THE VOICE OF AMERICA GEORGE WILDER CARTWRIGHT

THE VOICE OF AMERICA

OUR CONSTITUTION

BY

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Mutual Interests of Labor and Capital
The Derailing Switch
Bolshevism, Labor and Capital
Etc.

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THE FATHERS

In reading the Constitution of the United States, together with the history of its adoption, one fact stands out above all others. The founders of the republic understood the springs of human action. They knew the motives that control the minds of men.

Moreover, in those days the study of history had not been crowded out by a thousand fads and isms. Every educated man was well grounded in the facts of history. Many of the members of the Constitutional Convention were familiar with Ancient and Medieval History and more of them knew the history of the countries of modern Europe. They were familiar with the forces that had caused the rise and fall of empires. They knew what men had done before. They knew what had succeeded and what had failed.

The founders knew that from the beginning of time men had sought dominion, power. They looked backward

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across the historic arches that span the centuries and saw the lusts of men for increased power. Their genius of statesmanship rose to its zenith, its highest point, when they framed the first written Constitution in the history of men and in its provisions delegated to the Congress and to the President certain well-defined powers which they dare not exceed.

Every man who is entrusted with power wants more power. Senators and Representatives oftentimes chafe under the restraints of the Constitution, and we have had Presidents who have felt the yoke of the same wholesome restraint, but the Constitution wisely provides for its own protection and enforcement through the powers of the Supreme Court, the most dignified tribunal on earth, and the most independent.

SUPREME COURT

In the appointment of the Judges of the Federal Courts the wisdom of the

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Fathers is again exemplified. The Judges of the Federal Courts, including Justices of the Supreme Court, appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States. Equally important is the fact that they are appointed for life, or during good behavior. They are given an ample compensation, and, in the event of disaster from age, or otherwise, they are generously provided for. They are beyond the reach of corruption on the one side, and above the influence of popular passion and prejudice on the other.

The President and the Senate have at their command every agency of government to enable them to inquire into the character, learning and ability of the Judges before making the appointments. The President is mindful of the great responsibility involved, and the Senate exercises this authority with jealous care. The wisdom of the

Fathers is reflected in the exalted character of the Judges of our Federal Courts. The Justices of the Supreme Court have always been distinguished for their courage, their integrity, and their learning in the law.

PROOF

Some years ago, the author, as a practicing attorney, was engaged in the trial of an important case in the State of Massachusetts. From what appeared to be a most reliable source, information was received that an attempt would be made to bribe the Judge of the Court in which the case was being tried.

The author related the facts to two eminent lawyers in the City of Boston. One of them spoke at once and said, 'In all of the history of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, there has not only never been a case of judicial corruption, but there has never been an instance of judicial suspicion. Con-

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tinuing, this learned lawyer went on to say, "Our Judges are appointed by the Governor of the state, usually upon the recommendation of the Bar Association. They are appointed for life. They are given an ample compensation, and in case of disability they are retired upon an ample salary. The Judges of the State of Massachusetts have but one ambition, and that is to hand down to their successors an unsullied reputation as jurists."

Appointed for life by the highest authority known to men, and upon an ample compensation, the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States have discharged their duties fearlessly, and with a wisdom and dignity that left no room for corruption or suspicion.

DANGER OF AMENDMENTS

There are those who seek to amend the Constitution to serve their special ends. They would increase the powers

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of Congress; they would enlarge the powers of the President; they would even elect the Judges of the Supreme Court and limit their right to pass upon the Constitutionality of a law.

There are two means by which the Constitution may be destroyed. One is by repealing it outright, and the other is by amending it until the kernel is removed and nothing but the empty shell remains. The enemies of the Constitution will hardly dare to propose its open repeal. They will resort to the more dangerous and subtle method of destruction by amendment. The Fathers of the Republic foresaw the danger of hasty and ill-considered amendments and wisely provided against undue haste by the delays occasioned through the steps that must be taken to amend. They realized that no amendment of

our fundamental law should be adopted without mature deliberation, and, then, only for the gravest reasons.

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The Founders knew that every unnecessary extension of the powers and activities of government must result in diminished liberty and in increased burdens of taxation; they understood the universal tendency of governments to extend their powers and activities until the burdens become unbearable; they wisely curbed this lust of power by means of sound Constitutional restraints.

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"BILL OF RIGHTS"

Our charter of Individual Liberties is presented, for the most part, in sections IX and X of Article I, and in the first ten amendments that were adopted immediately after the ratification of the Constitution. These ten amendments are now everywhere regarded as part and parcel of the original document. Our "Bill of Rights' has been called the "legitimate offspring of Magna Charta," and bears so strong a resemblance to it that they have often been compared. But it may be well to remember that our "Bill of Rights" was secured through the action of a deliberate assembly of the people's representatives, while Magna Charta was wrung from the unwilling hand of old King John on the Field of Runnymede.

These rights have been analyzed and discussed by many able writers on the Constitution, but it will be sufficient for the purposes of this book to consider

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only the safeguards to "life, liberty and property."

The right of trial by jury in the state or district in which the crime is committed, the right to be confronted by the witnesses, the right of the accused to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, the right to have counsel for his defense, the right to the writ of habeas corpus and the provisions against excessive bail—all of these and many more safeguards to life and liberty attest the determination of the Founders to prevent the exercise of despotic power. Ours is indeed a government "conceived in liberty and dedicated to justice." Its shortcomings may be found not in our Constitution but in the frailties and imperfections of human nature. The remedy lies not in the multiplication of laws that impair our liberties and increase our burdens, but in the education of our people to higher conceptions of civic duty.

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FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Sacred as are the right to life and to personal liberty, there were other rights even more sacredly

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regarded by the Fathers. Freedom of conscience, of speech and of the press were matters of paramount concern. Love of life and liberty are common to all living things. The dumbest brute will fight for its life and for its physical freedom. It responds to the first law of nature—the law of self-preservation.

Freedom of conscience and of expression are of a higher order. These appeal only to the spiritual nature of man, and the higher the spiritualization the deeper will be the appeal. Stubborn and persistent wars for religious freedom were fresh in the minds of the Founders. Their immediate forebears had tasted the bitterness of that struggle. Many of them had suffered political and religious

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persecution—the pain and the sorrow of exile.

The Pilgrim Fathers had turned their faces toward the setting sun, braved the dangers of an unknown sea, endured the hardships of pioneer life, and subdued the wilderness," to build new homes where they "might worship their own way."

The cradle of the human race first rocked in the Orient. Hemmed in by broad waters of the Pacific on the east, or following the westward course of the sun, the overflowing populations moved westward. The weak and the timid remained in the home nest. The bold, the daring, the strong, the adventurous pioneered westward, always westward, establishing new settlements with a higher and higher civilization at each westward step.

The Founders of the Republic carried in their blood strains the hereditary progress of six thousand years of purification. Six thousand years of

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elimination of the weak and the timid who remained behind! Six thousand years of the survival of the brave and the strong on their westward march!

Small wonder is it that with so splendid a background of ancestral development, the Founders of the Republic crystallized freedom of religion, of speech and of the press into their fundamental law.

"Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peacefully to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances." So reads the Constitution of the United States.

Freedom of religion, of speech and of the press are relative, not absolute rights. There can be no such thing as absolute rights except in a state of nature. In organized society all rights of the individual must be exercised with

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due regard to the rights of other members of society, and individual rights must necessarily be subordinate to the superior rights of society as a whole. In no other way can organized society be maintained.

Under the pretense of religious freedom there have been some who indulged in practices so debased as to become revolting to the moral sense of our people. Such practices have been and ought to be suppressed. Under the cloak of freedom of speech and of the press there have been some who have sought to incite riot and even revolt and revolution against the government itself. They have invoked the Constitution to protect the very act by which they sought to destroy it.

The right of society to punish and prevent the use of profane and obscene language in public places has everywhere been recognized, and the right to punish and suppress pretended religious practices that are revolting to

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the common sense of decency is equally well established. Such punishment and prevention are nowhere regarded as a violation of Constitutional right. Society will not permit the morals of the people to be offended and polluted under the cloak of religious freedom nor in the name of freedom of speech. Abraham Lincoln wisely said, "The individual can have no rights against the best interests of society." But the right of the government to punish and restrain those who offend, pollute and assail the patriotism of the people by advocating revolt and revolution is not so well settled.

ESPIONAGE ACT

In time of war, the Congress passed and the Courts sustained the Espionage Act to prevent interference with the soldiers and other necessary activities of war. Communists, socialists, pacifists, and others who are out of harmony with our institutions, de-

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nounced the Espionage Act as an unwarranted invasion of the Constitutional right to the freedom of conscience, of speech and of the press.

The right to "provide for the common defense" is set forth in the preamble of the Constitution, and the right to "call forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions," is clearly defined in Section VIII, of Article I. Even though these provisions, and others of similar import, had not been incorporated in the Constitution, there would remain the right inherent in all governments to adopt such measures as may be necessary to insure continued existence.

To argue that the government has the right to put down revolt, insurrection, revolution, but that it has not the right to restrain the open advocates of revolution, would be as absurd as to argue that the government has the right to send physicians into the swamps to

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cure the plague of yellow fever, but that it has not the right to put an end to the breeding places of the mosquitoes that carry the deadly germs. It would be as absurd as to argue that the government has the right to destroy an effect, but that it has not the right to restrain the cause.

THE SOUL OF AMERICA

The Founders of the Republic breathed into the Constitution a living principle whose soul is vibrant with the largest measure of human liberty consistent with orderly government, but it is a government of liberty, not of license. The right of the government to restrain revolutionary movements in their

inception finds support in sound fundamental principles, but to what extent the governments should exercise such right is a matter of policy, of opinion. Any abuse of the restraining power would intensify and promote the very evil that it is intended to restrain and

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suppress. Even a wicked cause may thrive on persecution.

While many of the leaders among the communists, "wobblies," and other disloyal elements of society take an active part in these movements for the purpose of gratifying their love of power, notoriety, and financial reward, the great majority of their followers are intensely sincere in their mistaken zeal.

Here, again, the remedy lies not in legislation, but in the education of the people in sound and practical economics. Radical agitation can never be silenced by glorifying the agitator with a jail sentence. That is just what the agitator wants. It magnifies his fame and swells his collections. But he can be silenced by exposing the folly of his proposals, by unfolding the splendor of American achievements, and by disclosing the glory of American opportunity under our Constitution.

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THE CLASH OF IDEAS

There only two ways of running the world. One is by individual initiative, ownership and management, and the other is by collective ownership and management of the means of production and distribution.

The Constitution of the United States has chosen individual initiative and ownership and no one can understand the Constitution in its broader reaches until he has grasped the nature of the conflict between individualism and collectivism.

The Fathers of the Republic had a reason for their choice. A reason basic and profound.

Twenty-three hundred years ago, Plato, the Greek philosopher, wrote the 'Republic." In this little book, he described a condition of society where all of the manual labor was to be performed by slaves under the direction of the free men of the so-called "Re-

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public." The total product of these slaves was to be divided equally among the free men and women, with no distinctions as to social standing or official position.

In Plato's "Republic" all of the free men and women were to be placed upon a plane of exact equality, none having a greater right nor more property than any other. All were expected to dwell together in beautiful comradeship and brotherhood. It was a beautiful theory so long as slaves were provided to do the work, but it did not fit human nature.

In Plato's time, slavery was well nigh universal, and nearly all of the philosophers of that early day agreed that civilization, without slavery, could not be maintained. Plato was wise enough to know that even in his "Republic" somebody had to do the work and that they must have managers to direct that work. So he provided slaves in his imaginary "Republic."

Aristotle, the pupil of Plato, but the wiser of the two, had no confidence in Plato's "Republic." He insisted that it could not thrive because "what is everybody's business is nobody's concern.

Neither Plato nor Aristotle lived long enough to witness an attempt to establish such a republic, but as the centuries went by, one writer after another, striving to find some remedy for the hardships incident to the struggles of life, expanded, enlarged and refined the theories of Plato, until our libraries are filled with books on anarchy, communism, socialism and kindred doctrines.

Most of the earlier writers on these subjects appear to have been academicians, indulging in flights of fancy, with that their theories could be applied in actual practice. Later writers undertook to reduce theory to practice, and in recent years an intensive agitation for the overthrow of our en-

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tire system of industry and government, and for the establishment of a "New Social Order," has been rising like a swelling tide until it threatens to destroy our civilization.

Two SCHOOLS

Two distinct schools of economic philosophy have developed. The first, and by far the larger group, may properly be called the school of INDIVIDUALISTS. The second, a later group, may best be designated as COLLECTIVISTS. The collectivists are now known by many different names, such as communists, bolshevists, socialists, syndicalists and the like, but their common objective is the public ownership which means the political management of capital. They differ, for the most part, only in the tactics employed in bringing about their common objective. The writer has chosen to use the word "COMMUNISTS" in referring to this school of economic thought.

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The word "socialist" is new. It was first used in 1836. Pierre Leroux, a French writer, claims to have coined the word as the antithesis of the word "individualist."

Modern socialists of the moderate type believe in bringing about public ownership by "parliamentary methods." They would educate the people to a belief in public ownership until the "New Social Order" would be ushered in by common consent. Many of them believe in socializing one industry at a time until all of the industries are publicly owned, and politically managed.

The radical communists believe in revolutionary methods—the establishment of public ownership by force— when an opportune moment arrives.

The bolshevists demand immediate public ownership at the point of the bayonet through a dictatorship of the "proletariat." In practice, the "proletariat" has no part in the manage-

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ment. The lily-fingered men and women who do the agitating take charge of affairs. The worker becomes the slave.

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The syndicalists and the "I. W. W.'s" are much alike. They employ sabotage, "direct action," and other means of terrorism, but the final object of all these communist movements is public ownership, and therefore, political management.

In a word, INDIVIDUALISM stands for private ownership, COMMUNISM stands for public ownership.

A CATALOGUE

Individualism means the right and duty of each citizen:

- 1. To carve out his own fortune with his own industry and skill;
- 2. To choose any lawful occupation, calling, or business, and to follow the same honestly without molestation:
 - 3. To strive, to save, to accumulate

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and to own, use and manage lawfully acquired property and the profits thereof;

- 4. To employ others, or to be employed by others, by mutual consent and agreement;
- 5. To enjoy the largest measure of human liberty consistent with orderly government.

These rights are safeguarded by the Constitution of the United States. Communism, by whatever name it may be called, denies each and all of the rights and duties set forth above.

- 1. Under communism, the citizen must necessarily work for the government, or the community, under the direction of his political superiors. There is nothing else to do.
- 2. Under communism, the individual could not select his own occupation, for there would be no private business. If the individual were permitted to select his own occupation, all would want the "soft jobs" or the man-

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agement. There would be none to perform the less agreeable tasks. Under our American system of private ownership, the citizen cannot be compelled to perform distasteful labor without his own consent. Sufficient workers are therefore secured by offering a high enough wage or other inducement to secure the performance of the disagreeable task *WITHOUT THE TAINT OF SLAVERY*. Students are beginning to understand that communism means slavery to political overlords. Trotsky, when he was Minister of War under Russian bolshevism, must have recognized this truth when he said, "Free labor can only exist in the 'capitalistic' state."

3. Under communism, one may strive, but he cannot save nor accumulate for himself. His products would go into the common fund. Neither can he own productive property, for public ownership and political management

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take the place of private ownership and management.

4. Under communism, there could be no private employment. There would be no private capital

with which to pay the employee. All would work for the government at such compensation as their political superiors fix. Under our system each has the right to work for the employer who is willing to pay the highest wage. The pitiless consequences of communism were demonstrated in Russia under bolshevism. In 1921 to 1923 (the latest obtainable reports), school teachers in Russia received about \$2.60 per month and college professors about twice as much. They were reduced to beggary, pleading for assistance from door to door. Under our American individualism, teachers and professors are better paid than in any other country. Under our system, schools and colleges must pay high salaries or teachers and

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professors will leave the profession for more lucrative employment.

5. Under communism there can be no freedom. The individual is nothing, the state is everything. In Russia, under bolshevism, there is no longer any pretense of liberty of conscience, of speech, or of the press. Any one who dares to oppose the bolshevist policy is arrested as a "counter revolutionist" and imprisoned or put to death. It has been freely estimated by those returning from Russia that 1,800,000 men and women have been put to death for political reasons under bolshevism. John Spargo, one of most noted and respected of American socialists wrote, "It is doubtful whether intellectual freedom is possible under any form of socialism."

PUBLIC FUNCTIONS

Most of us agree that there are some things that should be publicly owned and operated, notwithstanding the no-

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torious inefficiency that ultimately results from the intrusion of political management. The public schools, the roads and streets, the sewage systems of cities, the post offices and the coinage and issuance of money are now, and should remain, public functions for potent reasons that it is not the purpose of this book to discuss. Cities sometimes find it desirable to own and operate their own water supply plants. This can be justified upon the ground that water is a universal necessity for which there is no substitute.

While it is not the purpose of the author to define the proper limits to public ownership here, it is well to remember that every unnecessary extension of public ownership is a step toward communism, and that every communist knows it and rejoices.

American individualism stands squarely upon the principle that the government should own nothing that can be safely entrusted to the indi-

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vidual, thus leaving the largest possible field for individual initiative and activity.

These two opposing schools of economic philosophy are now engaged in a mighty struggle for the mastery of mankind. Upon the decision of America depends the fate of the civilized world. Russia is

passing through the desolation, despair, and slavery of communism, but her leaders are bending every effort to spread the poison germs of their false doctrines among the peoples of other nations. In every country of Western Europe the people are desperately, terribly, divided in opinion.

America is the world's last citadel of freedom.

WHY THE FOUNDERS CHOSE INDIVIDUALISM

There are two things that statesmen must know: nature and human nature. The Founders of the Republic knew both. The very character of their frontier surroundings compelled them to live close to nature. Their contacts with their fellowmen were direct and intimate. The complex machinery of modern industry, commerce and other human activities tends to keep men apart. Close personal contact occurs only with a few intimates of congenial temperament. Moreover, in the rush and confusion of present day business, little opportunity is given for calm reflection and meditation. The Fathers of the Republic lived in an atmosphere more serene. For the most part they lived the simple life. Men and women became intimately acquainted with each other for miles around. Their knowledge of nature and of human nature did not smell

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of laboratories and musty books, but it was accurate useful and practical.

Man-made laws may sometimes be violated without incurring a penalty, but every violation of natural law is followed by a penalty from which there is no escape. The laws of nature flow onward like the current of a mighty river. We might imagine engineering skill that would enable us to dam up the Mississippi River, and temporarily to stay its flow. But every moment we would have to build the dam higher and higher, and finally, in spite of our engineering skill, the dam would give way under the pressure of the backwater and the higher we built the dam the greater would be the disaster when the dam gave way.

There are basic natural reasons why communism has always failed and must continue to fail to the end of time. It ignores the laws of nature and of human nature. There are certain natural laws of service that human

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agencies must observe and to which they must conform in order to succeed. Nature has decreed that each creature of the earth shall render some service, but nature has prescribed the kind of service, and any effort of man to ignore the decrees of nature must end in disaster.

THE TREE

The tree upon the hillside sends out its roots to gather the substances for its growth. It does not divide these substances with the other trees nor share with them in beautiful comradeship and brotherhood. It keeps these substances for its own use. It responds to the first law of nature—the law of self-preservation. It serves the world in another way—the way prescribed by nature. It uses the substances it has gathered to extend its limbs and spread its leaves to the morning sun, and so gives shade and shelter to the other creatures of the earth. It holds back the flood waters. It furnishes timber for

the use of man. If we should take away a part of the substances it has gathered we would stunt its growth. We would impair its ability to serve. It could not furnish so much shelter. In the pursuit of its own self-interest it serves the world.

THE DOG

The dog roves the fields diligently in search of a bone. When he finds a bone he does not divide it with the other dogs. On the contrary, he takes the bone in his teeth and looks furtively in every direction to see whether there are any other dogs near by. If there are no other dogs to interfere he gnaws the bone, and if it suits his taste he carries it to some back yard or vacant lot to bury it. When he has arrived at the spot where he has decided to conceal his new found wealth, with the bone still in his mouth he sweeps the horizon once more with his searching eye to be sure that no other dog will interfere. If the coast is clear and there are no

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other dogs in close proximity, he drops the bone between his front feet, digs a hole in the ground, puts the bone into it, and covers it to his entire satisfaction. When the bone has been carefully covered with dirt the dog does the most significant thing. He raises his upper lip, exposes his long sharp tusks, assumes a belligerent attitude and sends forth a low, menacing growl as he once more looks in every direction. He is sending out a challenge to all of the other dogs, daring them to dispute his sole, undivided ownership of that bone. It is his bone. He roved the fields for it and he proposes to defend it against all invaders. He is following the first law of nature—the law of self-preservation.

What would have happened if that dog had lived in a communistic country where all of the dogs would have been required to bring their bones to the common boneyard to be enjoyed by all of the clogs alike, the lazy with the in-

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dustrious, in comradeship and brotherhood? Would that dog have been so industrious in roving the fields and in hunting for bones? We know that he would not. He would have "let George do it," and there would have been no bones in the boneyard. That dog colony would have starved out and disbanded, just as have all of the communist colonies of men in the history of the world. The laws of nature cannot be ignored.

Nature did not intend that the dog should divide his food with other dogs. Nature gave him another service to perform. He drives the cattle, he rounds up the sheep, he guards the wife and children when the father is away, he renders a thousand services to man, but he keeps the bone he has roved the fields to earn. It is nature's way.

But these are only trees and dogs. How about men and women? There is in every form of terrestrial life, whether vegetable, animal, or human,

basic instinct for sole and exclusive possession, inspired by the first law of nature--the law of self-preservation. It cannot be ignored in human calculations. We may think it selfish and unworthy until we comprehend its practical utility, then its ugliness will disappear.

THE MAN

At two o'clock in the morning a rising young contractor sat at a large desk covered with blueprints of a building that he was constructing. There were columns upon columns of figures and he was diligently making more figures. The author asked the young man, "Why do you work so late?" He replied, "I have 500 men working for me. If I fail to do my work, they cannot do theirs." Then he was asked, "If you were living under some form of communism so that every dollar you make would go into the public treasury instead of going into your own bank account, would you sit

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up until the small morning hours working over those blueprints?" The young man leaned back and smiled. "No. I would quit at five in the afternoon and go to the movies."

That young man was responding to the instinct of possession, the law of self-preservation. Take away these supreme incentives to exertion and he would "quit at five o'clock and go to the movies." Then there would be "no bones in the boneyard." That young man is rendering a tremendous service to the world. He is constructing for the use and occupancy of other men, great business houses and factories that the world must have. He is giving employment and opportunity to 500 other men who need his leadership. Urged onward by the prospect of private gain he has become a human dynamo. As his profit increases he employs more workers, and thus divides his earnings with his fellowmen. He is rendering the kind of service that nature in

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tended, and he is doing it pursuant to nature's laws. Like most men of untiring energy, that young contractor gives freely to helpful charity. He is not "stingy," but like the great majority of mankind, he is unwilling to sow where he is not permitted to reap.

INCENTIVES

The strongest and most universal incentive to exertion is the prospect of reward. No prize, no race! Inventive genius, the pioneer spirit, adventure into the unexplored, delving into the secrets of nature, harnessing the lightning, conquering the desert, reclaiming the swamp, all these respond to the lure of the grand prize.

Communism destroys these incentives. It proposes to do for the man what the man should do for himself. It substitutes lazy security for manly self-reliance. It produces a combination of mendicants and slaves. It causes men to look to the government for a liv-

ing, and to look to their political superiors to tell them what to do. The desolation of Russia is its latest tragedy.

The Founders of the Republic instinctively protected private property as well as life and liberty. Slowly through the ages the duty of society to protect property rights came to be recognized, and slowly through the ages civilization advanced as property rights became more secure and better defined. Take away the right of the individual to acquire property honestly and to hold it under the protection of the law and civilization will crumble. Man will return to the jungle—to savagery—just as Russia is now doing under communism.

RUSSIA

Nearly eight years ago the communist rulers of Russia issued a proclamation that all property belonged to the government. The property of its citi-

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zens as well as of foreign owners became the property of the government by virtue of that proclamation. Production in Russia at once declined. Widespread suffering followed. Millions died of disease superinduced by improper nourishment, or starved outright.

"They quit at five o'clock and went to the movies." They "let George do it." There were "no bones in the boneyard."

Other nations, particularly our own country, came to the rescue with food and clothing, and these afforded partial relief. But Russian production refuses to revive even to this date (1925). The Russian peasants reason as men have reasoned from the beginning of time. "If I cannot reap, I will not sow. If I cannot have my surplus 1 will not produce a surplus." The acreage planted dwindled and the crops harvested grew smaller. Then the famine came and Russia starved. There is little induce-

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ment to produce when the producer is denied the fruits of his industry.

Two events transpired in May, 1925, that reveal the pitiful destitution and degradation of the Russian people under the blight of communism. In an official communication, Lunacharsky, Commissar for Education in communist Russia, issued an appeal for private subscriptions from every citizen to "relieve hundreds of thousands of vagrant children, some degenerated into a state of semi-savagery, some bordering on idiocy, while others have had their wits so sharpened and excited by collisions with life that they have become dangerous enemies to society." The quotation is from the official document. In the same document, Lunacharsky further said that the neglect of the children was the most "terrible ulcer on the soviet union's body," and that the government had not the available funds to afford relief.

Coupled with this awful self-indict-

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ment of the communist experiment in Russia came the startling news that the communist rulers of

Russia were preparing to invade small neighboring countries with an army of a million men. There could be but one object of such invasion. The rulers of Russia proposed to plunder their neighbors in order to secure the food and clothing that Russia has failed to produce under communism.

AMERICA SAFE

No such confiscation of property, with its consequent starvation of the people, can come to America, unless we amend or repeal our Constitution, for in that immortal document the Fathers wrote, "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation."

But a few short years ago, Russia was known the world over as "The

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Granary of Europe," because of her enormous production of foodstuffs. Today, under the deadening effects of communism, <u>Russia is unable to feed herself.</u> Against such a catastrophe our Constitution is our bulwark of safety.

LEADERSHIP

Not only does communism dull the keen edge of ambition by taking away individual reward for maximum effort, by destroying all incentive to individual initiative, and by making the people dependents of the government, but it also destroys the natural processes of elimination by which alone the world has developed industrial leadership of the highest order.

Under communism, bolshevism, or any conceivable form of public ownership, leaders are necessarily selected by political methods. They are elected or they are appointed by those who are elected. The result is that the best politicians ultimately become the managers. It is a notorious fact that politicians make poor managers. Their minds must be devoted largely to the political game—how to get votes. Moreover, millions of men who render splendid service to the world in other

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fields are total failures when charged with the responsibilities of management. The genius of management is a gift, just as the genius of music or of art is a gift. True, it must be developed by training and experience, but so must the genius of music or of art. If one has not the genius of music he might be trained for a lifetime, but he could never become a musician, and the same is true of managers.

THE POLITICIAN

Under public ownership, the foreman gets his job, not because he understands his job, but because he understands politics. He has political influence. The superintendent gets his position because he is a more skillful politician than the foreman—has greater political influence. The manager gets his position because of his great popularity, his <u>oratory</u>, his handshaking, his suavity, or because of his skill in political organization. So

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under communism, or any other form of public ownership, good politicians become the managers and poor management usually results.

Under private ownership, the poorly managed business soon lands in the bankrupt courts and goes out of business. Its incompetent manager goes back to the ranks where he can render better service to the world. The skilfully managed business usually grows and expands in proportion to the ability of its management. Thus, under private ownership skillful management is assured by the inexorable process of elimination. And so the world is housed, and clothed, and fed.

FIRES OF COMPETITION

Under private ownership, the foreman gets his job by rising up through the fires of competition, because he knows the job, not because he knows the game of politics. The superintendent rises in the same way, usually

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from the ranks to the foremanship, then from the foremanship to the position of superintendent. Nearly all of the managers in America rose from the ranks by successive steps, through the same fires of competition, to the management.

Successful business men and managers are usually poor speech-makers, not very good hand-shakers, rarely resort to suavity, and are total failures in the game of politics.

Contrary to public opinion, the politician is usually an upright, honest, intelligent and useful citizen. The world needs him, but he should "stick to his last." The political brain cannot manage industry.

The world also needs men with the genius of management to handle and direct the financial, commercial, and industrial activities that feed and clothe the people. Skillful managers cannot be elected by ballot. They must rise through competition. Under pub-

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lic ownership they cannot rise. The shrewd politician rises instead. Under private ownership, no power can hold them down.

ELECTED BY PATRONAGE

Under our private ownership system, we *elect* our managers, *but not by ballot*. If we elected them by ballot, we would elect politicians, not managers. Under our system we elect our managers by patronage. Men grow rich and become the managers of large enterprises because people patronize them. If nobody had patronized Henry Ford, he would have remained poor. The people patronized him to such extent that they made him the world's richest man and the manager of one of its largest enterprises. Henry Ford ran for the United States Senate but was defeated *by ballot*. Yet the people elected him to the management of hundreds of millions of dollars of capital *by patronage*. When we elect

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by ballot we often make mistakes. When we elect by patronage we make no mistakes. We patronize the man who renders the best service, sells the best goods, at the lowest price.

Public ownership, with its incompetent management, starved Russia. Private ownership, with its skillful management, has made America the richest and most prosperous nation on earth.

HISTORIC FAILURES

Jamestown Colony, Virginia, was started in 1607, on the communist plan of public ownership. Under

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that system the colony passed through the "Starving Time." It did not thrive until the lands were divided among the settlers. Plymouth Colony, Massachusetts, was founded in 1620, also on the communist plan. The colonists suffered as they did in Jamestown until Governor William Bradford, a wise and practical administrator, gave to each colonist a lot of land to till and

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to hold in severalty. Then the colony prospered. Under the public ownership plan, if we may credit the statement of Governor Bradford, the colonists would not work industriously. They "let George do it," and there "were no bones in the boneyard." After the lands were divided, practical individual ownership succeeded where theoretical comradeship and brotherhood had failed. "What is everybody's business is nobody's concern."

The Founders of the Republic were familiar with the history of Jamestown and of Plymouth. Is it not probable that a prescience of statesmanship enabled them to discern the basic reasons for the failure of communism when they framed our Constitution and defended private ownership.

At least fifty communist colonies have been attempted in America, and many in other parts of the world. Not one of them has survived. Communists all over the world came to admit that

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"Utopian Socialism," as these failures are now called, can never be made to succeed. But they insisted that communism on a national scale could succeed, and that it would solve the economic problems of the ages.

When Lenin and Trotsky seized the reins of government in Russia and established the "Soviet Union of Socialist Republics," the event was hailed with delight by communists everywhere. Now, for the first time, communism was to be tried on a national scale! A tremendously large national scale! Now, at last, communism was to vindicate the claims of its disciples!

As starvation, desolation and despair settled upon Russia, and her industries refused to revive under communism its deluded followers proclaimed the doctrine that communism could only succeed on an international scale—that all the world must be "socialized."

They admit that they were mistaken when they thought "Utopian Social-

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ism" could succeed, and that they were mistaken when they thought that national communism could succeed. They are equally mistaken in the belief that international communism can ever feed and clothe and house the world. The same reasons for the failure of communism on a small scale apply with multiplied force to communism on a world-wide scale. Enlarging the pest house does not cure the disease. It only exposes more people to its ravages. It were better far to keep it isolated in the already stricken country of Russia, where America and other unaffected countries can send relief.

OUR AMERICAN SYSTEM

It has been observed that nearly all of the radical writers and speakers are men and women who have had no contact with the practical affairs of life. They see around them many pitiless cruelties and inequalities, they read the fine spun theories of academicians who know all about books but nothing about this practical world, they yield to a beautiful and commendable sympathy and then adopt some remedy that cannot be made to work.

Karl Marx, the founder of modern communism, and everywhere acknowledged as its leading exponent, was thoroughly educated at Bonn and Berlin and at once entered upon his radical activities. He did not wait for the "rough and tumble" contact with the world that would have given poise and stability to his judgment. His teachings were adopted by Lenin and Trotsky as the foundations of Russian

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bolshevism. They, like Karl Marx, were educated dreamers and theorists without practical experience excepting in radical agitation. Sons, daughters and widows of rich men are often radical in their views because they inherit fortunes that they had no hand in creating.

Yet the world is progressing. Practical remedies are being employed. Others will be found, but they must be applied by those who understand human nature and in the light of human experience. False, unworkable theories may stand the tests in the laboratories of educated dreamers, but our American system has survived the severest tests known to man—tests in the crucible of experience. The working men and women of America enjoy comforts unknown a century ago. Standards of living are vastly superior to the standards of fifty years ago. Further progress will be hastened and increased by educating the people to a

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better knowledge of the simple basic principles that control business, industry and commerce.

The "priceless virtue" of our system as handed down to us by the Fathers lies in its entrenched simplicity. It leaves to each citizen the right to serve the world in his own way and in a field of his own choosing, requiring him only "to live honestly, hurt nobody, and render unto every man his due." The words quoted are from the Precepts of Justinian, the greatest of the Old Roman Lawgivers.

The business of the world may be likened to an orchard in which there are many kinds of trees, bearing many kinds of fruit, to suit the varied tastes of many kinds of men and women.

TOM AND DICK AND HARRY

The names of such commonplace gentlemen as Tom, Dick and Harry will serve as well as any others in illustrating the simplicity of our system.

Tom and Dick and Harry go into the orchard to gather fruit. Tom gets up a little earlier, works a little harder, reaches a little higher, and gathers a little more fruit than Dick or Harry. Tom denies himself many things that he would like to have until by hard work and self-denial he manages to save a box of fruit. Dick and Harry could probably do as well, but they do not. Most people from the beginning of time have lived up to the full measure of their earnings.

Tom was a manager. He traded his box of fruit for a stepladder. With the use of the stepladder, he gathered more fruit in less time. He was a little above competition. He could reach a little higher than the rest. He had a little capital—a stepladder. After all, capital is only a stepladder. Tom soon saved another box of fruit, bought another stepladder, and hired Dick to work for him. Dick took the job because it was better than the one he had.

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It bettered his condition. Yet there are those who say that Tom is robbing Dick. With the use of the two stepladders, Tom and Dick soon saved another box of fruit. Tom paid Dick his wages, bought another stepladder, and hired Harry. Harry took the job because it bettered his condition. Every time Tom saved an extra box of fruit he hired another Dick, or Harry, because it bettered Tom's condition. Each was acting in his own self-interest, yet each was helping the other. Call it selfishness, if you will, but it is ambition, love of achievement, desire to get ahead, that feeds and clothes the world.

Tom was better off, because he made a profit on his stepladders, his capital. Dick and Harry were better off because they had better jobs. The whole neighborhood was better off because fruit could be gathered more abundantly and at less cost. Thus has God in His wisdom, or nature in her mysterious

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providence, devised a plan by which each creature, whether it be plant or animal or man, shall serve the world while following his own self-interest.

The more intelligent the self-interest, the higher will be the degree of service, and the greater will be the reward. The Rotary Clubs of the world have adopted a motto of incalculable educational value: "He profits most who serves best." Employers of America are everywhere learning that it pays to give their employees—the Dicks and Harrys—a square deal, and they are doing so. Every worker should be taught that his own best interests are served through his own diligence, skill and good faith. The loafer never rises. Business men have learned that extortion does not pay. Large volume and great profits come from selling better goods at a lower price.

These advances come slowly through education and experience, but they are coming. Our American individualism

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corrects its own excesses and abuses slowly, but certainly, and it feeds and clothes the people while the process goes on.

LABOR PROBLEMS

A few years ago, employers on one side and employees on the other were organized into hostile camps to fight each other. Slowly it is dawning upon them that whatever hurts capital hurts labor, and that whatever hurts labor hurts capital. They are beginning to see that wages too low and that wages too high are equally deadly to both labor and capital. They are beginning to understand that legislation designed to interfere with the Freedom of Contract tends to drive capital into hiding while labor goes unemployed. It is not too much to hope that in the coming years labor and capital may strive together to solve their mutual problems to their mutual advantage. Education, not legislation, is the solution to be sought.

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THE WORLD'S GREATEST BLUNDER

The tall man reaches far up into the tree and gathers the most fruit. The shorter men run around the bottom of the tree, competing with each other for the fruit that hangs lower down. We envy the tall man and sympathize with the shorter men. Out of this natural sympathy on the one hand and envy on the other has come the world's greatest blunder. All of the false agitation of the centuries since Plato's time has sprung from that combination of sympathy and envy.

Deluded thousands have been made to believe that we could help the short men by shackling and pulling down the tall man. They overlooked the purpose and plan of nature. The tall man was created to serve the short men. He reaches as high as he can, gathers all the fruit he can reach, eats the small amount that nature permits one man to consume, and hands the surplus on down to the shorter men below by giv-

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ing them employment and opportunity. When we shackle the tall man, or pull him down, we cut off the supply of the shorter men below, and leave the higher unpicked fruit to rot upon the tree.

Every time Tom saved an extra box of fruit, he bought another stepladder, and hired another Dick, or Harry. There was nothing else to do with the surplus. The active business man is ambitious. He loves achievement. He reinvests his profits, and the moment he does so, he gives employment and opportunity to others who have not begun to manage for themselves. Thus the business man pays his profits back to labor while following his own self-interest. When we shackle the active business man—the tall man—we discourage investment and labor goes unemployed. Nearly all of the rich men of America got their start in life by working for wages. Had we hampered

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their employers, they might never have started.

This open door of opportunity, which enables the poorest man to start at the very bottom and by striving and saving to rise to the very top, is the crowning glory of our American system. It is safeguarded by the Constitution in the provision for the sanctity of contracts and in the protection of private property.

The Founders were wise enough to know that pulling the tall man down would not lift the short men up; that shackling the strong would not strengthen the weak; that hobbling the swift would not speed the slow; and that making the rich man poor would not make the poor man rich. They guaranteed the *Freedom* of *Contract* and the *Protection* of *Property* in the *Constitution* in order that the citizen might be encouraged to give his ability to the world full strength protected, unshackled, and unrestrained.

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LIMITATION OF WEALTH

There is a widespread delusion that the world would be better off if some limitation were placed upon the accumulation of wealth. This delusion is the by-product of communism. It is inspired by the thought that we can lift the short man up by pulling the tall man down. The Fathers of the Republic labored under no such delusion. They placed no limitation upon honest accumulations. It would have violated a basic principle of natural economic law.

Some think that no man should be allowed to have more than a hundred thousand dollars; others think a million should be the limit, and so on. Upon inquiry, it will be discovered that those who have small prospects favor a low limit, and that those with better prospects favor a higher limit. No one seems to favor a limit that is likely to interfere with his own accumulations.

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In the opinion of the author, nature has fixed the proper limit and any attempt to establish a limit by law will do more harm than good. Under our system, the man with a hundred thousand dollar business brain is likely to accumulate a hundred thousand of capital, the man with a million dollar brain is likely to acquire a million of capital, and so on.

Tom will acquire stepladders according to his ability to handle them with skill. If he should fall heir to more stepladders than he can handle skilfully, the economic law would operate constantly to take away the surplus stepladders and place them in more skillful hands. Thus society will profit by their more skillful use. Capital serves the world only when it is put to use, and the more skillful the use, the greater will be the service.

Capital is what men and women have saved. It is "what was left over from yesterday." The man who has

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saved a dollar is a capitalist. If he has saved two dollars, he is a greater capitalist. If he has saved enough to give employment and opportunity to other men, he is a captain of industry. Most of the enterprises that require large capital investment are made possible by combining the savings of thousands of small investors. There are over three million investors in the stocks and bonds of electric light and power companies in this country alone. Our great railroad, street car, telephone, banking, and insurance companies are made possible by the small investments of many men and women. When we legislate against these companies, we are injuring millions of small investors. Wise indeed were the Fathers. They protected such as these in our Constitution.

COMPETITION

Under our competitive system of private ownership, as handed down to us by the Fathers, capital tends constantly

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to find its way into more and more skillful hands. The merchant who sells poor goods at a high price is likely to be run out of business by the more skillful merchant who sells better goods at a lower price. The people profit by the better service. The farmer who half tills the soil and raises a small crop is likely to be bought out by the farmer next door who tills the soil more skilfully and raises a large crop, and the world profits by the cheaper and more abundant foodstuffs. So it is with the railroads, banks, and other instruments of industry and commerce, unless some misguided legislature or congress meddles with this wholesome natural process.

Society is not concerned with the relative proportions of capital that its respective members may acquire—society is concerned only in the active and intelligent use of capital.

It does not matter whether Dick has a million of capital while Harry has

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only a nickel, or whether Harry has the million while Dick has the nickel, so long as the million is actively and intelligently employed. The great majority will not save and accumulate. They must make a living by being employed. Employment comes only through the active and intelligent use of capital.

When this fundamental truth is generally accepted and understood, the radical agitator will be compelled to seek new grounds of complaint.

Nature has so limited the use of wealth that no man, however rich, can use more than his share. The richest man can wear but one hat, one coat, one pair of shoes, and he can eat no more than his neighbor. His ambition, love of achievement. causes him to put his profits back into industry, and the moment that he does so he pays it out to labor, just as Tom did, just as the young contractor did. The richer he gets, the more men he will employ. He

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becomes the bread ticket, the source of supply and the stepping stone of those who have not begun to manage for themselves. When he dies, he leaves it all behind.

Here in America, where there are no entailed estates, the largest fortune is soon dissipated by repeated divisions among successive heirs. It is only three generations "from shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves," even in the richest families. Nature has fixed the wisest limit.

Statisticians pretty well agree that only fifteen per cent of our people acquire surplus capital. In Europe, the percentage is much smaller. Karl Marx, in his "Communist Manifesto," estimated that only ten per cent succeeded in Europe. The number of those who save is increasing rapidly in America. Education will help to swell the number.

It is plain that the eighty-five percent who have not saved must gain a livelihood by being employed

fifteen percent who do save and acquire property. How absurd it is to hamper and discourage the fifteen percent from giving their full employing strength to their fellowmen.

All through the ages, poverty has persisted because society has applied false remedies. It has sought to build men up by pulling men down. Society can help the eighty-five percent, not by restraining and limiting the fifteen per cent, but by unfolding and developing the eighty-five percent—by unfolding and developing the short men until they can reach higher for themselves.

When the world turns its attention to the true remedy, the number of those who succeed will double and treble. Poverty will be confined to the mentally and physically deficient. These must continue to be the objects of our care and solicitation under any system.

The secrets of substantial success are few and simple. Every man and woman of average health and mental-

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ity can and should succeed under our American system. Most of our boys and girls grow up with little or no practical training in these all-important matters. They drift upon the sea of life without rudder or compass. They learn to succeed only through stern and exacting contact with the world. It is not a matter of surprise that so many fail. It is gratifying that so many succeed.

While no attempt will be made to outline the elements of success in this book, three items may well be mentioned as prime essentials:

- 1. Be square. Deal on the level. Lying and cheating do not pay.
- 2. Successes do things today. Failures do them tomorrow. Each morning list the things that will advance you farthest in your chosen work. Do those things that day.

Tomorrow is the sunken rock upon which success has been wrecked from the beginning of time. "Yesterday be-

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longs to eternity, tomorrow belongs to God, but today is mine," said Robert J. Burdette.

3. Out of each day's earnings deposit something in the bank and keep it there. Your savings will soon work for you and enable you to give employment and opportunity to other men.

We cannot all be millionaires, nor is it necessary. But we can all be well-to-do. Great wealth does not bring happiness. It imposes heavy burdens and responsibilities, and sometimes brings deep sorrows. Success cannot be measured in terms of money. It is not necessary that one should be rich in order to be successful. Some of our greatest men have remained comparatively poor, largely because of their lack of training in the elements of financial success. Everyone should accumulate enough during the earning period of life to enable him to approach old age "like one who wraps

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the drapery of his couch about him and lies down to pleasant dreams."

The management of capital is only one of the many forms of useful service. The teacher, the lawyer,

the minister, the plowboy, the ditch-digger, the clerk, the mechanic, all render useful service and each may be successful in his chosen work. These occupations do not often bring wealth, but they can and should produce a competence for old age. Nature seems to have produced about the right number of farmers, merchants, lawyers, doctors, musicians, plowboys, clerks, teachers, capitalists, and so on, to supply the needs of the world. Each pursues his own course and serves the rest of mankind in that pursuit. We need them all.

Capital furnishes the schoolhouse for the teacher, the courthouse for the lawyer, the church for the minister, and the plow for the plowboy. The world needs engineers to run the en-

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gines, mechanics to handle the tools, managers to handle capital, and musicians to play the pianos.

The Founders of the Republic must have had all of these things in mind when they gave us a system that permits each citizen to select his own occupation, calling, or profession, and protects him in the pursuit of it in competition with other citizens having the same free right.

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CONFISCATON

Karl Marx, in his "Communist Manifesto," laid great stress on the *heavy graduated income tax* and on the *abolition of the right of inheritance* as the first steps toward *communisin*. Here in America, in order to meet the extraordinary expenses incident to the World War, we have indeed levied graduated taxes on incomes and inheritances which are temporarily burdensome. These are now being reduced and the excessive burden will soon disappear. But the proposal of Karl Marx and his communist followers is far more sweeping. He would make these graduated taxes so heavy that they would confiscate the larger rewards of industry. He knew that the confiscation of private property and the destruction of incomes would bring widespread distress through unemployment. Without the prospect of any income from investment, no one would

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invest. If no one invests labor must go unemployed. The worker's extremity would become the communist opportunity to seize the reins of government.

The most salutary feature of our competitive system of private ownership lies in the fact that it tends constantly to drive productive capital into the hands of the most skillful and able leadership. It thus gives employment to the largest number of men and women, and at the same time it produces the largest amount of the things that men and women want and buy.

Confiscation of incomes or of private property, by whatever means it may be brought about, reverses this wholesome process. It takes the stepladders (capital) out of the hands of the most skillful and deposits them in the public treasury, to be frittered away by well meaning but poor managing politicians. It diminishes the tools of production; it discourages the most competent managers; it tends to

drive capital into hiding, and thus throws men and women out of employment. IDLE DOLLARS MEAN IDLE MEN.

The Founders of the Republic fully understood that private ownership promotes the general prosperity and happiness because it offers extra reward for extra effort. It encourages each man to do his best by allowing him and his family to retain the fruits of his industry and skill. The proposal of Karl Marx and his radical followers everywhere would take away the extra reward and penalize maximum effort. It would invade the time-honored American right that has given wings to American ambition THE RIGHT TO ACHIEVE WITHOUT STINT.

There has never been a perfect government. Human governments will continue to reflect the frailties and imperfections of human nature, but in all of the centuries of historic human ex-

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perience, the best government so far established among men is the Government of the United States.

We look with confidence and high hope into the advancing future. We know that our Constitutional government has the power to correct its own mistakes. It wisely provides against hasty legislation by having two Houses of Congress, and by giving the veto power to the President, and it compels obedience to the Constitution through the plenary powers of the Supreme Court. It is not immediately obedient to popular passion, but it is splendidly responsive to the calm judgment of the people.

Our Constitution stands as a beacon light upon the hills—THE INSPIRED WORK OF INSPIRED MEN.

Let us bequeath it to our successors as it was handed down to us—unmarred by futile amendments—majestic in its entrenched simplicity.

WITHIN OUR GATES

Looking backward through the mists of time to the dawn of history, we see the feeble torch of civilization flickering dimly in the hands of those who had learned the first crude lessons of primitive society. Its uncertain rays penetrated the surrounding gloom and planted in the human heart the seeds of hope, and thus began the mighty cycle of the years through which has ebbed and flowed the tide of human progress.

Old Mother Earth had been a charnel house. Living Attilas each century had swept the world with fire and sword, for "might made right." The cruel doctrine of the survival of the fittest had found expression in deeds of savagery unspeakable.

The course of Struggling Want was crossed by Trembling Fear and out of these the warp and the woof—they wove the fabric of society. The torch

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of civilization blazed brighter with the lapse of centuries, refining the social fabric until at last, into its warp and its woof, the wants and fears of men, they wove the golden thread of liberty.

The tide of human progress rolled onward until its crystal waters kissed the strand where sits Columbia—enthroned, full-decked and crowned—and the brightest jewel in her diadem is liberty, liberty of speech, liberty of conscience.

Fast flying Time, at her command, was fashioning the sister jewel, equality—equality of opportunity, equality before the law. Then came again the spirit of Attila, reincarnated—in the flesh—drenching the world with blood. Watching the tide of battle from afar, believing that she saw the gates of Liberty assailed by heedless men, Columbia called in tones that shook the earth, "Arise! O Sons of Liberty and strike full strength! And every Son of Liberty arose and struck."

APPENDIX

The Constitution of the United States

(Omitted from the scan of the book. Please find it elsewhere)

On the Internet as of 2/15/2009

"The United States Constitution" http://www.usconstitution.net/const.html

"The Constitution of the United States of America" http://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/constitution.overview.html

MODERN GLOSSARY

Compiled by J. L. Rowe February 2009

<u>Voice of America</u> was published in 1925. Some of the terms are now dated and may need explanation. The following will help define those terms and phrases and show some history behind the book.

Terms and Phrases

Diadem

A crown worn as a sign of royalty, power, and/or dignity.

The "I. W. W."

Industrial Workers of the World (a radical Labor Union), or "Wobblies. These were socialists, anarchists, syndicalists, and believed in using violence to propagate their movement.

In 1905, (Eugene) Debs moved more to the left, and with WILLIAM D. "BIG BILL" HAYWOOD and Mary Harris "Mother" Jones he co-founded the <u>Industrial</u> Workers of the World. The "Wobblies," as they were called, represented the legacy of direct action advocated by the earlier anarchists. http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/Socialism

"The IWW was founded in Chicago in June 1905 at a convention of two hundred socialists, anarchists, and radical trade unionists from all over the United States (mainly the Western Federation of Miners) who were opposed to the policies of the American Federation of Labor (AFL)."
[...]

The organization's most famous <u>current</u> member is Noam Chomsky. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Industrial_Workers_of_the_World

The I.W.W. Union card is a "red card", reminiscent of the color of socialism.

"It were far better to keep"

"It were far better to keep" - It is better to keep

Keynesian economics

"The Great Depression marked another turning point for socialism. Overproduction, underconsumption, and speculation led to an implosion of markets, a result predicted by Marx. One response was powerful centralized governments in the form of totalitarian regimes such as those of Adolf Hitler in Germany and Joseph Stalin in the Soviet Union. Socialism was revived by the British economist John Maynard Keynes who advocated that the government stimulate consumption and investment during economic downturns. Previously used only on a limited scale, deficit financing, as it came to be called, was now used by socialists in Europe and liberals in the United States to revive capitalism. Many countries still use Keynesian economics to provide a bridge between capitalism and socialism."

http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/Socialism

Mendicants

Beggars.

Slavery

"slavery was well nigh universal" - slavery was nearly universal (at the time of Plato)

Socialism

[...]

"Socialism refers to a broad set of economic theories of social organization advocating public or state ownership and administration of the means of production and distribution of goods, and a society characterized by equal opportunities for all individuals, with a fair or egalitarian method of compensation.[1][2] Modern socialism originated in the late 19th-century intellectual and working class political movement that criticized the effects of industrialization and private ownership on society. Karl Marx posited that socialism would be achieved via class struggle and a proletarian revolution, and would represent a transitional stage between capitalism and communism."

In the <u>economic calculation debate</u>, <u>classical liberal Friedrich Hayek</u> argued that a socialist <u>command economy</u> could not adequately transmit information about prices and productive quotas due to the lack of a <u>price mechanism</u>, and as a result it could not make rational economic decisions. <u>Ludwig von Mises</u> argued that a socialist economy was not possible at all, because of the impossibility of rational pricing of capital goods in a socialist economy since the state is the only owner of the capital goods. Hayek further argued that the social control over distribution of wealth and private property advocated by socialists cannot be achieved without reduced

Hayek's views were echoed by <u>Winston Churchill</u> in an electoral broadcast prior to the <u>British general election of 1945</u>:

prosperity for the general populace, and a loss of political and economic freedoms. [54][55]

... a socialist policy is abhorrent to the British ideas of freedom. Socialism is inseparably interwoven with totalitarianism and the object worship of the state. It will prescribe for every one where they are to work, what they are to work at, where they may go and what they may say. Socialism is an attack on the right to breathe freely. No socialist system can be established without a political police.

They would have to fall back on some form of Gestapo, no doubt very humanely directed in the first instance.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialism

"Stick to his last"

"stick to his last" - stick to his skill set

Biography

Information obtain via Internet, February 2009



George Wilder Cartwright
California State Senator (Democrat)
Author of: "Voice of America", and
"Mutual Interests of Labor and Capital"

George Wilder Cartwright was 60 years old in 1925 by one site, 62 by another.

One site says he died in 1920, if so then "Voice of America" would have been posthumous at a 1925 publication date.

He was a Democrat. Democrats were different back then evidently.

"26. GEORGE WILDER CARTWRIGHT (**Democrat**) was born in Coles County, Illinois, November 9, 1865, but in July of 1869 removed to California, and received his education in the public schools of this State, together with individual instruction at home; he settled in Fresno County, and in 1896 was elected Member of the Assembly from the Sixty-second District; in 1898 he was elected County Clerk; on March 12, 1903, he was admitted to practice as a lawyer; elected State Senator from the Twenty-sixth District November 6, 1906; reelected State Senator from Twenty-sixth District November 8, 1910."

http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~npmelton/stsen.htm

ID: I6315

Name: George Wilder Cartwright

Sex: M

Birth: NOV 1863 in Coles Co, ILL.

Death: 14 SEP 1920 in Sacramento Sacramento Co. CA. *Burial:* Mountain View Cemetery Fresno Co. CA.

Occupation: State Senator Fresno CA.

Change Date: 5 APR 2006 Reference Number: 6315

Father: John J. Cartwright b: MAY 1834 in Charleston Coles Co. ILL. Mother: Martha Gilbert Ashby b: 29 JUL 1835 in Hutton Twp Coles Co.ILL. Marriage 1 Rosa E. b: 1859

Married: 1859

http://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=0722&id=I6315

His Parents and siblings.

ID: I6201

Name: Martha Gilbert Ashby

Sex: F

Birth: 29 JUL 1835 in Hutton Twp Coles Co.ILL. Death: 14 DEC 1915 in Orosi Fresno Co. California

Burial: Mountain View Cemetery Fresno Co. CA, Fresno Co., CA

Religion: Christian Church later Baptist Church

Reference Number: 6201

Note: Mrs. Cartwright's Husband and 4 brothers were in the Civil War 1 brother being a surgeon, she knew well the horrors

of war.

Father: John Ashby b: 4 MAY 1782 in Halifax Co. VA. Mother: Elizabeth Redding b: 1789 in Halifax Co. VA.

Marriage 1 William E. Giffin

Marriage 2 John Giffin

Marriage 3 John J. Cartwright b: MAY 1834 in Charleston Coles Co. ILL.

Married: 28 NOV 1854

Children

- 1. Joseph Edward Cartwright
- 2. Ernest Cartwright
- 3. Cornelia Cartwright
- 4. Jasper Edwin Cartwright b: 16 OCT 1855 in Coles Co, ILL.
- 5. Sarah Elizabeth Cartwright b: 1857 in Coles Co, ILL.
- 6. Reddick Newton Cartwright b: OCT 1858 in Coles Co, ILL.
- 7. David Cartwright b: ABT 1859
- 8. George Wilder Cartwright b: NOV 1863 in Coles Co, ILL.
- 9. Martha May(Mamie) Cartwright b: JUN 1869 in Wyoming Territory
- 10. John Marion Cartwright b: 16 MAR 1874 in Willows Colusa Co. CA.