

Thomas Jefferson believed that the only censorship that was safe, if our liberties were to be preserved, was the right of the people to censor the government. His successors have reversed the process. Now the government seeks to censor the utterances of the people. As one of its officials has put it—"Keep your mouth shut." Jefferson showed that the only way to keep our liberties was to do just the opposite. Here is what he said about censorship:

"NO GOVERNMENT OUGHT TO BE WITHOUT CENSORS, AND WHERE THE PRESS IS FREE NO ONE EVER WILL."

IT IS ONE OF THEIR OBLIGATIONS

In writing on the subject of what it terms "Aid and Comfort to the enemy" the Seattle Union Record discloses some of the reasons why Russia does not seem to be willing to cast her lot unhesitatingly with the allies. It states that Russia is to the allies the great military disappointment. And why? For the reasons, it says, which "...are largely centered in America. One is the Mooney case where a workingman is being railroaded to the gallows in a fiendish plot to prevent the organization of labor. The wholesale deportation of workmen from Bisbee, Ariz., without warrant in law and without any redress. The suppression of all Socialist papers because they have persisted in calling the present war a capitalist war, even though the constitution provides that congress shall pass no law interfering with the freedom of speech or of the press, of peaceful assemblage and the right of petition for redress of grievances. Russia cannot understand how these things occur in a democracy such as the United States professes to be, and it is the occurrence and recurrence of similar things that prevents Russia throwing her full strength into the cause of the allies.

"Yet how often are the perpetrators of these evils charged in the public press with 'giving aid and comfort to the enemy'?"

"Second. There are the people of Germany. The president of the United States has time after time played direct for the verdict of the German people, practically urging them to revolt against their present masters and take control of their own government promising them in that case to deal with their government and so bring about a lasting and democratic peace.

"What are the things which the agents of autocracy in Germany have used to keep the German people subservient to their will, fearful to leave the evils of which they know for others they know not of?"

"The German people have been told that the government of the United States, the most democratic in the world today, has conscripted the man power of the nation and has failed to conscript the wealth of the nation. The German people are told that while millions of men are compelled to give their services to the country for a mere pittance compared to their former wages, that the owners of capital in the country are reaping enormous profits on the contracts for feeding, clothing and housing these armies. The people of Germany who have themselves condemned their government for imprisoning Karl Liebknecht for his opposition to the war are told that an attempt is being made to deprive La Follette of his seat in the Senate because he has attempted to make those who are profiting from the war pay their fair share of the expense of the war.

But what daily paper has declared these things to be 'giving aid and comfort to the enemy'?"

The first obligation of the capitalist press is to its master, and that explains its attitude in every case. It shields the enemies of free press and serves the profiteers, regardless of the aid thus given to the enemy. It is an inveterate enemy of democracy as seen at every instance where labor seeks to be heard and demands the right to organize.

Capitalists' profits are the reward of their ability to rob the people.

WHY A "FIERCE COMPETITION" IN THE FUTURE?

Not long since Secretary McAdoo gave utterance to the statement, that after the war would ensue an era of competition of "unparalleled ferocity." And now comes President Wilson as authority that a high state of efficiency in production and a thorough conservation of food will be "necessary in order to meet the fierce industrial competition that will follow the making of peace." Just why the human animals of the earth should be called upon to engage in competition against each other, either as individuals or as aggregations of individuals, in order to live, has never yet been satisfactorily explained by those who take it upon themselves to marshal the competitive hosts and urge them on in the ferocious struggle. To no other animal is allotted the unhappy fate of being doomed to an eternal struggle of competitive ferocity against his kind in order to gain a living. That is a disinclination evidently reserved for man, the only animal in the whole lot that is supposed to be guided by his intelligence and reason, instead of being left, as are the lower animals to the fallibility of instinct to guide him through the dangers and pitfalls of mundane existence. It would seem to be quite enough that men must fight each other to the death in times of war, without being also called upon to engage in a perpetual and deadly "competition of unparalleled ferocity," during times of peace. But if that is the best that the high priests of the present order have to offer to the sons of toil, it would seem to be about time that the latter made effort to solve the problem of why they should be made to suffer such an unhappy fate. * * *

As this penalty of competition appears to be in some manner linked up with trade, and we are led to this conclusion by noting that our high priests of political and economic wisdom couple the two together, it only becomes necessary to apply the scalpel of enquiry to that world fetish of trade, to uncover the reason why we can only escape the deadly Scylla of war, by immediately falling into the equally fierce and almost as deadly Charybdis of a "competition of unparalleled ferocity." And what is trade? In its incipency it may well have been a simple exchange of products between the individual producers thereof, who lived as neighbors in the primitive community. It measured but a very short step beyond the time when our primitive forbears aided each other in their simple pursuits by an exchange of labor, a practice that still prevails to a limited extent in many country districts. But trade has assumed an altogether different character. It has now become a world obsession and pursues its ruthless course by crushing all obstacles that may obstruct its pathway, under the merciless pressure of its cheap goods, cheap because they are taken from those who produce them, without anything being given in return. Trade, as we know it now, is but the world traffic in the plunder accruing to the owners and masters of slaves, as a result of the expenditure of the energy, the life force, of those slaves in the operation of industry. All that great volume of wealth, that presents itself to us in the form of goods, merchandise, commodities, factories, shops, warehouses, railways, ships, mines, and all that

these imply, represents only the plunder that has been taken from the hide, and sweat of the slaves of modern capitalism and is being swapped, traded, transferred, peddled, and otherwise disposed of, by the masters and owners, not only of the plunder, but also of the slaves that brought it forth by their industry. By means of their ownership of the means of life, the resources of the earth and the machinery of industry, the capitalists of this and all other countries of the earth, as absolutely own the wealth producers as did the chattel slave masters of the ancient world own their human chattels, or the Southern planters own their "niggers" prior to the civil war in the United States.

Out of that which the producers of wealth—the enslaved workers—bring forth by their labor, they get just enough upon the average to keep them in working condition. The balance is forever lost to them and might just as well have never been produced, as far as they are concerned. In fact, it is worse than wasted to them, for the very reason that its production called for an expenditure of energy upon their part which brought them no corresponding recompense. That is what slaves have always been doing. That is what they are for.

As slave masters find themselves in competition with each other for the customers that must be found in order to dispose of their wares—the plunder taken from their slaves—and as these masters (capitalists) can only find customers and hold them by and through the cheapness and good quality of their wares, it is not necessary to seek further for the reason why their slaves must be driven to efficiency and mercilessly exploited in a "competition of unparalleled ferocity." The only known way to produce goods cheaply is by driving the slaves without mercy and holding them down to the lowest possible amount of sustenance and shelter that they can be forced to exist and work upon. The common term for this sustenance and shelter is wages, and is only calculated to cover that which the chattel slave of the olden time got direct from the hand of his master in the shape of a nut, corn meal, molasses, sow belly and beans, and the horse, ox and ass of today gets as hay, oats and stable. And the beauty of it all is that wages are squared with a paper promise, which is subsequently redeemed out of the very same products that have been produced by the slaves themselves. But even after this paper promise has thus been redeemed it still lives, no matter if the redemption has been repeated a thousand times. It is the only created thing the immortality of which is beyond doubt. Hurrah for "competition of unparalleled ferocity!"—B. C. Fed.

As this penalty of competition appears to be in some manner linked up with trade, and we are led to this conclusion by noting that our high priests of political and economic wisdom couple the two together, it only becomes necessary to apply the scalpel of enquiry to that world fetish of trade, to uncover the reason why we can only escape the deadly Scylla of war, by immediately falling into the equally fierce and almost as deadly Charybdis of a "competition of unparalleled ferocity." And what is trade? In its incipency it may well have been a simple exchange of products between the individual producers thereof, who lived as neighbors in the primitive community. It measured but a very short step beyond the time when our primitive forbears aided each other in their simple pursuits by an exchange of labor, a practice that still prevails to a limited extent in many country districts. But trade has assumed an altogether different character. It has now become a world obsession and pursues its ruthless course by crushing all obstacles that may obstruct its pathway, under the merciless pressure of its cheap goods, cheap because they are taken from those who produce them, without anything being given in return. Trade, as we know it now, is but the world traffic in the plunder accruing to the owners and masters of slaves, as a result of the expenditure of the energy, the life force, of those slaves in the operation of industry. All that great volume of wealth, that presents itself to us in the form of goods, merchandise, commodities, factories, shops, warehouses, railways, ships, mines, and all that

PUTTING IT ON THE WORKER

(By Scott Nearing.)

If the owners do not pay for the war, the workers will. If the workers will not pay, the owners must. There is no other possibility.

Owners and workers receive all of the income that is paid out in the United States. Owners and workers possess all of the 250 billions of wealth that exists in the country. The line of economic division in the community is between owners and workers. Whatever bills one does not foot, fall to the share of the other to pay.

The workers in Russia, who are evidently disinclined to pay at all insofar as the war debt is concerned, are for pushing the owners off from the map—but that is in Russia. There is no such radical movement in the United States. The owners are very few in num-

ber. Probably not more than one person in five in the industrial districts owns industrial property. The Industrial Relations Commission reported that 2 per cent of the people in the United States owned 50 per cent of the wealth of the country, and that the most important kind—resources, franchises, banks and machinery.

While the owners are few, the workers are many. In most large industrial centers they make up more than four-fifths of all the people. If the owners pay the war bill, it will be a rich man's war and a poor man's fight. If the owners pass on the paying to the workers, the workers will do both the paying and the fighting.

A little study in history throws onto the foreground some important facts about previous wars. Heretofore, the workers have paid in high prices, low wages, poverty, hardship, and sufferings. Indeed, there is hardly a war in modern times that has not been a blessing to some group of business men. The Napoleonic Wars proved a source of immense business advantage to the British. The foundation of many an English fortune was laid during this bitter struggle. While the people of Britain endured the grinding hardships of that great struggle, many business men prospered.

The Civil War found Washington so infested with business brigands that Lincoln was at his wit's end. Finally, in desperation, he is reported to have said to a group of New Yorkers who were insisting upon a gunboat for the protection of New York harbor—"If I were as rich as you gentlemen are said to be, and as frightened as you appear to be, I would build a gunboat myself and give it to the government." The result was not built. On the other hand, the business men from all parts of the nation were fattening upon war contracts.

During the Civil War many of the soldiers were paid in paper money, so depreciated that it took \$2.65 in paper to buy \$1 worth of gold. Meanwhile the interest on the bonds was paid in bullion.

The Civil War, like the Napoleonic Wars, proved to be of the most immense business advantage. Blood was poured out freely. The common people sacrificed to the limit of their endurance, while the business interests were reaping a rich financial reward.

The worker need not necessarily be compelled to pay. It would be perfectly possible for the Government of the United States to pay for this war by imposing a land tax that would take all of the economic rent of land; by taking all incomes in excess of two thousand dollars, during the continuance of the war; by laying a heavy inheritance tax, and by taking all of the war profits away from the war manufacturers. Such a system of taxation—called the conscription of wealth—would probably raise considerably more than ten billions of dollars a year, enough to pay for the war out of the property rights of the well-to-do.

Such a thing is possible. Will it happen? Well, say—will it happen?

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FREEDOM

New York City—"Economic freedom must accompany political freedom. Otherwise there is no freedom. And freedom of access to God's earth is the first claim of democracy." These words give the keynote of an address by Frederick C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration at the sort of New York to a conference on the high cost of living held in New York City, July 3. Doctor Howe said:

"All over the world peoples and rulers are talking of liberty. Emperors, kings, Tories and aristocrats are justifying war in new terms, terms of liberty. Never before in the history of the world was this true. Liberty has forced itself into the mouths of men who heretofore used it only for their own aggrandizement. Now they are compelled to widen its meaning to include all people, workers, peasants, serfs.

"But there can be no liberty under economic feudalism, whether it be the feudalism of the eighteenth century or the feudalism of the twentieth. Feudalism has changed its form; it has not changed its essence. And the tenant in the country and the worker in the city pay feudal tribute today, just as they did three hundred years ago. Then they gave personal labor; now they give cash. The earth and all its fullness is owned. And the laws of God are set at defiance when millions are born into the world under economic subjection to those who own the resources of the earth.

"Economic freedom must accompany political freedom. Otherwise there is no freedom. And freedom of access to God's earth is the first claim of democracy. Mexico discovered it. The peasants of Russia found it out. And these peoples are giving the earth to those who use under titles similar to those of the Jews 3,000 years ago. For the laws of Moses changed the laws of equal opportunity to the earth, just as were the laws of all early people.

"And taxation is the agency through which permanent liberty can come. For through taxation those who hold the earth but refuse to use it must pay for their privilege or give them up to others. Taxation of land values will release lands and mines. It will enlarge production. It will destroy monopoly. It will free the tenement worker and the miner, and permit them to labor for themselves. Taxation has been used for privilege, for protectorate tariffs and

in many other ways. The new democracy which is coming has in its hands a liberty tax, the taxation of land values. It will open a new life to even the poorest and will, when applied, insure equal opportunity for all. And democracy the world over has been inspired for generations by that phrase of Jefferson, 'Equal opportunity for all, and special privilege to none,' just as it has by the French Revolution with its 'Liberty, equality, fraternity.' Taxation of land values was the rallying cry of philosophers who preceded the French Revolution. It should be the rallying cry of democracy in the New World."

I. W. W. FICTION.

We don't know how the reporters are getting hold of the news concerning the Industrial Workers of the World and the romantic notion that in the raids made upon the halls of that militant organization documents of evidence of the membership and their leaders has been discovered.

Whatever else they are the members of that organization are not completely stupid and it is impossible to regard these stories with any degree of confidence. That the excuse would have the plans for an organized campaign of crime filed away in some pigeonhole after they had received due notice that they were being attacked all round, that government action was invited and raids were threatened, would indicate that even for "criminals" their intelligence was below normal and as one man put it they were "solid ivory."

However during these days the public is ready to believe almost anything and nothing loth, the scribes who report for that public are ready to report anything that will be believed.—Daily Neme Industrial Worker.

TAKE YOUR CHOICE.

You can hear anything you like about Socialists nowadays.

Rabid jingo journalists make very frequent statements to the effect that the Socialists have killed themselves forever and ever by their attitude toward the war.

This represents the most pessimistic view.

Other critics present views running the whole gamut of opinion. Norman Haugwood says that Socialism in Europe has been boosted by the war. This is quite in conflict with the dire views of those who think the Socialists are everlastingly committed suicide when they failed to stop the war—as if a minority could be expected to stop it.

The big outstanding fact, however, is that, no matter what view they take the newspapers and magazines are unable to let the subject of Socialism alone. Everywhere it is being discussed. A very great deal of the discussion is ignorant and nonsensical, but it is discussed.

They can't let it alone.

If it were really true that Socialism was dying, as many of our friends, the enemy, would like to have us believe, would they keep talking about it all the while?

Well, hardly.

It is just because Socialism is the one big thing looming on the horizon of the future that they can't let it alone.—Milwaukee Leader.

PRETTY SLOW GAIN

In 1840 President Van Buren prescribed a ten-hour work day for all employees of the Federal Government. In 1916 President Wilson officially sanctioned the eight-hour day. In 76 years, in other words, the worker has made a gain of 20 per cent in the hours of labor. In the same period it is safe to say that machine production has advanced from 50 to 500 per cent. Thus we see how the workers, organized under craft unions, keep pace with capitalism.

LOOKS LIKE A PETTY THEFT

The jewels used by the Russian Empress are the property of the Russian crown, and were supposed to be kept in the vaults of the Winter Palace, but when these were searched after the Revolution, nothing was found by the Imperial crown from which the precious stones were extracted. The missing jewels are valued at one hundred million dollars, and are said to have been sent by the former Empress to Darmstadt, her native town in Germany, for safe keeping.

Albania.

The population of which approximately 1,000,000, is inhabited by a race that has nothing in common with the Italians. Nineteenths of the Albanians are Moslems, and only half the rest are Roman Catholics. They speak a language which is a mixture of Slavonic and Greek derivations, are engaged in primitive occupations and lead a more or less primeval social life. The Albanians are considered the oldest inhabitants of Europe, their history going back to times immemorial.

Democracy doesn't mean letting a few capitalists own the earth and the industries thereof.

Capitalism is a nightmare out of which the workers are being slowly and painfully roused.

Which is the greater social evil—the evil of prostitution or the evil of low wages that causes it?

"OVER THE TOP"

A vivid sketch of war realism—one of the most nerve-racking experiences it is possible to undergo—is portrayed in terse, soldier-language by a correspondent.

The "over-the-top" feeling is nothing compared with the slow agonies—the prolonged nervous strain—of an expected enemy counter-attack.

Before the attack is delivered the imaginative man undergoes moments of acute terror—terror not unlike that of a child covering in the dark. He can feel the pounding of the enemy's barrage long before it crashes across the parapet. He suffers that sensation of paralysis so familiar in dreams. He stands riveted to the spot till the scorching bayonet, grey ghost of his brain, is tearing through his flesh... And yet the same man with calm courage will unflinchingly expose himself and open rapid fire when the actual attack begins.

It is a curious point in psychology. I have faced several counter-attacks, and my sensations were precisely the same on each occasion. There is first a waiting period of acute tension—of unconquerable nervous impotence and agony—which held me in its grasp, then vanished utterly. It gave place to a quaint sensation of excited curiosity and detachment from the events that were happening.

The Bursting Shells.

I recall the evening as if it were yesterday. The details are stereotyped on my brain. The sky was fleecy with white clouds. There was nothing in the sun-baked stretch of the enemy's lines to indicate that he was massing with fixed bayonets, four deep in his front line. But suddenly his guns opened, and shells of all calibers rushed through the air towards us, bursting close at hand and covering us with earth, small stones, and sulphurous fumes.

For the next half-hour my eyes were glued to my periscope. I shall never forget that half-hour of vivid expectancy. I prayed for something to happen that would break the spell. My heart was thudding in my throat.

—Should I be able to keep my legs firm when they came over? ...How would it feel when the bayonet was pushed into my body? ... And, above all, what would happen if I lost the line? ...What would the men say, and the captain and the colonel and the general? These were the thoughts that coursed through my excited brain.

Then the first wave of the expected counter-attack scrambled over the enemy's parapet. A thread snapped in my brain. I rapped out a fire order.

A movement rippled down our line. My men were manning the parapet. I dropped my periscope and stood up on the fire-step. I felt no sensation of fear; only a vast and consuming curiosity

as to whether the Hun would reach our trench.

The first wave advanced fully thirty yards before one of them dropped.

The Yawning Gap.

A machine gun cracked its staccato rat-tat-tat-tat rat-tat-tat rat-tat; and several others picked up the crisp chorus. The leading wave still ran towards us. But in their centre a wide gap suddenly yawned. In this gap the ground was strewn with figures; some of them squirmed and wriggled, others lay placid in death. . . . The wave of men still rushed on. A second wave poured over the parapet of the enemy's trench.

Then our own artillery burst forth. It was a stupendous salvo. It rumbled overhead like gigantic engines thundering through the air. In front of us the attackers wavered. The detonation of bombs sounded farther down the trench.

I turned my periscope sideways. Hun bodies were being flung over our parapet. . . . My sergeant appeared. "Cleared 'em out with bombs, sir," he remarked. "Look, sir!" He pointed to our front.

"Cease fire," I ordered. For the attacks had disappeared. What was left of them had retreated.

"That's the end, sir!" chuckled my sergeant.

I thrust my hands into my breeches pockets. I did not want him to see they were trembling. . . .—Ex.

Apropos of the Kilkenny election, how many people know the real story of the Kilkenny cats? It happened that the British Government employed Hessian Regiments in Ireland for the purpose of putting down the Rebellion of 1798. Some of these Germans located in Kilkenny conceived the notion of hanging two cats over a rope with their tails tied together, so that they might fight while so suspended. One day they were surprised at the precious "amusement" by an officer, and a trooper drew his sword and cut down the cats, leaving their tails behind. The cats, quite alive, ran through an open window. When the officer entered he asked what had become of the cats, and the reply was that they had devoured each other. Hence the tale.

A PICTURE

It is in the dusky twilight that Poverty, with her mates, Vice and Crime, glide forth from their lairs. They shun daylight the more anxiously, the more cruelly their wretchedness contrasts with the pride of wealth that glitters everywhere; only Hunger sometimes drives them at noonday from their dens, and then they stand with silent, speaking eyes, staring beseechingly at the rich merchant who hurries along, busy and jingling gold, or at the lazy lord, who like a surfeited god, rides by on his high horse, casting now and then an aristocratically indifferent glance at the mob below, as though they were swarming ants, or, at all events, a mass of baser beings, whose joys and sorrows have nothing in common with his feelings.—Heine.

"United We Stand, Divided We Fall"

The time has arrived when the workingmen of the country must unite! Organized capital is strongly united in its efforts to crush the rightful demands of the workers. The so-called capitalist papers are always trying to form public opinion against the workingmen. They publish news and articles in the interest of the master class only.

The workingmen of Astoria and vicinity know this to be an absolute fact. The workingmen of this community can see there is only one paper in Astoria that is publishing the facts about the strike and that paper is "the Daily Toveri" (The Daily Comrade). This paper has been published in the Finnish language only, for about ten years, but we saw the urgent need of a paper that could be read by the English-speaking people also, so we decided to do all we could to let all the people know the real facts about the strikes and all other matters important to the workingmen, which are kept dark by other papers.

WILL YOU UNITE WITH US FOR YOUR OWN SAKE?

Do you want the Daily Comrade to be YOUR COMRADE? You can answer this by simply cutting out and filling the subscription blank below. Bring it or mail it with the subscription price to:

The Daily Comrade,
Cor. 10th & Duane St.,
Astoria, Oregon.

Please enter my subscription to the Daily Comrade for months for which please find enclosed \$

Name

Address

Subscription rates: \$4.00 per year, \$2.25 for 6 months, \$1.35 for 3 months and 50c per month either by mail or carrier.