

This Should Be a Happy Land--What is the Matter? --- Written for The Herald By ALLAN L. BENSON

This should be a happy country. We have the land. We have the machinery. We have the men. The land is so vast in extent that it could supply sustenance for a billion. The machinery is so nimble-fingered that with it any man can make vastly more of anything than he can consume. The men are so intelligent that they can run any machine that ever was made or that will ever be made. They can do more. They can multiply machinery—they can make more and more and more, so long as there is a demand for another machine with which to fill human wants. Poverty, in such a country, is not only a crime but a scandal. It is indefensible and intolerable. Yet poverty persists here in what might be this land of plenty, merely because those who most suffer from it do not know how to do away with it. Social-Democrats believe they know how to do away with poverty. Their remedy is simple. They seek only to lay this great, rich country, with all its resources, at the feet of those who live in it. They believe this country rightfully belongs to the people of this country. They recognize no man's right to compel other men to live in misery. Nor do they recognize any man's right to deny another the right to work. Please consider the present situation. This is the age of machinery. No one can work without it. The country is full of it. The machinery of the country is sufficient to fill every need of the country. If every one who wants to could work without being robbed, no one would ever be idle or hungry. But no one can work when he wants to. No one can work unless somebody else wants him to. No one can work unless the owner of some factory or railroad wants him to work. No owner ever wants anybody to work unless the owner can see the possibility of profit from such work. The fact that the people need goods never causes any owner to want any

one to work. Owners are moved by no such fact. Owners are moved by the single fact of possible profit for themselves. If a profit is in sight men may work; if not, nobody may work. Thus, in the production of the things we need, the greed of the owners comes first and the necessities of the people come second. That is good for the owners, but bad for the people. That is why so many of the people are often denied the right to work. And it is a right. We demand that each person shall honestly support himself. Yet how can any one honestly support himself if he be denied the right to work? But that is not all of the story or the worst of it. When a man is given an opportunity to work, he is not paid all he is worth. Part of the value he creates is held out by the owner of the machinery as profit. All that the owner can keep is held out as profit. The owner pays as low wages as he can compel the worker to accept. If the worker were free to demand the full value of his product, he would demand it. But he is never free. His poverty prevents him from being free. He may have a family to support. At least, he has himself to support. And he has nothing with which to support himself but his labor. He cannot long haggle. He cannot refuse. His necessities drive him into the arms of the man who is bent upon his plunder. Note also these further facts: The workers have only their wages with which to buy back the things they have made. But after things are made several profits are added—the manufacturer's profit, the jobber's profit, the wholesaler's profit and the retailer's profit. With all of these profits added, how can the workers buy back all of the things they have made? They cannot. Their wages are not enough. What is the result? From the very beginning the buying power of the community does not represent its needs. Everybody has to go a little short. The shorter everybody goes the poorer becomes the market for goods. As the market for goods becomes poorer the capitalist's incentive to keep so many men at work becomes slighter. He lays some men off. That still further reduces the buying power of the community. Things become worse. After a while there is a panic. The land is strewn with disaster. Potter's fields fill up. Suffering

is intense. Men commit suicide. Women become prostitutes. Children suffer. All in a land of plenty. All because capitalists, beholding no opportunity for profit, would not permit the people to use the machinery of the country to feed themselves. Here is another fact to consider in connection with the profit system. The restrictions that it places upon the buying power of the country make it impossible that all of the people shall ever be employed at the same time. Some must always be idle. They must be idle because, with so many millions living upon a scrawled basis, there is not a sufficient demand for goods to keep everybody at work. That, too, is a part of the price we pay for letting a few men own the machinery with which all other men must work. The present system, in fact, could not well do without a large standing army of unemployed. It thus converts its own crime into an asset for itself. Men who are idle and hungry will work cheaply. By offering to work for a bare living they fix the wages of those who work. The Social-Democratic remedy for this situation is for the government to own all of the great industries of the country, and for the people to own the government. In other words, the Social-Democratic remedy is for the people to engage in collective manufacturing. A fraction of the present profits of the trusts would pay for them in a few years. While the paying process was proceeding goods could be sold almost at cost, and when the last payment had been made they could be sold absolutely at cost. With the trusts out of the way, the referendum and the recall in force the government would be kept at the instant command of the people. This is the Social-Democratic solution of the trust question and the poverty question. Socialists do not believe the trusts can or should be destroyed. Trusts produce goods cheaply and economically. We like them for that. We dislike them only because they rob the people in the matter of prices and, in common with all other employers, deny the right of the people to work when they need what they can produce with their work. Mr. Morgan, Mr. Rockefeller and other similar gentlemen

will tell you that the Socialist remedy is very foolish and very "un-American." From the bottom of their hearts they hope you will believe them. They want nothing better than to see you continue to vote the same tickets they vote. They care not who writes the nation's songs so long as they can write the platforms of the capitalist parties and name the candidates. This can be a happy nation in your time. You men of the working class can really begin to live from now on. You need not wait until Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Wilson saves you, or until Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Morgan are in jail. Save yourselves by voting for yourselves. No one else can save you. In no other way can you save yourselves. Own the trusts and you will have what the trusts make. Let the trusts continue to own you and you will have just what you have always had—worry and want. Socialist pamphlets are being circulated this year by the million. If a fraction of the workingmen who read these pamphlets vote the Social-Democratic ticket Eugene V. Debs will come within striking distance of the presidency, and the next congress will be packed with Socialists. Maybe you do not realize what it would mean to have the next congress packed with Socialists. If not, please consider what has been the effect of having one Socialist in congress. The election of Victor L. Berger, two years ago, did more to throw the fear of God into the capitalist parties than anything that has occurred in a generation. His victory was the hand-writing upon the wall. It showed which way public sentiment was turning. And from that moment to this the radical wings of the old parties have become more radical. A hundred Socialists in congress would do more to start this country right than all of the Wilsons and the Roosevelts that could be put in the White House. If you have lost your hope of happiness, get it back. This country is for you. It is big. It is rich. It is all you need. But you will have to take it, and, barring bloodshed—which may occur if you wait too long—the easiest way to take it is with Socialist ballots. We are now more than a million strong. Give us four million more and we will show you a country worth living in.

CURRENT COMMENT

BY FREDERIC HEATH

Fairhope, Ala., has elected a Socialist mayor.

Socialism is invading the South in fine style.

Roosevelt's manager says that Debs will run even with Taft.

The preacher at Beverly, Mass., where Taft worships has turned to Socialism and has been turned out. Taft is certainly a great Socialist maker.

Never send a newspaper to an editor and expect him to guess as to which particular item in it you want him to read. Always plainly mark what you would call his attention to.

Some of the straw votes being taken are decidedly rich. In the Flossheim shoe factory in Chicago the other day a vote was taken with this result: Taft, none; Chaffin, 1; Wilson, 2; Roosevelt, 4; and Debs, 46.

And what are our "betters" doing on the stump just now in their excited seeking of the presidency but making faces at each other out loud! They may have a monopoly of it, the Socialists prefer to discuss the needs of the people.

Says the Journal-Miner, of Prescott, Arizona, the great paper in the state: "If there is one man in congress who knows what he wants, goes after it to get it, and gets it it is humanly possible, that man is Representative Berger, the lone Socialist."

The Cincinnati Enquirer reports that a straw vote in the Lukkenheimer Braas works in that city shows that Debs has 92 votes to Roosevelt's 48 and Taft's 51. And it explains that 41 who voted for Taft four years ago will vote for Debs this year and that Debs will get four former Bryan votes.

The gospel of Socialism is preached in sixty different papers in the Commercial Appeal, magazine, and it marvels at the astonishing world sweeping march of the people in their determination to come into their own. Even to Socialists the growth of the movement is a thing that challenges enthusiastic almost surprise.

Socialist speakers are pointing out the striking fact that in the present campaign Wall street is absolutely satisfied with whatever happens. Each of the leading old party candidates looks good to Wall street. It is only worry in the Social-Democratic ranks that will be larger than even the predictions. On this point it hopes that Roosevelt's thefts from our program will tend to keep our vote down.

Charles Edward Russell's conduct in making an investigation of the famous or infamous Branon motion and then declaring that he found the Socialists wrong in their criticisms severely by the Socialist press, who do not relish unstraight talk, even if it does come from a man on a pedestal of glory. It is to be hoped Russell is not so unreliable or so "severe" in other things, as it is safe to say that this little tricky stunt of his has lost him the confidence of a good many Socialists.

American Socialism's notable guest, Keir Hardie, has been making some splendid addresses in the various cities visited by him—his campaign speeches, unflinching by any suspicion of side frills and vagaries that are today a reproach to the very memory of Karl Marx. They have been good speeches for errant Socialists to listen to, especially so, coming from the prize victor in the great British movement that has been making such astonishing headway in the land of lords and "quality."

The state committee of Ohio has got into the hands of half anarchists who are doing the Kerr stunt with mailed hands. Frederick Strickland writes an Ohio paper that the state organization is at present "an attachment of the Kerr & Co., co-operative publishers," and that "their O. K. must be on every piece of literature handled." Yet it is safe to say that Kerr is playing the monopoly game a little too strong and that it is only a question of time when the Socialist party will give him the "right about."

A little cartoon has fallen under my eye, a dandy little cartoon. The laws of the land provide that all persons over 21 shall have the right to vote—except convicted criminals, women, lunatics and idiots. In this cartoon Uncle Sam stands regarding a bench on which are seated a representative of each four classes, and the woman next him says "I want to be protected." The appeal of the cartoon is irresistible. The wit of it is fine. The challenge of it is unmistakable. It ap-

peals to one's ideas of elementary justice and arouses shame at the present situation. The cartoon is drawn by a woman.

Gomperz tactics get a merited rebuke from the Cleveland Citizen in these words: "The September number of the American Federalist was typically Gomperzeseque. The labor platitudes and promises in the capitalistic platforms received extended notice, while the Socialist party is most beautifully ignored. Gomperz may think that it is awfully cunning to treat the Socialists contemptuously after all of their agitation and sacrifices for the labor cause. But he is not making himself any too popular among fair-minded people, whether they are Socialists or not, nor has he a kick coming if such peanut politics is resented. There are a lot of Socialists who are members of unions, and more and more are developing daily. Pretty soon they will be strong enough to compel a square deal."

Really now, who would have thought it of them? The women, I mean, the women—girls, mothers, wives, who were so patient all these years that the men were quite convinced that they were created for inferior, mental convenience and that they had limited brains—and now just look at them! We know all about how they have drugged at home, washed the clothes, had little pink teas, watched bargain days, and let men play the lord without even a sigh, yet here those same dear creatures are, half broken away from their slavery and whooping up the campaign for suffrage with more campaign blarney than the men have ever displayed. It must be confessed that it is a shock to our self-appreciation. That part is more of a shock than their audacity in asking to be admitted to the human family. Of course the suffrage question brings up some temporary problems, it is true. It isn't all the women who are proving their ability to look out for their sex. There is a large fraction that will be used against progress for a while after elected. In the meantime, the conditions will be played against progress without a doubt—but it will not be for long. Woman is naturally inquisitive. Given the ballot she will



become a political interrogation point. And with her penetration she will soon see that the ballot is not merely to decide on the distribution of public jobs, but to decide matters of the people's welfare. That must be our hope in this matter of votes for women.

Some of the ungrateful freaks in the Socialist party who have been howling at Morris Hillquit, making the ridiculous charge that he was attempting to pose as a boss and endeavoring to drive him out of active service, will have their petty spleen gratified in part at least and splied altogether. During the past week he has moved to a new office in New York and went away to take a long rest, only his family being aware of his destination. Hillquit's nervous system is completely shattered. Physicians advise him a short time ago to immediately cease all business and political activities or his life would be forfeit. Morris Hillquit's name is synonymous with the growth of socialism in America. A score of years ago, when ostracism and persecution was the reward of brave men and women who dared espouse the unpopular cause of socialism, Hillquit joined the movement and by sheer force of intellectual ability and an indomitable will compelled the enemies of the Socialist cause to give it respectful attention. Hillquit is physically a small, nervous man, but possessed of a wonderfully brilliant mind that enabled him to meet and surmount obstacles that many bolder stronger men could hardly overcome. While his fame as a lawyer has enabled him to build up a large and lucrative practice that would tax all the powers of an ordinary individual to administer properly, yet Hillquit cheerfully contributed much of his time to strengthen the Socialist and trade union movements. Besides practicing law in his profession, he has written several standard works on Socialism, delivered series of lectures before the higher educational institutions on labor subjects, engaged in debates with some of the foremost anti-Socialist writers of the country, and his articles, and most exacting work of all, served on the National Executive Committee of the S. P. and kept up

with the nerve-racking duties involved in that thankless position. It was while en route to Chicago several weeks ago to attend a meeting of the executive committee that the Pennsylvania limited train on which he was traveling was wrecked and the car in which he was sleeping was reduced to kindling wood. Two men were killed and nearly all the survivors were injured and badly shaken up. It was the last straw for Hillquit. His iron nerve gave way. He tried to laugh down the fears of his family and make light of the doctor's warning, but finally he was compelled to confess to himself that the strain had reached the point where it was necessary to slacken up or something would snap. The physicians who have examined Hillquit are uncommunicative regarding his condition. They won't say that his career in the labor movement is ended, but they won't say that it isn't. They don't know. What they do know is that he must retire at least temporarily from public life and keep perfectly quiet. So the small-brained, picayunish pinheads in Illinois, Texas, Ohio and other places who have been barking about "Hillquitism" ever since the little giant of New York exposed their anarchistic tendencies can now do a song and dance for joy. Their ablest opponent is out of the way for the time being and they may continue their ravings until they succeed in precipitating another Haymarr affair or worse—Cleveland Citizen.

strength with the Standard Oil company. After four and one-half years of litigation, with eleven and one-quarter millions of words of testimony, the government finally won. The Standard Oil company was duly dissolved. And here is the result: (1) There were three effects: (1) The price of oil went up; (2) The small stock holders by the hundreds were squeezed out; (3) John D. Rockefeller's wealth was increased \$100,000,000; (4) The Standard Oil value were increased \$200,000,000.

"And this nation has been trying to regulate the railroads for the last 25 years. With what results? (1) The rate of dividends has gone up from 7% per cent to 7.5-8% per cent. (2) The price of stock has risen from \$2,750,000,000 to \$8,000,000,000. (3) Freight rates are increased from .722 per ton-mile to .75 per ton-mile. In other words the railroads have gotten the best of us at every point. These are the results of regulation—the supreme remedy proposed by the old parties. Under it plutocracy is gaining upon us every day and every hour.

The Only Remedy.

"Why should we dilly dally any longer? Why should we tamper and tinker with these futile and stupid proposals?"

"Shall the people of this nation be perpetually mocked? Shall labor be forever tortured and tormented; shall humanity continue to suffer this outrage?"

"What can be more rational than the proposal of the Socialists, namely: That these great powers of the modern world, these monopolies and trusts, shall be owned and operated by the people collectively."

"Let the nation own the trusts. That is our proposal. It is direct; it is rational; it reaches the heart of the problem. It is the only solution."

"However, the ownership by the people of the monopolies is, of course, only a part of the Socialist remedy. We realize that the present course requires a thorough and complete reconstruction of our political as well as our social order. And this Socialist program offers just such a constructive proposition."

Democracy is Fundamental.

"There are two great elements in the Socialist idea:

"The first essential element of Socialism is democracy. In order that this nation may safely undertake the collective ownership and administration of the great natural resources and social utilities of the nation, it is absolutely necessary that the government shall be brought under the control of the people. To this end, therefore, Socialism proposes a number of definite concrete measures. Universal suffrage (including woman suffrage, of course), direct legislation, abolition of the United States senate, direct election of the president and vice-president by the people, and limitation of the power of the supreme court—are all measures of the Socialist program, intending to democratize the government."

"Along with these measures must come the second great element of the Socialist idea, namely: The Social

(Continued on 34 page.)

Ringling Speech Opens Wisconsin Campaign for the Common People

News of the National Campaign--Wonderful Crowds Everywhere--Debs and Seidel Carry Everything Before Them--It is Our Year!

WAUPACA, Wis.—The cost of living has been going up, steadily up. The wealth of the United States has been just as steadily increasing; today it is estimated at \$130,000,000,000, or \$1,400 for every man, woman and child in the country. Yet the great mass of the people have not got it.

Why?

Because a few men have monopolized all the resources of life and of labor, and here the poor centers of the United States at their mercy.

The old parties have promised everything to remedy these conditions. Their platforms, which are all of a kind, are full of promises. Only one promise they do not make—to abolish the system which makes present conditions possible.

To a large and interested gathering in the city hall last night, Carl D. Thompson, Social-Democratic candidate for governor, told in plain and simple words, the facts of the present conditions in the nation, and showed how futile and how foolish were the proposals made by the Democratic and Republican parties to better the conditions of the workers.

Mr. Thompson said in part:

"From the beginning of history some have tried to live without labor. There is only one way that can be done, and that is by living off the labor of someone else."

"In one way or another most of the tragedy of human history centers around this fact. Out of it grow the struggles between the classes, the strikes of labor, the boycott and blacklist of capital, and even international wars.

"There can be no peace upon the earth until this fundamental wrong is righted. Socialism and Socialism alone will right it."

What Socialists Want.

"What the Socialists want is very simple, very elemental. We want life. We want to live. We want food, clothing, homes. And even more—we would like to have enough of the good things of life so that we may educate our children, enjoy some recreation and amusements, have some music, some of the beauty and joy and culture of life. In short we Socialists want life and we want it more abundantly."

"And what we want for ourselves, we want for every other man, woman and child in all the world."

"How does all this come about? Very simply. A few men have monopolized all the resources of life and labor until today the people of this nation are at their mercy. When Senator La Follette more than four or five years ago declared that 100 men controlled the financial affairs of the nation, very few believed him; but last month the Review of Reviews, one of the most conservative and reliable magazines of this country and England, and by no means a Socialist publication, quotes a number of different authorities, including such men as John Moody, Thomas Ryan, court records and congressional investigations to show that at this moment the capital of America is in the control of seven men."

"And what does this mean? It means not only that labor is at the mercy of capitalism. It means that the whole nation, the whole people—all of us are in the grip of irresponsible capitalist forces. No bank can run, no factory be built, no ship can sail, no railroad be constructed, no working man find labor, no store run, no newspaper be published, no gospel preached, except by the will of these seven men."

Starvation Wages.

And that is not all. The cost of living has been going up steadily. It is getting harder to live every day. And the capitalist system is constantly demanding an increasing share of the workers' products. In many of our industries the most industrious have shown that the wages are from \$100 to \$200—and sometimes even less—below the actual minimum required in order to enable the workers to live a normal existence. In the textile, garment making, some phases of mining, commercial and railroad industries the conditions are almost appalling. These people have a miserable share of a life that ought to be rich and abundant.

"To social order can be justified where the rich may display at one ball \$100,000,000 worth of jewels, as was

recently the case at Newport; where the diamonds, pearls and rubies glittered every in the heels and on the silver buckles of golden slippers that encased women's twinkling feet; where the pampered poodle dogs of the rich have lavished upon them more wealth and care than the children of the common people. And all this occurs while millions of people are in want, are struggling with destitution, and all of the people are finding life increasingly difficult. It is time to start something that will shake this monstrous wrong to its very foundation."

Millions in Want.

"With seven men masters of the capital of America, the cost of living is increasing rapidly, the conditions of labor on the farm as well as in the factory growing harder, with 2,000,000 or 3,000,000 men out of work, with 10,000,000 people living beneath the poverty line, with over 2,000,000 childless families, with every where distress and strain and strife—we are face to face as a nation with a serious, menacing crisis."

"And what do the old political parties propose to do in the face of this? They propose to do nothing. They propose anything and everything except the one thing that is most needed. And they all promise exactly the same thing."

"Here are the three platforms of the Republican, Democratic and Progressive parties. There are 19 main propositions in these platforms. And practically every one of these 19 propositions is the same in every one of the platforms."

Promise Everything--But One.

"All three propose to reduce the tariff. All three propose to make an 'immediate inquiry' into the high cost of living. All three propose by all the gods, to prohibit combinations and monopolies. All three propose to increase pensions, to enforce the civil service law, to prohibit campaign contributions, to encourage conservation, to build up a merchant marine, to establish a parcels post, lend money to

farmers, control the Mississippi, and by so on, and so on.

"In short they promise to do anything and everything except to right the wrong—to abolish the system."

"There is no difference between the old parties. There is no issue among them. If there is a Republican, or a Democrat or a Progressive in this community that can take their platforms and show us any essential difference between them, I should like to hear from him."

"Take these platforms and read them yourselves and you will find that what I say is true."

"Sure! We'll Regulate."

"In the presence of the present social crisis, in the face of the tremendous development of the power of plutocracy, the old parties are always answering the people 'we will regulate them,' 'we will restrict them,' 'we will prosecute them,' 'we will make it impossible for private monopoly to exist,' and similar stupid things. And they have been saying these things for 25 years and what is the result?"

"What is the net result of all that this famous regulation has accomplished during the last 25 years? Simply this—The trusts have grown stronger, concentration has grown on more rapidly, the cost of living has gone higher, the returns to labor have grown relatively less, the conditions of life to millions of our people unbearable and the burden to all increased."

"The government prosecuted the Northern Securities company. Years of litigation resulted finally in compelling the companies to open another set of books. The supreme court of Missouri found the meat trust of that state a law-breaker and fined it \$10,000. That was at 9 o'clock in the morning. The trust paid the fine. At 12 o'clock it raised the price of meat. By 4 o'clock that evening it had recouped the entire amount of the fine, and it has been taking it out of the people ever since."

"Words, Words, Words."

The Government again measured its

