority of the delegates, most of them opposed to prohibition, felt that anything it would do to help make this the dominant issue of the campaign would divert the attention of the people from the numerous economic and political problems upon which the Socialists have always centered their attention.

We consider both old parties responsible for the mess prohibition has created, but will not follow the red herring the ruling class is drawing across the trail for the purpose of getting the people to forget other equally important issues. The capitalist class of this country has found in prohibition a method of preventing the consideration of other issues. To the extent that the Socialists can, they will try to have the people consider these other problems.

Socialists Refuse to Mislead or Be Misled

That is the position the Socialist Party and its candidate for President, the late Robert M. La Follette, took four years ago. Senator La Follette was besieged to have the progressive movement he headed

come out for a modification of the Volstead Act in the Progressive platform. He declined, taking the position that he would not permit the urgent economic questions he considered important, and which he wanted to keep in the forefront, to be obscured by a debate on prohibition.

Wisconsin cast its electoral vote for Robert M. La Follette—it was the only State that did so — even though the State has by a referendum vote expressed a preference for modification.

Norman Thomas Is the Candidate of All Progressives

Least of all will the progressives support the Democratic Party. They remember only too well the suppression and persecution which it sponsored during the war. They remember very vividly the era of patrioteering and profiteering which the Democrats made possible during the Wilson regime.

And they would not expect Al Smith, the product of Tammany Hall and the protege of Charlie Murphy, the late Tammany boss, to be better in office than the professor who occupied the presidential chair from 1912 to 1920.

Any citizen who has learned the lesson of history and is willing to use his thinking power must reject both Al Smith and Hoover—reject both the Republican and the Democratic Parties—and vote for Norman Thomas and the Socialist ticket as the only effective protest against graft and misrule.

Shall History Repeat Itself? It Will Unless We Take Care

FEBRUARY 21, 1929

Mr. Speaker, ladies and gentlemen, some Members of the House have approached me with a request to make a few parting remarks connected with my philosophy before leaving. And I have consented. [Applause.]

I am not going to expound the Socialist theory at this time, of course. Anybody who is interested can easily get a book on the subject or read some of my speeches.

Made Me a Silent Man

As to my experience in the House—while it was a great school for me, it made me a rather silent man. I was up against a stone wall, behind which worked the political machine, and I did not have support enough, being all alone, to either tear down the wall or make an opening in it.

I could have objected, of course, innumerable times to unanimous-consent requests for the building of this bridge or the other or for the granting of a pension to this widow or the other veteran, although reported by the committee. I could have also interrupted almost every one of the speakers with this or the other question, relevant or irrelevant. I could, furthermore, on many occasions have truthfully stated that there was no quorum present and caused the ringing of three

bells, which would bring the Members from their offices. And I could have probably made a few more speeches or have some of them printed in the Record. All of that I could have done. [Laughter.]

Ideas Bound to Germinate and Grow

Nevertheless, as long as I was alone in this House I thought the best for me to do was to introduce bills pertaining to social legislation, just to show what the Socialists would do if they had the power. And while I could not get the bills reported out of the committee, they created a great deal of discussion all over the country, and thus I sowed seed that is bound to germinate and spread ideas which I hope will grow.

Of course, if I had a group of Socialists in the House I would undoubtedly have pursued a different policy.

There Is Only One Party in This Congress

Under our form of very limited representative parliamentarism—much more limited than in any European country where there is no dictatorship—I exercised reasonably about all the privileges that an individual Member has. In this great country of ours all the legislating is really left to the few leaders of the great party—I mean to the leaders of the Republican-Democratic Party, since there is only one party in this Congress, and especially so in the House.

And this accounts for the backwardness of our country in social-welfare legislation. Members of Congress fritter away their time on petty matters and pay little or no attention to important questions of policy, including the question of war and peace.

Even the Majority Can Not Act

Under the rules, even a majority can be prevented from functioning. A majority of the Members had to petition to have the Dale-Lehlbach bill, for instance, brought up for consideration. But if a majority is prevented from functioning under the rules, it may be less the fault of the rules than it is of the majority.

The prohibition farce is a good example of the hypocrisy in which a nation indulges. It is supposed to have made us a better Nation. We are, supposedly, much superior to Prussia—we have prohibition and Prussia has not; but while all our jails are filled to overflowing, and many more are needed, Prussia has just closed down one-fourth of all her jails, because she has not enough criminals to fill them.

Congressmen Are Above Average of Electorate

As to the membership of the House—well, it has become the custom of late to depreciate Congress, and especially the House of Representatives. Our Members are not, as a matter of fact, equally wise or evenly good—but let me say that they are as wise and as good as the people who elect them. I believe almost all of them are above the average of the electorate which they represent. [Applause.] Even the Congressmen from Chicago and New York rank above the people who send them here. [Applause and laughter.]

Undoubtedly we have too many lawyers in this House, more than we can really use for any good purpose. However, all of them are ready talkers and good fellows, even if most of them are as innocent of political economy as they are of the Sanskrit language.

But I like all of them personally, from the illustrious and genial Speaker down to the youngest fledgling, and I wish them all well.

Now, gentlemen, I do not know whether I shall come back to this House. I am not in the fortunate position of a Democratic Member from Alabama or of a Republican Member from Kansas, where the party nomination in the district also means the election as a foregone conclusion. I have to fight, and most of the time I have to fight a combination of the two old parties. Nevertheless, the plurality of my opponent was so small that I have no doubt that I can return to this House if I should decide to try again. [Applause.]

And now to the subject I want to discuss.

Even Many Editors Do Not Understand the Meaning of the Word

Mr. Speaker, just now we hear and read a great deal about the Kellogg pact, renunciation of war, disarmament, arbitration, imperialism, Anglo-French agreement, and so forth. I think it would be of interest to this House and to the country at large to have these questions discussed from the Socialist point of view.

To begin with, let us have a few words about the meaning of the word "imperialism." Many people, and even editors—and some of them editors of leading papers—seem to have an idea that the word "imperialism" was in some mysterious way connected with the Kaiser.

And that since America has no Kaiser, how could America have imperialism?

These people do not understand the meaning of the term.

The term "imperialism"—as it has been used in an economic sense during the last 100 years—is only very loosely connected with imperialism in a political sense.

The basis for economic imperialism is as follows:

Why Every Nation Must Compete For the World Market

Under the capitalist system—which is also called the profit system, or the competitive system, or the wage system—no workman employed for wages in a factory or in a shop or in a mine gets the full value of his product. He can not get the full value if the employer is to stay in business. The employer must make a profit, or the employer would have to go out of business. And the more profit the employer can make, the more successful is he as a business man.

Thus it comes about that the producers of the Nation as a whole under the present profit system can not possibly get enough pay for their work and for their products to be able to buy back with their wages what they have produced.

And yet these producers form the bulk of the buyers of the nation, since they are in the great majority.

Thus the surplus production must look for markets elsewhere. But where?

Every civilized country, or at least every country that is highly developed industrially, is in exactly the same fix.

The English capitalist class and the French capitalist class and the German capitalist class and the Belgian capitalist class, and so forth, all produce more with

their improved machinery than they can sell in their own country. They all look for foreign markets.

This is one aspect of economic imperialism.

Minerals, Timber, Rubber, and Especially Oil

The other and probably more important side of economic imperialism is the search for raw materials—for oil, metals, rubber, lumber, cotton, wool, and so forth.

Thus these capitalists—especially English, French, German, and American capitalists—have been looking around with vigilant eyes for chances to invest their capital as profitably as possible. They watch these undeveloped areas, and are eager to make use of them. That is usually done at first by "concessions." These investors get the right or the privilege to build railroads, operate mines or oil wells, to start big ranges, to plant fruit trees, banana trees, start sugar-cane or pineapple plantations, according to the nature of the country.

Now, if the adage is true that trade follows the flag—then the flag must also follow the investor and protect him. It must also follow the financier and the money lender and protect him.

To this end, cruisers, marines—and an army and navy—are indispensable.

A warlike front becomes absolutely necessary all the time. Armaments and warlike demonstrations have become part of the regular apparatus of business, so far as business is concerned with the world market.

The Change in the British View

At first only peaceable, economic penetration is the rule.

The classic land to study all this is Great Britain.

We find, for instance, that as long as Great Britain had a natural monopoly of the raw materials and of the markets of the world, British manufacturers and merchants were rather indifferent as to the growth of the British Empire.

With the increasing competition, however, and with the entry of the manufacturers and merchants of the United States, and of Germany, and even of Japan, into the world market, the British point of view changed.

And, as a matter of fact, we all know that when in the first six months of 1914 German world trade became as large as the British the World War did not delay.

War Between Germany and England Was Quite "Unthinkable"

The World War did not delay, although in July, 1914, when the German ambassador, Prince Lichnowsky, had his last interview with the Prime Minister of England, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Asquith told him that a war with Germany was "quite unthinkable." War was then on the point of just breaking out. It was "unthinkable," but it was just going to take place.

I am saying all this in order to warn this House and the country in general, because the rivalry between Great Britain and America has grown during the last two or three years with a speed that is simply uncanny.

War Between England and America Is Now Unthinkable

Now, this is the economic situation. How about the political?

We find now that two years ago war between Great Britain and the United States was undreamed of. A year ago we were told it was "unthinkable." Which

simply meant that many people had come to think about it. And now any student of history and political economy will tell you that an enduring peace is unthinkable if capitalism is to last.

Let us follow mainly English sources, if for no other reason than that we do not wish to be accused of any anti-British bias.

America Is Not Working For Colonies

And this is the English view: The English simply claim that American business is developing with speed a new policy of imperialism on a large scale.

This imperialism is developing on somewhat different lines than the old European imperialism, which was usually followed by colonizing and acquiring new territory. America wants no colonies, and desires no actual annexation of new territory, except in cases of absolute necessity, as, for instance, in Panama, for the canal.

American business is simply trying peaceful penetration—seeking investments in great new areas of the world; seeking new markets.

This is called peaceful economic penetration.

Of course, some will say that the United States took Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands, and we have troops in Haiti and Nicaragua. But these are mostly accidents, although if another canal is built, America is apt to make sure of Nicaragua. The fact is, however, that in the rest of the world our business men, our financiers, are not seeking any military conquests, but simply concessions, contracts, and markets.

But that is just the trouble.

"Brother Jonathan" Is at a Disadvantage

To begin with, Uncle Sam, our "Brother Jonathan," as they call him in Europe, comes late. The world is already taken. The greatest and richest of all areas belong to Great Britain.

The Americans who desire to compete there, or to make investments, if they are permitted to compete at all or to invest at all, must do so at an enormous disadvantage.

Throughout the British Empire, for example, Americans are not granted, as a rule, the right to prospect or to bore for oil wells, or to operate them, to mention only one thing.

Nor is this all.

Look to "Uncle Sam" to Protect Them

The world over, in Asia, in Africa—from China to Peru—Americans and Englishmen are competing fiercely for the exploitation of great undeveloped national resources in the so-called backward countries. And these prospectors and investors naturally look to their respective governments to support them. They say that a government is not here just for the purpose of receiving taxes and custom house duties, but the government is also here to protect its citizens when they do business.

Is it surprising, then, that these two governments soon find themselves in strong antagonism?

When Germany Was Looking For a Place in the Sun

The situation reminds one very closely of German economic penetration of the world before the World War. The underlying principle is exactly the same.

Germany had grown immensely strong economically and had a population larger than the agriculture of the country could support. Germany then naturally became a manufacturing country and was trying to procure her share in the world's markets. Germany was looking "for a place in the sun," where she could do business not by toleration or the good grace of England, but by her own right.

An aggressive and expansive policy followed, and England started as early as 1903 to "encircle" Germany by her enemies.

Sea Power Was Always the Deciding Factor

The causes creating American imperialism are the same. The United States today is by far the richest and strongest economic power in the world. Our business men, financiers, and trusts want to conquer the world market, or at least get a big share of it, and, as the figures prove, they are making rapid headway.

And there you are. What can be done about it?

So far in history sea power was the deciding factor in these matters.

Mr. Coolidge Thinks We Are Entitled to a Larger Number of Ships

And President Coolidge expressed the American point of view very clearly in his last Armistice Day speech when he said:

"We have not only a long coast line, distant outlying possessions, but also a foreign commerce unsurpassed in importance and foreign investments unsurpassed in amount. Not only must our people and our treasure be protected but we are also bound by international treaties to defend the Panama Canal. Having few fuel-

ing stations, we require ships of larger tonnage; and having scarcely any merchant vessels capable of mounting five or six-inch guns, it is obvious that, based upon positions, we are entitled to a larger number of warships than a nation having all of these advantages."

And he added:

"If we could secure a more complete reciprocity in good will toward the final liquidation of the balance of our foreign debts, and such further limitations of armament as would be commensurate with the treaty renouncing war, our confidence in the effectiveness of any additional efforts on our part to assist in the further progress of Europe would be greatly increased."

Birkenhead Telling Coolidge "What's What"

But this speech of Mr. Coolidge drew its counterpart a few days later from Lord Birkenhead, probably the ablest and most astute member of the British Tory cabinet. The noble lord said, in substance:

They had a few days ago a speech by the President of the United States in the direction of advice to the European countries. So far as England is concerned, Birkenhead was sure that England did not especially require any advice. England had not asked the United States, so far as he was aware, to do anything for her. When America went into the war it was because American nationals were being murdered by German submarines. That was the only reason. And while the Allies appreciated the immense contribution that the United States made and the moral effect it had on Germany and her Allies, they also remember that a million Englishmen were killed and 1,500,000 Frenchmen, and that the American soldiers were carried in English ships.

Mr. Woodruff. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Berger. I yield.

Mr. Woodruff. Did they not get a very handsome remuneration for every soldier that they carried for this Government?

And Bottomley Telling Things "Here and Now"

Mr. Berger. They did. And the well-known English jingo, Mr. Bottomley, developed this English version further by writing:

"The truth is, America has no genuine sympathy with Europe and is jealous of and antagonistic to Britain.

"America does not care a damn either for an American-Anglo union or for the prosperity of the Anglo-Saxon race, or, for that matter, for the peace of the world. War is the breath of her nostrils. It means filling her coffers with European gold, and the creation of an ever-increasing army of bloated millionaires—increasing, by the way, at the rate of 50 a year.

"I have a nasty knack of saying things which others only think. And in American jargon I declare "here and now" that America has her eye on Canada, whom she is gradually getting into her power by the peaceful penetration of loans and financial control. * * * It is time to speak plainly, and I think self-preservation and common sense dictate not only an Anglo-French naval understanding but a European pact of peace—yes; with Germany included—against that iced-water drinking continent whose hypocritical prohibition farce our own fanatical teetotalers are threatening to make a cry at the general election."

Thus Mr. Bottomley.

Bottomley Even Wants the "Germhuns" in the Alliance

English Socialists call attention to the striking similarity of these expressions with those made public for a few years before the outbreak of the World War—then

pertaining to Great Britain and Germany. These Socialists declare that the condition is alarming.

And not less striking nor less alarming is the fact that Mr. Bottomley—who but a year or two ago was clamoring for the destruction of all “Germhuns, like so much vermin”—now urges an alliance with those vermin against English-speaking America.

So much from these quarters.

Shylock? That Is “Uncle Sam” in English

Nevertheless, the far-famed Dean of St. Paul’s Cathedral in London—Mr. Inge, called the gloomy dean—recently also said that in a certain contingency:

“It is more than possible that the nations of Europe, enraged by the bloated prosperity and airs of superiority of ‘the man who won the war’ would combine to draw Shylock’s teeth.”

You know, Mr. Speaker and gentlemen, that Shylock is the pet name by which Uncle Sam is affectionately known in France and England.

“Freedom of the Seas” Is the Only Value We Can Get

Even more alarming as a feature of foreign relations today is the British tendency to treat the American challenge to English sea power and commercial supremacy as England treated that of Germany.

The English Government ignores the fact that Americans are only aiming at freedom of the sea—at least at present. After all, freedom of the sea is the only valuable achievement America could get out of the World War in return for her entry. And having failed to do so, it is not surprising for anybody familiar with the necessity of foreign trade under our system, that

America now intends to get freedom of the sea if necessary by building a fleet that will take command of the sea.

There is also this: If America should make up her mind to do so, it will be done. England can not stop us. England can not outbuild us. And England can not outbluff us.

Tory Cabinet Showed Bad Faith

By the Washington treaty of 1922, England accepted—as everybody supposed—the principle of parity with America in building warships. This would in time establish a new international sea law on the basis of one of Wilson's 14 points, "Freedom of navigation on the seas, alike in peace and in war, except as they may be closed by international action."

The failure of the Geneva conference—1927—to extend parity for battleships and cruisers was really due to the British Tory government trying to get around this by retaining the command of the sea through cruisers—since the battleships are obsolete, anyhow.

Now, I believe that cruisers are also of doubtful value, with airplanes and submarines coming into play. Nevertheless, the action of the British Government trying to sneak such an advantage in naval armaments showed bad faith and also proved that Great Britain can not be trusted. All fair-minded Englishmen admit this.

Nor is this all.

The Franco-British Pact Against America

With all this, and on top of it, last fall came the so-called Franco-British pact. M. Aristide Briand and

Sir Austen Chamberlain were supposed to have removed the deadlock between England and France as to naval disarmament—the English having always opposed the unlimited building of submarines by France.

But how did they remove this deadlock?

This was at first a secret. But the Hearst press in America got a copy of the circular of the French Government sent to its representatives everywhere—that contained the terms of the agreement.

It was thereby established that the naval compromise was not a compromise at all but was, in fact, a combination of British and French requirements as to naval armament—surely not of disarmament.

The large cruisers required by America—partly for strategic reasons and partly as a “club” to force disarmament upon the others—were to be limited. So much for America.

But the smaller cruisers wanted by the British for their farflung domains and the submarines wanted by the French for commerce destruction were to remain unlimited. And this, although the policy of America and the anti-war sentiment of the whole world demanded the limitation of all warships. And Coolidge and Kellogg deserve credit for expressing this sentiment.

The Franco-British Pact Against Germany

And if the Anglo-French pact was, therefore, bad enough in respect to its naval provisions—the rest was much worse.

The French let it be known jubilantly that one of their conditions, and one of the British concessions, was the British acceptance of the French demand that the

trained reserves of their army, numbering many hundred thousands, must not be taken into account in military disarmament. But to allow France to have all the military reserves she wants, without counting them at all—and yet to forbid conscription to Germany—simply meant to make permanent the French overlordship of Europe.

French Press Boasted of Alliance Against America and Germany

No wonder that the French press openly boasted of an armed alliance with Great Britain against Germany on land and America at sea.

The publication of that pact aroused public opinion everywhere, however.

The American press almost unanimously denounced an Anglo-French naval alliance that destroyed the principle of parity, and made "a scrap of paper" of the treaty of Washington of 1922.

The Berlin press declared that Locarno was dead.

The Italian press announced that the British had arranged for the transfer of the French submarines and airplanes to the Mediterranean.

English Public Opinion Condemned the Pact

Fortunately, the British public also got alarmed. Englishmen remembered how the liaisons had, as an "obligation of honor," carried England to war in 1914—although the very existence of these agreements had been denied in Parliament by the premier and foreign secretary at that time.

Even the Tory press was emphatic in its condemnation of the English Government's policy.

The government tried to explain and deny.

English Reasons Against the Pact

But there were the facts. Were not the principles of the new entente—the exclusion of trained reserves from disarmament, and the coupling of Rhineland evacuation with reparations and revision—a departure from the approved principles of British policy?

Was not the French air power twice as large as the English? Was not the French submarine fleet a menace to British commerce compared with which the German submarines in the World War were insignificant?

Was not the naval compromise a challenge to America—and the trained concession a menace to Germany—which only an armed alliance could risk?

Had not "conversations" taken place between British admirals and air marshals and their French opposite numbers, and were not their names and the nature of their arrangements known?

This crushing criticism put the British Government into a serious situation, especially since all of this happened shortly before the opening of Parliament.

Kellogg Saved the British Government

From this predicament the British Government was saved by Washington.

Our Government, without waiting for the publication of the original note, issued its own reply to the press. The general tone was rather stiff, and the conclusion was a short rejection of the Franco-British pact. To this rejection, however, was tendered the suggestion

that an agreement might be sought along the line of making the categories flexible, so that a power might increase construction on the one by reducing on the other.

This example was followed by the Italians, whose reply was also a refusal. The Japanese accepted. But that mattered little. For Great Britain, Japan, and America, if necessity required, could impose disarmament procedure upon France, but Great Britain, Japan, and France can not possibly impose either armament or disarmament on America.

All the World Believes It's Dead

The British Government therefore admitted from the start that an American rejection would be fatal.

And the publication of the pact (on October 23, 1928) finished it—at least the world so believes. It was not even mentioned a few weeks later in the King's speech at the opening of the Parliament.

What now?

British Now Willing to Open Negotiations Later

The American Congress has passed a bill to build 15 cruisers within the next three years, and the President has signed the bill. If America really wants to challenge British supremacy on the sea, 15 cruisers are not enough, of course. And our big navy men really asked for 71 warships. Nevertheless, it is a gesture, a hint with a club, since Great Britain knows that America could not only build 71 but 150 vessels if she made up her mind to do so.

The British ambassador seemed to understand that, and he hastened to declare in the press that England

is ready for another conference; but he was promptly repudiated by his Government. The British Foreign Office at first bluntly and officially denied any immediate intention to communicate with the United States in the matter of naval disarmament. Later, however, the British Foreign Office signified its willingness to open negotiations again after having consulted with the various British dominions.

And this is how the matter stands up to date.

English Claim of Sea Rule as Sound Against America as Against Germany

Let us review the situation, then, in a few words.

What is taking place between Great Britain and America is almost exactly what took place between Britain and Germany in the decade that preceded the war.

Germany set out to build a navy. Britain claimed that her national life depended upon her predominant sea power, and proceeded to meet it with more power—and with alliances and with the so-called entente. Out of that competition and these alliances came the war.

America has made it plain that she intends to possess a navy as big and as able as that of Great Britain, and that if Great Britain does not disarm, or reduce her navy, America would proceed to build. The Anglo-American situation may not duplicate in every detail the Anglo-German—because we have neither France nor Russia as neighbors, and Germany has both—but the underlying fact of competition, although both the Governments of Great Britain and America deny it, is nevertheless identical.

And if the assumption that "Britannia must rule the waves"—that England must predominate on the seven seas—was sound and correct in its quarrel with Germany it must also be considered to hold good against the United States.

England Wants Complete Mastery of the Sea in War Time

Moreover, America has had serious troubles—and once even a war—with England on that account.

The United States held on to its theory of sea right as a policy of national security and international justice, and it holds to this theory just as definitely and strictly as Great Britain holds to hers. Only the American theory of right at sea happens to be in irreconcilable conflict with the British theory of sea rights.

To put it in as few words as possible it is this:

America claims the right, whether Britain is at war or not—to trade with neutrals unhampered by any British restrictions.

Great Britain says in effect that such trade with neutrals shall be subject to her command of the sea in war time—to her right to decide whether this or that cargo might not in the end go to Britain's enemy. And England claims the right to be the sole judge in every instance.

But America Will Not Abandon Any Primitive Rights

America challenges this English version of sea rights—in fact, has always done so, except in this last war, when we were in the war ourselves as English Allies.

America has stood up for the protection of her trade consistently since she has become an independent coun-

try. She did so when the country was young and weak, and since she has now become the richest and most powerful nation on earth she will most assuredly not abandon these primitive rights.

Let us take a concrete example as given in Foreign Affairs, an English monthly:

What Would Happen to That Shipload

Britain is at war with France or Germany, for instance.

An American merchant receives an order for a shipload of cotton, or lard, or foodstuffs from a Dutch merchant. This American cargo is shipped in an American or Dutch or Italian vessel. America is at peace with England, at peace with Holland, at peace with Italy, at peace with England's enemy, at peace with all the world. But that ship is stopped by a British cruiser, taken into a British port, and a British court deciding that the American cargo is ultimately intended for Britain's enemy—or may get there—condemns and seizes the cargo. Neither the American nor the Holland nor the Italian parties are represented on the bench of that court. It is purely an *ex parte* decision.

Two Opposite Doctrines

Now the Americans say:

Our whole foreign commerce, our right to trade with nations with which we are at peace, can at any moment be forbidden by a foreign government, the British—whenever Britain chooses to go to war. Our right of movement in the world is subject to the will of England.

And Americans say further:

We intend to vindicate our right to the freedom of the sea and if necessary for that purpose, we shall have a navy so powerful that our rights will be respected even by Great Britain.

The case from the American point of view seems to be very strong.

On the other hand, however, the British claim:

To surrender the right to search and capture neutral ships would be to surrender the most powerful weapon which we have. Without a blockade exercised in just such a way, Germany could never have been defeated by us.

This is sound logic from a British point of view. But it is based on brutal force and valid only so long as all the other powers submit—or are not strong enough to offer resistance.

Otherwise, they might say that it is not God ordained and not even a part of the Ten Commandments that Great Britain must win every war. As far as is known in history she lost one war against her own colonies in the eighteenth century.

Even the New York World Thinks British Claim Impossible

And even the New York World, which is extremely friendly to England, said recently:

"The British Admiralty and a part of the British Nation still hold fast to the claim that Great Britain shall have the power to say who shall and who shall not sail the sea in ships. It is a claim which would put the interest of all other nations in jeopardy whenever Great Britain is at war. It is an impossible claim for it amounts to saying that the interest of mankind upon

the seas shall in law and in fact be subject to the British Admiralty."

This is the situation up to date, Mr. Speaker. And if we look at it from the well-established historical and economic point of view it holds out little or no promise for a better future.

What May Happen

We undoubtedly will have more conferences and more agreements and disagreements about armament and disarmament. And it will be proven again and again in the future, as in the past, that our American diplomacy is no match for the British; that they will get the best of our so-called diplomats often in the future as they did get the best of Wilson in Paris in 1919 and of Hughes in 1922. And then will follow accusations and counter-accusations. They will speak of "perfidious Albion" and of the "shirt-sleeve" diplomacy of the United States—and relations will go from bad to worse.

If the Tory viewpoint is to prevail in England, that country will undoubtedly seek and complete all sorts of alliances to perpetuate the mastery of the English rule at sea and, closely connected with it, the restitution of Great Britain's preponderance in the world's markets.

To Safeguard Business?

At the bottom of the question, after all, is the question of the world market, of which the "rule of the sea" is only a part, although undoubtedly an important part.

And what is to be the outcome of it all? A war between England and the United States? Why, and

what for? To secure the safety of business? Why should millions of lives be sacrificed, apart from the billions of property that would be destroyed, simply to safeguard business?

What a War Would Mean in the Future

The World War cost 30,000,000 lives and \$400,000,000,000 worth of property. And the next war—which, by its very nature, would be a world war again—would cost infinitely more. It may mean the end of our present civilization, the wind-up of the white race. The next war, if there is to be one, will be fought out along entirely different lines than the last, which was mainly a war of mud, vermin, disease, and nameless agony.

The next war will be mainly a war of airplanes, of submarines, and of chemicals. Cruisers, no matter how many we may build, will be obsolete within the next ten or fifteen years. A cruiser will be no match either for the airplane or the submarine.

As science is developing now, and especially chemical science, airplanes will have it in their power to throw bombs from the air, not only filled with molten metal spray but also with deadly gases that will spread death caused by suffocation from contraction of the throat, from congestion of the lungs, or by absorption of poison into the blood through the lungs. The populations of entire cities may thus be destroyed within a few minutes and every living being, men, women, and children, destroyed.

Is the world market worth all of this?

There Are Some Things Worse Than War

Now, Mr. Speaker, I want it to be understood that I am not a pacifist in the sense that I am a nonre-

sistant. There are worse things even than war, and worse things than death. Slavery, for instance, to my mind, is worse than either war or death. I would rather see my children and grandchildren dead than slaves.

And if this country of ours should actually be attacked, actually invaded, I would consider it the duty of every man, and woman for that matter, to defend their homes and their families, and I consider a certain amount of preparedness for that emergency justifiable. So much, but no more.

We Want No World Catastrophe to Safeguard Profits

I can not get enthused, however, about going to war for world markets or for the investments of Mr. Morgan, Mr. Rockefeller, or anybody else. These gentlemen go into other countries to make investments and they do so in order to make profits. And they should be willing to take a reasonable amount of business risk or stay away.

As for the seas, they are the world's highway and naturally ought to be as free and as secure as any other highway. And I am quite sure that a great proportion of the British population—all the millions that are with the Labor Party, and a large share of the Liberals—are now accepting this point of view.

The reactionaries and "die hards" have brought England to the sorry plight in which she finds herself now. And from my personal acquaintance with the leading Socialist statesmen of England—who undoubtedly will take the reins within a short time—I am sure that a "modus vivendi" will be found without any recourse to arms that would mean a catastrophe—a catastrophe

to England and to Europe as well. And what would be left of Europe after the catastrophe, would become communist, as a matter of course.

Several suggestions could be made.

Scrap All Pacts Dictated by War, Hatred, and Hell

One would be this:

Let the representatives of all the civilized nations of the world be assembled in a great conference for the purpose of undoing, as far as possible, the evils of the World War, and to prevent its repetition, scrap the pact of Versailles, and of all other pacts dictated by war, hatred, and hell.

Wipe out all the economic obstacles, border lines, and tariffs all over Europe. Have absolute free exchange of production in Europe. Take in Russia also, if Russia is willing to come.

America is a continent and a world of its own. And if America troubles Europe by an eccentric high tariff—let a United Europe put up the same kind of a tariff against America. We are bright, and we will soon learn.

Have an international congress with well-understood and closely defined legislative powers over international affairs, and establish a genuine international court to construe these international laws. America ought to join in that.

Freedom of the Sea and International Control of Waterways

Appoint special commissions of neutrals to consider international disputes as they may arise. Such decisions to be enforced, if necessary, by economic pres-

sure, without resort to arms. Have international control of strategic waterways, such as the Dardanelles, the Strait of Gibraltar, and also of the Suez, Kiel, and Panama Canals.

Have absolute neutrality and freedom of the "seven seas." Divide up the colonies among the great European nations. We do not need any.

Disarmament and Embargo on Food and War Material

In order to make all of this possible there must be as complete and universal disarmament as necessary. And it ought to be brought about as speedily as possible.

And by all means let us have absolute prohibition of exportation of arms, war equipment, and food supplies for war purposes from one country to another.

Science Will Probably Solve Most of These Questions

Mr. Speaker, some of these propositions may look Utopian, but they are not. All of them are practicable and will eventually have to be put into force. If these steps are taken there can be no doubt that wars will be a thing of the past—at least within the white race—and a war with England would really be unthinkable.

But, above all, I trust that science, which now makes wars more horrible, will eventually make them impossible and unnecessary by solving the question of food and raw materials, while co-operation and progress in social science will solve the question of distribution and all other questions.

And this is part of the mission of the international Socialist movement. [Applause.]

Statement of VICTOR L. BERGER

*Before the Special Committee of Congress
Appointed to Investigate His Right
to a Seat in the House.*

Nov. 5, 1918, Victor Berger was elected to the National House of Representatives from the Fifth Congressional District of Wisconsin.

After his trial under the so-called "espionage" act, when he had been sentenced in Judge Landis' court to twenty years imprisonment for opposing our entrance into the World War, Congress appointed a special committee to investigate his right to a seat in the House.

Mr. Berger appeared before this committee and defended his right to be seated. Congress, however, under the influence of the World War hysteria, voted to exclude him. [Editor's Note.]

His speech on this occasion follows.

Right of A Duly Elected Representative to a Seat in Congress

SEPTEMBER 15, 1919

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee—this is not the time for fine phrases. This committee is making history. It is not Victor Berger's seat in the National House of Representatives alone that is in the balance—representative government as such is in the balance.

I was told that the cards are stacked against me, that arguments are useless, that the Milwaukee Socialist is to be unseated in obedience to the dictates of certain capitalist influences because he is a Socialist and because he is of German extraction.

Mr. Welty. Who told you that the cards were stacked?

Mr. Berger. I refused to believe that.

Mr. Rose. I do not think that such statements should be made without giving the source to this committee. Personally I will not stand for any such implications as that from anybody.

Mr. Cochems. I think that Mr. Berger referred to an expression that appeared in the Associated Press, attributed to Speaker Gillett, in which he was reported as saying that Mr. Berger would not be permitted to take his seat, immediately after the Republican caucus.

Mr. Rodenberg. I do not think there is any objection to that statement.

Mr. Luehring. I do not either.

Mr. Berger. The papers carried that story and a great deal more.

Mr. Welty. I remember it was carried in the Associated Press.

Mr. Berger. I am not going to stand on any press notices because I refused to believe them.

Mr. Welty. The speaker is not going to control this committee. We are here to pass upon this matter ourselves.

Mr. Berger. While I am well aware that the capitalist octopus in America is frightened by what is going on in Europe—particularly in Russia—while I know that there is a great deal of prejudice against Socialists, and especially against Socialists of German descent, I refuse to believe that sane men—and members of Congress at that—who favor a democratic form of government would deliberately try to destroy that kind of government.

I was indicted upon orders "from above" on the charge of conspiracy to interfere with the armed forces, and found guilty of that charge by a hand-picked Federal jury, each member of which, according to a statement in the Chicago Herald-Examiner, had the O K of the American Protective League—which means a branch of the Secret Service—before he was put on the jury. The same jury undoubtedly would have found many members of the Sixty-fifth Congress guilty of the same charge if the jury had been selected for that purpose.

The overt acts which formed the "conspiracy" con-

sisted in the reprinting of the Socialist Party proclamation against wars adopted at the Socialist convention at St. Louis, and in printing of five editorials in which the Milwaukee Leader expressed its disagreement with the policies of the national administration regarding participation in European wars.

There were four men indicted with me. The prosecution did not charge that we had ever met to discuss the alleged "conspiracy," nor that we had ever planned or ever mentioned it to one another by means of correspondence or otherwise.

What the prosecution did charge was that five men holding similar opinions with regard to the war conspired by means of "a meeting of minds." This legal fiction outrages common sense, of course. Under this construction any man of any party or of no party anywhere in the United States could be indicted, convicted, and sentenced to 20 years in the penitentiary if his opinions upon public questions were offensive to the men temporarily in power.

You have heard these articles read here—these articles and many others written at that time—and also articles printed for many years before the indictment and some written after the indictment. Even the most rigorous construction of any of these articles by a man with a sane mind will not bear out the charge. And the suggestion that any of them is pro-German must sound just as ridiculous to you after you have listened to them. They are international and pro-humanity.

The American Socialists believed that the American people did not want war; that they were plunged into it by the plutocrats and profiteers of the country—their demagogic agitators, their press, their photoplays,

their advertisements, and other instruments of public expression; this is what the American Socialists believed and still believe.

Many Republicans and Democrats believed and said the same. And some papers and some men in Congress have criticized the national administration and the war in stronger language than I did. Among these were some of the foremost representatives of the Republican and Democratic Parties—men like James R. Mann, Claude Kitchin, Frank Mondell, W. E. Mason, and Champ Clark. We have read extracts from their speeches at this hearing.

I shall add here only a few of President Woodrow Wilson's remarks as to this war and its causes. At a time when the Socialists and The Milwaukee Leader attacked the German Kaiser and Germany most bitterly for being a party to the World War, Mr. Wilson said:

May 13, 1915: "Recalling the humane and enlightened attitude heretofore assumed by the Imperial German Government in matters of international right." * * *

May 13, 1915: "* * * having learned to recognize the German views and German influence in the field of international obligations as always engaged on the side of justice and humanity." * * *

Of course, that happened before Mr. Wilson knew that he was going "to make the world safe for democracy" and fight the "Huns." President Wilson went on like this:

February 3, 1916: "We believe that we can show our friendship for the world and our devotion for the purposes of humanity better by keeping out of this trouble than by getting into it."

May 5, 1916: "There are two reasons why the chief wish of America is for peace. One is that they love peace and have nothing to do with the present quarrel * * *."

May 27, 1916: "With its [the war's] causes and objects we have no concern."

October 5, 1916: "The singularity of the present war is that its origin and objects have never been disclosed."

December 18, 1916: "I take the liberty of calling attention to the fact that the objects of the statesmen of the belligerents on both sides are virtually the same."

Under the convenient legalistic term of "conspiracy," as construed by some of our Federal judges "as a meeting of minds," whether the persons accused have ever met or not—and with an act like the "espionage" law, which forbade men even to think against the war—the gentlemen in Congress (mentioned above) could have been indicted and found guilty of "conspiracy," individually and collectively.

They could be indicted, tried, and found guilty for the alleged utterances of persons whom they have not known and for articles they have never seen—if the right kind of a panel could be gotten together by the United States authorities.

They could be indicted far away from their homes, compelled to give bail in another state, and convicted there by a Federal jury. The gentlemen whose names I have mentioned above were protected from that tyrannical procedure only because they were members of Congress at the time.

But does the Constitution only protect members of Congress during a war? And how long will it protect

even members of Congress if you permit this sort of procedure?

What happened to me is that: A citizen of Milwaukee, Wis., I was indicted in Chicago, in the State of Illinois. I was compelled to furnish bail there, amounting to \$100,000. I am under bail for \$45,000 more on other indictments in some places in Wisconsin for the same articles.

Republicans and Democrats could be punished in exactly the same fashion for any opposition to a hostile national administration. President Wilson was recently quoted in the papers as having said that certain Senators "should be hanged" because they do not approve of his treaty. Suppose he insists that this idea be incorporated in a law? Well, these Senators happen to be very prominent Republicans, so there is little likelihood that they will be hanged even on Mr. Wilson's say so.

But we American Socialists surely were doomed beforehand as "German Socialists" and as "Bolsheviki" in the capitalist press.

The minions of the Department of Justice were in possession of all our books and files. These spies had opened my letters and the letters of other defendants for many months, before and after the indictment. And although there was not even the shadow of evidence to connect any of us—or the Socialist party—with "German propaganda," the prosecution continually hinted at "German propaganda."

The Milwaukee Leader and I have been persecuted under the espionage act in an unprecedented manner. The Milwaukee Leader has not only lost its second-class mailing rights by order of Postmaster General Burle-

son, but he has also deprived us of the right to receive any and all kinds of mail, letters included.

It was a crime to say or to write that this war was caused by commercial rivalry. To doubt that this was an "idealistic war" meant that the doubting Thomas was immediately arrested—as a pro-German or at least a Socialist.

Spokesmen of the Republican Party in the United States Senate, however, now frankly admit that it was a war for commercial supremacy.

Senator Harding of Ohio declared a few months ago in open session that "from the very beginning it was a lie to say that this was a war to make the world safe for democracy."

And President Wilson, at the St. Louis Coliseum, September 5, 1919, enlightened the world as follows:

"The real reason that the war that we have just finished took place was that Germany was afraid that her commercial rivals were going to get the better of her, and the reason why some nations went into the war against Germany was that they thought that Germany would get the commercial advantage of them."

Nevertheless, in 1917 Postmaster General Burleson suppressed about 60 weekly Socialist publications and took away the second-class mailing right from The Milwaukee Leader and tried his level best to kill the paper—for saying the same thing in 1917 that Woodrow Wilson and everybody else is saying now. Or was it a crime to tell the truth—until Mr. Wilson himself accepted it as his own?

At the present time America is the only civilized country in the world which still has political prisoners. And our national administration keeps on adding to their number.

Of course, the Attorney General denies that there is such a thing as a "political crime" in America. He claims that we Socialists are to be punished for violating a certain provision of a law—the espionage act—not for our Socialist ideas.

But while my co-defendants and I were told at the beginning of our trial in Chicago by the United States district attorney that "the Socialist Party was not on trial"—a few minutes after we had been found guilty by the hand-picked jury, the same United States district attorney triumphantly declared in an interview to the papers that "Bolshevism has received its fatal blow by this verdict."

Now, Socialism is not Bolshevism.

Socialism is the collective ownership and democratic management of the social means of production and distribution—while Bolshevism, as far as I understand it, is communism combined with syndicalism.

And this is my chance to say a few words explanatory of Socialism.

Socialism stands for a new civilization.

Surely no educated man believes that the present conditions are the end of all things. That we have not reached the end of our national development is clear. Every new invention and every new political question proves that to us.

And it would be sad indeed if we had reached "the end." We then should soon be on a level with China. And I need not explain that the Socialist movement is not to be traced to the irresponsible work of individual agitators or eccentric persons. The very name of our movement, "Social-Democracy," proclaims the aims of the Socialists.

In regard to the political form, we demand the rule of the people, i. e., democracy. In regard to the economic sphere and the spirit which shall manifest itself in this form and give life to it, we demand Socialism; that is, the collective ownership of the means of social production and distribution.

Thus we shall have Social-Democracy—a democracy which is founded on economic independence, upon the political and industrial equality of opportunity for all.

Determined opponents of the present capitalistic system of industry as the Socialists are, still they never claim that the concentration of capital is the cause of all evil.

We look the facts square in the face.

The trusts are the legitimate outcome of competition. The trust is the "survival of the fittest" under capitalism. The trust appears after competition has virtually destroyed competition.

Socialists, therefore, do not try to smash the trusts as such. On the contrary, the Socialists appreciate so fully the advantage of industrial production on a large scale that we wish its most perfect development—and wish to give its benefits to everybody—which is impossible under the capitalist system. For that reason we want to nationalize the trusts.

The control of production by the people as a whole means the highest possible perfection of industry on a large scale and means the extension of its advantages to all the people. And we all deeply feel the disadvantages of the private ownership of the means of production and distribution on a large scale. We observe how the railroads and other public service corporations corrupt our legislatures.

We notice how our life insurance savings and bank deposits are simply furnishing funds for high financiers to underwrite industrial ventures. We witness how the successful largest factory owners combine into trusts, which are "financiered" by the banks, and how the meat trust, the oil trust, the steel trust, and all the other trusts are "regulating prices," and how, moreover, some of these trusts are ruining the health of the people.

We all see it. We all feel it. And we all know it.

But it is said that the Socialists are revolutionists.

Very well! We are revolutionary, not in the vulgar meaning of the word, however, which is entirely wrong, but in the sense illustrated by history, the only logical sense.

I believe it is foolish to expect any results from riots and dynamite, from murderous attacks and conspiracies, in a country where we have the ballot, as long as the ballot has not been given a full and fair trial. We want to convince the majority of the people. As long as we are in the minority, we, of course, have no right to force our opinions upon an unwilling majority.

Besides, as modern men and true democrats, we have a somewhat less romantic and boyish idea of the development of human things and social systems.

And we know that one can kill tyrants and scare individuals with dynamite and bullets, but one can not develop a system in that way. Lenin and Trotski are finding this out to their dismay.

Therefore, no true Socialist ever dreams of a sudden change of society. We may have revolutions, if neither the capitalists nor the workmen make good use of their brains, but greater than all revolutions is evolution.

We know perfectly well that force serves only those who have it, that a sudden overthrow invariably breeds dictators, that dictatorship can promote only subjection, never freedom.

I have even proposed a general and methodical arming of all people as the safest means of preventing sudden upheavals and of preserving genuine democracy. That would, as a matter of course, also end the dictatorship of the plutocracy.

In short, the Socialists do not expect success from a smaller or bigger riot, but from a real revolution, from the revolutionizing of minds, the only true revolution there is.

It is clear that this revolution of the minds can not be brought about in a day or two, nor can it be arranged according to the pleasure of a few. It can only be attained by patient work and intelligent organization. Therefore, the Socialists concentrate their whole force on education, agitation and organization.

And education always means enlightenment and humanity, and organization means order.

We want to observe closely the course of things, the development of economic and political conditions. We want to find out, if possible, where this development leads. Then, supported by this knowledge, we want to put ourselves in line with the march of civilization, so that civilization will carry us, instead of crushing us, which it would do, if, knowingly or not, we should stand opposed to it.

Thinking men of all classes become Socialists not because we like to be "different" from other people. We are Socialists because we have recognized that the economical development of the present capitalist sys-

tem leads towards Socialistic production. Not that we wish to urge upon humanity "our" Socialistic Republic, but that the Socialistic Republic has urged itself upon us as the next stage of civilization and will urge itself some day upon all civilized humanity.

In a hazy way, however, our opponents attempt to convey the idea that the Socialists incite class antagonism and class hatred. And there are some honest men who believe that the Socialists create class hatred by explaining the class struggle. There are some well-meaning men in this country who still believe that because this is a republic there are no classes in the United States. They claim that everybody here is the equal of everybody else. Nothing of the kind.

As a matter of fact, under the present capitalist system, we have three classes, roughly speaking, in America.

The first class is the capitalist class, composed of wealthy bankers, railway magnates, corporation directors, trust magnates, etc., who have made money and are active in business, and people who are doing nothing and inherited their wealth. That class forms about two per cent of the Nation. In the income tax figures for 1917 we find 206 men with millionaire yearly incomes—10 of them with annual incomes of more than \$5,000,000 and 196 with yearly incomes ranging from \$1,000,000 to \$5,000,000. I have no figures for 1918.

The next class is the middle class, composed chiefly of small manufacturers, merchants, farmers, and some professional men. This class forms about 24 per cent of the Nation.

The third class is the proletariat, made up of wage-workers, small farmers, and some persons in profes-

sional occupations. That class forms about 74 per cent of the Nation.

It is unnecessary for me to dwell on the difference in the lives, modes of living, and general standard of the different classes. But the existence of classes is nothing new and the class struggle is many thousands of years old. It began the moment civilization began.

In the most democratic republic of Athens and in the aristocratic republic of Sparta, and later on in Rome, the people were divided into different classes, with different rights and different duties, according to their wealth. Some of these classes were hereditary to begin with, always provided that the respective family could keep its wealth.

In Rome the censor would assemble the Roman people every four years, have every citizen show up his wealth, and put him into his respective class. And the great Cato got the honorable name of "Censorious," because when he held the office of censor he would expel from the senatorial class the man who could not show the necessary wealth to belong to that class.

And in all these ancient civilized Commonwealths there was to be found a large stratum of citizens who owned nothing, and which in Rome was called the "proletariat," the "child makers," because the only capacity in which its members could serve their country was by furnishing children for the State.

Nor was this all.

Lower still, most numerous, and belonging to no class were the slaves. They did not own their bodies and were not supposed to have any souls. Plato described the slaves as "animated tools."

The slaves were either captured as prisoners of war or were made slaves on account of debts, or were the descendants of such persons. The class struggle then was very crude and very brutal. So much for ancient civilization.

We all know that the classes almost took the form of castes under the feudal system. Everybody was pressed into an iron mold. Society, then, was really a pyramid with the king on top. The high clergy and the feudal lords, the patricians and the burghers of the cities formed the upper layers of the pyramid. And under the feudal system also, as everywhere else, wealth and land gotten by force, cunning, or in any other way, furnished the basis of the classification.

The capitalist system, of course, has changed the mold. But the class distinction and the class differences and the class struggle have remained. In fact, the struggle is now more subtle, but more bitter than ever.

There is also this difference: Under former civilizations, almost everywhere the class distinction was the result of war. And the ruling class was made up of the members of the victorious tribe or the victorious nation. This was generally the case in ancient times and almost invariably so during the middle ages. The ruling class usually was the stronger, the more able, part of the population. As a whole, it was the only class that had any education fitted for the condition of the time.

Thus, the medieval lord was unquestionably the best fighter of his day. He was trained for warfare, clad in iron, and spent his life in hunting and fighting. The average medieval lord in war was good for about 20

peasants. Five or six hundred of these lords could go out to conquer a country. When the Archduke Leopold undertook to conquer Switzerland he had an army of about 600 knights, and that was considered a most tremendous fighting force. The commoners, of whom there were 3,000, did not count. And if it had not been for the mountains and the rocks of Switzerland the duke would have accomplished his purpose.

Besides, in every one of these epochs, the rulers could claim, and did claim, that it was the will of God that they should rule, and that the common people should serve and obey.

In old Greece and old Rome the patrician families usually also claimed descent from some god.

And all during the middle ages the church supported the claim of the feudal system to be "God ordained." The church was a beneficiary of the system to no small extent, the bishops and abbots often having great estates and being governors of many thousands of people. Besides, the ruling classes were not only more able than the poor people, but in many cases they differed in nationality, speech, and general makeup.

Thus, for instance, the Norman lords spoke French in England for a long time. In France, the Franks were a German tribe who had taken possession of Gaul. In many parts of Germany, the Germans had subjugated the Wends and other Slavic tribes. Hence, there was an element of conquest in every case.

In modern countries the conditions are entirely different. The conquered class is of the same nationality, the same speech, the same mode of thought. And the ruling class is not better or stronger, nor more able in any way.

Since the general introduction of public schools, the proletariat, as a whole, gets at least the elements of the same kind of education. The ability to read and write opens to them the same avenue of knowledge and mental power that the ruling classes possess. The proletariat and the middle class not only do all the useful and necessary work which is to be done under the present civilization, but they also have to keep up with that civilization. Today civilization depends entirely upon the proletariat and middle class for its existence.

And what is more, the capitalist class is even unable to defend its position in case of danger. If there is any fighting to be done, the capitalist class has to hire and cajole the proletariat to do the fighting. The capitalist class holds its position only because the proletariat is asleep and it is not conscious of its strength.

A statesman of old Rome said that the Romans could hold their slaves only because they had never counted themselves and their masters. However, since we have universal suffrage, there is a good chance to count ourselves and our masters at every election.

Nor would the claim that God had ordained class rule hold good today. Not even the most stupid worker would believe Ogden Armour that God has ordained that he and the other big packers should form a trust to uphold the price of meat. Nor would anyone believe our magnates of the steel trust that they are descended from the gods—and must rule.

Unless plutocracy can persuade the majority of the people to close up the public schools and make illiterates of the next generation, and unless it can also persuade them to give up the electoral franchise, plutocracy is doomed. So much is clear.

And that is the reason why we Socialists can look with such equanimity and complacency into the future. The future belongs to some form of Socialism.

And now you understand, gentlemen, while the Socialists are not Bolsheviks—if they had only the choice between Bolshevism and plutocracy, and no other choice, then they would stand for Bolshevism in preference to plutocracy.

In short, it will depend very much upon the action of the capitalist class and the behavior of capitalist Governments during the next few years as to what is going to happen to the capitalist class, not only in European countries, but also in America.

It will depend on our rulers whether we shall have an orderly evolution, which I have always preached and propagated, or a violent revolution which we Socialists have always tried to avoid.

Just now the plutocrats believe that they can quell the uprising of the working class by using force and by enacting special restrictive legislation. But remember, the Czar of Russia tried force to suppress ideas. Where is the Czar now? Where is his wife? Where are his children?

Prince Bismarck, one of the greatest statesmen Germany has ever produced, tried the enactment of special restrictive legislation against the Socialists. Bismarck lived long enough to regret it. Where is Germany now? If the Socialists can not save Germany—Germany can not be saved.

But even at that I believe that a verdict like the one rendered in Landis' court in Chicago—and a sentence like his—would have been impossible under the Czar in Russia or under the Kaiser in Germany.

I believe that for the articles that I have printed and for which I was found guilty and sentenced to serve 20 years in the penitentiary, I should not have been punished 20 minutes in prison in Germany under the Kaiser or under the Czar in Russia.

Under acts passed by Congress as "war measures," however, many men have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment far exceeding the heaviest sentences for much worse offenses under the regime of the Czar or the Kaiser.

For the ruling class in America, capitalism and Americanism have come to mean the same thing. The word "profit" and "patriotism" were used as synonyms by our profiteers during the war and ever since.

And all opposition to capitalistic, commercial, or imperialistic wars was regarded as "high treason." And all opposition to profiteering was denounced as disloyalty and "German propaganda."

Bolshevism and Socialism also mean the same thing to the capitalist class and its press. And "Government" and the "national administration" were purposely confounded by the people who wanted war because it helped their business.

The capitalists fear Socialism. They point to poor Russia, which is undergoing the pangs of rejuvenation—where a new society is to be born out of chaos and pain—as an example of Socialism.

This is not the time nor the place to explain Bolshevism in Russia and to tell the difference between Bolshevism and Socialism—but there can be no doubt that the Bolshevik revolution is the natural result of Czarism and of the methods the Czars used against the Socialists and liberals in Russia.

And if our authorities refuse the representatives elected by legal voters admission to legislative bodies—then the working people may be forced to discard their belief in representative government and in the ballot.

The Bolsheviks do not favor representative government. They preach “direct action” and the “dictatorship of the proletariat.”

The Bolsheviks want to break entirely with the past. The Socialists do not believe that a complete break is either possible or desirable. But, as I said before, the outcome will largely depend upon the attitude of the “powers that be”—whether the Socialists or the extremists will prevail.

Remember, less than two years ago the Kaiser was one of the most powerful men in the world. Less than three years ago the Czar was the autocrat of 170,000,000 people. Where are they today? And do you really believe that a revolution which did not stop before Kaiser and Czar will stop before the majesty of the money bag?

It is true, our capitalist rulers may form a so-called league of nations. It is an alliance of the plutocratic governments against the Socialist and the communist nations of Europe—the alliance to be directed and governed by the British plutocracy. Such a league will furnish no relief against armaments, high taxes, and wars. On the contrary, there will be more armaments than ever, and more wars than ever.

And since ideas can not be excluded by bayonets, the communists may eventually win simply because of persecution. The present civilization may be lost entirely, the good in it will go down with the bad, which would be deplorable.

I repeat that I have nothing to retract from the articles that I have written or from the speeches I have made. All my predictions have come true. And a great deal more will come true than I have predicted.

This was the worst imperialistic war ever known in the history of the world. Every honest man who has any brains admits it now.

The following facts are set forth in a statistical summary of The War with Germany:

The total American casualties to November 11, 1918, when hostilities ceased in France, were as follows:

Killed and died of wounds.....	36,154
Died of disease.....	14,811
Deaths unclassified	2,204
Wounded	179,625
Missing	1,160

Total..... 233,954

The Milwaukee Leader often dwelt upon the unparalleled cost of this war. Here are some figures:

"America's war expenses totaled \$32,363,000,000. We could have for the cost of this war carried on the Revolutionary War for 1,000 years."

But to put the matter differently, this sum would just be enough to pay the entire cost of running the American Government from 1791 up to the outbreak of the European war.

"The war cost the United States considerably more than \$1,000,000 an hour for over two years.

"During the first three months expenditures were at the rate of \$2,000,000 a day. During the next year they averaged more than \$22,000,000 a day. For the final 10 months the daily average was over \$44,000,000.

"The total war costs of all nations were about \$186,000,000,000, of which the Allies and the United States spent two-thirds and the enemy one-third.

"The three nations spending the greatest amounts were Germany, Great Britain, and France, in that order. After them came the United States and Austria-Hungary, with substantially equal expenditures.

"The United States spent about one-eighth of the entire cost of the war and something less than one-fifth of the expenditures of the allied side.

"The total battle deaths of all nations in this war were greater than all deaths in all the wars in the previous hundred years.

"Russian battle deaths were thirty-four times as heavy as those of the United States, those of Germany thirty-two times as great, France twenty-eight times, and the British eighteen times as large."

And what has been accomplished by these immense sacrifices? Has the world been made safe for democracy? Where? Are the "small" nationalities free? Is Ireland free? Is India free? Is even Belgium safe, if France should make up her mind again to conquer her, as France intended in 1867?

Is militarism abolished forever? Are not England, France, and the United States contemplating bigger armies and navies than ever known in the history of the world?

As for America in particular—what have we gained in this war and by this war? What has America gained except billions of debts and a hundred thousand of cripples? And we have lost most of our political democracy. Can anybody think of a single thing, worth while, that we have gained through this war? And even a casual reader of the daily newspapers will admit that an imperialistic peace of the worst kind is the

result of the much-heralded peace conference in Paris. All the predictions of the Socialists—and especially my predictions in the *Milwaukee Leader*—have come true, I am sorry to say.

And because I am a student of the world's history, because I can see clearly, because I warned my fellow-men, my countrymen, of the events that were bound to happen if we pursued a certain course, therefore I was indicted, found guilty, and sentenced to serve 20 years in the penitentiary.

This incident of being found guilty in Judge Landis' court for exercising my constitutional right of free speech and a free press should have nothing to do, however, with my being seated in the House of Representatives.

And it would be ridiculous, of course, to pay much attention to the plea of the attorney for my Democratic opponent, Mr. Carney, that I must be excluded and Mr. Carney seated (although he received almost 6,000 votes less than I did) in order to make at least the Sixty-sixth Congress "safe," since I am sure to be re-elected if Carney is not seated.

If my re-election is as certain as the attorney for Carney claims, then that is only one more reason to seat me, because I am the true choice of the electorate of the Fifth district of Wisconsin.

Of course, it is the natural and usual thing that the people should re-elect the man who expresses their ideas, especially if the man has proved to be true in face of persecution and prison. In European countries, including France and England, many men have been elected and re-elected to parliaments who were under prison sentence. Most of the Sinn Fein men recently

elected had been found guilty of "sedition" and "high treason" or were indicted and under arrest.

In our own country, Matthew Lyon, a member of Congress from Vermont, who had earned the hatred of President John Adams by ridiculing the aristocratic pretenses of our country's Chief Executive, was, under the sedition act of 1798, indicted, found guilty, and imprisoned for having written and printed certain articles and pamphlets. Congress had adjourned when the trial took place. Lyon served his full sentence of four months, but was re-elected to Congress in 1799, while in prison.

The Federalist Party tried to expel Lyon from the House when he took his seat, but could not muster the necessary two-thirds majority, although the vote of the House did show a simple majority for expulsion.

Like all the other men who had been found guilty under the sedition act, Matthew Lyon was highly honored afterwards. He became a popular idol and was repeatedly re-elected to Congress. His \$1,000 fine was paid back to his heirs with accrued interest. Together with Thomas Jefferson, Matthew Lyon became one of the founders of the Republican-Democratic Party, now called the Democratic Party.

The Federalist Party—until then the ruling political organization—completely disappeared, mainly on account of having passed the sedition act.

It seems that the statesmen of the Democratic Party, including Woodrow Wilson, do not know the history of the origin of their own party. If they did they never would have passed the so-called espionage act—which is patterned after the old alien and sedition acts, only made very much more drastic and cruel. Even the

truth of a statement is not permissible as a defense under Wilson's law. And the maximum punishment was raised from three years in 1798 to 20 years in 1917.

Yes, from time immemorial, the Bird of Liberty was a jailbird, and it got to be more so since Woodrow Wilson "made the world safe for democracy."

Gentlemen, it may depend upon your decision in this case to a great extent whether the common people are to lose all faith in political elections and representative government—whether they are to turn to "direct action" and "soviets."

The tendency manifest among workmen of our country today is decidedly against "politics" and in favor of "direct action." The only "politics" the workmen know in this country (with the exception of very few places in the Middle West and the Northwest) is capitalistic politics. And this "politics" is so discredited that even the Boston policemen will not trust the promises of politicians, but prefer "direct action" and the strike.

There is a growing distrust of representative government everywhere, even in the classic land of parliamentarism, in England.

Although the advocates of the British Labor Party point to the fact that Lloyd George has lost to the Laborites practically every election held since last December, there are in many quarters symptoms of indifference and even contempt for parliamentary methods. This fact almost resulted in the Triple Alliance of Miners, Transport Workers and Engineers declaring a "general strike" against British intervention in Russia and against conscription. If such a general strike

ever should take place. England will see the beginning of a social revolution.

There is the same indifference to parliamentarism in France and Italy, and it is commencing to show itself in Germany and the Scandinavian countries.

If it were not for the Socialist Parties everywhere, representative government would soon come to an end in Europe.

In one instance after the other, labor unions are showing their willingness to accept the strike, and especially the general strike, as their sole weapon, and they are willing to use this weapon to enforce all of their demands, political and economic.

It is due to this tendency that at the special convention of the Socialist Party of America held during the first week of September, this year, a part of our organization split off. They started the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party, neither of which has any faith in representative government and parliamentarism.

Now, I do not believe in the present capitalist system. I am convinced that it has outlived its usefulness and must make room for a new order of society. I believe in sane and orderly methods, however, to bring about that necessary change, provided we are permitted to use sane and orderly methods.

And if you gentlemen would only have your ears to the ground and not trust to the capitalist newspapers entirely for your information—if you gentlemen would read the signs of the times, even between the lines of these capitalistic papers—you would soon come to the conclusion that besides furnishing a bad precedent it would be foolish and criminal to deprive the Socialist

Party—a party casting over a million votes—of its sole representative in Congress.

As a matter of fact, a large number of Socialists in Congress would be a blessing to the country—they and their measures might possibly stand between present society and chaos.

Special legislation to keep “undesirable” members out of Congress surely will work both ways. Some day it may be used by Socialists or other radicals against the representatives of the capitalist class, especially if the present decision will furnish a sufficient precedent.

Every thinking man should keep in mind that over half of the white race is in a chaotic stage of revolution at the present time, out of which revolution must develop an orderly Socialist reign within the next five years. Every thinking American should take into consideration that England, France and Italy will soon join the world-wide social revolution.

Can America alone escape a world-wide movement of the white race?

It will avail our statesmen nothing to hide their heads in the sand of reaction and to forbid immigration, or even to deport rebels. You can not build a Chinese wall against ideas.

There are 10,000,000 men and women in this country always on the brink of pauperism and starvation. You can not expel all of them. You cannot kill all of them. You need them under the capitalist system as a reserve army of labor for your industries.

You cannot solve this question. And yet this question must be solved. Our reactionaries may soon rue the day when they persecuted the representatives of evolutionary Socialism and thus invited a cataclysm

which is bound to bury the present system and its defenders.

To sum up: I have always been proud of the Socialist record of observance of law. I have always tried to change or repeal such laws as, in my opinion, were harmful. My work was always constructive. I have always striven to conserve what is best in capitalist civilization as an inheritance for coming generations.

The law under which suppression of free speech and of free press was enforced is a flat denial of rights guaranteed every citizen by the Constitution of the United States. The manner in which that unjust and inherently unconstitutional law was used to procure my conviction for a crime which I never in word, deed, or spirit contemplated, was a travesty upon justice.

My case is still pending in the courts on an appeal. I am confident that the verdict will be reversed by the higher tribunal. I believe that the higher court will hold that I was within my constitutional rights in printing these editorials. A man can not be considered guilty, especially in a political case of this kind until the highest court in the land has spoken. And in the opinion of real democrats, he will not be considered guilty at any time.

The Fifth district of the State of Wisconsin is entitled to be represented by the man of its own choice. I say again, it is not the personal case of Victor Berger—representative government is on trial.

And the particular question now is: Does the National House of Representatives desire to unseat the regularly elected and regularly certified representative of the Fifth district of Wisconsin because he stood honestly and loyally by his principles?

A TRIBUTE TO DEBS

Address Delivered at the
Funeral of

Eugene V. Debs

October 23, 1926

A Tribute to Debs

OCTOBER 23, 1926

We are mourning Eugene V. Debs—America's greatest lover. Gene was not only a lover but he was also most beloved because he was loving and lovable.

Beautiful as is the saying of the Bible—"Love thy neighbor as thyself"—Gene improved upon it. He loved his neighbor better than himself.

He was generous to a fault. He gave himself so unsparringly that he allowed some unscrupulous persons to impose upon him.

Gene was human and had his shortcomings, but his generosity was the greatest of these shortcomings, and he surely had many elements of greatness.

His abounding love must be placed at the head of the list, but the world will also remember his courage, his honesty, his ability and his energy. He was absolutely loyal to the working class and to the truth. And his loyalty led him twice to prison. If it had led him to the gallows—he would have gone just as unflinchingly.

So great a lover was he, however, that when cast among the outcasts of the prison he became a lover of those outcasts and they in turn loved him.

Eugene V. Debs was a great American. But he was more than that—he was a great man.

Gene surely was a hero—a working class hero—yet a greater hero than any general in the World War, which he opposed to the bitter end.

Thomas Carlisle defines heroism as "The divine relation, which at all times unites great men with other men."

American history will, in the future, consider Eugene V. Debs as a model for boys to pattern after.

America has lost a great man—the working class has lost a tireless champion for its emancipation—and the international Socialist movement has lost one of its most devoted and best known adherents.

Eugene V. Debs—dear comrade—we bid you good-bye!

We give you —our Gene—to the world and to the ages.

EARLY SPEECHES

**Delivered in the
Sixty-Second Congress
1911-1913**

A Socialist View of the Tariff

JUNE 14, 1911

[The House being in Committee of the Whole had under consideration the bill to reduce the duties on wool and manufactures of wool.—Editor's Note.]

Mr. Chairman: It is hardly necessary for me to explain how highly I appreciate the honor of being a member of this House.

There is probably no other legislative body in the world in which there are so many earnest, bright, and interesting men. However, you interpret things as you see them, and you see them from the point of view of your class—the capitalist class.

The first question you naturally ask of any new member is, What is your message?

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have a message to deliver from the most advanced and intelligent section of the toiling masses—from millions of men and women.

If you will bear with me in patience for an hour I shall try to deliver a part of that message to the best of my ability.

I am told that oratory counts for little or nothing in this House—that you want facts. I am very glad of that, because I hope to convince you within five minutes that I am not an orator, and within ten minutes that I have some facts.

Now, gentlemen, I just ask you kindly to overlook my Milwaukee accent, but to overlook nothing else.
[Laughter.]

Scant Protection for the Laborer

Some of the gentlemen here have repeated the old threadbare fallacy that the high tariff is to protect labor.

Now, I want it understood that there is no such thing as protection to labor in any tariff bill. I want to say this in the name of the many millions of enlightened workingmen in this country, and in all other civilized countries, who think for themselves.

Moreover, gentlemen, you are not in the habit of making laws for the protection of labor. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

You are continually making laws for the protection of life and property—for the protection of the lives of those who own the property, and for the protection of the property they own. You are continually making laws for manufacturers, bankers, and merchants.

But the workingman who has no other property than his labor gets scant protection, indeed.

If he wants to be protected, he must commit a crime; he must steal or get drunk and disturb the peace or become a tramp. Then the law gets hold of him and gives him protection. Then he gets the protection of the jail or the penitentiary.

As long as he is well and decent the law does not protect him. The high tariff does not protect him.

The Kernel of the Tariff Issue

What is the philosophy of the tariff?

The history of the protective tariff is the same in every country.

Agricultural countries subsidize manufacturers for the purpose of creating industries.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries England became the foremost manufacturing country of the world. Germany, which before had supplied the world with manufactured goods, had been thrown back in civilization and culture by the horrors of the religious wars incident to the Reformation.

England bought the raw material of the world and sold the manufactured product. In order to build up industries in their own countries, the European rulers tried to protect their manufacturers against the importation of English goods by putting up a high tariff.

The history of the American tariff is very much the same. The tariff reaches back to the days of Alexander Hamilton and is based upon the same idea.

It simply meant subsidizing the manufacturers so as to build up industries. It meant that the Nation was paying the manufacturer a bonus for investing his money in manufacturing.

The result in every country has been the same.

The high tariff at first stimulated competition. Everybody who had any money or any business talent went into the manufacturing business.

That tendency, of course, cut down the profits. It culminated in this country about 1892, when one of those periodical crises which are a part of our industrial system set in.

The result was natural enough. No matter whether we have a high tariff or free trade, competition has a tendency to weed out the economically weaker concerns.

That process of weeding out is mightily stimulated by these industrial crises, a matter to which I shall refer again later.

Competition Always Kills Competition

The process of weeding out went merrily on in this country. Toward the end of the last century a number of the remaining big firms found it more profitable to unite than to continue the fight.

There you have the origin of trusts.

It is not fair to ascribe the origin of trusts entirely, or even mainly, to the high tariff.

The high tariff is responsible for the trusts only as it stimulates competition, and inasmuch as it subsidizes the manufacturers.

But the outcome of competition is always the same. Competition always kills competition in the end. We find trusts in high tariff America and in free trade England. We find trusts in Germany and even in little Holland. As a matter of fact, every flourishing industry winds up in a trust.

I can go still further. I will say that in every manufacturing country the manufacturers at first demand protection and get it.

They want protection in order to conquer the home market—the market in their own country. They demand it as a matter of patriotism. Business men are always patriotic when there is profit in sight. [Laughter.]

But the business man, after he has gained control of the home market and reaches out for the profits in other countries, changes from the patriot to the cosmopolite.

Mr. Moore of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. Berger. No; I shall ask the gentleman to wait until I have developed my theme, and then I shall be

very glad to answer all questions. I am here to answer questions for the next year and a half. [Laughter.]

“Big Business” Ready for Tariff Reduction

The business man suddenly finds that the high tariff—the same high tariff which has helped him to control the home market—is a chain on his legs when he wants to conquer the world market. Therefore he is willing to drop the tariff.

This is the case with the highly protected iron industry. The leading spirits in that industry are just about ready to drop the high tariff not only for iron, but for everything else.

Thus, the New York Sun of Thursday, June 8, says:

“Possibly this country might continue to keep out of the poorhouse, grow wool, and make clothes, even if they have not the heaven-born tariff to consecrate every sheep and manufacturer.”

Considering that the New York Sun is supposed to be Pierpont Morgan’s mouthpiece, and the organ of standpatism in industry, this is rather a frank admission.

Moreover, no lesser authority than Mr. Carnegie has declared that we are ready for a reduction of duties in the iron industry.

I am not, however, concerned with the manufacturers’ side of this question. The manufacturers are well able to take care of themselves, and they are exceedingly well represented in this House. [Laughter.]

What I want to bring out is that it never was intended that the high tariff should protect the workingman. That pretense was simply an afterthought, because the workingmen have votes. [Laughter on the

Democratic side.] Only American manufacturers have dared to tell this falsehood to their workingmen. Why? Because until very recent years American workingmen were more ignorant on economic and social questions than their brothers in Germany or France.

The highly protected manufacturers of Germany never dared tell their workingmen that the tariff was there to protect the workingman. The protected manufacturers of France never dared tell their workingmen that the tariff protected them.

It was only in this country, after the infant industries had become giants, that some of our Pennsylvania politicians conceived the idea of claiming that the high tariff was here to protect the workingman.

But this issue shows plainly the paramount influence of our manufacturers and traders in political affairs, even though every workingman in America has a vote. The manufacturers palm off their private issues as national issues.

It is the manufacturers who want protection; it is the commercial men, and mainly the importers, who want free trade.

The manufacturers, as I said before, pretend that protection benefits the working classes.

But that this claim is a mere sham is evident from the fact that they have never proposed to discourage the immigration of foreign workingmen; that, on the contrary, they have always done all they could to encourage foreign laborers to come over; that they have even sent agents to Europe to coax laborers by false pretenses.

Causes of Higher Wages in America

There can be no doubt that wages are better here than in European countries. But the causes of this fact have little or nothing to do with the tariff.

The workman in highly protected Germany has somewhat the advantage, in wages and hours, over the workman in highly protected France. The workman in free trade England has a shade the advantage over the workman in highly protected Germany.

It can not be shown that the tariff has any general effect upon wages.

Higher wages in the United States are due to a number of highly complex factors.

There is, first, the higher efficiency of the American workman, as the gentleman from New York [Mr. Redfield] pointed out in his interesting speech day before yesterday. There is, next, the more perfected machinery upon which he works. There is also the advanced development of trade unionism. There is, furthermore, the fact that, until recently, large tracts of public land served constantly to draw off some part of the competing laborers of the towns and cities to the country.

Finally, there is the fact that the economic system, as a whole, has never settled down in America into the hard and fast groove in which it runs in Europe.

Indeed, that system in America still retains something of the elasticity of colonial times.

Starvation Wages in the Highly Protected Industries

Since the great strike in Pittsburgh in 1892—which ended with the battle on the Monongahela—the claim that the high tariff protects the workingman has become more rare. I should not advise the gentleman

from Pennsylvania or any other gentleman to make such a claim before an audience of workingmen of Pittsburgh, Chicago, or Milwaukee when there is a strike on for living wages in some branch of the iron industry.

While the products of our factories are highly protected, sometimes as highly as 200 per cent, the producers of these products are not protected at all. On the contrary, during the last 20 years Slavonians, Italians, Greeks, Russians, and Armenians have been brought into this country by the million. Simply because they have a lower standard of living they have crowded out the Americans, Germans, Englishmen, and Irishmen from the workshops, factories, and mines of our highly protected industries.

And in the steel mills of Pittsburgh, Chicago, and Milwaukee, where 30 years ago the so-called princes of labor used to get from \$10 to \$15 a day, the modern white coolies get \$1.75 for 12 hours a day, 7 days in the week—having no time to praise the Lord, and no reason either. [Laughter.]

As for the manufacturers of woolen goods, Bulletin 57 of the Census Bureau, which gives the figures on manufactures for 1905, shows (p. 93) that 44,452 youths and men, 24,552 girls and women, and 3,743 children under 16 employed in the manufacture of woolen goods receive a yearly average of \$396 and a weekly average of \$7.61.

The same bulletin shows that 29,883 youths and men, 32,130 girls and women, and 7,238 children under 16 employed in the manufacture of worsted goods receive a yearly average of \$379 and a weekly average of \$7.30.

According to social workers who have made a study of family budgets, the minimum requirement in the United States for a decent living for a family consisting of father, mother, and three small children is \$750 a year. I believe that estimate is much too low, and that none of the gentlemen in this House would want to live on it. However, the average wages in these two highly protected industries are but little more than half this sum.

It is true that this average takes in the wages of children and youths. But, on the other hand, it also takes in the wages of the highly skilled mechanics and of foremen. It is therefore a fair average; and it shows a wage entirely inadequate to support a decent standard of living.

Against Tariffs Generally

As for me, I am against all tariffs—high tariffs or low tariffs—and against low tariffs as a proposition to raise revenue.

Every tariff, high or low, means that it hits the poor man worst. So long as a tax is placed on the necessities of life, it will fall upon the poor man much more heavily than upon the rich man. [Applause.]

To begin with, it is the poor people who, as a rule, have many children. The tax on shoes will strike a poor sewer digger who has six children six times as hard as it will the millionaire, who has one child. Moreover, the digger can afford it 1,000 times less. [Applause.]

Every tariff puts the burden upon the people who can afford it least. Every tariff means that the wealthy people are not willing to pay their share of taxes and

that they want the poor people to pay it for them. It means that these taxes go to the manufacturer.

This is all any tariff means.

It is in all cases an inheritance of the Middle Ages—the Dark Ages—when the privileged classes did not pay any taxes and the common people had to pay them all.

The only just tax is an income tax [applause] which is graduated to such a degree that it will establish some fairness as to the intensity with which it is felt by the poor people as compared with the rich.

Free Trade in Itself No Remedy

I do not want to be understood to imply that the working class is benefited by free trade of itself. Free trade is no panacea. Free trade would mean that a great deal of our manufacturing would be done across the sea—particularly all of the manufacturing that has not yet reached the trust stage. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Moreover, the working class can not endure any sudden lowering of tariffs. It is helpless to protect itself from the consequences.

Especially in our country, after many years of the highest kind of a high tariff, any sudden change would be disastrous, and that is where the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. Underwood] was wise. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

A Sudden Change Would Be Disastrous

There are whole communities built up on a tariff schedule on some manufactured commodity. A radical and sudden lowering of the tariff on any of those

products would, of course, unsettle conditions, close workshops, and deprive thousands of wage earners of their jobs. And since under our planless system of production no provision whatever is made for the displaced workers, the result would be widespread disaster and misery. [Applause on the Republican side.] When society is willing to undertake the transfer of displaced workers from a dying industry to a flourishing one we can then welcome any radical change in the tariff that seems best for the Nation as a whole.

Labor does not need the so-called protection of tariffs. It does need, however, protection against sudden changes for the worse in economic conditions. And in so far as it has had any protection it has protected itself by forming trade unions. It has protected itself by strikes and boycotts, which have been declared by the Supreme Court of the United States to be illegal.

But, illegal or not, I hope labor will continue to use them in order to resist the forcing down of the standard of the bulk of our population to a Chinese level. [Applause.] For in many respects we have been coming down continually. [Applause.]

Before this, the capitalist era, common workingmen in England could live a whole week on the earnings of four days.

Now, in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, common laborers can scarcely live a week on the earnings of seven days of excessive toil.

Mr. Stanley. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Berger. Mr. Chairman, this is the first time that the Socialists' view on the tariff has ever been heard in this House, and if the gentleman will kindly give

me a chance to get through with my statement, I shall be very glad to answer any questions that he may wish to ask, and I have no doubt that he will be able to ask them with much more profundity than now. [Laughter and applause.]

Always Free Trade in Labor

There is always free trade in labor.

Under the present system, which we call in political economy the capitalist system, the workingman's labor has become a mere ware in the market.

The fact is that the capitalist, the average employer today, is more concerned about a valuable horse, about a fine dog, about a good automobile, than he is about his employee or about his employee's family.

The Worst Employer Sets the Pace

As a matter of fact, under the present system it is usually the worst employer who sets the pace. The employer who can fleece and skin his workingmen best is best equipped for the fight in the open market. He can produce his goods the cheapest.

In the cotton factories of the South, from where my Democratic free trade friends come, the women and children compose two-thirds of the working force. Very similar are the conditions in our large cigar and tobacco factories and in the workshops of many other industries.

Laws against this sort of thing are almost useless as long as the present economic system prevails.

For while it is notorious that the wages thus earned by a whole family do not on an average exceed those of the head of the family in occupations where it has

not become habitual to employ women and children, the abuse is still daily gaining ground.

And the reason is very simple. Women and children do not go into the factory for the fun of it; they are brought there by dire necessity, by competition. And it is competition, too, that compels the little children of the Southern poor white people to go to the cotton factory and offer their young lives to be turned into dollars. Here are the figures of children from 10 to 15 years of age, inclusive, employed in 1900 in 11 Southern States, with the percentage of the total number of children of that age period:

Child Labor in the South

States	Per cent		Per cent	
	Males	of total	Females	of total
Virginia	44,651	33.7	11,094	8.5
West Virginia	22,343	33	2,481	3.9
North Carolina	77,986	55.1	32,421	23.5
South Carolina	56,363	53.8	38,917	38.3
Georgia	77,462	46.7	36,502	22.6
Kentucky	53,676	35.4	7,441	5.1
Tennessee	63,711	43.2	12,651	8.9
Alabama	80,989	59	41,664	31.3
Mississippi	63,906	53.8	34,103	29.7
Louisiana	39,620	39.4	21,427	21.6
Arkansas	49,747	50.1	15,321	15.8

Nor are conditions in most of the Northern States much better.

With a system like this it is only natural that the rich should become richer and the poor poorer.

Free competition imposes no restraint upon the powerful. They are at liberty to exploit the poor workman to their hearts' content.

And another thing: The strength on the capitalist

side is so great, and the capacity for resistance on the side of the workmen is so insignificant, that there is actually no freedom of contract. The monopoly of the tools has made the employers a class of autocrats and the laborers a class of dependents—of hirelings. The laborer is simply a hired appendage to the machine.

The machine has come to be the main thing, the costly thing. The living appendage, the laborer, can be gotten without much trouble or cost. Nowadays, if an owner of tools does not want to let a workingman work, the latter has no means of subsistence unless he finds some other "lord of production" who will permit him to produce something.

And so this system now creates the dependence of the thousands upon the few.

It is a paltry evasion of our capitalists to say that the workers are free to accept or to refuse the terms of their employers. The laborers have to consent. If they refuse the terms, there are plenty of others, hungry, starved, and desperate, ready to take their places. But suppose it were possible that the employer could not get other men to take the places of those who refused the terms offered—and, pray, do not for a moment think that this could actually be the case—the employer could stand it; he would merely stop business for the time being. And do not imagine for one instant that he would suffer privation by so doing. His home would be just as radiant with luxuries as ever, and he would probably try to endure life by a trip to some foreign country.

Cause of Frequent Recurrence of Panics

Now, another important consideration:

Since the working people do not receive the full

value of their products—because a considerable profit is made by the employing class on everything the workers produce—can they be expected to buy back these products? Their numerical strength makes them the chief consumers of the country and those on whom production mainly depends.

In this way, by the laboring people not being able to consume enough, and by the planless way in which production is carried on in general, the so-called over-production is created.

Of course, no matter how much or how little the toilers of a nation create, they always create more than they are able to buy with their wages, because they have never received the full value of that production.

Thus the so-called industrial crises originate. They have come upon us about once in every 20 years, roughly speaking, since capitalist production began its sway. At such times the trade and the manufacturing of a nation come to a standstill, because "there is too much on hand."

And the working people have to stop work and go ragged and hungry because there is too much on hand.

Statesmen, newspapers, lawyers, and so-called reformers on such occasions claim that it is either too much silver or too little silver, or lack of confidence, or what not, that is the cause of the industrial crisis, or panic, as it is sometimes called.

But hard times are really hard only on those whose subsistence depends on their having work to do.

For the poor people the times are always hard.

During "hard times" the wives and daughters of the capitalists, however, do not leave off attending balls, parties, and operas, in their silks and diamonds.

On the contrary, if the times are very hard, the wealthy and charitable people simply arrange one more amusement and call it a "charity ball."

As far as security of work is concerned, the workman of the present time is worse off than any of his predecessors in history. In fact, the irregularity of his employment, the frequency with which he is out of work, is the most alarming feature of the workingman's condition. The toiler of today can not work when he wants to, or when he ought to, in order to support himself and family. He can work only when it is to the profit of the employer that he should do so.

What will be the outcome?

Some day there will be a volcanic eruption. A fearful retribution will be enacted on the capitalist class as a class, and the innocent will suffer with the guilty.

Such a revolution would throw humanity back into semi-barbarism and cause even a temporary retrogression of civilization.

Various remedies have been proposed. Single tax, more silver dollars, greenbacks, and a dozen other remedies have been offered. But since none of them does away with the deadly effects of competition, and with the effect of the machine on the workman, I must dismiss them as insufficient. This is particularly the case with the single tax, which would simply for a time sharpen competition and thus increase the misery of the working class.

The other day we listened to a fervid plea for the single tax delivered on this floor by the gentleman from New York [Mr. George]. He paid particular attention to the introduction of this system in Vancouver, British Columbia, and painted in glowing colors the bless-

ings that had followed it. And now comes the distressing news that Vancouver is in the midst of a general strike, the first of its kind in that city, involving every organized workman there. Evidently the single tax is not a substitute for bread and butter. [Laughter.]

The Socialist View of Freedom

But this is what the Socialists say:

The machinery and all the progress in implements of production we can not and do not want to destroy. Civilization does not want to go back to the Middle Ages or be reduced to barbarism.

And as long as these implements of production—land, machinery, raw materials, railroads, and telegraphs—remain private property, only comparatively few can be the sole owners and masters thereof. As long as such is the case these few will naturally use this private ownership for their own private advantage.

The highest industrial order which competitive individualism has given us, and can give us, is that of capitalist and wage earner.

A capitalist and wage earner order of society inevitably ends in the economic rule of a comparatively few absolute masters over a numerous socially subject class.

The wage system was a step in the evolution of freedom, but only a step. Without trade unionism and labor associations the wage system would produce a social state lower than that of feudalism.

There can be no social freedom nor complete justice until there are no more hirelings in the world; until all become both the employers and the employed of society.

This social freedom, this complete justice, can be accomplished only by the collective ownership and democratic management of the social means of production and distribution.

I realize that all this can not be brought about by a single stroke—by a one day's revolution. But I know that all legislation in order to be really progressive and wholesome must move in that direction.

Legislation that does not tend to an increased measure of control on the part of society as a whole is not in line with the trend of economic evolution and can not last.

Legislation that interferes with the natural evolution of industry means the taking of backward steps and can not succeed.

Legislation that divides nations into armed camps, that creates useless navies, that puts up Chinese walls between peoples eager to trade with one another, is reactionary and can not endure.

The measure now under discussion is of small immediate concern to the working class. In itself it means no material change in the conditions of the workingman or working woman. But because it is in line with social and political evolution, because it tends to destroy the old tariff superstition, because it tends to break down the barriers between nations and to bring into closer relations the various peoples of the world I shall support the bill. [Applause.]

Colloquy With Mr. Kahn

Mr. Kahn. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. Berger. Certainly. How much time have I, Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman. The gentleman has 10 minutes remaining.

Mr. Berger. Then I shall be glad to answer questions for 10 minutes.

Mr. Kahn. Did I understand the gentleman to say that the workmen in this country are worse off than at any time in the history of the world?

Mr. Berger. I did not say anything of the kind. I said that the certainty of employment is smaller under the capitalist system than under any previous system.

Mr. Kahn. I understood the gentleman to say—

Mr. Berger. Oh, no. The gentleman probably was not here from the beginning of my remarks. The wages are better in this country than in any other country in the world. I said that at the very beginning of my remarks and explained why.

Mr. Kahn. Because I know in my own city of San Francisco the savings banks have deposits of \$150,000,000, which are the savings of the working people of that community.

Mr. Berger. Yes; and I know that you have had more strikes and more hell in San Francisco than in any other city I know of except Chicago. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. Kahn. Strikes?

Mr. Berger. Yes; more labor troubles.

Mr. Kahn. San Francisco is today the best organized labor community in this country, and the workingmen there have had strikes only to the same extent as they have had them in any other section.

Mr. Berger. And a few more.

Mr. Kahn. But they have been uniformly victorious, and at the present time we are getting along splen-

didly. We have not had any serious strikes for about three years.

Mr. Berger. Mr. Chairman, let me predict something. I have been in the labor and Socialist movement for 27 years. The conditions in San Francisco, which the gentleman from California paints in such glowing colors, are the result of a quasi-alliance between "big business" and a certain trade union element, an alliance for which I would never stand. Let us see where this is going to lead to. It so far has brought more corruption than was ever known in any other city of the United States.

Mr. Kahn. The alleged corruption was under a former labor union administration——

Mr. Berger. I am not speaking about the labor unions. I am speaking about "big business" using the labor union as a political tool. [Applause.]

The Single Tax Does Not Help Labor

Mr. George. Mr. Chairman——

The Chairman. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin yield to the gentleman from New York?

Mr. Berger. I do. [Applause.]

Mr. George. Mr. Chairman, I did not quite understand the gentleman's allusion to me and to Vancouver and to the strike in Vancouver.

Mr. Berger. If the gentleman will permit, I will read to you so that you can formulate your question just right. I said:

"The other day we listened to a fervid plea for the single tax, delivered on this floor by the gentleman from New York [Mr. George]. He paid particular attention to the introduction of this system in Vancouver,

British Columbia, and painted in glowing colors the blessings that had followed it. And now comes the distressing news that Vancouver is in the midst of a general strike, the first of its kind in that city, involving every organized workman there. Evidently the single tax is not a substitute for bread and butter."

Mr. George. The single tax is a taxation question. I would like to understand—does the gentleman connect me up with that strike?

Mr. Berger. Oh, no. [Laughter.] Whatever I may say about his theories, the gentleman from New York is innocent. The gentleman has nothing to do with that strike. I did not mean to say anything about it, but I wanted to show that the single tax does not improve labor conditions. It does not. Strikes are just as frequent in single tax cities as in cities where they do not have the single tax. That is what I wanted to bring out.

Mr. George. I thank the gentleman. I feel very greatly enlightened.

National Ownership of Trusts the Only Solution

Mr. Stanley. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. Berger. Yes.

Mr. Stanley. If I understood the gentleman, he said he was not opposed to the organization of trusts. Is that correct?

Mr. Berger. I am not opposed to the organization of trusts any more than I am opposed to the Atlantic Ocean or to the Mississippi River, or, let us say, to anything that is a natural outcome of conditions. I explained that the trusts are the natural result of indus-

trial evolution, and anything that is the natural outcome of an industrial development I am not opposed to.

Mr. Stanley. That is, that it follows inevitably?

Mr. Berger. That it follows inevitably.

Mr. Stanley. Now, I want to ask the gentleman this: Does the gentleman favor the fixing of the price of commodities, of these immense organizations engaged in interstate trade, by the Government?

Mr. Berger. Mr. Chairman, I favor it as a first step. It is only primary. I understand Mr. Gary of the Steel Trust is in favor of that.

Mr. Stanley. I understand so.

Mr. Berger. And for the first time in my life Mr. Gary and I agree on anything. But I will also say it will not help much. It proves, though, that even the trust concedes that it has grown to such dimensions that it has become a quasi-public utility and that it is no longer a private business. The only solution, however, is the national ownership of the trusts.

Mr. Stanley. As I understand the gentleman, he speaks of the trusts as a milestone in industrial evolution.

Mr. Berger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Stanley. In other words, the centralization of the immense wealth and energy of the steel business, for instance, in the hands at last of one man, and the centralization of the manufacture of wool in the hands of one man, and the manufacture of other textiles, like cotton, in the hands of one man, and the refining of sugar in the hands of one man—

Mr. Berger. One concern.

Mr. Stanley. I should say one person, whether corporate or individual—that this will in a short time place

the body of the wealth of this country and the employment of all the labor in this country in the hands of a few persons, whether corporate or individual, and then the Government, as you say, should fix the price of the commodities of these great concerns, and it will be but a step from that until, instead of allowing them with the price fixed by the Government to operate for the benefit of a few individuals, they will be forced to operate for the benefit of all men?

Mr. Berger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Stanley. And that will be the easy step from the Government control as advocated by Judge Gary to Socialism as advocated by yourself?

Mr. Berger. That will be a very natural step.

Mr. Stanley. And an inevitable one.

Mr. Berger. Nobody can regulate another man's business. I would hate to regulate your property. The regulation of other people's property is always a dubious thing to undertake. The trust, however, is willing to part with some of its rights of ownership. If I have a right to say how much you shall get for your horse, I have a share in that horse. As long as I can decide for how much you may sell your house, I have a share in that house. And as long as I can fix a price for a coat, I practically share in the ownership of that coat. Now that the trust offers an opportunity of ownership to the Government, the Government ought to accept. Complete ownership, however, is the final solution.

Competition in "Big Business" Played Out

Mr. Stanley. As I understand you, there is little difference between the position you take and the position taken, for instance, by the United States Steel

Corporation, in this, that competition is a bad thing?

Mr. Berger. It was not a bad thing in its day. In "big business" it is played out; it does not exist. It was a good thing as long as economic conditions required it.

Mr. Stanley. You spoke in your address of the evils of competition and the bad effects of it——

Mr. Berger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Stanley. And suppose that these great industrial institutions, like the United States Steel Corporation, for instance, believe in abolishing competition and fixing the price by agreement or by law, the only difference between the trusts and the Socialists is that the trusts believe in having the Government run their business for the benefit of the persons who own them and you believe in having them run these great organizations for the benefit of all the people?

Mr. Berger. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

Mr. Fowler. I ask that his time be extended.

Mr. Cannon. I would like to ask what are the views of the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Stanley] as to Government ownership?

The Chairman. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Berger] has expired.

Mr. Stanley. I ask permission to reply to the gentleman from Illinois, if I can hear him.

Mr. Payne. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes more to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Berger].

Mr. Cannon. I wish to ask whether the gentleman from Kentucky is for Government ownership?

Mr. Stanley. The gentleman from Kentucky is essentially an individualist. He differs as widely from Judge Gary as from the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Berger]. I am not a Republican; I am not a Socialist; I am a Democrat. [Applause on the Democratic side.] And I believe in competition and the independence of the individual.

Mr. Fowler. Mr. Chairman—

The Chairman. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Berger] yield to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Fowler]?

Mr. Berger. Yes; I yield to the gentleman.

"Were There Any Mules Killed?"

Mr. Fowler. I understood the gentleman to say, in the course of his argument, that the conditions had grown to such an extent that the capitalist of today thought more of his wealth than he did of the laborer or the family of the laborer?

Mr. Berger. Yes; I said the average capitalist.

Mr. Fowler. I was at a coal mine in my district last summer wherein there had been an explosion, and a man was sent down to investigate the result. When he came back the superintendent asked him, as the first question, "Were there any mules killed?" Is that what you mean by sizing up this situation?

Mr. Berger. I did not know of that incident; but I could recite a good many incidents of a similar nature.

We Must Accommodate Our Political Life to Industrial Conditions

Mr. Jackson. Will the gentleman yield?

The Chairman. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin yield to the gentleman from Kansas?

Mr. Berger. Yes, sir.

Mr. Jackson. The gentleman was discussing the trust question. I would like to ask the gentleman if it is not true that what he means, under our present industrial system, is that where a man has used his property to produce a monopoly, under the common law and under our Constitution that man's property is devoted to the public use and that the Government has a right, this Congress has a right, to regulate those prices? And I will ask the gentleman further if our Supreme Court, in the cases of *Munn* against Illinois and the People against *Budd*, has not announced and confirmed that doctrine?

Mr. Berger. Mr. Chairman, I do not know all the decisions of the Supreme Court. I am glad I do not. [Laughter.] However, whether the Supreme Court has so decided or not, the trusts are the natural outcome of industrial evolution, and our laws, our courts, and our Constitution will have to accommodate themselves to industrial conditions.

Mr. Jackson. What I wanted to ask was this: Would it be anything contrary to the present doctrine of individualism, as we understand it in this country, if the courts and the legislature should regulate the prices of the products of men who violated the laws and used their property to produce a monopoly?

Mr. Berger. Well, I will say that it would be contrary to the spirit of a regime of true individualism. Any interference by the Government with the rights of private property is Socialistic in tendency.

The Chairman. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Old Age Pensions

AUGUST 7, 1911

Mr. Speaker: I deem it proper to make on this floor a brief preliminary statement regarding the old age pension bill which I introduced last Monday.

Within a year you will all have to make up your minds on this subject. You will have to determine where you stand. A mighty wave of demands for the passage of some such law will roll in from every section of the country, and the issue will have to be met.

America Backward in Social Legislation

The working men and working women of this country are entitled to be taken care of in their old age. Most of them receive, in return for their labor, so small a part of what they produce that all of it is expended in merely keeping alive. Since the average wage in our country is probably not more than \$400 a year, it is obvious that it is impossible for at least half of the population to save up anything for old age.

The working class is not better off in the matter of wages in any other country. But in many of the other countries the duty of society to the aged is recognized. Old age pension laws have been passed in the principal nations of Europe, in the Antipodes, and even in one American nation. Germany, Denmark, Italy, Austria, Great Britain, France, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand have all enacted such laws.

As usual, where legislation for the protection of the working class is concerned, the United States is lagging

behind. The Republican Party put such a plank in its platform of 1900, but the Republican Congress did nothing in the matter, and the plank has disappeared from subsequent platforms.

Condition of Aged Workers Growing Worse

There can be no doubt that the condition of the aged workers has grown worse in this country during the last 30 years.

And for this reason:

Our country is rapidly changing from an agricultural to a manufacturing country.

On the farm it is comparatively easy to take care of the aged. Especially was it so in former days when living was cheap.

There is plenty of room on the farm. And even old people can usually do some chores—enough to make up for the slight expense of their keep.

It is thus no special hardship for their friends and relatives to take care of them.

The case is entirely different with the urban workers. The maintenance of their old folks by the wage-workers of the cities—especially where these men and women have children to take care of—is nowadays simply impossible.

Aged working men and working women therefore soon become objects of private or public charity.

After having lived a life of usefulness, the working men and working women of the country—the men and women who create all wealth—are usually subject to all the indignities, the sordidness, and misery of the poorhouse or the system of "outdoor relief."

No wonder there are so many tragedies. Men and women of finer sensibilities prefer death to this humiliation. [Applause.]

The Tragedy of Destitute Age

The aim of every normal man and woman is an old age free from care and want. To that end most of them toil patiently and live closely, seeking to save something against the day when they can earn no more. And yet the same fate awaits the overwhelming mass of them. In the life of the toiler there are weeks, and sometimes months, of enforced idleness, weeks of unavoidable illness, losses from cheating and swindling, and then, as age creeps on, from about his forty-fifth year, a constantly declining capacity to earn, until at 55 or 60 he finds himself helpless and destitute. There is hardly a more pitiful tragedy than the lot of the toiler who has struggled all his life to gain a competence and who at 60 years faces the poorhouse.

The black slave had no such tragedy as this. It is a tragedy reserved for the free worker in "the freest nation on the globe."

There can be no question as to the right of these men and women to be taken care of decently in their old age. They have made civilization possible for everybody, and especially for the comfortable classes.

As I said before, from their earnings—the average is about \$400—it is absolutely impossible for them to save anything for their old age. Even if they should descend to a Chinese standard of living, they could not, as a mass, lay by a competence. They would thereby diminish trade, cause hard times, and change our civil-

ization. But they could not, under our present system, secure themselves against want in their old age.

Military Veterans and Industrial Veterans

Everybody in America readily understands why soldiers are entitled to pensions. It is because soldiers render service on the field of battle which is considered dangerous to life and limb. But very few people realize that the number of wage earners killed and maimed every year on the railroads, in the mines, factories, and other industries in our country is approximately equal to the number of soldiers killed and wounded in any one year of our great Civil War, with all its terrible battles.

Moreover, there are any number of occupational diseases which are the natural result of certain kinds of necessary work, but which make total or partial invalids of hundreds of thousands of wage earners.

The work of the soldier of industry is infinitely more necessary than the bloody work of the soldier on the battle field. Most of the labor performed must be performed every day and every hour, or our civilization would stop. [Applause.]

The aged working men and working women have therefore a claim on society that is even better than the claim of the soldier.

The Pension a Recompense for Unpaid Work

Any toiler who has faithfully labored for a meager wage for 20 years or more has created more wealth than a pension in old age can repay. Every toiler produces more than he is paid. Otherwise he would not be employed. It is a condition of the capitalist order of so-

ciety that the employer must get the lion's share of the product.

The word "pension" in this case is a misnomer. The payment ought to be called either "partial restitution" or "old folks' compensation."

The old age pension bill which I have introduced is therefore a measure of simple justice. It is also an expression of the rapidly growing demand that America shall not lag behind the rest of the civilized world in taking care of the veterans of industry.

My bill does not go into administrative details, and does not try to provide for the many complex situations that may arise in the operation of such a law.

The details will have to be settled by a commission to be appointed for that purpose. I have introduced at the same time a bill for the creation of such a commission.

Number of Pensioners

Four dollars a week is to be the basic figure of the pension for every man and woman more than 60 years old, with gradations downward for persons in comparatively decent circumstances.

The ratio of persons more than 60 years old in the 1900 census, when applied to the 1910 census, would give about 5,800,000 persons.

It is assumed that 1,000,000 of these are foreign born, or have not been citizens 16 years.

It is further assumed that 1,500,000 of these, either by the ownership or use of property, or the receipt of incomes above the limit designated, or because they are already in receipt of civil, military, or naval pensions,

or because they are in some way disqualified, will not come under the terms of the act.

Approximately 2,500,000 of the remainder are married and living together, and as each married couple counts only as one person and a half, there would be a further reduction of 625,000 persons. This would leave a remainder of 2,675,000 persons to be pensioned.

Cost of the Pension Scheme

As the average pension would range somewhere about \$2.50 a week, the cost of the pension scheme would be about \$347,000,000 yearly.

This sum may be staggering to some good folk who believe in cheap government and in everybody taking care of himself. But if our Nation can pay yearly \$131,000,000 for a Navy, \$95,000,000 for an Army, and \$155,000,000 for pensioning war veterans, a total of \$381,000,000, it should certainly be able to pay an equal sum to pension its veterans of industry.

As a matter of fact we pay a great deal more than this sum for this purpose now. The total expenditures made in a thousand complex ways by Nation, State, county, municipality, and private agency in relieving the destitution of the aged would, if properly computed, show a much greater amount than what this bill asks. Only we do the thing at present in an inefficient, expensive, and cruel way. It is time now that we meet the problem in a scientific and economical way.

Remember that these destitute aged men and women have, from their childhood, aided in creating the wealth which makes possible the payment of such large appropriations for the Navy, the Army, and the war pensions.

Objections to Private Pension Schemes

Many great private corporations are now establishing old age pensions for their employees. This tendency has been applauded by the very men who oppose Government pensions for the aged. But there are two great objections to old age pensions by private corporations. In order to gain a pension from a corporation it is necessary for the workingman to tie himself to the corporation for life. In order not to lose the pension the working man or working woman must be satisfied with his or her wage, laboring conditions, and hours of labor. This subservience makes the laborer virtually a serf or slave and establishes a new feudalism.

The second objection to private old age pensions is that the system smacks of charity. It causes the worker to feel that some one owns him. The private system results in the bestowal of too much power in the hands of the employer over his workers.

The Matter of Constitutionality

Of course, there are also some other good folk who may worry about the constitutionality of the bill. I believe that this old age pension bill is perfectly constitutional, but some of the anti-social Supreme Court justices may hold a different opinion. The bill furnishes a good opportunity for testing the power of the Federal courts to annul necessary legislation enacted by Congress. I have therefore put at the end of the bill a clause based on a precedent furnished by Congress in reconstruction times, and held constitutional at the time, forbidding the Federal courts to question the validity of this measure.

The old men and women are entitled to a living outside of the poorhouse and without the aid of private charity. If the old parties and the Supreme Court do not realize this fact, they will be wiped out of existence, together with the old Constitution.

New times require new laws. [Applause.]

Congress vs. Supreme Court

Now, here is an addition giving a precedent in 1868, which I ask unanimous consent to insert in my remarks.

On March 27, 1868, Congress passed a law prohibiting the Supreme Court from passing on the constitutionality of the reconstruction laws which it had passed after the Civil War. This law was passed over President Johnson's veto.

The cause of this defiant position of Congress was the fact that the Attorney General had expressed an opinion that the reconstruction laws were unconstitutional. He also refused to appear against one *McCardle*, of Mississippi, who had an appeal for a habeas corpus writ before the Supreme Court. *McCardle* had been arrested by the military authorities for criticizing their conduct in a newspaper.

The law passed by the Republicans had its desired effect. When the *McCardle* case afterwards came up before the Supreme Court on April 12, 1868, Chief Justice Chase, in the opinion of the entire court, said:

"It is quite true, as was argued by the counsel for the petitioner, that the appellate jurisdiction of this court is not derived from the acts of Congress. It is, strictly speaking, conferred by the Constitution. But

it is conferred 'with such exceptions and under such regulations as Congress shall make.' "

Also—

"We are not at liberty to inquire into the motives of the legislature. We can only examine into its power under the Constitution, but the power to make exceptions to the appellate jurisdiction is given in express words.

"What, then, is the effect of the repealing act upon the case before us? We can not doubt as to this: Without jurisdiction the court can not proceed at all in any cause. Jurisdiction is power to declare the law, and when it ceases to exist, the only function remaining to the court is that of announcing the fact and dismissing the cause. And this is not less clear upon authority than upon principle."

Also—

"It is quite clear, therefore, that this court can not proceed to pronounce judgment in this case, for it has no longer jurisdiction of the appeal; and judicial duty is not less fitly performed by declining ungranted jurisdiction than in exercising firmly that which the Constitution and the laws confer."

The foregoing decision clearly shows that the Supreme Court can not have jurisdiction unless it is granted by Congress.

The Eight Hour Workday

DECEMBER 14, 1911

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen: I must congratulate my Democratic friends on the way they are playing politics. For the first time in 50 years they are playing good politics, but it is playing politics. Day before yesterday they tried to rake in the soldiers' vote; yesterday they tried to get the Hebrew vote; and today they are trying to get the labor vote. [Laughter.]

Mr. Speaker, I do not begrudge any vote to them that they get in an honorable way. I only want to say that the first eight-hour bill was passed in this Congress in 1868. Since then Congress has passed about a half a dozen more, and I am afraid we shall pass a dozen more before we get a law that will hold water in the courts. I would suggest that instead of lawyers, who write sentences about 10 inches long, you would get a bricklayer to write the law and have it looked over by a newspaper man. Then you would have a law that would be plain, a law which everybody would understand.

I can not understand the wording of this bill, and I do not know how the judges will construe it when it gets into court. Our laws nowadays are made by lawyers for lawyers—and three lawyers usually have four opinions on almost any subject.

However, I am glad to see that this law is going to pass unanimously. It ought to pass unanimously. It is too late to oppose an eight-hour day in the year 1911. In Australia they are now trying to pass a six-hour law. I believe eight hours a day for factory work

is really too long. And I say this, although I do not hate work, for I work 14 hours every day.

But I want to explain that eight hours a day is too much for manufacturing purposes—it is too long a day for wageworkers in general.

The introduction of labor-saving machinery has very largely increased the productivity of labor. One man at a machine can produce, in some instances, a thousand times as much as a man without a machine could produce 50 years ago, or, for that matter, now without a machine. The use of machinery has increased the productivity of human efforts a hundredfold.

However, all the benefits of these labor-saving machines and of the application of steam, electricity, and water power now go to a small class, to the class which owns the machinery, controls the water power and the other means of production. The workmen get very little as their share. I may say that the workingman at the end of the year nowadays is about as rich as the workingman was 50 years ago; that at the end of the year he has little or nothing left.

The average wages, nowadays, taking, for example, the year 1910, were \$476 a year. These are not my figures. They are not Socialist figures. These are the figures of your census bureau. The value of the product every worker produces annually is about \$1,150 a year. In other words, the capitalist class makes \$674 every year off every man, woman, and child employed. This is not what every employer makes off every employee; that is the average sum the capitalist class makes as a class in profit, rent and interest, off the working class per capita. That is the surplus value produced by the workers.

Under these conditions, of course, it is not surprising that the small class which controls the production of our country is getting richer all the time and that the great working class is getting poorer in comparison. There is also another drawback. The introduction of machinery has largely increased "season work"—that is, manufacturers employ workers during a short season of a few months and then lay them off. This circumstance has increased the insecurity of labor to a greater degree at the present time than in any other period in the history of the world. In order to improve on that condition we must cut down the hours of labor. I do not believe that an eight-hour day is really short enough. In fact, we ought to have a six-hour day.

Mr. Mann. Why not make it a six-hour day?

Mr. Berger. Prof. Theodore Hertzka, not a Socialist, but a student of social conditions and one of the great economists of Europe, stated that two and one-half hours a day would be sufficient for our civilization if every man worked and if we used all the machinery at our disposal now. We could in two and one-half hours produce everything in plenty. I am sure the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Mann] would be willing to add his share of daily work for two and one-half hours and enjoy leisure the rest of the day.

Mr. Kendall. Will the gentleman yield for a question?

The Speaker pro tempore. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin yield to the gentleman from Iowa?

Mr. Berger. With pleasure.

Mr. Kendall. Is it not the idea of the gentleman—it is an idea that seems to be exploited by a great many responsible sociologists—that if the same progress is

made in the next 300 years in the productivity of labor as has been made in the last 300 years that four and one-half hours will be an ample working day?

Mr. Berger. I think two and one-half hours will be sufficient in 50 years time. I agree with Prof. Hertzka. He figured out in 1891 that with the machinery and means of production at our disposal two and one-half hours would be sufficient to give everybody more than he needed and a chance for leisure and culture besides.

Mr. Anderson of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

The Speaker pro tempore. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin yield to the gentleman from Ohio?

Mr. Berger. Gladly.

Mr. Anderson of Ohio. I understood the gentleman to say that the Democratic Party in this House had been playing politics in passing legislation favorable to the old soldiers, to the Jews, and to the laboring men. Is it not true that the gentleman voted for the Sherwood pension bill?

Mr. Berger. I did.

Mr. Anderson of Ohio. And did not the gentleman vote also for the Sulzer resolution?

Mr. Berger. I did.

Mr. Anderson of Ohio. And the gentleman expects to vote for this bill?

Mr. Berger. Yes; I do. I said you were playing "good" politics. [Laughter and applause.] And I hope you Democrats will also bring in a bill to help the colored men. I shall vote for that, too. [Laughter.]

Mr. Kendall. Will the gentleman allow me another suggestion?

The Speaker pro tempore. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin yield again to the gentleman from Iowa?

Mr. Berger. Yes.

Mr. Kendall. I was curious to know upon what theory the gentleman attributed the passage of the pension bill to the Democratic Party, when 132 Republicans voted for it and only 30 did not, whereas only 97 Democrats voted for it and 130 did not.

Mr. Berger. The Democrats initiated the bill. They are responsible for legislation in this House. [Applause.] Give the devil his due. [Laughter.] I always do that and always shall. But remember this House has passed half a dozen eight-hour bills in the past.

Mr. Kendall. With that explanation I am content.

Mr. Anderson of Ohio. The gentleman from Wisconsin was looking at the other side when he spoke of giving the devil his due. [Laughter.]

Mr. Berger. I was looking first at one side and then at the other. [Laughter.] You see, gentlemen, I personally am in a peculiar position. The speeches on this side and on the other side hardly change a vote of a Democrat or a Republican. You always—or, at least, as a rule—know beforehand how you are going to vote on everything that comes up. I am the only man who is open to the arguments of either side. [Laughter.]

Mr. Speaker, I take issue with the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Wilson] when he says, agreeing with Mr. Gompers, that Congress has no right to interfere with conditions in private enterprises. I disagree with him, for the reason that we are interfering with private business all the time; that this bill, which his committee reports favorably, is interfering with the enterprise

of private contractors, with private employers. We do so all the time. In a Congress before I came here you fixed hours for railroad employees. Railroads are private enterprises; they are privately owned.

Mr. Hill. But they are engaged in interstate commerce.

Mr. Berger. They are not owned by the Government. We have regulated the hours of labor in mining in some States. We have regulated the employment of sailors on privately owned ships. We are regulating the business of private contractors in this bill. We are doing such things all the time. In fact, I can not imagine a government existing without doing so.

I shall vote for this bill with pleasure, although, as I say, in principle I am for a six-hour working day. I do not know whether this bill is going to hold water in the courts. I hope it will. The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Hughes], who is a bright lawyer, a well-meaning man, and a fine fellow all around, was engaged in its preparation. [Applause.]

I have not prepared a speech because I did not know this bill was coming up today. I have been a newspaper man for a good many years, and I believe I understand the English language. However, when I read this bill I was not quite clear as to what some of its provisions mean. I hope the committee will be willing to accept amendments, especially some of the amendments suggested by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Mann.]

I know this bill is going to have hard sledding; not in the House and not in the Senate. It is going to pass both Houses almost unanimously, and I have no doubt the President will sign it as quickly as he possibly can.

But the great question is how it will fare in the courts. When we have a Socialist Supreme Court, then labor measures and all other laws passed will be safe, but I am quite sure we shall not then need an eight-hour law. [Applause.]

Living Wages and the Democratic Party

JANUARY 13, 1912

Mr. Chairman: I hope the gentleman from Illinois does not believe for one minute that I am not going to vote for the increase of wages if I should get a chance. However, as a member of the Committee on the District of Columbia, I shall never get a chance to get a bill for raising wages reported to the House. I will ask the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Johnson] if I am not right about that? This is about the only chance I have to express my views on the floor of the House as to the wages paid by the Government in the District of Columbia.

Mr. Mann. I hope the gentleman does not think I was endeavoring in any way to criticize him either for offering the amendment or calling it to the attention of the committee in my remarks.

Mr. Berger. I am simply stating a fact. The difference between a private employer and the Government is that the private employer runs his establishment for profit—must run it for private profit—while the Government does not. The private employer—whether a manufacturer or a merchant or a corporation—must make a profit in order to exist. Therefore he pays as small wages as possible.

It is different with the Government. The Government can and should pay living wages. Moreover, the

Government has no competitor. This is an additional reason.

The government ought to pay and must pay the best wages everywhere in order to be the model employer. I will say that if the two old parties continue as they do—the gentlemen on this side as well as the gentlemen on the other—then we shall soon have a powerful section of about 100 Socialists in this House. And then both old parties will fall over each other to accept not only propositions of this kind but infinitely more radical measures. That is what the capitalist parties did in Germany. But their good will came too late. The Socialists continued to grow, and yesterday they had 4,000,000 votes. And in our country the Socialists will have about 2,000,000 votes at the next election—maybe two millions and a half.

Mr. Butler. From which party will they come?

Mr. Berger. They will come from both parties.

Mr. O'Shaunessy. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The Chairman. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin yield to the gentleman from Rhode Island?

Mr. Berger. Yes, sir.

Mr. O'Shaunessy. I want to say to the gentleman from Wisconsin, referring to his statement when he interrogated the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Johnson] as to the possibility of having legislation enacted by reason of the membership of the gentleman from Wisconsin on the Committee on the District of Columbia—I want to say unequivocally that in any proposed legislation of that kind he will have my support and aid.

Mr. Berger. Oh, decidedly. Moreover, there are a great many gentlemen who are personally very willing to talk liberally about wages, so long as it does not interfere with the policy of their party—whatever it may be at the time—or so long as it does not interfere with a showing of economy and a good many other things. [Laughter.]

And thus it happens that the gentlemen on the other side always stand for better wages when the gentlemen on this side of the House are responsible for the conduct of legislation [laughter], and vice versa; but those who will always stand for it are the Socialists, I promise, because to better the condition of the working class is a principle of Socialism.

Mr. Chairman, I know very well that a point of order will be made and that I shall be ruled out of order. But I shall offer amendments on some more occasions.

I see, on page 10 of the bill, for instance, that there is a laborer getting the princely sum of \$240 a year. There is another laborer on page 10 also getting \$240 a year. Now, with all due respect to Republican good times and bad times and to Democratic economy, \$240 is not enough to live on and hardly enough to die on. [Applause.]

* * *

The Chairman. If there be no objection, the pro forma amendment will be withdrawn, and the Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

“Eastern Market: Laborer for cleaning sidewalks and street where used for market purposes (farmers’ market), \$240.”

Mr. Berger: Mr. Chairman, I move to amend by striking out "\$240," which amounts to about 80 cents a day, I believe, and inserting "\$2.50 per day." That is little enough.

Mr. Chairman, I believe it is a disgrace for this great Government to pay any man a wage of \$240 a year. I believe we ought to be ashamed to have it go out to the country at large that that is the fact. I believe in economy, but you had better save in other places. This is simply an outrageous wage. Of course you can get men to do the work for that wage. I suppose there are some poor negroes out of work who would work for 50 cents a day.

Mr. Dies. May I interrupt the gentleman?

Mr. Berger. Certainly.

Mr. Dies. In view of the gentleman's declaration in favor of economy, I want to ask him if it is not true that during the debate on the Sherwood pension bill he was asked if he did not vote for the Sulloway bill, and he said he did, and if he did not vote for the Sherwood bill, and he said he did?

Mr. Berger. I did not have the opportunity to vote for both.

Mr. Dies. And did not the gentleman say, "If you will bring in a bill to pension the negroes of the country, I will vote for that?" Did not the gentleman make that statement?

Mr. Berger. Mr. Chairman, I would vote for a bill to pension the old negroes of the country. In fact, I have introduced a bill in this House to pension every negro and every white man at the age of 60 years. I

am willing to pension every honest old workingman, black or white——

Mr. Dies. If everybody is to draw a pension, who will pay the pensions?

Mr. Berger. The old working people who will get the pensions will have paid for them during the time they worked, will have paid for the pensions many times over before they get them. I will explain to the gentleman from Texas how that is. Every workingman in this country, while he is working, produces about \$1,150 worth of product annually. He gets a wage of about \$476 a year. The rest goes to the capitalist class as a whole. The pensions should be paid from the surplus value the capitalist class is getting.

Mr. Dies. Will not the gentleman's proposition answer the old question of the man lifting himself out of the mire by his own boot straps?

Mr. Berger. Not at all. Of course I understand that lawyers do not do any productive work, but they get a great deal of money out of this surplus value created by the working class.

Mr. Burleson. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin know how long this laborer works each day?

Mr. Berger. I do not.

Mr. Burleson. Does the gentleman know whether he works one hour, two hours, three hours, or four hours a day?

Mr. Berger. I do not; but I want him paid accordingly. If a laborer does not work, he ought not to get any pay, but when he works he ought to get a decent wage. If you fix the rate of wages by the day, it is

very easy to figure out what is due to him for one hour or four hours. I do not want any man to work for \$240 a year.

* * * *

Mr. Burleson. Mr. Chairman, I make the point of order.

The Chairman. The Chair sustains the point of order.

Democratic Economy

MARCH 1, 1912

Mr. Chairman: I believe it is bad taste for a gentleman who draws the comfortable sum of \$7,500 from the poor working people of Indiana, Illinois, California, and the rest of the States to object to a raise of salary for a man who gets \$50 a month to \$60 per month.

If we are to cut down salaries, let us cut down the salaries of the \$7,500 men. I am one of them, but I would rather see my own salary cut down than vote for starvation wages.

I believe, based upon my investigations, that in this city it is simply impossible for a man with a family to live halfway decently on less than \$1,200 a year. [Applause.]

And I want to call the attention of the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Cullop]—and I wish he would listen to me, because he may be compelled to listen to another voice next November—I want to call the attention of the gentleman from Indiana to the fact that the Democratic Party was not put into control of this House because the Republican Party paid the clerks too much wages.

The Democratic Party was put in control here because of the high cost of living and because the times got harder, and because the people, not knowing political economy, held the ruling party responsible for the change in business conditions. [Applause on the Republican side.]

We are nearing an industrial crisis again, and the voters instinctively vote for a change of administration. But if the Democratic Party will keep up a policy of economy against the poor devil who works for small wages, paying \$240 a year as you do to the poor charwomen and poor laborers—if the Democratic Party shall refuse to raise the salaries of clerks earning \$50 a month—I promise the gentleman that the Democratic Party will be wiped out with an iron broom, and wiped out pretty soon. [Applause.]

Another party, a new proletarian party, will come in and control this House—a party which is not going to save on small potatoes. So much I can promise.

The Right of Asylum for Political Refugees in America

APRIL, 1912

[The Root amendment provided that under certain conditions political refugees might be expelled from this country.]

If the Root amendment is to be construed literally, then any man or woman who has come to this country on account of political persecution, and in quest of freedom is liable to be expelled if he or she contributes one dollar to the cause that is dear to them in their old home.

I do not know what the purpose of the bill is, but there can be no doubt that the Root amendment can be so construed. And there is no doubt in my mind that if passed it will be so construed.

And this would mean an entirely new policy for the United States. A policy just opposite of what we have practiced since this country was formed. And even before that, when a colony.

It is a policy entirely at variance with that of enlightened countries, particularly England, the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland and even Germany. Even in a semi-constitutional monarchy like Germany, the passage of such a law would be impossible nowadays.

For our own country, the Root amendment is a break with all traditions. In the past, America has always been the asylum of the persecuted. While the de-

sire for gain and trade had a great deal to do with the founding of most of the colonies, they were virtually built up by religious and political refugees.

The Pilgrim fathers of Massachusetts were refugees who escaped from political and religious persecution at home. A little later, Baltimore was founded by Catholic refugees from England, who had left the mother country for the same reason as the Massachusetts refugees. The Huguenots, French refugees in South Carolina and the Moravians in North Carolina, did a good deal to build up these commonwealths. History praises William Penn and the Quakers and their "Holy Experiment" in government in Pennsylvania, yet in the main these people were religious and political refugees. The immigration of German Quakers under Daniel Pistorius, who founded Germantown, now a part of Philadelphia, and the German Dunkards of western Pennsylvania, all of them "refugees," is less known, but they played an important part in building up that section of the country.

Refugees were also covenanters and regicides who left England when the Stuarts were restored under Charles II. These defeated rebels settled along the Atlantic coast and particularly in Virginia. The Fairfax, Washington and Goff families were among them.

The large German immigration of 1833 was settled in the middle west and in Texas as the outcome of the agitation for more political liberty and the reaction of liberal tendencies in Germany. To all intents and purposes, these immigrants were refugees, although most of them were highly educated men—the eminent jurist, Lieber, was one of them—and even now in Paines-

ville, near Milwaukee, old settlers speak of the "Latin farmers" of those days because they knew more about Julius Caesar and Horace than about farming.

The Irish immigration of 1847 was as much the result of Daniel O'Connell's agitation as the failure of the potato crop.

A very large German immigration after 1849 was undoubtedly an immigration of political refugees. Among them came Schurz, Sigel and Hecker, and the many hundred thousands that helped to settle the Civil War. Political causes were at the bottom of the German immigration at the end of the seventies and eighties. It was caused by the anti-Socialist exception laws. The Irish immigration of the eighties of the last century was the result of the persecution of land leaguers by the English government.

The Russian immigration which began in 1883 is after all of the same type. The persecuted Jews and other Russians come to this country looking for an asylum and a new home.

The Root amendment breathes the spirit of plutocracy. No matter how deep may be our political differences—how much we may disagree in economic and social matters—I hope we are a unit against this infamous amendment. Republicans, Democrats and Socialists still believe in the right of asylum in America.

If this amendment becomes law, no refugee would be safe. The Russian government, according to a story written by the former head of the Russian Secret Service that I have recently read, maintains an extensive spy system in this country. New York and Chicago are full of agents of the czar. What these men will do for

money is only too well known to those of us who have seen their infamous work.

It will be an easy matter for them to produce "evidence" against all enemies of the bloody czar. And the Root amendment would make it possible for the czar to get his enemies back into his clutches and to make short work of them. I sincerely hope that the Congress will not take this disgraceful step and pass this amendment.

EDITORIALS

from the pen of

Victor L. Berger

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and the

Social-Democratic Herald

Why We Are in This War

JUNE 20, 1917

[One of the articles for which Berger was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment under the so-called "Espionage" act.]

It is, of course, superfluous to ask our government why we have entered this war. Any student of economics and observer of national and international politics, knows very well why we have entered.

There are at least six valid reasons. Here they are:

First. The Entente Allies were practically at the end of their rope. If the United States had not entered, the war would have been over by this time. All our capitalist papers admit this whenever it suits their purpose—they deny it when it does not. About \$3,000,000,000 of notes and other obligations which the allied powers owe to Morgan, Schwab & Co.—to the munition makers and exporters of all kinds of war material in America—might not have been worth much over thirty cents if the Allies had lost this war.

Second. Industrial stocks of certain kinds—commonly called "war babies" in Wall Street—have reached fabulous prices. Their very existence depends upon the continuance of this war. The end of the war means the end of their prosperity. Incidentally, we may also observe that there are lots of war glory and promotion to be gotten, too, out of this war—for officers and generals—sons of the capitalist and middle classes. That is a minor matter, however.

Third. There is absolute freedom from labor troubles during the war. All resistance of the working class

is simply put down as "giving aid and comfort to the enemy" and, therefore, as treason pure and simple.

Fourth. Under the guise of fighting for democracy in Central Europe, our plutocracy and its government in Washington is now establishing an absolute autocracy in our country with the slogan: "War necessitates autocracy." Even such a hot war patriot as Senator Reed of Missouri said that "no king, czar, potentate, Caesar or kaiser ever exercised such power as President Woodrow Wilson."

Fifth. This is a wonderful chance to establish a big army in our country. After this war is over, the United States will have to establish order in Mexico. We shall undoubtedly shift our borders down to the Panama Canal. Already the capitalist press is unanimous in its verdict that the Mexicans are not fit for self-government. Some papers even now demand that Mexico be annexed. But we also need Canada's raw material. Therefore, after Mexico is annexed, we will find that Canada belongs to us by common language, common tradition and especially by "common economic interests." And after all, our ruling class must have a standing army in order to hold down the "inner enemy"—the seditious, traitorous and rebellious working class at home. The war gives us an excellent chance to get that army.

Sixth. Last but not least—the immense economic and industrial development of Germany demands war. That nation aspired to extend its sphere from Hamburg to the Persian gulf—an ambition which President Wilson has described so well in his Flag day speech in Washington. This seems to threaten the trade of other countries including that of our American capitalist

class, according to Wilson's Flag day speech. Germany's commercial success evidently requires that Germany be extinguished. The Allies were not able to do it, therefore, Uncle Sam will undertake the job.

Anybody can see that the German submarines have nothing to do with the case.

Nor has Belgium.

The submarines and Belgium are results, not causes.

Nor need we be afraid of a German army landing in our country. The possibility of the Kaiser landing an army to conquer us is as great as the probability that the inhabitants of the planet Mars will swoop down upon the city of Washington and capture our treasury department. The Allies absolutely control the seas. Yet it will take about a year before we can send an army over to Europe. The Germans—efficient as they are—were never able to land even a regiment in England—which is across the channel from Belgium.

As for democracy? We cannot force any special form of government upon Germany any more than we could have forced it upon Russia. The German people will have to do that for themselves.

And does our government really desire that? Our ruling class very much prefers the Grand Duke Nicholas Nikolaievitch to the little Socialist Nicholai Lenin as ruler of Russia.

Lenin believes that the revolution in Russia should be repeated in Germany, Italy, France, England and in the United States.

Our administration in Washington is slowly beginning to understand that the only republic possible in Germany today, would be a Socialist republic.

A Socialist republic in Germany will have an entirely different degree of efficiency than the Russian republic has now. It might require so much more effort of Morgan and his allies to fight Socialist Germany than to fight the Kaiser's Germany.

Moreover, if Germany is left alone for six months, there will be no Kaiser and no Yunker class left there. And a few other things are liable to happen that the capitalists of the world may not like.

But what's the use? We are in the war—for a dozen reasons or for no reason. Now let's get out of it with real honor and as soon as possible—for the sake of democracy at home.



“We” Are Prepared

MARCH 27, 1917

America is in a state of complete financial preparedness. We have the word of Mr. Thomas W. Lamont, of the firm of J. Pierpont Morgan & Co., for that.

In an address before the investment bankers of the middle west in Chicago on Friday night, Mr. Lamont said that though the country is unable to assist the Allies with a big army at present, America can render immense “economic and financial assistance at this very moment.”

“The solution is to have our federal government grant to the Allies a sufficient credit to enable them to prosecute their military operations with vigor and success. The credit should be sufficient to furnish the Allies all the food and all the supplies they require.

"We owe this assistance to the Allies," said Mr. Lamont, of J. P. Morgan & Co. "Those same allied nations have in the last three years bought from America seven and one-half billion dollars of our foodstuffs, war material and manufactured goods. And they have in the same period shipped us in gold over one billion two hundred million dollars, bringing up America's stock to a figure unprecedented for any country, namely, three billion one hundred fifty million dollars."

So far, so good. Now we know why we have to fight, for whom we are to fight, and who is to furnish the wherewith for the fighting.

We have to fight because the Allies have bought seven and one-half billion dollars of our products for which they have furnished one billion two hundred million dollars in cash—the rest was undoubtedly paid in so-called "securities," which securities, of course, will be worthless if the Allies lose. We have to fight in order to make good those securities. And until we can send an army to Europe, it is Uncle Sam's solemn duty to "grant the Allies sufficient to enable them to prosecute their military operations with vigor and success."

However, we are really anxious to know how many of the readers of The Milwaukee Leader own such securities.

And how much of the three billion one hundred fifty million dollars in gold our readers are hoarding. All those that own those securities or hoard some of that gold, ought to go to enlist without any if's or and's. In fact, we would be in favor of enforcing conscription against them.

We imagine that if only the holders of allied securities and the owners of the gold stacks would go to war, a good sized scow would be sufficient to accommodate them all.

The trouble is that owners of the stacks of gold want all those that got the old-fashioned "gold brick" in life—to go out and fight—to go out and die for them.



They Keep the Money for Us!

APRIL 30, 1917

Of the seven billion dollars voted by Congress for the conduct of the war, three billion dollars are to go outright to the Allies.

So we are told in a telegram from Washington.

One must not believe, however, that any of that money will really reach Russia, France or even England. The intention is that all of it shall remain in this country.

And thereby hangs a tale.

For many months in the past our Allies have not been in a position to pay for the munitions, food and war material bought in America (through the agency of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan and his group) in any other way than by giving short time notes, which were unsecured.

It seems that Mr. Morgan and his friends have deposited these notes in the various banking institutions under their control, withdrawing the actual gold reserve. This could, of course, not have been done without the consent of the United States treasury depart-

ment and especially of the comptroller of currency. It is said that Colonel House (or Colonel Mouse, as he is sometimes playfully called in the east) acted as a go-between the White House, the treasury department and the Morgan group of financiers.

Such financing could, in the nature of things, not go on indefinitely. New York and the east would very soon experience the greatest panic this country has ever seen. Therefore, many months ago it was decided by our high financiers that the United States must take part in the war to defend the "little nations" and to fight autocracy—to assist the Allies with real money, or at least with bonds secured by the United States. Otherwise, America would soon face the greatest industrial and financial crisis in its history.

The ruthless submarine warfare had very little to do with this determination of frenzied finance. However, it gave a convenient pretext for the declaration of war. In fact, so cocksure were our official circles in Washington of our participation in the war that according to the newspapers, some preparatory work was done long before Congress had voted the seven billion dollars.

The three billion dollars of the moneys going as a subsidy to the Allies will be used at once to replace the short time notes in the possession of the bankers of the Morgan group. Especially the banks loaded up with Russian notes are very anxious to get "real money"—because the Russian government had actually refused to pay anything at all when the notes became due, calmly declaring that Russia had no funds.

It is claimed now in Washington, however, that Secretary McAdoo is planning to let the provisional govern-

ment in Russia have two billion dollars. That evidently would be more than Russia's share of the subsidy unless McAdoo, Morgan and Wall Street are preparing to take possession outright of all of Russia's resources. The fact that a commission is to be sent there, headed by Elihu Root, seems to point that way.

The most interesting part of the entire story is the news that the Morgan group is determined to keep all the money that we lent the Allies right here in our own country.

The Morgan group of financiers is certainly very patriotic after all. Just think of it—they will keep all that money for "us."



Seventeen Billion Dollars

JULY 26, 1917

Our expense account for this Morganatic war already amounts to \$17,000,000,000, according to a statement made in the United States Senate by one of the pro-war senators. This sum practically was appropriated before our contingent had a chance to fire a shot.

It is simply impossible to describe how many grand, good and useful things could have been accomplished in the United States with one-tenth of that sum—pensions for aged workers, good roads, general education, etc. But any man who would have suggested to spend one-tenth of these billions for good purposes would have been laughed at as a visionary and a Socialist.

On the other hand, it can easily be seen how long this war is going to last—since there are many trusto-

cratic vultures interested in getting their share of the \$17,000,000,000 and of the billions that are to follow.

At that rate, we shall be unable to get peace in ten years. Already societies are being formed in New York and Philadelphia to oppose any and all peace propaganda as un-American. Already there are voices in the capitalist papers declaring "as all bosh" the talk about "just fighting the Kaiser." We are going to fight the German people and divide up Germany. Who is to get the pieces, no one knows, of course. Nor is it easily understood how that "dividing up" is to be accomplished, but—it shows the spirit of our Morganatic kept press, which makes "public opinion" in our blessed Dollarica.



The International Must Act

AUGUST 1, 1917

This World War has now lasted three years. Our country joined the general melee about four months ago. It may, therefore, not be amiss to review the situation without bias and without fear—from a Socialist point of view.

The Socialists have opposed the war. We understand that capitalism has for years laid the foundation of an inevitable conflict in Europe. This war is the logical outcome of capitalistic competition for world markets and world rule.

The idea propagated from England and accepted by the plutocratic organs of our own country that this is a war "against autocracy and for democracy"—is, of course, pure swindle.

The English prepared for this war many years—as much as any other nation. Only the English diplomacy and English propaganda were more systematic and more efficient than any other.

And especially efficient was the English war propaganda in America.

Not only did English capitalists secure the “good will” of the news agencies and of papers in every town wherever that was at all necessary—they also established regular publishing houses in America—one of them is Doran & Co., New York—from which English propaganda has been issued regularly and systematically.

Add to that the close connection and partnership of American and English capitalism for many years—as typified in the house of Pierpont Morgan & Co. of New York and London—and one will readily understand why it is getting to be a crime in this country to utter any other opinion than a pro-English opinion, which today by many well-meaning people is thought to be the American opinion. Every other expression is pro-German and “seditious.”

But as to the war situation:

After three years of warfare—some fourteen nations fighting the central powers—according to the New York World, it was stated by our military observers that the present German line on the western battle front was admittedly impregnable “as far as the present alignment of forces is concerned” and that the task of breaking it was very largely up to the United States.

The New York World also claims that the military observers whose conclusions are now being weighed by

the general staff privately admit that if the German battle line is not actually impregnable, many more men than are now being used will be needed to force the Germans to evacuate their present line of offense and defense.

So much for the western front.

As for the eastern front: The Russian republic is the strategic point in the existing military and diplomatic situation. And the Russian republic is not in favor either in the military or diplomatic circles of England and France.

On account of its decided Socialistic tendencies, the Russian republic is considered to be more dangerous than the German Kaiser. On the other hand, there can be no question that the Russian Socialists also mistrust the bourgeois governments of England and France. Russian Socialists naturally feel that Russia needs peace more than anything else, in order to build up the Republic. Republican Russia wants no new territory and therefore will never be so anxious for the war as was the Russia of the Czar.

And the submarine menace is greater than ever, if we are to believe our own officials.

But the French and British have sent their statesmen and generals—and, amid much dining and wining, they have persuaded us not only to give them billions of dollars, but also to send millions of men to go somewhere in France or somewhere in Flanders and die there, in order to break the "iron battle line."

Now, why must we do that? What have the German people—of the same blood as one-fourth of our own people who are closely related and intermarried with the other three-fourths—done to us Americans

that we should kill and get killed to please Viviani, Briand and Ribot, and the Right Honorable Mr. Arthur Balfour and Lord Alfred Northcliffe?

Surely every American wishes from the bottom of his heart that Kaiser, Yunker and plutocrat should disappear from the face of the earth. But these classes in Germany are no worse than the corresponding classes in England or in France. And by killing off millions of German working people—and incidentally also our own—the world will surely not be safer for democracy than before.

And it is not for our country to convince the Germans by force of arms—a people as intelligent and as educated as ours in every respect—what form of government the Germans are to have.

If the Germans do not want monarchy and nobility—the Germans must abolish them. It would be just as tyrannical and unjust for us to force upon Germany through terrible bloodshed a certain form of government they may not want, as it would be for the Germans to force it upon us.

As for democracy—the German Social-Democracy is surely infinitely more democratic than our Southern Democrats and more democratic than Pierpont Morgan and his Northern bankers, with Elihu Root and Theodore Roosevelt thrown into the bargain.

Why not trust to the German Social-Democracy—to change conditions in Germany as the German people will decree?

There are signs of a change in public opinion everywhere except in our country, because our American Socialist Party is still weak.

Pierre Renaudel, the leader of the majority faction of the French Socialist party, has now also come out for a peace without annexation and without indemnities. This is exactly the kind of peace demanded by the Russian Socialists, the German Socialists, the Austrian Socialists, and the Independent Labor Party of England—the real Socialist party of Great Britain.

It seems that the French Socialists are regaining their sanity and that they will trust their own Socialist comrades in the International more than Arthur Balfour and Lloyd George and their renegades, Viviani and Briand. Together with the Russian and German Socialists, the French Socialists can make an end to this terrible human slaughter even before a few million Americans have been sacrificed.

The situation in America and in England seems to be hopeless just now. There are about thirty billion dollars to be spent, hundreds of generals and many thousand other officers to be created—the plutocracy owns the press, the church and the government. And as far as our country is concerned—we are in for a “glorious time.”

But let us hope that the Socialist International will spare us a fourth year of agony.



This Fourth of July

JULY 3, 1918

We again celebrate the Fourth of July and the establishment of this republic.

It is obvious that if the fathers of this republic had any special object in throwing off the old form of

government, it could be no other than the advancement of the general interests in opposition to the interests of the king and of the privileged classes—the nobility and the capitalists—which were paramount under former governments.

But casting aside the high-sounding phraseology of declarations and proclamations—which characterized those days—and considering only the results as they stand before us, what shall we say of the fathers of this republic?

What shall we say of the inconsistencies which pervade their proclamations and render them void in some of their most material points concerning the rights of the people?

Thus, after declaring that “all men are born equal” and continue equal in rights—they gravely affirmed that property (which all men have not) is an inviolable and sacred right, of which no one can be deprived!

Where is the equality?

One man is born in poverty, with all that poverty implies; another is born in affluence, with all the advantages affluence brings.

One man has before him a future of hard labor simply to maintain existence; the other is destined to inherit all that is most desirable in life. One owns princely estates; the other has hardly a roof over his head; yet both are said to be born and to continue equal in rights!

Where is the equality?

They claim that there are no social distinctions, no classes in America.

What nonsense!

Has there ever existed a greater social distinction than exists between the millionaire and common pro-

letarian in America at the present time? Is there in any country a more pronounced difference between the employing class and the working class than in these United States? Is there a ruling class on God's world more arrogant than the capitalist class in America?

The German Yunker may be a beast whenever he is opposed, but he has nothing on the American trustocrat fighting wage slaves in Colorado, West Virginia, or Lawrence, Mass., for that matter.

But to come back to the celebration of the establishment of this republic. We ask again, where, as far as actual effects go, is the much talked of superiority of the republican over the monarchical system? Is it that the annual salary of the president is small compared with the "civil list" of an emperor or a king?

The president is denied a royal revenue and the splendors of a court, yet his power is incomparably greater than that of any sovereign known to history—ancient or modern.

Do we actually have a "Res Publica"? In what respect? Titles, which in themselves are harmless, were abolished; but the privileges of excessive wealth, which are a public danger, are maintained. The spirit of 1776 overthrew the monarchy as the "oppressor" and proclaimed the republic as the "benefactor"; yet one looks in vain through English history for an example of the "American spirit" as it manifests itself everywhere in our country, whenever there is a conflict between capital and labor.

This "democratic" republic shelters a host of proud profiteers who, conscious of their power, lord it over the land regardless of any laws that may exist.

Our administration, which claims to fight "to make

the world safe for democracy," serves a class of favored plutocrats who enjoy more than princely incomes whenever they so choose, indulge in more than princely excesses on the poor and defenseless multitude. Just read the newspapers with open eyes and an open mind.

This wonderful republic suffers and encourages our money kings and our trust kaisers to form combinations and trusts whereby they are enabled to exercise the sovereign right of levying on the governed and to tax them in all kinds of ways, for the personal support and aggrandizement of these kings and kaisers—without any parliament or representation.

Wander through monarchies and empires the world over, and nowhere will you find conditions in that respect that are as bad as those in our own country.

The seed of democracy was planted in 1776, but up to the present day it has not borne any fruit—which the common people may enjoy.

Is it a wonder that tomorrow His Royal Majesty, King George V of Great Britain and Ireland, will make a speech in honor of the American Fourth of July? Why should not the English aristocracy hail the day? Why should not the plutocracy of the entire world rejoice in our "independence"?

Tomorrow the English lion will mingle his roar with the scream of the American eagle. Why not? Both are animals that prey—both are proper emblems of capitalist rule.



Real Social Democracy

SEPTEMBER, 1906

As I have often said, whether with or without social reform we cannot escape Social-Democracy. The co-

operative commonwealth is the aim towards which, from a law of nature, the entire political and economical development of modern times is moving.

A Social-Democracy is the goal of the evolution. And not by any means a far distant goal. Nor is it the last station on the road which humanity will have to follow. Progress will never stop.

The Social-Democracy is the next station. We are speeding toward it with the accelerating velocity of a locomotive on the road.

It is only a convincing confirmation of this view, that the "social question" now stands everywhere in the foreground of public discussion.

We all know from history that an old order of society was always doomed, when its appointed guardians and supporters felt called upon to make the demands of the adherents of the new order their own—when they tried to steal the revolutionist thunder, as the saying is.

Of course, La Follette, Bryan, Hearst, etc., want to "steal our thunder" for exactly opposite purposes from ours. They want to preserve the system.

* * * *

But we are revolutionists.

We are revolutionary not in the vulgar meaning of the word, which is entirely wrong, but in the sense illustrated by history, the only logical sense. For it is foolish to expect any result from riots and dynamite, from murderous attacks and conspiracies, in a country where we have the ballot, as long as the ballot has not been given a full and fair trial.

We want to convince the majority of the people. As long as we are in the minority, we of course have

no right to force our opinions upon an unwilling majority.

Besides, as modern men and true democrats, we have a somewhat less romantic and boyish idea of the development of human things and social systems. And we know that one can kill tyrants and scare individuals with dynamite and bullets, but one cannot develop a system in that way.

Therefore no true Social-Democrat ever dreams of a sudden change of society. Such fanatic dreamers nowhere find more determined opponents than in the ranks of the true Social-Democrats.

* * * *

We know perfectly well that force serves only those who have it, that a sudden overthrow will breed dictators, that it can promote only subjection, never liberty.

The Social-Democrats do not expect success from a so-called revolution—that is, a smaller or bigger riot—but from a real revolution, from the revolutionizing of minds, the only true revolution there is.

Yet we do not deny that after we have convinced the majority of the people, we are going to use force if the minority should resist. But in every democracy the majority rules, and must rule.

It is clear that this revolution of the minds cannot be brought about in a day or two, nor can it be arranged according to the pleasure of a few. It can only be attained by patient work and intelligent organization.

Therefore the Social-Democrats concentrate their whole force on agitation and organization. The Social-Democratic leaders in every country as a general rule are matter-of-fact, cool-headed persons. The Social-

Democratic troops are known to be the best disciplined in existence.

* * * *

Up to a certain point, therefore, the tactics of the Social-Democrats and the social reformers are exactly the same. Both build upon the past historical development and take into consideration the present conditions.

The Social-Democrats absolutely refuse to break off the thread of history at any one place. No Social-Democrat ever dreams of introducing a year 1 and beginning a new era with it, as did the fathers of the great French Revolution—which was indeed entirely in harmony with their “a priori” and doctrinaire methods.

The Social-Democrats leave the making of the calendars to other people.

But the tactics and the aims of the Social-Democrats do indeed differ from those of the social reformers in one essential point. The Social-Democrats never fail to declare that with all the social reforms, good and worthy of support as they may be, conditions cannot be radically and permanently improved.

We Social-Democrats say, we are willing to accept and help on every social reform. But we also say that social reforms are but installments by which we must not allow ourselves to be bribed; that full economic freedom will only be achieved by Social-Democracy.

Yet as a stepping stone, as a transition—and even as a necessary stepping stone and as an indispensable transition—social reforms of all kinds are fully and wholly recognized by the Social-Democracy.

We recognize their usefulness and necessity even when we do not agree with the motives of the promoters and leaders of social reform. We are willing

to accept these reforms, even when we disagree about their speed and the methods to be employed.

On the other hand, while the social reformers and the Social-Democrats therefore have many points of contact, they always will form and must form two entirely different parties. And it is not arbitrary or willful that the Social-Democrats all over the world constitute a distinct, separate party. It is absolutely necessary. And it does not in any way exclude the possibility of making common cause with social reform in legislatures and city councils for this or the other good measure. But to keep our party organically separate and intact is a demand of clearness and truth, which after all have great importance in political life as everywhere else.

* * * *

The Social-Democrats do not in the least expect to "make history," as certain ignorant and fanatical impossibilists dream of doing. What we aspire to is much more modest, more matter-of-fact, and therefore more reliable and more substantial.

We want to observe closely the course of things, the development of economic and political conditions. We want to find out, if possible, where this development leads. Then, supported by this knowledge, we want to put ourselves in line with the march of civilization, so that civilization will carry us, instead of crushing us, which it would do, if—knowingly or not—we should stand opposed to it.

* * * *

Thinking workmen and thinking men of any class become Social-Democrats not because we like to be "different" from other people. Not because a man by

the name of Karl Marx has "invented the co-operative commonwealth" and painted it as gorgeously as possible—which by the way he did not do. We are Social-Democrats because we have recognized that the economical development of the present capitalist system leads toward Socialistic production. Not that we wish to urge upon humanity "our" Socialist Republic, but that the Socialist Republic has urged itself upon us as the next stage of civilization and will urge itself some day upon all civilized humanity.

And once granted that the Socialist Republic is the necessary product of our economical development, the question of the possibility of carrying out the demands of the Social-Democracy appears very naive and indeed absurd. That which must come by necessity is for that very reason possible without further question.



Give Them Hope!

JULY, 1907

The most formidable obstacle in the way of further progress—and especially in the propaganda of Socialism—is not that men are insufficiently versed in political economy or lacking in intelligence. It is that people are without hope.

Popular effort has so often been thwarted by selfish cunning—great moral enthusiasm has so often been dissipated by the suspicious organization of the ruling classes that men have lost heart.

Despair is the chief opponent of progress.

Our greatest need is hope.

The majority of our fellow workers know of public measures that would be beneficent—if an upward step were possible. But they claim it is impossible under the present system. Some of them wait for some great “revolution” that is to come “some day.” Others do not wait for anything. They do not expect anything. They have lost hope. Why?

Both the so-called “revolutionists” and the “let-it-go-as-it-is-men” are overwhelmed by a multitude of incidental obstacles which are in themselves of small account.

Petty disappointments cloud the small horizons of these people. Thus they are shut off from the sight of the great universal and historic forces that are working for progress—for Socialism—and even for progress beyond Socialism.

Only these forces work slowly. Slowly and surely.

* * * *

Revolutions—and special evolutions—are brought about in human affairs not so much by the dissemination of a multitude of ideas, as by the concentration of a multitude of minds upon a single idea.

And this idea must be near enough and comprehensive enough and of sufficient importance to stir the very soul of the masses.

Mere theoretical or dogmatic phrases—no matter how “clear-cut”—are not capable of producing the universal enthusiasm required to institute any fundamental innovations.

Besides, doctrinarism and dogmatism lead to splits and to the formation of political sects. But when people are constantly absorbed in doing things, and in pre-

paring for still greater things, the petty jealousies and small causes for strife and dissension disappear.

* * * *

Furthermore, I say, we ought to have "uniformity" in general principles and general tactics only. We ought to leave minor details to the different state organizations. Especially where the movement is old and well rooted, where there are plenty of tried leaders and where the membership is experienced, they are fully capable of the righteous settlement of all incidental questions without interference from the outside.

Instead of more uniformity we ought to have more unity.

And we can gain this only when we leave details to the various subdivisions—and concentrate the efforts of our propaganda on the simple realities, self-evident and capable of being understood by all.

The first such central truth, to be proclaimed tirelessly by every Social Democrat, is that the earth is large enough and wide enough to supply all the good things of life to every human being born on it.

Add to this that the triumphs of modern science make it possible for men to satisfy every natural craving, every healthy desire, every reasonable hope and dream, without any man being compelled to sacrifice another being for his purpose.

This means that this world, now made a hell by human greed, abetted by ignorance and prejudice, might as well be a heaven.

It means that the misery caused by capitalism on one hand and poverty on the other, can be displaced by happiness and plenty for all.

Following this, one can demonstrate from history that this capitalist system did not always exist, but succeeded the feudal system, which had followed a system of slavery—each of these succeeding systems being better and more humane than its predecessor.

And we can then easily show that the trusts are the natural outcome of capitalism and competition and cannot be legislated out of existence as long as capitalism exists.

* * * *

The immediate effect of the practical acceptance of these self-evident truths is always wonderful.

Convince men that our country is large enough and rich enough to give them all an opportunity to work and earn enough to support their families in comfort, to educate their children properly and to be absolutely secure in sickness and old age.

Convince men that their present poverty is unnecessary. Proclaim that capitalism is simply a phase of civilization as feudalism was and Socialism will be—that nothing that is, lasts forever.

Convince them of this and you have them “for good.”

Only take care not to have them tie their hopes for the future to any catastrophe that is to bring the millennium “at one stroke.” Take care not to have them hope for any Messiah.

It invariably leads to fatalism of one kind or the other and destroys the incentive for continuous and hard work at the present time.

Fatalism is always fatal to real progress.

* * * *

Therefore, Social-Democratic propagandists, do not weary your hearers with statistics or the definitions of

"surplus value." Do not confuse them by trying to explain all the intricacies of the capitalist system and by describing the beauties of the co-operative commonwealth.

Teach them that in order to get a better world we shall have to work for it and fight for it.

Work and fight are the "Messiahs" of proletarians.

Teach the proletariat that the highest patriotism consists in working and fighting for the new world. And that to work and to fight for it is the sublime mission of this generation and possibly also of the next.

Nothing else in this world can compare with this work in importance.



Labor Learns in the School of Experience

DECEMBER 2, 1905

England is the home of modern trade unionism. There the trades unions developed directly from the old guilds and journeymen's societies of the Middle Ages. It is natural that in England every skilled workman should belong to a union, and under the influence of Socialist thought and Socialist agitation, a good many unions of non-skilled laborers have been formed, as for instance, the dockmen's union through John Burns, and the gas workers union through Will Thorne.

Yet although over a million and a half of organized workmen belong to the trade unions in England—which are a giant army of themselves—the trade union movement of England has failed to emancipate the

wage workers or even to alleviate the condition of the masses.

Just now the telegraph every day reports the tremendous demonstrations of starving workingmen in London, Birmingham, and other towns. The English trade unionists begin to understand that without a political class movement, their economic struggle is hopeless. Our American fraternal delegates to Europe reported in Pittsburgh that what most struck them at the last British Trade Union Congress as different from our American conventions, was the fact that almost all the time was taken up with politics, and with the discussion of the political labor movement.

So the workingmen in England have finally come to the same conclusion which the workingmen in Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, Austria, Holland, Sweden, Norway, etc., reached long ago—that the economic movement alone is absolutely insufficient even to materially and permanently improve the condition of the working class, let alone the abolition of wage slavery. They find now in England also that it is absolutely necessary for the workers to get hold of the latch of legislation if they intend to accomplish anything worth while and anything lasting.

* * * *

In Germany, as we all know, the development of the labor movement was from exactly the opposite direction. There Ferdinand Lasalle started the modern labor movement absolutely upon a political basis. The Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiter Verein demanded before all things the universal electoral franchise for the workers and then a hundred million dollars from the

Prussian State, in order to start a co-operative workshop system. These demands, as all the others which Lasalle formulated, were purely political in their character. Lasalle and the iron-clad Lasalleans had nothing but derision for the trade unions which had been held up as one of the main panaceas for the working people by Lasalle's bourgeois opponent, Schultze-Delitsch. In the heat of the fight, Lasalle naturally went too far in his opposition to the trade unions. But even Lasalle's friend and successor in the dictatorship of the Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiter Verein and the young Socialist party of the time, Johann V. Schweitzer, by the mere force of conditions, found himself compelled to start trade unions of his own, which have grown to a membership of about 1,400,000, that is, they have now about as many members as the English trade union movement.

Thus while in England the tendency for a long time was to regard the political side of the labor question as something secondary—the labor representatives usually voted with the Liberal party—in Germany, on the other hand, the trade union movement was considered of less account until of late. For even the early Marxian Socialists in Germany had little or no use for the trade unions. As a matter of fact, since the Lasallean wing had started the trade union movement, the Gewerkschaften, the early Marxians thought it their duty to fight them as much as possible—until 1875, when the union of the Lasalleans and the Eissenachers was effected. And similar conditions to those which forced upon the attention of the English working class the necessity of a strong political class movement, forced also upon the German working class the neces-

sity of developing a strong economic movement of the laboring class.

* * * *

So the political struggle, as an equally powerful factor with the economic struggle, is now becoming the watchword in England, and the strongest possible trade union movement, as a necessary help and adjunct to the political movement, is now the central idea of the Social-Democracy of Germany. At the last convention of the party, Bernstein and Bebel went so far as to strongly indorse and advocate the idea of a general political strike—an idea which in former years has been repeatedly rejected as anarchistic. Bebel even now would only use it in case of an attempt to disfranchise the workers in Germany—which the Junker party, the nobility and the emperor would very much like to try—and this would be a case of answering with anarchy from below the anarchy from above. Bernstein, however, would like to go very much further in the use of the strike weapon for political purposes.

So, at any rate, the trade unionists pure and simple, as well as the Socialist politicians, pure and simple, have pretty nearly disappeared in the labor movement of the world. The American labor movement derived its roots from England on the one side and Germany on the other. From England it received the idea of the trade union pure and simple, which was in vogue in England years ago, but is now being discarded. From Germany, the American labor movement received its Socialism, an idea which originally was purely political, but now takes in the trade union movement.

But thanks to the fervor of the Socialists in the eighties of the last century, we see from the beginning

of the trade union movement in America a constant fight. The Socialists at first tried to run the trade unions simply as an appendix to the Socialist party, and fought and villified the labor leaders who resisted; while on the other hand, these labor leaders—some of whom were capitalist politicians—made use of these attacks to make the trade unionists of the country believe that the Socialists were the enemies of the trade unions. This war went on relentlessly for years and found its first natural expression, when Daniel De Leon (who made his entrance into the Socialist movement in 1892) started the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance in 1896 in opposition to the American Federation of Labor, for the purpose of creating a purely political trade union movement. De Leon was logical from the old Socialist standpoint, but that standpoint was wrong and the attempt necessarily failed.

Since then, even the most fanatic Lasallean Socialists in America could not help but learn from the example of the Socialist parties in Europe and also from the failure of their own tactics in this country. The trouble is only that they went to the opposite extreme. And while they formerly tried to inject Socialist politics into the trade unions, examples of which were the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and later the American Labor Union, they now try to inject trade unionism into Socialist politics and to solve political questions by the trade union. The trade union is now the fetich before which we must bow down. And "industrialism,"—a term which simply signifies one form of an organization for trade unions and per se has nothing to do with Socialism—is in future to be considered by Socialists as the magic key which will open the gate of

freedom for the American proletariat. The result of this other extreme was the formation last June of the Industrial Workers of the World in Chicago, which in its platform demands that the trade union should also do the work of a political party. That is its sense, if any sense can be made out of its contradictions.

* * * *

As usual, both extremes are wrong. The truth lies in the middle.

The trade union and the Social-Democratic party are both a part of the labor movement, but they have different and separate functions.

The trade union seeks the raising of wages in accordance with the conditions of the labor market, the abolition of overtime and better pay for it when it is absolutely necessary. Every trade union strives to secure more humane working conditions. Every trade union opposes the reduction of wages. Every trade union strengthens the feeling of solidarity. Every trade union is a promise of a better standard of living for the working class.

So much for the trade union.

On the other hand, every lost strike—and every strike won—teaches the trade union man that his economic struggle alone is entirely inadequate. Wage scales adopted are incapable of overbridging the chasm between labor and capital. The fight will break out again, and must break out again. And the interference of the capitalist state and municipal governments—the police, the court, the military—constantly reminds the wage workers that the economic rule of the capitalist class culminates in its political rule.

It also reminds the workers that the only adequate weapon is the ballot.

The concentration of wealth, the formation of trusts, the industrial crisis, do the rest.

Result? Every thinking trade union man is bound to join the Social-Democratic party, sooner or later.

* * * *

And this is what we mean when we say that we must have a two-armed labor movement—a labor movement with a political arm and with an economic arm. Each arm has its own work to do, and one arm ought not to interfere with the other, although they are parts of the same body. That is the "Milwaukee idea." In the personal union of the workers of both, that is, in having the same persons take an active interest in both the trade union and the political labor movement, we find the strongest connecting link between the Social-Democratic party and the trade union organization. This idea works successfully not only in Milwaukee, but everywhere wherever the true relationship between trade unionism and Socialism is rightly understood. Then we find the same men, with the same thoughts, aims and ideals working in the economic and the political field, thus forming a grand army moving on two roads for the abolition of the capitalist system.

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How Will Socialism Come?

APRIL 29, 1905

Socialism is the name of an epoch of civilization—the next epoch, if our civilization is to continue.

We must not expect that the Socialist era will come

all at one stroke. Neither capitalism nor feudalism arose "at a certain date," nor can the Socialist form of society have its beginning on any fixed day.

Besides, although capitalistic society has already passed its zenith, yet even at the present day feudalism holds a very important place in modern society. This is the case not only in Germany, in spite of its high economic development, but also in England, the "classic land" of capitalism.

Just so with any revolution.

Capitalism will not vanish in one day, in one year, or in one decade. Even after the triumph of the working class the commonwealth cannot take upon itself all kinds of production.

Many industries today are not concentrated, and therefore are not ripe for collective production. Some will become so in time, others perhaps will not. The editor of this paper is no prophet and will not attempt to predict details.

However, the trusts are now showing the Social-Democrats how they must do it, only the Socialists will have to do it from a Socialist standpoint and for the benefit of all the people.

But it is not necessary nor possible that all industries should be immediately taken over by the Socialist government.

Every branch of production controlled by a trust, as well as all industries which could be conducted on a similar scale, besides railways, telegraphs, mines, etc., will of course become collective public property and will be managed by the national government.

But there is a whole class of industries (for instance farming) which are not yet ready to be worked on this

large scale, or which are liable to be decentralized by the technical perfection of the methods of transmitting power. Many small industries have again become possible on account of the transmission of electric power. These without any objection can remain in private hands. I refer to certain petty industries, as well as to agriculture.

In other cases, the Socialist society can give the opportunity for the formation of co-operative associations, which, together with the model industries conducted by the state, will raise the level of the working class to a degree hardly credible at the present time.

The chief reason why workingmen's co-operative associations have been impossible hitherto, has even now been partly removed by the trusts, and of course will be of still less account at the rise of the political power of the proletariat.

The trusts show how a regulated business can be done. The management of the co-operative workingmen's association of the future will find out what the demand is and determine the amount and method of the production. During the transition period the sale of products may take place exactly as at present, only subject to regulation by the state.

In the trusts, the capitalist class even now plays the most superfluous role in the world.

Indeed, in the trusts the capitalist class is already expropriated to a certain extent.

The smaller investors, who are the great majority, no longer have anything to control, and only draw their profits. Their industries are apparently the property of the shareholders; but what sort of property is that of which one has not the free disposal? They can no

longer produce what they will, nor at what price they will, nor with what workmen they will; all is prescribed to them by the management of the trust. Properly speaking, they are only profit-receivers.

The trusts are ready now for a change of ownership.

But Wisconsin has been fiercely criticized for a provision in its Socialist platform to have the nation "buy out" the trusts and pay the net value. And yet Karl Kautsky, Emil Vandervelde, William Liebknecht, and even Karl Marx, speak of compensation.

Engels wrote in 1894, "We do not consider the indemnity of the proprietors as an impossibility whatever may be the circumstances. How many times has not Karl Marx expressed to me the opinion that if we could buy up the whole crowd, it would really be the cheapest way of relieving ourselves of them."

Vandervelde says: "There is no doubt that the expropriation without indemnity with the resistance, the troubles, the bloody disturbances which it would not fail to produce, would be in the end most costly." (*Collectivism*, Kerr edition, page 155.)

In discussing the question of compensation, Karl Kautsky, the most radical theorist of the German Social-Democracy, says:

"There are a number of reasons which indicate that a proletariat regime will seek the road of compensation and payment of the capitalists and land owners." (*Social Revolution*, Kerr edition, page 118.)

In another place (on page 113) Kautsky says: "A portion of the factories, mines, etc., could be sold directly to the laborers who are working them, and could be henceforth operated co-operatively; another portion

could be sold to the co-operatives of distribution, and still another to the communities or the states.

"It is clear, however, that capital would find its most extensive and generous purchaser in the state or municipalities, and for this very reason the majority of industries would pass into possession of the states and municipalities. That the Social-Democrats when they came into control would strive consciously for this solution is well understood."

Well understood? Yes, everywhere excepting in America.

Of course, all industries of national magnitude would be carried on by the government. For smaller industries, wherever necessary, the government could make some agreement with the co-operative associations of workers. We speak of the transition period.

In this transition period, the Socialist government can of course lend the necessary capital to the co-operative societies and furnish suitable guarantees. The government in this transition period will have at its disposal quite different powers than at present. For instance, it will have a monopoly of all water power, coal mines, railroads, rivers, electrical plants, etc.

So perhaps for a time a state of affairs may arise which will combine at the same time three forms of production. That is, the capitalistic form in petty industries, where goods will be produced for the market; the co-operative form in which the products will be for use and also for sale; and the purely Socialistic, where the government will carry on production for use only, and the production will not take the form of wares at all.

That all this will take place peacefully, we do not

maintain. But riots and bloodshed are not at all desirable, nor will they help civilization.

Besides, I do not believe that one great revolution can turn topsy-turvy the whole civilized world, and undo or make superfluous any economic development as outlined here.

Capitalism was necessary to give mankind dominion over the forces of nature, which is now assured by our scientific attainments.

Considered in itself, capitalism has by no means reached that stage of development where it becomes impossible.

On the contrary, in the trust system, capitalism has just stepped into a new phase, the duration of which is unlimited according to our present light.

Of course, from a civilizing force, capitalism has already become a menace to civilization. But that does not affect its vitality! However, the tendencies which oppose it have now gathered such great strength that a thorough change—must not, indeed—but can take place, if the working class understands its mission.

In conclusion, let me say that the world's history is always made by men and is not a mere natural process as some Marxists want us to believe.



Words of the Saints

OCTOBER, 1906

The Catholics recently held their annual convention in Buffalo, N. Y. The Socialists, as usual, were bitterly attacked.

Several speakers again declared that the Socialists

were on a level with thieves because they do not recognize the present "legal" property system.

Other speakers, for instance Archbishop Messmer, acknowledged that Socialism contained "much that is good." But Messmer fiercely assailed the plank in the Social-Democratic platform that "religion is a matter of private concern." This our friend Messmer pronounced godless and wicked, and therefore every Catholic should fight Socialism.

* * * *

And before we go any further I want to state again that this fight with the Roman Catholic church is disagreeable to us, because it brings the element of religion into a purely economical and political matter. I am free to say that we would rather run away from this fight if we could. But we cannot, the "holy" church would not let us. So "willy nilly" we must defend ourselves against the "dear old priests."

Archbishop Messmer's argument is not hard to answer, because we do not yet have any state church in America.

We willingly believe that our archbishop and other priests of his type wish that the Roman Catholic church in America was made the state church. He also hopes that this will be done some day with the help of the big capitalists who, whether Protestant, Jewish, or heathen, see in the Roman Catholic church their last bulwark. And we also know that the Rockefellers, Vanderbilts, Goulds, etc., would go right over to the Roman Catholic church if such a re-enforcement of that church were necessary for the preservation of the present system. Even now they are munificent towards the church.

Yet a state church will never exist in America. To begin with, its establishment would require one of the most terrible civil wars the world has ever known. True, the church has started such wars before. But the fact is, even if the Roman Catholic church allied with the capitalists should conquer once, and even if it should conquer ten times, it could never maintain its rule in the long run.

It has just lost its rule once more in France.

Therefore I should advise our friend Messmer that it would be better for the Roman Catholic church to adopt the Social-Democratic principle, "Religion is a private affair." This maxim is generally accepted in America. And yet the "only holy church" is doing a fine business here. Just consider its growth during the last twenty years.

* * * *

But to the other brothers in Christ who reproach the Socialists with being on a "level with thieves" because they regard the present property system as unjust, anti-social and the source of social disorder, I will say this:

Not we, but the capitalists and their defenders stand on a "level with thieves." Capitalist ownership is continual graft and alienation. The working people have produced all the wealth, the capitalists have simply confiscated it and are confiscating it every day.

Of course this continual graft and "alienation" is now legal and passes for ownership.

The present laws are made just by the ruling class and in their interest. They represent might and not right.

And as soon as this sort of thing has gone a little

too far for the people to endure, they will surely proceed to restitution.

Our opponents, the capitalists, may call this "expropriation." But we do not care what they call it as long as it is done. And expropriation also sounds well to us.

Just here I wish to explain that the advocates of the new order of society will use the extreme application of their principles—that is, the expropriation of the capitalist class—for the general use, for the collective ownership and not to put other men personally in possession of land, machines and other means of production.

* * * *

By the way, in former centuries, the holy church often undertook such expropriation of heretics or those who did not follow its blessed doctrines. And this was done for the private use of lords, bishops, cloisters, etc. And usually they took away the children also, after the parents had been killed or driven away.

And the pious in the land always regarded such "expropriations" as godly acts and sang "Te deums" and other praises to God in the Roman Catholic churches.

Later on, of course, when in the Reformation period the Protestants played the same game against the bishops and cloisters, the church did curse it as outright robbery.

But then the Protestant preachers on their side thought the deed was good. And they praised God for it and gave thanks.

So the Lord, at least, was praised any way.

In other words, the thing was always legal, when it was done by the strongest party. And we hereby solemnly promise not to undertake any expropriation until we have the power.

And we will take only "means of production" and we will harm nobody.

And after it is done, those of us who are pious will, no doubt, thank God for it. And the Lord, at least, will be praised anyway.

Moreover, we do not have to rummage the history of former times for example and precedents. Even to-day expropriations are made by the federal, state and city governments, when for any reason they are considered necessary.

In later issues we may take occasion to return to this subject.

But today, for the profit and edification of the brothers in Christ who cursed us in Buffalo, we wish to cite the opinions of the saints on the expropriation question.

* * * *

St. Luke writes of the Christian community at Jerusalem, "and the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul; neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things in common. Neither was there any among them that lacked, for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the price of the things that were sold, and laid it down at the apostles' feet; and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need."—(Acts iv, 32-35.)

Now that is clear communism.

Indeed, it was the logical application of the command, "Go sell all that thou hast and give to the poor."

If the communists are in need of a patron saint, they ought to take St. Luke.

The fathers of the church, St. Chrysostom, St. Hieronymus, St. Basil, St. Gregory, St. Clement and St. Ambrose express themselves with equal clearness.

"It is not without reason," says Hieronymus, "that the gospel calls earthly riches 'unrighteous mammon,' since they have their source in injustice, for one can not possess them except through the ruin of others. It is even a common saying that they who possess them are rich only through their own injustice or the injustice of those whose heirs they are."—(Works of St. Hieronymus, published by Malongues, Paris, 1678.)

St. Chrysostom denounces the grain usurers:

"The land lay dry, parched by the sun, the fruits could not grow, famine threatened. Suddenly black clouds rolled up, it rained, deliverance came, every one rejoiced—except one rich man. When he was asked the reason, he said: 'I had stored up ten thousand bushels of wheat, and now I do not know what to do with it.'

"Does he not deserve to be quartered as an enemy of the community?" asked St. Chrysostom.

St. Chrysostom must have received the anarchist John Most with open arms, when he got to heaven.

* * * *

And the good saint is no less radical where he speaks of property in general:

"For one to use his property only for himself is to rob the poor of it, that is, to play the robber with the property of another, and subject himself to all the pen-

alties which threaten him who steals. What thou mayest keep for thyself is that which is really necessary, the rest belongs to the poor. It is his property and not thine."—St. Chrysostom, *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*, Vol. 19, pages 27, 35, 40, 51 and 52.)

St. Gregory says: "The earth is the common property of all men; it is vain for those to think themselves innocent who appropriate to themselves alone the wealth which God gave to all men in common. When they do not share with others what they have received they become man-slayers."—"Des Soins et des Devoirs des Pasteurs," XXI, pages 303 and 304, Lyons, 1682.)

Pope Basil the Great, proclaimed these truths:

"Art thou not a thief, thou who appropriatest to thyself that which thou hast only received in order to distribute it? If he is called a thief who takes one piece of clothing, can any other name be given to him who, seeing before him a naked man, can clothe him, and yet leaves him naked? The rich have just got into their possession the communal wealth, and make of it private property."—(*Sur l'Avarice*, by Victor Meunier, page 23.)

No Socialist could speak with more fervor.

* * * *

St. Clement makes communism or communistic ownership an article of faith when he says:

"The communal life is a duty for all men. It is injustice which permits one man to say, 'This is mine,' another, 'This belongs to me.' From this has come inequality among men."

Now that is a good deal more than any Social-Democrat ever asked.

In conclusion, also hear the father of the church, St. Ambrose:

"God created all things to let every one enjoy them and to make the earth the property of all. Nature originated communist right, and it is force which has produced the rights of property. Since the earth was given to all in common, no one can call himself the owner of what exceeds his natural needs; what is over and above this, he has alienated from society."—(St. Ambrose, Sermon 64 on Luke, Chapter 16.)

Well, this is a small selection from the writings of men who lived in ages when the "rights of property" had not by far such ruinous consequences for the masses of the people as in this century of "culture and civilization."

And I ask our friend Messmer, who has studied church history, and knows his saints as well as I do, whether I have not quoted them correctly?

Let him show me one single misquotation, and I will buy a five-pound candle at Candlemas for the Capuchin church, to be lit before the statue of the saint that I have misquoted.

And of this be sure, dear Christians—these saints, if they were living today, would be Socialists.



For Whom Is There Freedom?

JULY 29, 1905

One of the most common objections to Socialism is that it would take away the freedom of the people. Now I will say right here that this would be a very serious objection and communism at least is open to that objec-

tion. There may be also certain kinds of Socialism that would take away the people's freedom, but the Social-Democracy will never do it.

But as to freedom and liberty, who has liberty and who is free under the present economic system?

Some time ago an employer who was on the witness stand gave the following definition of liberty:

"Why, liberty is the right of an American to do as he d—— pleases." And he added, "This is the ideal of American manhood."

In one way the man was right. Our present conditions have made it possible for a small class of Americans to do as they d—— please, and that is looked upon by the press, the pulpit, and the schools as the ideal of American manhood.

Of course, it can never be real freedom. It may be the liberty of the libertine—of the slave, who has just got free—but it never is the freedom of the free man. The ex-slaves of the old Romans were called libertines, and when set at liberty they were noted for their licentiousness. They did "as they d—— pleased."

If the capitalist right to oppress others is liberty, then our present capitalist liberty is right. Liberty of that kind, of course, can be used or abused, and our economic conditions set a premium upon the abuse by any ex-slave of the system who has become free.

But freedom as such can never be abused. Freedom is inborn with us, and the only trouble is, we can not enjoy it, because a certain small class, the capitalist class—the libertines of the present economic system—are absolutely at liberty. And they use their liberty to oppress us.

Freedom is closely connected with economic conditions. A man is not free who is dependent upon another for a job—for a chance to make a livelihood. Under the present economic system with its unbridled competition, only the successful are free. Only the successful can throw off the shackles of industrial slavery—and with this liberty they often become libertines, in every sense of the word. For further details, please read the columns of any metropolitan daily.

But we cannot live moral lives, unless we are free. Hence freedom is the ideal of the Social-Democrats, and we will combat and defy anything and anybody, even within the Socialist movement and within the labor movement, that will curtail our freedom.

But who has freedom under the present economic system?

Take all the different classes of our people, and in all of them you will find the same lack of freedom—all except a handful of plutocrats, who have succeeded in gaining a monopoly of "liberty." All of the others, business men, farmers, and wage-earners, are not free.

Let us take the business men first. Now we all know that competitive business is by its very nature corrupt. Every sincere business man will tell you that it is impossible to conduct his affairs as an upright man and be successful, for the simple reason that it is always the unscrupulous rogue who sets the standard. It is the rascal who commences with adulterating goods, with using false advertising—but the honest man must follow suit. The same holds good for the manufacturer. It is the rascal who begins cutting the wages of the employes; endangering the lives of the workmen by neglecting to put up appliances for their protection,

and employing the labor of women and children—but the honest man must strike the same pace.

Another suggestive fact. About 90 per cent of all business men at least once in their lives go into bankruptcy. Still another, the mammoth store—the department store—is continually wiping out small merchants, and the large manufacturing establishments and the trusts are doing the same thing for the small shops. So it is pretty clear that the business men, the merchants, the manufacturers are not free.

It is hardly necessary to add here that the professional class, lawyers, doctors, teachers, preachers, are not free. They are, of course, mainly dependent upon the other classes, and especially upon the class with money, for a living. Only in rare cases can they follow their own inclinations, and express their opinions without fear or favor. Surely, none of the men here mentioned can in any true sense be said to be free.

Now let us consider the farmers. In times of old, they were looked upon as the "free and independent class" par excellence. The present high prices for the staple goods of the farmers have for a moment relieved that class. They experience a temporary prosperity. But let us recollect the crisis of the nineties and the mournful story of the presidential election of 1896 when the poor farmers, burdened with debts and misery, like a drowning man clutching at the last straw, as a class voted for "free silver." It was lucky for the farmers more than for anybody else that they did not succeed at that time—but this present prosperity is only temporary. It is based upon very good crops in this country, and failure of crops elsewhere—and upon wars, the Spanish-American War first, the Boer War next, and

now the Russian-Japanese War. All of these conditions and circumstances will, of course, not always prevail. And then the farmers will deteriorate again. They are bound to deteriorate as long as the present economic system lasts. The farmers are the serfs of the trusts, the railroad, and the speculators. They are not free.

And how about the wageworkers? Are they free? We hardly need to answer. Think of the insecurity and dependence which day by day makes the workman subject to the employer's favors, and to every whim of his, first in order to obtain his daily subsistence, and second, in order to retain it. And must not a wageworker give up his identity? He must identify himself with his master's private interests, no matter whether the master is inferior to him or not—nay, he must help him and obey him even when the master is a rogue who adulterates goods, or in other ways carries on a warfare against society.

In other words, the wage system possesses this miserable feature which makes it so similar to ancient slavery, that the workman is used entirely for his master's private ends. This was the definition of slavery.

And how about those who have no work and cannot find any? Are they not in a still worse predicament? Are they free? Are they not the slaves of misery, hunger and every other ill? Surely no workman, whether employed or not, can be called free.

So to make a long story short, it is not so much the fact that there are rich and poor in the world under the present system, but the fact that the poor have to depend upon the rich for a living, that makes us all servants and slaves. It is the terrible economic power of the capitalist class that keeps us from becoming free.

Only Socialism can help us. And we shall become free only in the degree that we introduce Socialism and Social-Democratic measures into our system.



Capitalist Liberty

APRIL, 1907

Mr. Frank M. Hoyt, a well-known corporation lawyer, recently delivered a lecture on Socialism before the Men's Club in this city. He evidently tried to give a fair statement of Socialism and aside from the error that he considered the "iron law of wages," as formulated by Ricardo and repeated by Lasalle, a part of Socialistic doctrine, he succeeded pretty well.



But he concluded:

"The objection which is the most potent in this country to the acceptance of the Socialists' proposal that the state shall own or control property to the degree asked by them, is the feeling that such a plan would result in the tyranny of the state, and absolutely destroy all individual freedom.

"The idea is thus expressed by Judge Grosscup in a recent address:

" 'The deepest instinct of the American is the instinct of individual freedom. Beginning with himself, and those who depend upon him, the American will willingly surrender nothing to the community that he feels bound in conscience to perform himself; nothing to the larger community, called the state, that he feels should be performed by the smaller community of which he is proportionally a larger part; nothing to the nation that he feels should be performed by the state.

“‘And when you ask him in the interest of this or any other cause to separate himself farther and farther from individual control of those duties that are dearest to him—the education of his children, their religious training, the whole circle of what he has always looked upon as a personal responsibility—you ask him to surrender a thing that rather than surrender he will abandon the cause.’

“Another objection, to at least the present suggestions of the party, is found in what is claimed to be its failure to formulate measures, which shall operate in a practical manner against the evils of which they complain, without doing that which is confessedly impossible, namely: immediately subvert and change our entire existing system.

“As a friend of mine humorously puts it: ‘The Socialists bring us to the bank of a deep stream, assure us there is excellent pasturage on the other side, and fail to supply any means of crossing over to it.’”

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The trouble with our honest opponents—for there are also dishonest opponents, who deal in all kinds of scientific fibs, the hollowness of which they themselves recognize—lies in the fact that these honest opponents cannot, in their train of thought, sufficiently abstract from the present conditions. This explains why so many people are frightened away from Social-Democracy by all kinds of catchwords and phrases.

And the objection that is raised with special emphasis against Social-Democracy is that the Co-operative Commonwealth is inconsistent with “individual freedom.”

Now, we could make very short work of this.

We could simply answer that the present society does not grant freedom to the individual.

We could point to the fact that the great majority of our fellow citizens, during their lives, are in the service of others. All their lives the great majority must work according to the wish and will of a small minority. And these workers and their families do not get even enough to eat, cannot dress themselves properly or live in a decent home upon the wages they receive. And besides, they are not allowed to speak and act as they feel. If they do so, they run the risk of losing work and livelihood.

We could prove that even the well-to-do classes are not free at present. They are tied in their business life by competition, in their political, religious and social life by considerations of their position, by public opinion and by the pressure of the powerful.

And this is Mr. Hoyt's case, for instance.

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This much has already been admitted by every unprejudiced observer, that our present society does not in reality give to its members that freedom which the constitution promises—the Fourth of July orators notwithstanding.

Herbert Spencer, who opposed Socialism because he feared the dangers to individual liberty, was unprejudiced enough to admit that if he had only the choice between our present capitalistic society and the Socialist system, he would unhesitatingly prefer the latter. And this just from the standpoint of the real and actual, and not of the imagined, freedom of the individual.

I could further point out that every forward step of culture and civilization generally is connected with a certain restriction of personal liberty. The further we advance, the more fields are withdrawn from the dis-

cretion of the individual, and put under the control of the community. Even today our entire state rests on the restriction of the liberty of the individual.

Compulsory education and taxation—to speak of these foundations of our present government—are simply restrictions of our personal liberty. But would Mr. Hoyt on that account wish to go back to the times when no father was compelled to send his children to school and when nobody knew anything of taxation? Such regions still exist—in Central Asia and in Central Africa. Yet every one of us knows perfectly well that we civilized servants of the tax commissioner and of the school superintendent are, in fact and truth, infinitely freer than our forefathers were, who roamed “freely” in the deep forests of Germany and Great Britain; or than the inhabitants of this globe who still live in similar conditions.

We all know perfectly well that the great problem of the history of mankind consists just in this. How to restrict the liberty of each individual in such manner as to make way for the greatest freedom for all.

We all know perfectly well that the most unrestricted liberty leads to the brute battle of each against all.

And this never meant freedom.

It meant slavery in ancient times, and serfdom in the middle ages.

In modern days we find this unrestricted liberty only in the economic field. And there it has anarchy in its wake, which reigns supreme in our present society, with its chronic industrial crises (called “panics”), its permanent reserve army of the unemployed, its ever-increasing destitution of the masses, its business corruption and its ethical hypocrisy.

All this should really be quite sufficient to prove to every thinking man the absurdity of the twaddle about the dangers of Social-Democracy to individual freedom. For a freedom that does not exist cannot be in danger. And least of all can it be endangered by something that does not yet exist, but is going to come, as is the case with the Socialist Republic.

So Judge Grosscup may rest assured that we ask him to surrender nothing.

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Social-Democracy, however, need not content itself with this negative proof. It is fully able to furnish also the positive information that the Socialist Republic is not only entirely consistent with personal freedom, but will bring it to its fullest development.

If there are still many well-meaning and educated people who fear the "almighty" Socialistic state, this probably arises from the fact that they always think of the utopian schemes of the first communists who wanted to rule everything from above.

But modern, scientific Socialists never dream of such a thing.

Indeed, should we, in the Socialist Republic, need other means to keep people to their work than we need in the present society? Why do we work today? In order to live. Will this be otherwise in a society where all means of production belong to the commonwealth, instead of belonging to a few capitalists? Why should a laborer cease to work, because the entire value of his labor will go to the laborer?

I cannot see any logical reason.

It is said that man is a "self-seeker" by nature.

That he works only when he himself reaps the benefit; that he will not work for others.

But is it not a fact just now that the greater part of mankind works for others? And is it not just in the Co-operative Commonwealth that everybody will be enabled to call the full product of his labor his own? Where then will justifiable self-seeking be better satisfied, in the present or in the future society?

In future society, the genius of work will be freed from its most fatal defect, which is inherent today—the fact that the chief aim of all labor is the individual interest of somebody else, the profit of somebody else, the making of surplus for somebody else.

In the Socialist Republic this will not be possible. There only that will be produced which the commonwealth needs. And everybody will get the full product of what he has earned. Or, to express it better, the equivalent of his work.

The material and individual interest of the workingman in his work, therefore, will not cease in the society of the future, but, on the contrary, there it will find its real and absolute basis.

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Thus we see, that nothing will be changed regarding the motive to work. At least nothing in its disfavor.

It is also clear, on the other hand, that the freedom of choice of work will be much greater than at present.

How it is today every one knows. Of course, our constitution “guarantees” us, in the most solemn way, the most unrestricted freedom. In reality, however, it depends upon a whole series of extraordinarily fortu-

nate chances and circumstances, whether any one can really choose his life's work at will.

With most parents and young people, pecuniary considerations alone decide as to the choice of professions. A single glance at the statistics on this subject shows that the choice of a profession depends upon the prospect which the law of "supply and demand" offers at the time. Even theology, which should be above all a matter of sentiment, is not excluded from this rule.

And the overwhelming majority of children have no choice at all—they must go to the factory at the age of fourteen, or even earlier.

How different this will be in a society which guarantees all labor its full product! How all foreign considerations, which today determine the choice of work, will fall away! So much the more, because then the educational institutions will be open to all competent persons. Not the money bag, but solely the ability, talent and inclination will decide. There is some genius hidden in almost every person. And every young man and every young woman will have time to become clearly conscious of his or her inclinations and gifts.

And should any one have been mistaken about his or her choice of work, how much easier will be the transition to another sphere of action than it is today.

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It is not the intention of Socialists to interfere with municipal rights, county rights or state rights which are essential to the habit of self-government. The American capitalist will lose the liberty of the libertine—the liberty to abuse—but the American citizen will

gain the freedom of the man who is free economically as well as politically.

As to the education of the children, their religious training and so forth, that will be less interfered with than today. Religion is a private matter—that is Socialist doctrine the world over. It is for that very reason that the Roman Catholic church bitterly opposes Socialism. That church wants religion—the Romanist brand of it—to be a state affair.

So much for the observations of Judge Grosscup.

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As for the remark of Mr. Hoyt that we want “to immediately subvert and change our entire existing system,” I will say that no true Social-Democrat ever dreams of a sudden change of society. We build upon the past historical development and take into consideration the present conditions.

We are the greatest advocates of reforms of all kinds and every description the world has ever seen.

Mr. Hoyt ought to know that. We are proposing these reform measures right here in Milwaukee before his very eyes, and at Madison, Wis., in the legislature. And we will advocate them in Washington as soon as we elect members to congress.

Yet these reforms are only stepping stones—very useful and necessary stepping stones, if the Socialist Republic is ever to be brought about peaceably—but our aim is to abolish the capitalist system entirely.

The Socialist Republic will come by evolution. It cannot come any other way. We may see, however, the most fearful revolutions (and many of them) as a part of that great evolution.

Bloody revolutions will not hasten—they may even retard—the coming of the Socialist Republic. And whether such eruptions are to take place at all, will depend as much upon the policy of the capitalist class as upon the leadership of the proletariat.

We are Social-Democrats, because we have recognized that the economic development of the present capitalist system, with its concentration of wealth, its trusts, etc., leads toward Socialistic production. Socialism is the next phase of civilization, if civilization is to survive.

So, dear Mr. Hoyt, “we shali have to cross to the other bank of that deep stream.” We Social-Democrats supply all kinds of social reform vehicles and bridges to cross. We reach out the helping hand of brotherly love. But those who refuse and fight—will perish in the stream.

And that is the grim “humor” of it.



Do We Worship a Fetich?

JUNE, 1908

The Evening Wisconsin, Milwaukee, says editorially:

“Here is a plank from the National Socialist platform, as published in Victor Berger’s Social-Democratic Herald:

“‘The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage, as guaranteed by the constitution.’

“A respectful reference to the constitution of the United States in an official utterance of the Socialists is so unusual that it may be deemed worthy of especial attention. But here are some of the other planks

of the same National Socialist platform. They are taken from the section labeled "Political Demands":

"The abolition of the Senate.

"The abolition of the veto power of the President.

"The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon legislation enacted by Congress as to its constitutionality. National laws passed by Congress to be repealed or abrogated only by act of Congress or by referendum of the whole people.'

"Thus it appears that the respectful reference to the constitution is not to be taken seriously—that the Socialist party is against the enforcement of the constitution—against American institutions. This attitude of hostility to the constitution is exhibited in another of the shorter planks of the National Socialist platform:

"That the constitution be amendable by majority vote.'

"But this plank is a mere redundancy. What would be the need of going to the trouble of amending the constitution if unconstitutional legislation by Congress could not be challenged and appealed from the legislative to the judicial branch of the government and declared null and void by the Supreme Court?

"The Socialist platform is a wild, visionary, revolutionary farrago, unpatriotic to the core, at war with American traditions, principles and instincts—a political crazy-quilt.

"It will fail to commend the support of a great many voters who in local elections have cast their ballots for the candidates of the Social-Democratic party."—(Evening Wisconsin).

At the time of its adoption no one considered the constitution of the United States anything but a miserable piece of patchwork—a stupid imitation of the English constitution—which had to be amended a dozen

times before it could be adopted by the thirteen original states. It really satisfied nobody.

However, by and by it dawned upon the Southern slave barons that they could hide behind this constitution to defend black slavery. They were right about that, and it took a terrific war to patch up and amend once more what had been poor patchwork to begin with.

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After the war the growing capitalist class, which for a while had been very much dissatisfied with the constitution, found out that, just because the constitution was antiquated and unsatisfactory, the capitalists could make the same use of it for their own ends as did the slave barons for theirs. So the constitution became a blessed and holy document once more. It was again, in the seventies and eighties, the fetich of every lawyer and every school teacher. Only it was then the Northern fetich. The fervor of the South had been rather chilled by the "niggers' amendments," as the result of the war.

However, the South has found a way to get around these amendments. And the unthinking of the North and the South unite in doing reverence to a poor makeshift which tried to combine the constitutional ideas of Montesquieu with the archaic conception of an executive with despotic powers, as borrowed by Hamilton from the English constitution.

But the intelligent men of all classes during the last 20 years have become convinced that our constitution must be changed. Not only the proletariat and the middle class demand this, but even the plutocrats admit it. Only men who, Rip Van Winkle-like, have slumbered in a sleepy hollow on the corner of Michigan and

Milwaukee streets, seem to know nothing about this necessity.

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No doubt there were many leading men at the close of the American Revolution who were in favor of adopting the British constitution, as they understood it. Only this being a republic, they were very much more afraid of the people, of the mob, than they would have been in a monarchy. They admitted that. Therefore they wanted a strong executive, "one that could dare to execute his powers"—as Hamilton stated it.

That is how we got our kind of a president for the United States. That is also the reason why we have the Senate—"to represent the wealthy and the better class of our land."

And that is the reason why we have the "additional check" by the courts.

Everybody was not satisfied with this.

Thomas Jefferson, of course, was not.

But even at a much later day Henry Clay compared our presidency to "an elective monarchy—the worst form of old governments."

And he was right, inasmuch as with the exception of the Czar of Russia, there is not a monarch in the world who has as much power as the President of the United States. He is not only the chief executive, but also a part of the law-making machine—and what part! He counts as much as two-thirds of the House of Representatives and the Senate combined. No wonder that even Daniel Webster once said, "The contest for ages has been to rescue liberty from the grasp of executive power. The President carries on the government; all the rest are only sub-contractors. A Briareus sits in the

center of our system, and with his hundred hands touches everything, moves everything, controls everything. I ask, is this republicanism? Is this government of laws?"

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And it is almost unnecessary to show what the United States Senate was from its beginning, and what it is now.

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However, even the Senate is not "in it" as an obstacle to progress and justice when compared with the position our judiciary occupies as an illegitimate part of our law-making body—and in telling the people what they may want and what they may not.

And this monstrous guardianship of the judiciary over the people, dictating to them what is law and what is not, is purely an American institution.

No other nation in the world has it. No other nation in the world would stand for it.

The British constitution, of which ours is otherwise a faithful copy, knows nothing like it. The germ of the disease was put into our constitution by the conservatives of the type of Alexander Hamilton and had the warm support of all the ex-Royalists—but the disease was developed by the shrewd manipulations of some supreme justices.

The Hamilton clique had created the Senate to take the place of the House of Lords. Yet it was still afraid of the common people. It wanted something in the place of the king. And, mind you, not the constitutional King of England either. They wanted the absolute king of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and they got him. He is our American judge.

And this King Judge and his retinue of lawyers is now the distinguishing mark between the American people and all others on earth. And perhaps the most dangerous judge to the rights of the people is the Federal judge. Federal judges are appointed by the President of the United States upon the recommendation of our prominent business men, that is, upon the recommendation of our railroad presidents and millionaire manufacturers.

The Federal judge almost invariably is a corporation lawyer. He is appointed for life—and his very environment makes him part and parcel of the American plutocracy.

The Federal judge nowadays looks down upon the state judiciary very much in the same way as the regular army looks down upon the militia.

Every Federal judge nowadays is an enemy of our democratic institutions and an adversary of the common people. Every Federal judge becomes a regular fiend when he has to decide questions regarding the rights of the laboring class.

The Federal judiciary of the United States is the last resort of the corporations, railroads and all kinds of plutocratic evildoers in their straits. There they can get help and comfort when the legislators, whom they usually own, become frightened at the anger of the people. There they can get "injunctions" galore, or judge-made law to suit every occasion.

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The constitution has never been changed except by bloody war.

It takes a two-thirds majority of Congress, and in addition thereto a majority of three-fourths of the leg-

islatures of all the states, to change it. And that can never be gotten. As it stands now, the constitution can only be changed by revolutions and a sea of blood.

We Socialists want a constitution that can be amended by a majority vote of all the people. The American government is a democracy—at least it pretends to be one. The people ought to rule.

And every law passed by our representatives ought to hold good unless repealed by our law-givers, or rejected by a majority of the people.

Is this idea of majority rule—"a wild, visionary, revolutionary farrago, unpatriotic to the core, at war with American traditions, principles and instincts?"

However, the capitalists make the fatal mistake of their very existence when they trust to judges and senates to check the will of an enraged people.

An "upper house" which, during a revolutionary period, should resolutely oppose itself to the branch of the legislature more directly representing the excited state of popular feeling would be infallibly swept away. And consult any history as to what became of the kings and judges in either the English or the French revolutions.

As to the judges, they simply cease to exist at the very first outbreak.

II.

"'At the time of its adoption no one considered the constitution of the United States anything but a miserable piece of patchwork—a stupid imitation of the English constitution—which had to be amended a dozen times before it could be adopted by the thirteen original states. It really satisfied nobody.'—(Victor Berger in Social-Democratic Herald.)

"The same miserable piece of patchwork, which satisfied nobody, was nevertheless adopted by the thirteen original states before it was amended at all; and it has stood the test of 120 years so well as to prove that if it is a stupid imitation of the English constitution, it is an imitation of a very good thing. And how does Mr. Berger know that the United States constitution is an imitation—stupid or otherwise—of the English constitution? Has he ever read the English constitution, and can he tell where a copy of it—another copy than his—may be found?"—(Milwaukee Free Press.)

Everybody who knows anything about the constitution of different countries, knows that England is a constitutional monarchy, and has a constitution. And he also knows that the English constitution is not a written constitution like the French, German, Swiss, etc., but an unwritten constitution based upon the growth of the English institutions since the Magna Charta. And if the editorial writer of the Free Press does not know this, he has no right to write about these things.

However, all this worship of the constitution is at par with the fetich worship of our ancestors 10,000 years ago. At that time they worshiped fetiches of wood and stone, and now they worship a paper fetich. But what is the difference? A fetich is a fetich.

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A constitution is simply the cloak for our body politic. A garment that may have fitted us well in 1788, when this nation was in its swaddling clothes, can not possibly fit us today. We do not revere Cotton Mather's book on witchcraft, which was considered the greatest book of his time by his contemporaries. Now why should we worship a document which was

patched together 120 years ago by a lot of gentlemen wearing knee pants and—knowing nothing about railroads, telegraphs, corporations and trusts?

The editorial writer of the Free Press would not want his son to wear the clothes he wore when he was a baby. I do not believe his son would look very well in them. The editorial writer of the Free Press would not want the Free Press to use the antiquated facilities which Benjamin Franklin used. I do not believe that with these the Free Press could very well compete with the Sentinel. But why should our country be compelled to suffer under the anomalies, inequalities and shortcomings of a document which even 120 years ago was only passed after wire pulling of all kinds—a document which even 120 years ago satisfied nobody—why?

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But, says the Milwaukee Free Press, the constitution has “stood the test of 120 years so well as to prove that if it is a stupid imitation of the English constitution, it is an imitation of a very good thing.”

It was not on account of the constitution that this country has flourished. It was simply on account of our colonial conditions, our virgin soil and apparently inexhaustible resources. Our people practically tried to use up in a few generations the resources that nature had stored up in many thousands or, in some instances, many millions of years—to use them all up, if possible, in 100 or 150 years. This was the richest country on the face of the globe, that is why we prospered and probably would have prospered even more if we had had no constitution at all. Whenever and wherever this constitution was subjected to any test, as for

instance in 1860, then this constitution did not stand the test.

Under present conditions the American people are as absolutely prevented from exercising their full political power as the people of Russia or of China.

Everybody except a few mossbacks, of the type of the editorial writer of the Free Press, admits that our Federal constitution is exceedingly clumsy and defective, yet it practically cannot be amended except by a revolution and by force of arms.

So great are the difficulties of amendment that in effect they are insurmountable. I believe that we could just as soon overthrow the entire government and the capitalist system as amend this miserable constitution.

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However, this also is to admit that we are bound by a most stupid fetich, and by old chains, which were put around us 120 years ago. It means practically an admission that the American people have not free institutions, are not a free people, and that they declare themselves unfit for a republican form of government. And this should be so stated by all those who defend the present constitution.

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The Flag Superstition

JUNE, 1907

An item on the first page of the Milwaukee Sentinel says:

"Clarence S. Darrow, the well known Socialist lawyer of Chicago, created considerable comment recently when he refused to rise in his seat while 'The Star

'Spangled Banner' was being sung in the Silver Grill restaurant of a leading hotel in Spokane, Wash. Among the many who took dinner at the time at this restaurant was C. W. Mott, general immigration agent of the Northern Pacific Road, who was in Milwaukee yesterday. Mr. Mott, like all other guests of the hotel, and the restaurant was crowded at the time, was greatly incensed over the action of Mr. Darrow.

"'Out West people dine more in restaurants than here in the East,' said Mr. Mott yesterday, in speaking of the incident. 'Under the circumstances it was but natural that the Silver Grill was crowded. The orchestra had just finished a selection from 'Tannhaeuser,' when a young woman stepped forward to sing the 'Star Spangled Banner.' As a fitting prologue the orchestra struck up a medley of national airs that made the blood of each one of us tingle, and when the strains melted into 'The Star Spangled Banner' every one arose in his seat as a mark of respect to our flag. All except Mr. Darrow. He was seated at a table with an associate who arose like the rest of us, but Mr. Darrow remained seated. His friend apparently pleaded with him to rise also, but he shook his head.

"'The incident did not pass unnoticed. Suddenly a woman began to hiss, and before the next second had passed hisses came from every part of the room, but Mr. Darrow paid no attention to it. Others called to him to rise like an American, true to his country, but he remained undisturbed to the end amid all the excitement.

"'Mr. Darrow is considered the archangel of Socialism in this country. If that is their principle of love and gratitude toward the flag that protects them at home and abroad, it seems to me that the people can do no less than crush Socialists wherever they may appear to spread their doctrine of hatred and discontent. Socialism is a serpent gnawing at the root of the nation.'"

I have not the pleasure of knowing C. W. Mott—although I do know that he used to live in Milwaukee and was considered a “good fellow,” whatever that means.

But I do know Mr. Darrow. And, therefore, I believe I am safe in saying that Clarence Darrow has more brains than all those present in the Silver Grill combined—“Charlie” Mott thrown in to the bargain. Darrow is one of the best lawyers in America.

Yet Clarence Darrow is no “archangel of the Socialists.” In fact he is neither an angel nor a Socialist. He is the man who wrote the famous booklet “Resist Not Evil.” He is a “philosophic anarchist” and so considered by everybody, including himself.

Clarence Darrow is not now, and never was, a member of the Socialist Party.

But what he did at the Silver Grill is surely not to his discredit. And I believe I might have done the same myself—coming as he did from the trial of W. D. Haywood and seeing what “patriotism” means in Colorado and Idaho.

And what is patriotism at the present time? To-day, if ever, patriotism may be considered the “last refuge of the scoundrel.”

John D. Rockefeller is a patriot. August Belmont is a patriot, Tom Ryan of New York is a patriot, Sherman Bell and ex-Governor Peabody are patriots, Richard Croker was a patriot until he expatriated himself.

The “yellow dog fund” was a patriot fund, and so is the Republican campaign fund. Every big thief, every great exploiter, every huge leech sucking the life-blood of the people is a patriot. He will tell you so himself.

And he is protected by the flag, by The Star Spangled Banner. He is protected not only in life and limb, but also in his stolen possessions.

* * * *

But the common working man, the proletarian, is not protected. He does not have anything, so he does not need any protection. He owns nothing of the country, not even enough of it to build a house on for himself and family.

"This flag" cannot protect the home of a man who owns no home.

And as for his life and limbs—the owner of the factory "insures" himself against any accidents that might befall the man. The man has to fight it out in the courts.

And the flag has nothing to do with it.

And the worker never goes abroad except as a sailor, a stoker or fireman, or a stowaway.

So I cannot see where the principle of love or gratitude of workingmen toward "the flag that protects them here and abroad" should come in.

Yet I will say that the proletarians in general are patriots in the highest sense.

They not only build the cities, railways and workshops, but they also protect them against fire and flood. And it is the working class that furnishes the soldiers, or at least the overwhelming majority of them. It is the working class that has to do the fighting, although they have nothing to do with the declaration of war.

If the railroad managers and the bankers and the capitalists should have to do their own fighting, a war would not last long.

And it is no more than right that the workingmen as a whole should love their country as a whole. They will inherit it as soon as they make use of their brains for themselves. They have created these cities with their magnificent palaces, museums, libraries, art institutions, schools, etc., and by right these belong to them, and not to the capitalists.

This brilliant culture of our country—art, education and literature—is by right an inheritance of the white race.

And a nation that will own its country again will be a nation that will have a real reason to become patriotic again. And I hope that America will be among the first.

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The flag fetich is silly when it is not hypocritical. And it is hypocritical when it is not silly.

It is a remnant of feudal barbarism, when it represented the feudal allegiance of the vassal to the "coat of arms" of his lord—usually emblematic of some carnivorous beast or some bird of prey.

I despise every fetich. The green flag of the prophet Mohamet, or of Ireland, is as dear to me as the red flag of the Socialists or the star spangled banner. A flag is a piece of dry goods that one can buy for 75 cents in any department store.

It is the idea that is behind it that is to decide whether the flag is worth following or not.

And just now the stars and stripes cover all sorts of oppression, misery, prostitution, graft and exploitation of women and children, not to mention the exploitation of millions of men.

This flag is now the coat of arms of the meat trust and the oil trust and every other trust. It is the banner of E. H. Harriman, Tom Ryan, August Belmont, Chauncey Depew and Tom Platt of New York.

* * * *

And as for the silly custom of getting up whenever the "Star Spangled Banner" is played—that was imported from the old country. There the officers and their women—legal or illegal—stand up in the cafe or in the German "Wirthshaus" whenever "God Save the King" or "Heil Dir Im Siegerkranz" is played.

Ten, twenty or thirty years ago, before our plutocrats and our middle class traveled so much in Europe this custom was not practiced in our country.

It is a shoddy imitation of a feudal custom—just like the "coats of arms" on the carriages of our millionaires.

I personally would just as soon get up when the band plays "Hiawatha" or "Hail, Hail, the Gang Is All Here" as for the Star Spangled Banner. "Hiawatha" stands for a good time, the Star Spangled Banner stood for hell in Colorado and stands for the same thing in Pennsylvania and other places.

If they want the workingmen to sing "The Star Spangled Banner, long may it wave"—then this must become again "the home of the free and the brave."

Tear the flag away from Simon Guggenheim of Colorado, who has openly bought his seat in the Senate, and return it to the people. And the people will love it again.

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There is a very serious aspect to all this.

The question is, what are we coming to? Here is

the "general immigration agent" of a thievish road—the tool of a Harriman or a Jim Hill—having the criminal insolence to tell people that "Socialism is a serpent gnawing at the root of the nation." Whereas, as a matter of fact, the only persons who gave the sign of the snake were the "ladies and gentlemen" (including Mr. Mott) who hissed Clarence Darrow.

Quo vadis—plain American citizen?

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While the people of the United States have a quasi-republican form of government, the tendency—not only in capitalist circles but also in the well-to-do middle class—is decidedly anti-republican.

While we are supposed to have a democracy, we are hampered by having an uncrowned king and a sensational oligarchy—and the well-to-do middle class applauds both.

While we have no established church to support, church property is not taxed, and so we are made to support all the churches, whether we want to do so or not.

While we have no hereditary nobility, we have a moneyed aristocracy which has now become hereditary. And it is the most oppressive and contemptible the world has ever seen.

And while we have the general franchise in this country—we have at the same time the most stupendous political frauds. Six million black men are now disfranchised, and very soon an attempt will be made to disfranchise the poor whites.

* * * *

In short, unless the people will rise in all their might and shake off about 500,000 human lice, which

infest our economic and political body, then this country is lost.

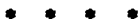
And the Star Spangled Banner, within a few generations, will have about the same meaning as the green dragon of the Chinese empire.



Will You Mend Your Roof?

JULY, 1908

The Declaration of Independence is a document that is supposed to contain the cardinal principles of the American republic and the American mode of government.



The famous declaration starts with the following gem of thought: "All men are created equal" and are endowed "with certain inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

A fine phrase, indeed!

"All men are created equal." This may be true with some qualifications. But do they live equal? Do they die equal?

The child of the poor is born in a hovel, surrounded by misery and poverty from his first moments. There are three chances to one that he will not survive the first year. And, even if he pulls through, there is a life of misery before him. The dangers of sickness are ten-fold as great; the temptations to crime and prostitution a thousand times as great as for the child of the rich. If he safely passes all these perils, his is a monotonous and laborious life, ended by an early death, which is often to be considered a boon, since it saves the vic-

tim from the poor-house. Usually the poor man has very little claim on heaven, rarely having belonged to any church, and knowing little or nothing about religion, which is, more or less, a costly article. So it is hell for him even hereafter—so says the priest.

* * * *

“All men are created equal!”

How about the child of the rich? Surrounded by all the comforts and protections which paternal love and money can furnish, he grows up in comfort and security and receives an excellent education. His life is a round of pleasure mingled perhaps with as much work as is necessary to health. Unless early killed by excessive luxury or riotous living, he can live to a ripe old age, honored and loved by everyone as a pillar of society and of religion. He usually gives liberally to charities and the churches. So when he dies he has even a very good claim to a reserved seat in the front row where the four-winged angels chant.

* * * *

“All men are created equal!”

It is a phrase which did well enough in its time, but which now has become a lie.

The reason? The struggle for existence has entirely changed since the days of Jefferson and Paine. All that was needed in those days was to give every individual a chance to fight it out for himself. This great country was undeveloped, and there were thousands of chances for everybody to make a decent and honorable living. Up to 1860 there were only two millionaires in this country. In those days there was some sense in the phrase “all men are created equal.”

But since the development of the capitalist system, with machinery and railroads, we have a few billionaires, a number of millionaires, and a multitude of wage workers and tramps. What has become of the "equality?"

* * * *

True, it is also said that we are "all equal before the law," and that the framers of the Declaration of Independence had that in mind when they wrote the phrase.

But are we equal before the law?

There are thousands of laws passed by the legislatures of the various states every session, not to speak of Congress. There is a flood of laws.

How many of all these laws are for the purpose of protecting the poor, the weak and the helpless?

Most of them are simply enacted for the protection of "life and property." That is, protection of the property of those who have it. And protection of the life of those whose lives are worth something in a capitalistic sense.

There is no protection for those who have no property whatever. The life of the miner who goes down into the bowels of the earth, several hundred feet deep, for less than a dollar a day receives scanty protection, or none.

* * * *

Equality before the law is a phrase like so many others. Two men with equally big pocketbooks are equal before the law—otherwise they are not equal.

It cost over a million dollars to send a degenerate and deliberate murderer like Harry Thaw to an insane asylum. None of the big insurance grafters in New

York were convicted. The big grafters in the stupendous capitol graft in Harrisburg went free. We find the same condition everywhere. In Milwaukee, after tremendous pressure brought by the Social-Democrats, a graft investigation took place. An energetic district attorney brought about quite a number of indictments against the smaller grafters, but how many of them were brought to justice? Some of the most glaring evil-doers went scot free. Besides, the biggest grafters were never "touched" and were even elected to office again.

* * * *

And this is the case all over.

A United States senator openly boasted in that august body that no man with ten million dollars ever went to prison. On the other hand, a poor workingman, stealing a few bones in a packing house of Chicago, gets eighteen months' imprisonment.

In small things, as in big affairs, we have a class government. This shows plainly in the fact that for misdemeanors the culprits have to pay fines in money, which is simply a joke for the rich man, while it hits the poor man terribly hard.

* * * *

Suppose an automobile runs down the avenue at a fearful speed, thereby endangering the lives and limbs of hundreds of men, women and children. If the owner is caught he will pay a fine of \$10 or \$20. He treats it as great fun and laughs over it with his friends.

* * * *

But let us take another case. Suppose a poor tramp—a workingman who has become discouraged during the present panic—is found

sleeping on a bench in a park, or on a wagon in an alley. The eye of the law will soon find him, and he will be hauled up before a judge the next morning.

"Why did you sleep in that alley, or on that bench in the park?" The judge will ask sternly. "Why did you not go to a hotel or a rooming house?"

"I had no money, your honor," answers the hobo.

"What, no money to pay for a room! And sleeping in an alley—that is clearly disorderly behavior. It means ten dollars and the costs," says the judge.

"But, your honor, if I had the ten dollars and the costs I would not have been sleeping in the alley," murmurs the tramp.

"That is just it—you will go to the house of correction for thirty days—and if you say another word I will make it ninety days for vagrancy. For you have no visible means of support. You are a criminal in the eyes of the law."

And to the house of correction he goes.

This is equality before the law!

* * * *

Under the protection of the laws the steel trust, the sugar trust, the meat trust, the oil trust and many other trusts rob the people of many millions every year. Under the protection of the laws, women and children are exploited and their life-blood coined into dollars for the capitalist class.

Truly, the people learn slowly in this country. Phrases work wonders. It seems as though the masses were only born for the purpose of creating wealth enough for our sugar kings, railway kings and pork kings to buy European princes for their daughters.

Sifting things to the bottom, the laboring class is even worse off in America than in Europe. Here capitalism has full sway, while in Europe the capitalist class must reckon not only with the laboring class, but also with the remnants of feudalism and with the monarchy.

* * * *

Last year about this time we lived in the "era of prosperity," and most of our workingmen had work and enough to eat. Today there are hundreds of thousands entirely out of work and starving, while millions work only part of the time. The average workingman is like the Irishman whose roof leaked, and who on rainy days always made up his mind to mend it. But when the weather cleared, and his wife asked him, "Pat, why don't you fix the roof?" He answered, "We are dry now. Why should I fix the roof?"

* * * *

Now, this is the rainy day. Your roof is leaking. My workingman friend, will you mend the roof?

□ □ □

Socialism or Communism?

DECEMBER, 1907

Under Socialism people will produce, but not consume, in common.

Our aim is Socialism, not Communism. We want this understood.

Between Socialism and Communism there is a great deal of difference.

* * * *

Collectivism is not a negation of property, nor is Socialism. Please keep this in mind.

Socialism simply demands the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. We will produce in common, but the consumption will remain individual.

Socialism will control only our capital, not our property. A Socialist Commonwealth will not do away with the individual ownership of property, but only with individual ownership of capital.

* * * *

It is Communism that denies individual ownership of all property. The Communists want to produce and consume in common. There are few conscious Communists in the world at the present time.

To make myself still more explicit, "capital" is that part of wealth which is used as means of production—that is, raw materials, as machinery, factories, etc. To socialize these is the aim of all Socialists.

But all products and wares, after they have been distributed for consumption and personal use, will remain private property.

It is necessary to state this at this time because there are some Communists who think they are Socialists.

There are even some editors who seem to find it difficult to distinguish between capital and property from a Socialist standpoint.

A Social-Democracy must socialize capital because in the Co-operative Commonwealth the industrial democracy must rule.

* * * *

Under the present capitalistic system collective capital, especially as organized in the trusts and big corporations, has practically nullified most of the advan-

tages of political democracy, and thus the capitalist class has become the ruler of the people.

It is clear from all this that the people must turn privately owned capital into collectively owned capital as a matter of self-preservation.

The people must do it because capital, which was formerly a means of progress, is now impeding progress.

In short, the private ownership of capital was for several hundred years an historical necessity. Now the collective ownership of capital is becoming an historical necessity.

That such is the trend of the time we can see at a glance from the discussion that is going on in the daily and weekly papers and in the magazines.

But that trend is toward Socialism, not toward Communism.

The measures that the Socialists will take and must take will closely connect with the present system and evolve from it. As a matter of fact, the collectivity—that is, the nation, the state and the community—will closely follow along the lines of what people have already long been doing, only they will do this from a Socialistic standpoint.

* * * *

So Collectivism is not Communism, and Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, for instance, who in their early days were Communists, later on in life became Collectivists and Social-Democrats. Communism has often been tried and, outside of a few small religious communities, has failed.

About 1840 there was a wave of Fourieristic Communism in this country. It was started by Albert Bris-

bane, and some of the most brilliant and best men and women this country has ever produced participated in the experiments. But all the Communistic settlements where the religious and ascetic elements were lacking came to naught.

* * * *

Socialism, or Social-Democracy, has never been tried, because it will be the outcome of modern conditions—of the invention of machinery and the centralization of capital on one hand and the development of political democracy on the other.

Communism would be a step backward, would be a retrogression to a very primitive and low stage of human society.

Social-Democracy will mean a step forward toward a higher civilization than history has ever known.

Just to emphasize the difference between Collectivism and Communism—between the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution and the common ownership of everything—there is nothing in Collectivism that will prevent people who are so inclined, from saving.

They will be able to save just as much as they wish; they will be able to utilize their savings in any manner they choose with one single exception. They will not be able in any possible way to "invest" their savings—that is to say, they will not be able to use their savings to make profit.

Of course our capitalists will cry out, "What is the use of a man possessing a hundred thousand dollars if he cannot invest his money?" which means, what is the use of a man possessing wealth if he cannot use it to work others and live himself without work?

This, I will admit, is a grievance that cannot be helped.

But it is a grievance that is no grievance: First, because under Collectivism there will not be the slightest necessity for individual saving with a view of providing for the future or old age, for care will be taken of every citizen. Second, there will be no encouragement for saving, for accumulating capital will be looked upon as the function of society, and not of the individual.

* * * *

But it is not my intention to describe the Co-operative Commonwealth, the Socialist Republic or any other state in this article.

I have simply tried to bring out a few of the differences between Socialism and Communism, and about these a great deal more may be said.

□ □ □

What Makes Us Willing to Work and to Sacrifice?

DECEMBER 3, 1910

It is not overstating the fact when I say that the eyes of all the thinking men in this country—without distinction of party or class—are upon us just now and will be for some time to come.

* * * *

In fact, one might think from what some of the newspapers say about us, that Victor Berger is a Jengis Khan, who is going to destroy civilization within the next two or three years; and from others that this same

Victor Berger is the greatest genius and benefactor of humanity that has lived in many a century.

Well, so much is safe to say—Victor Berger's head is not going to be turned in the least by the unprecedented newspaper fame and notoriety he is getting nowadays.

* * * *

And not only in this country, but also in Europe, the recent election of Victor Berger to Congress created quite a sensation.

French and German Socialists have been making a great deal of the victory in their papers and party conventions. The victory has been celebrated in many meetings and in many banquets by workmen in France, Germany and Austria.

* * * *

And one can easily understand the reason for this.

It was always a reproach to the Socialists in Germany, France, England and Austria—that the Socialist Party has not made any headway in the United States. The European comrades were told that while they were fighting capitalism at home, in the most capitalistic republic of the world, in the United States, Socialism had made no headway—in spite of the political freedom the workingmen are supposed to enjoy here.

That not a single representative of the working class—not a single Social-Democrat—sat in the national law-giving body in America.

Thus the battle won November the 8th in Milwaukee has an international significance. And that is the reason why the class-conscious workingmen from

"London, to Budapest, and from St. Petersburg to Palermo," now rejoice—to use a figure of speech of the Milwaukee Sentinel.

* * * *

However, the international significance of this Milwaukee victory only adds to the responsibility of the comrades.

Milwaukee comrades must never forget for one moment what they owe to the movement of the country and to the movement of the world.

They should never forget that while they must make good in Milwaukee county, this is only a little part of their problem.

In fact, it is only an incident.

* * * *

They must, of course, make good in the administration. They must, therefore, get the best possible material for every office—Socialists wherever political affiliation is a requirement—men with knowledge, without any regard for party, wherever technical ability is paramount.

* * * *

Comrades and non-comrades alike—friends and foes alike—must never forget that this party was not started and built up for the purpose of getting political jobs for fifty or for five hundred. This party was started for the emancipation of the working class.

Comrades and non-comrades alike—friends and foes alike—must never forget that this party was not started and built up solely for the purpose of giving Milwaukee county a good administration. Milwaukee county will get this, and, in fact, will get the best ad-

ministration any county in America has ever had. But we have bigger things in view and will never forget our greater aims for one moment.

* * * *

We shall never forget for one moment that while the Social-Democratic Party fights the battles of the workers—now and here—while it fights the battle for honesty and for all the people alike as far as good government is concerned—the ultimate aim of our party is not reform, it is a revolution—a legal and peaceable revolution, but none the less a revolution.

Our party will never stop in its work until it has attained the complete government of the nation and has substituted for the present profit system and capitalist exploitation a system under which the people will collectively own and control the natural resources and the machinery of production and distribution—until we get a system which will eliminate corruption, child labor, poverty, want, misery and prostitution—a system in which all will have an equal opportunity and equal chance to work out their share of life, liberty and happiness as far as human imperfection will permit.

* * * *

Now, this is our ultimate aim. This makes us willing to fight and to sacrifice.

Anybody who is in our party for any other purpose has got into the wrong camp and he would better get out as quickly as possible.

* * * *

And I therefore appeal to all our comrades within the organized Socialist movement to absolutely discourage office-hunters and office-hunting, and to look upon

it as a danger to our great cause and to our great movement.

And with this before us I appeal to the 24,000 Socialist voters in Milwaukee county to stand by us, not only on election day, but every day of the year, as long as we are trying to live up to our principles and to get nearer to our ideals.

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