

"Our object should be to leave open all the avenues of truth. As the most effectual hitherto found has been the press, it is, therefore, the first shut up by those who fear the investigation of their actions."—Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence.

SHALL DEMOCRACY BE CAMOUFLAGED?

If certain federal officials in Seattle succeed in their reported attempt to exclude the B. C. Federationist, the official organ of British Columbia unions, from the mails on the ground that it is fomenting anti-draft sentiment in this country, the new derivative "camouflage" may modify the word democracy in the American sense of terminology.

Though we have read the Federationist for the past three years, we are yet to find the first hint in it to foster anti-government as well as anti-draft sentiment here.

It has done nothing more than criticize the reactionary forces that aim at profiting at the expense of those sacrificing their very lives on the European battlefields.

The exclusion of the Federationist upon the ground mentioned would be worse than blunderous, for, as it says itself:

"No greater blunder could be committed than that of blindly and stupidly closing the mails to any publication that by any stretch of imagination voiced the ideas, the aspirations, the political and economic thought, the hopes and aims of any portion of human society. Dull-witted, indeed, is he who fancies that by such petty and even vulgar means any unworthy cause can be killed, or any good cause safeguarded. The stupid 'thou shalt not' of bigots and vulgar stoolbirds of ruffianism and tyranny, have availed nothing against the cause of truth and progress, although they have marked the pathway of the race with blood and tears."

The Federationist can't be accused of anti-Allied propaganda even, and therefore the attempt at its exclusion is an attempt at the most sacred right of a citizen, that of criticizing the acts of the governing authorities, no matter how friendly the criticism may be done or how seriously the authorities may be in error. Here's what it has to say about the present war:

"There is a war on that must in the interest of progress be fought to a finish, a victorious finish, for that side represented by the entente allies. It is a war for democracy only in the sense that with a complete defeat for the Central Powers of Europe there will be swept from the board a mass of medieval rubbish that must be rotten rind of before the pathway of the race is made clear for the forward march of democracy. Democracy is yet to come. The brutality of remaining feudal autocracy and the equally deadly hypocrisy of world-cursing capitalism are going down together in a deadly embrace from which neither will be able to rise. And the star of democracy—a democracy of Labor, an industrial democracy, is even now rising in the east above the ashes of their ruin."

If the above quotations are considered sufficiently "treacherous" to render the publication unmailable, the following taken from one of the ultra-reactionary sheets of American newspaperdom, is certainly such, for it is criticizing the postal authorities very severely.

Under the caption "Curb the Autocrat," the Morning Astorian in one of its recent issues writes:

"Third Assistant Postmaster General Dockery has started something new in American legal procedure. He cited the New York Call to show cause why it should not be denied the privilege of second class mail, and refused to inform the Call what offense it had committed or was alleged to have committed. The Call was required to present its case at Washington at a certain hour of a certain day—250 miles from its place of publication—and was informed that at that time it would be presented with the charge against it. How many of us would remain out of jail if our enemies could haul us into court and require us to prove our innocence of charges the nature of which we could not know until we appeared in court?"

"If Congress does its duty, there will be an overhauling of procedure in the Postoffice Department. The very existence of a newspaper depends on its right to the second-class privilege. Abuse of that privilege should be properly punished. Entire denial of the privilege may be a severe punishment in some instances but too severe in others. By the mere stroke of a pen, the department can destroy a business which a man has taken a life-time to build up. We predict that the American people will not stand for the bestiality of any such power as that upon any individual in a country where trial by jury is one of the fundamental principles of our guarantee of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Let the wrong doer be adequately punished, but give him a fair trial first."

The cases being similar in character, the only difference is in the fact that in one instance the paper in question is a labor paper, and in the other a capitalist paper, and upon those premises shall the action of the federal officials be interpreted, be it what it may.

The strongest fact in favor of the workers is that they are indispensable. The weakest link in the chain of the present system is that the capitalists are useless, and what's more they know it.

SPINOZA, PHILOSOPHER ON FREEDOM OF SPEECH

"But let it be granted that freedom may be crushed, and men may be so bound down that they do not dare to utter a whisper, save at the bidding of their rulers; nevertheless, this never can be carried to the pitch of making them think according to authority, so that the necessary consequences would be that men would daily be thinking one thing and saying another, to the corruption of good faith, that mainstay of government, and to the fostering of hateful flattery and perfidy, whence spring stratagems, and the corruption of every good art."

"It is far from possible to impose uniformity of speech, for, the more rulers strive to curtail freedom of speech, the more obstinately are they resisted; not, indeed, by the avaricious, the flatterers and other numskulls, who think supreme salvation consists in filling their stomachs and gloating over the money bags, but by those whom good education, sound morality and virtue have rendered more free. Men, as generally constituted, are most prone to resent the branding as criminal of opinions which they believe to be true, and the proscription as wicked of that which inspires them with their piety toward God and man."

"Such being the constitution of human nature, we see the laws directed against opinions affect the generous-minded rather than the wicked, and adapted less for coercing criminals than for irritating the upright; so that they cannot be maintained without great peril to the state."

HOW LABOR POLITICS NOT REVOLUTIONARY WILL LEAD TO RUIN.

A HISTORY TO BE PROFITABLY READ BY UNIONISTS EVERYWHERE

(By Harold A. Prider)

The following article by Harold A. Prider will help to clear up the fog that prevails with regard to the Australian labor movement. Mr. Prider knows the Australian movement from A to Z. The article follows:

Since William Morris Hughes, the modern tory, as Winston Churchill calls the prime minister of Australia, returned from London, we have had turmoil enough, and to spare. At the present moment in the arena of national politics there is peace, and we welcome it, but there has been more than ordinary activity in state politics. Mr. Hughes and the other renegades were cast aside by the workers, the Labor party was in power in Tasmania, Queensland, Western Australia, South Australia, and New South Wales. The conscription conspiracy came, and, with the exception of Mr. Ryan, premier of Queensland, all the leaders of the Labor party tossed aside their principles and crossed over to those who had fought the Labor party in the past. Today Mr. Ryan stands where he has always stood—with the workers. The others have been tossed aside. It is a lesson to the renegades.

"Birds of a Feather"
In New South Wales, Mr. W. A. Holman, who had succeeded Mr. J. T. S. McGowan as Labor leader, was premier. He advocated conscription, and joined forces with Mr. C. G. Wade, the Conservative, who had a few years previously leg-ironed the noble Peter Bowling during the Newcastle strike. Men like Sir J. H. Carruthers, Sir Charles Mackellar, Sir Samuel McCaughey, and other Conservatives welcomed him, and, in company with Sir Allan Taylor, and the Labor renegade of other days, Mr. Geo. S. Beeby, the stormy petrel, Mr. Holman faced the electors as nationalists! And he won. The Labor party, under Mr. John Storey, however, scored a decided victory, for representatives of the Labor movement defeated Messrs. Black, Griffiths, Wadell, McGowan, Meagher (who was speaker of the legislative assembly and lord mayor of Sydney), and others, who were Labor renegades. Once in power, Mr. Holman was packed off to London on a mysterious visit, and the Liberal leader, Mr. Fuller, is now premier of New South Wales.

Return to its Vomit
South Australia has gone to Liberalism once more. The late Tom Price was the first Labor premier of that state. As a laborer, he assisted in the erection of the parliamentary edifice. At that time two of his greatest supporters were A. H. Peake and A. Kirkpatrick. When Mr. Price passed away, Mr. Peake went over to the Conservatives under Sir Richard Butler, and John Ver-

ran, a miner, came into power, but proved a failure. The next Labor leader was Crawford Vaughan. When he formed his ministry he made his brother attorney-general, his brother-in-law (Clarence Goode) minister of agriculture, and himself premier, treasurer and minister of education. His last act as premier was to appoint sister Dorothy as a justice of peace! With veterans like Verran, McGillivray, Wallis, Blundell, Jackson, Styles and Ponder, who had been in the movement for many years, he deserted Labor for love of Hughes. When Messrs. Hill, Butterfield, Gunn resigned to contest the federal elections for Labor, and Mr. Coombe died, the Liberals captured these vacancies. Vaughan was then ousted without mercy by Peake, Butler, Bice, and the others who hate the workers, although both had coalesced to fight Labor at the national elections! The only friend Vaughan appears to have is Sir Langdon Bonython—and he is welcome to him!

Wrecked by the Leaders
Now in Western Australia the Labor party had rendered good service, but it has been wrecked through the machinations of leader Scaddan. When he was in power, Scaddan offered to leave his own electorate and fight a renegade foe, Walker—who is one of Scaddan's pals today—and he lost. John Lutey won Scaddan's seat, and then resigned in favor of Scaddan. Once in power again, Scaddan went the pace and the Liberals, under Frank Wilson, soon had him before the people, with disastrous results. He and Wilson, with the rest, fought Labor at the federal elections, and then Bruce Le-froy defeated Wilson for the premiership. Scaddan was chosen in the ministry, and, when he went before the people, he was vanquished by his old pal Lutey, who remains loyal to the principles of Labor. Phil Collier is now leader of Labor in the west.

In Tasmania Labor was led by John Earle, and was in power, but when Earle renegaded, the Liberals under W. H. Lee, Sir Neil Lewis and Sir John Davies came into power. Labor has lost all hopes here for many years to come. Strong men like Woods and Ben Watkins have been defeated, and the leader, Mr. Lyons, has a small but militant force behind him. Earle had the chance to make good for Labor, but he made a mess of things. In Victoria we have only had Mr. Elmslie in power once—and that was only for 14 days. Last week, Elmslie, as Labor leader, moved a no-confidence motion against Sir Alex Peacock. It was defeated. Bowser, the leader of the Economists, then moved a similar motion, and with the exception of Clough, Hogan, Solly, Tunnecliffe, and Cotter, all the Laborites voted against it—and saved Peacock from defeat! What can we expect from these!

Queensland still stands for the Labor movement. Mr. Ryan, the Labor premier, is without doubt, the greatest statesman in Australia. He is an irreconcilable anti-conscriptionist, and, though a lawyer, he is probably one of the best advocates the Labor party ever had. Although Kidston ratted on Labor in that state and made way for the Denham and Sir Robert Philip clique, Labor has made great strides under Dave Bowman, and later, Ryan. It would be well to point out that the following are the leaders of the Labor party in Australia:

Commonwealth—Frank Gwynne Tudor; deputy, Senator Albert Gardner.
New South Wales—John Storey; deputy, Stewart Robertson.
Victoria—Geo. A. Elmslie; deputy, J. W. Billson.
South Australia—A. A. Kirkpatrick.
Western Australia—Phil Collier.
Queensland—T. J. Ryan; deputy, E. G. Theodore.
Tasmania—J. A. Lyons; deputy, J. A. Belton.—(Harold A. Prider.)

SUPPRESSION.
At a time of pressing need for unity this nation is divided. Step by step with physical organization for war goes a mental and spiritual disorganization that threatens the indispensable solidarity of our citizenship.

It is impossible for those who have at heart the righteousness of America's mission and its ultimate success to regard the present situation with equanimity. The sources of information still open tell of country-wide prosecutions and suppressions, of wholesale arrests and countless indictments. Dull, indeed, is the imagination that cannot grasp how much more is being done unknown to the general public.

Two camps are forming. In the one are those who maintain that in

Until such assurances are won the task of liberal thought in this nation is unfinished. Once that task is accomplished we may press on to victory, a nation united by our common love for liberty.—(By Engene Schoen.)

Martial Rules for the Copper Miners

RIGHT TO STRIKE SUSPENDED.

The president's commission declaring the strike off at Globe, Arizona, and formulating rules for adjusting the differences between employers and employees during the war states:

"The country must have the maximum uninterrupted output of copper from this district during the period of the war. No grievance on the part of the men, whether well-founded or imaginary, must be allowed to result in stoppage of production. Practicable machinery must be devised for the adjustment of grievances, whether real or imaginary, to prevent interruption of production."

"With full confidence that men of all classes are willing to make the necessary sacrifice, the President's Mediation Commission, in the name of the President of the United States and by virtue of the authority vested in it by him, directs that the existing strike be called off and the following plan for the adjustment of the present difficulty and future grievances as they arise be put into immediate operation:

"First—Each company will recognize a workmen's committee representing the employees, said committee to be selected from and by men actually in the employ of the company. This committee shall consist of four men representing the different departments in the same manner as the existing workmen's committee. Election shall be by secret ballot and the voting places shall be located on neutral ground where all employees shall have the opportunity of voting. The method of conducting the election shall be as a majority of the workmen shall agree upon, and it shall be held under the direction of the arbitrator hereinafter provided for, who shall select inspectors of election, one union and one non-union man, from among the employees. In the event of any dispute concerning the returns the arbitrator shall have the authority to decide the same. The first election of workmen's committees under this arrangement shall be held on the last Saturday of December, and the term of office of the committees elected at that time will be from January 1, 1918, to June 30, 1918. Thereafter the election shall be held on the last Saturday of June of each year and the term of office shall be from July 1 to June 30. Permanent vacancies in the committee shall be filled by election within seven days after they are known to exist.

Second—The workmen's committee shall have no jurisdiction over individual grievances until the workman has done all in his power to bring about an adjustment of the same with his foreman.

Third—When an individual grievance is brought to the attention of the workmen's committee, it shall first endeavor to bring about an adjustment between the workman and the foreman of the department in which he works. Failing in that it may take the grievance up with the next official in authority, and in like manner to other superior officers until an adjustment is reached or the matter has been brought to the attention of the general manager. No man shall be discharged or discriminated against in his work because he does or does not belong to a union. Disobedience of the established rules of the company or of orders for the carrying out of such rules shall be cause for discharge or suspension. In case of a grievance arising out of such suspension or discharge, the grievance committee shall limit its investigation of the case and the presentation of the grievance to the company to the question of the fact of such alleged disobedience, and as to such disobedience of rules or orders and in the event of a disagreement the question as to the fact of such alleged disobedience, shall be the sole question for consideration by the arbitrator.

Fourth—Grievances of a general character taken up by the workmen's committee shall first be presented to the official of the company having jurisdiction of the same, and if an adjustment is not reached, may be carried to the next superior officer and in like manner on through to the general manager, unless an adjustment is sooner reached.

Fifth—If the workmen's committee and the management are unable to mutually adjust the difference in dispute, they may submit the same to an arbitrator, whose decision shall be final and binding upon both parties. There shall also be two alternate arbitrators, who shall act whenever for any cause the arbitrator is unable to act. The arbitrator hereby agreed upon is Joseph S. Myers, and the alternates are Hywel Davies and Judge George W. Musser. When any vacancy occurs in these positions the same shall be filled by the Secretary of Labor, with the approval of the Council of National Defense. In all cases of individual grievances the arbitrator shall render a decision within five days after the case is submitted to him, and in all grievances of a general character the arbitrator shall render a decision within 30 days after the case is submitted to him.

Sixth—When any dispute affecting a union man is submitted to the arbitrator for decision, the union to which that man belongs may, with the approval of its international officers, select one of its members to present the case to the arbitrator. When any dispute affecting non-union men is presented to the arbitrator

for decision, they may select such person as they desire to present their case to the arbitrator.

Seventh—All men now on strike who report for duty within five days after the acceptance of this arrangement shall be re-employed without discrimination as soon as places can be found for them, except those who since the beginning of the strike have been guilty of utterances disloyal to the United States, or who are members of any organization that refuses to recognize the obligation of contracts, and the fact of such disloyal utterances or membership shall be determined by the arbitrator herein provided for. In re-employing workmen preference shall be given to married men and those with dependents over single men without dependents wherever possible. The making of striking workmen reporting for duty shall be handled as a district problem, and a district employment committee composed of one representative of the strikers reporting for duty at the Old Dominion, the Inspiration, the Miami, and the International Smelter, and a representative of the management at each of these places shall be created to assist in carrying this purpose into effect. If any man reporting for duty at the place where he formerly worked is unable to secure employment there similar to that which he performed prior to the strike, it shall be the duty of the employment committee to secure a place for him in some of the other operations in the district, and no workman from outside of the district shall be employed at any of the operations until all of the men in the Globe-Miami district qualified and willing to do the class of work required have secured employment. When the striking workmen reporting for duty have all been placed, the committee shall thereupon dissolve.

Eighth—The workmen's committee may make such investigations of the hospital department on behalf of the employees as it may from time to time deem necessary, and make such recommendations to the trustees relative to improvements as it may find desirable.

Ninth—It is understood that this machinery will take the place of strikes or lockouts during the period of the war, and no other method for regulating relations between employers and employees shall be substituted except by mutual agreement."

10,000,000 POUNDS OF SUGAR STORED FOR SPECULATION

The newspaper reporters will be branded as pro-Germans by the plutes. They nosed around down in Baltimore, Md., and found ten million pounds of sugar hid away. Meanwhile the people were paying 24 cents a pound for that article of food. These same reporters hint that the same thing will be exposed in many other cities if the speculators do not loosen up and open the doors of their sealed warehouses.

FICKERT TO BE RECALLED

After weeks of blocking proceedings in the courts by Fickert the recall of that gentleman is now allowed to proceed by the supreme court. It is a disgrace that the people have to waste fifty thousand dollars on such an official.

THE CAUSE OF WAR

By MAYOR DANIEL W. HOAN
of Milwaukee.

Before we can abolish war we must learn how to eradicate its causes. Inasmuch as an effect cannot be remedied without striking at its cause, so war cannot be abolished without tearing out its roots. What, then, is the root or cause of modern war? It is sometimes called expansion. "Expansion is a term applied to a plan, or policy of a ruling class to extend its system of exploitation over foreign land. This is to be effected by force of arms; either by overawing the distant people, or in seizing their lands. Now, this plan of 'expansion' as a cause of war means nothing to the student unless the various forces leading to it are fully analyzed. This, in brief, is how they work:

First, the wage earners receive in wages but a part of fraction of what they produce. Second, with the part or fraction so received they cannot purchase back all that they produce. Third, the general surplus goods in the capitalists' hands which must be sold in foreign lands. Fourth, the efforts of the capitalists to sell these surplus goods in foreign lands results in commercial rivalry between nations. Fifth, as the means of production become more efficient or scientific the amount of goods in the capitalists' hands increases. This quickens the efforts of each nation to outdo its rivals in the conquering of the markets of the world. This struggle of the nations to conquer the world's markets is ever becoming more tense. To gain a point of vantage, every device conceivable in the human mind is practiced by the capitalists. We find some selling their goods cheaper in foreign countries than they do at home; others, through the channels of secret diplomacy, cheating their rivals; while we now find some of the countries of Europe planning to join into leagues to seize and keep the markets of the world.

The logical result of this rivalry is and must be a course of armed preparedness, so that the nations may be ready at any moment either to smash a commercial rival or to conquer a helpless people. Gigantic armies and huge navies in the hands of governments who are engaged in a life and death struggle for the ex-

pansion of markets can and does have but one end—war.

Viewing this from another angle, the capitalist class want business, and more business. They must have this if their establishments are to keep running and make profit. But more business, and still more business, cannot be had without breaking into the other fellow's territory. Governments, influenced by the system of getting business, readily fall in line in the race to see which can get the biggest swords, the longest guns, the deadliest gas bombs, the biggest dreadnought and the mightiest army.

For over half a century the elected representation of the workers' political movement of the world has stood alone against the insane military program of Europe. Their cries fell upon deaf ears. The riot must run its course. The working class fought junkerism and Prussianism long before some loud-voiced, self-styled patriots left their cradles. We have fought it not only in one country, but in every country.

Now the Socialists propose to end all wars. What is our plan of battle? It is no secret. It is known to our antagonists. We propose to abolish war by restoring its cause, namely, by ending commercial rivalry among nations by beheading capitalism. Our plan calls for furnishing a market at home, instead of markets abroad, for the products you produce. While we grant that certain goods will always be exchanged for their equivalents among nations, is it not good American doctrine that to Americans belong the wealth they produce? Shall we always boast of our increasing exports of food, shoes and clothes to foreign lands, when they are so badly needed at home? If the workers receive the full value of their toil they can purchase back the effects of their labor. Then the struggle for foreign markets will cease, the cause of militarism will vanish, and war will end. Then, and not until then, can it truly be said that America is not for a small clique of capitalists, but that America is for Americans.

If this war shall cease, what of the future of the human family? Will the change from the political to the industrial kind smash autocracy and insure democracy? Decidedly not! Is this to be the last war? Will the abdication of the kaiser, the crushing of Prussian militarism, the establishment of international courts, end war? Absolutely not. Let no one be fooled by so idle a dream. Just as Marx and Engels foretold with accuracy the present war, has the labor movement pointed out the unerring logic that this is the beginning of many wars which will end with the extinction of the human family, unless the system which breeds war is entirely eradicated. I believe that this will be done. I have faith that the producers of wealth, who alone have the interest, vitality and determination to put an end to capitalist oppression and wage slavery, will triumphantly march along the road of human progress which will found society upon the principles of human liberty and the rights of man—the cooperative commonwealth.

SEEING DEMOCRACY FROM REAR END OF A PULLMAN

It was 9 o'clock and we were approaching Butte, Mont., and had just seen its industrial sister city, Anaconda, in the distance.

Butte was all lit with the glare of electric lights; with a clear sky, with a full moon just back of her, she lies there quiet and sober, silhouetted against the sky.

Butte is built on the foot of the hill. The most precious hill in the world. Butte, the great copper city; the great town; the great union center—Butte with its glare of light—its dirty streets; its sulphurous flames; its rustling card; its vulgar rich; its hovels and filth and its vigilantes.

Over our heads are the orifices which lead into the bowels of the hill through which men go to bring forth the precious metal and sometime to die, not for the use of man, but for the Clarks, Rockefellers, Guggenheims, Heinzes, Lawsons, that they may buy seats in congress, or endow Sunday schools and colleges and build palaces on Fifth avenue or expose themselves in the popular magazines. Butte also has a strike. 20,000 Metal Mine Workers refusing to work under intolerable conditions. Conditions that left 230 of them entombed in a burning mine, helpless and unhelped.

Yes, the most precious hill on earth, they call it, and it is that in terms of human lives.

It might indeed be termed an altar on which the sacrifice is human life. The mines have been wet and full of fumes and gas, and men could only live a few years that worked in them, so they quietly stopped work. 20,000 of them without organization, without agitation, without anything but one big emotional mass impulse to stand together and demand, refuse than to beg, or any way, to refuse what was offered to them.

On the hill are big, powerful search lights, darting here and there, piercing the darkness with their barbic glare, acting as a sort of warning sentinal or rather, violator of the protection of sacred property that might be attacked by strikers or their sympathizers.

And so Butte is sober and silent and anxious and ominous. I asked a breakman who was on the rear of the train with his red and white lanterns if he could point out any places of interest.

"That hill over there with the search light is the richest hill in the world," he said. "They dig out more copper there than in all the other mines in the United States; but just now the mines are all shut down, every one of them, and the smelters,