

Militarism vs. Democracy

"Democracy had progressed to such an extent in Europe that it was necessary for monarchial parties to have a war, or change their methods of government." So says Dr. John W. Slaughter, of the University of London, who is a native of Alabama and now lives in England. That is the view that was expressed by many Americans when the war broke out more than a year ago.

Dr. Slaughter says that many persons in this country do not understand the great progress that has been made in social democracy in Europe—and he might have said that most Americans do not understand it; and that this is particularly true of England. "Through popular education, socialism, trades-unionism and co-operative societies," he says, "the common people of England have been taught what their rights are and how they can secure them."

Of course, the privileged classes—including the great land-owners who perform no services, yet have vast incomes from ground rents—have as Dr. Slaughter points out, watched the growth of the democratic idea in Great Britain with alarm, just as the privileged classes in America have watched with much alarm the growth of the democratic idea in this country. And here, as in Great Britain and in Germany, militarism is "peculiarly the function of the ruling classes."

"When the opportunity was presented of engaging in wars without, or of facing difficulties within," as Dr. Slaughter puts it, Germany declared war, Austria declared war, Russia declared war and Great Britain declared war—for the common people to fight and pay for. That easily and naturally and correctly accounts for the efforts of men of special privileges in this country to create a military spirit here.

The political and economic problems at home are easily forgotten when a nation is at war, or is busy getting ready to fight a real or an imaginary foe. It is easy for The People to forget and turn aside from their political and economic troubles when calculating, scoundrelly conspirators have cultivated hatred for some nation. The People will not willingly bear the expense of huge, costly military and naval establishments unless they have been taught to fear and then hate their brothers of some other nation.

The interests—the war trust and the whole brood of special privilege—in this country are alarmed for fear that some of their privilege, their power to take tribute from the people, will be taken from them, and it should be taken from them. Hence the demand for "preparedness."

Further, as Dr. Slaughter points out, the British Tories would like to see enforced military service "as a basis for the future, for imposing militarism as an adjunct of the ruling classes." So, American Tories—holders of special privileges, owners of millions they have not earned—want enforced military service in this country. That is one of the things desired by the jingoes, by the war trust, by all those who in the name of "preparation for war in order to maintain peace" would Prussianize America.

The privileged classes of Europe do not expect to pay for this war. They expect to saddle the whole debt upon the plain people. So it is with the privileged classes of America, who are willing to saddle upon working people the huge cost of battleships and great armies. They would have the common people fight all the battles and pay all the cost of preparedness and all the cost of the result of preparedness—war. — San Francisco Star.

United States Demands Recall of Dumba

Following are Associated Press dispatches:

Washington, D. C., Sept. 9.—Ambassador Penfield, at Vienna, has been instructed by cable tonight to inform the Austro-Hungarian government that Dr. Constantin Dumba no longer is acceptable as an envoy to the United States and to ask his recall.

Secretary Lansing formally announced the action tonight. It was the answer of the American government to Dr. Dumba's explanation of his intercepted letter to Vienna outlining plans for handicapping plants in this country making war supplies for the allies.

Text of the Note

Ambassador Penfield was instructed by cable yesterday to deliver the following note to the foreign office:

"Mr. Constantin Dumba, the Austro-Hungarian ambassador to the United States, has admitted that he proposed to his government plans to instigate strikes in American manufacturing plants engaged in the production of munitions of war. The information reached this government through a copy of a letter of the ambassador to his government. The bearer was an American citizen named Archibald, who was traveling under an American passport. The ambassador has admitted that he employed Archibald to bear official dispatches from him to his government."

"By reason of the admitted purpose and intent of Mr. Dumba to conspire to cripple legitimate industries of the people of the United States, and to interrupt their legitimate trade, and

by reason of the flagrant violation of diplomatic propriety in employing an American citizen protected by an American passport as a secret bearer of official dispatches through the lines of the enemy of Austria-Hungary, the president directs me to inform your excellency that Mr. Dumba is no longer acceptable to the government of the United States as the ambassador of his imperial majesty to Washington.

"Believing that the imperial and royal government will realize that the government of the United States has no alternative but to request the recall of Mr. Dumba on account of his improper conduct, the government of the United States expresses its deep regret that this course has become necessary, and assures the imperial and royal government that it sincerely desires to continue the cordial and friendly relations which exist between the United States and Austria-Hungary."

Sensation in Capital

In making his announcement Secretary Lansing explained that it had been delayed in order that the note might reach Vienna before its publication in this country. Ambassador Penfield had not been heard from tonight, but it was assumed that he received the communication some time during the day.

News that Mr. Dumba's recall had been requested created a sensation in the capital. It was known to officials and diplomatic circles that President Wilson and Secretary Lansing regarded the conduct of the ambassador as a grave breach of propriety,

but there has been a well defined impression that the only immediate step would be the cancellation announced today of the passport of Archibald, the American who carried the intercepted dispatches.

COMPLETE TEXT OF DUMBA LETTER

A London cablegram, dated Sept. 8, says: Here is the exact text in English of the Dumba letter, seized among the effects of James F. J. Archibald, which has made such a sensation in the United States:

New York, Aug. 20, 1915.

My Lord:

Yesterday evening Consul General von Nuhr received the inclosed aide memoire from the chief editor of the locally known paper Szabadsag, after a previous conference with him in pursuance of his proposals to arrange for strikes in the Bethlehem, Schwab Steel and Munitions War factory and also in the middle west.

Dr. Archibald, who is well known to your lordship, leaves today at 12 o'clock on board the Rotterdam for Berlin and Vienna. I take this rare and safe opportunity to warmly recommend the proposal to your lordship's favorable consideration.

It is my impression that we can disorganize and hold up for months if not entirely prevent the manufacture of munitions in Bethlehem and the middle west, which in the opinion of the German military attache is of great importance and amply outweighs the expenditure of money involved.

But even if strikes do not come off, it is probable that we should extort under the pressure of the crisis more favorable conditions of labor for our poor, town-trodden fellow countrymen. In Bethlehem these white slaves are now working for twelve hours a day and seven days a week. All weak persons succumb and become consumptives.

So far as German workmen are found among the skilled hands, a means of leaving will be provided for them.

Besides this, a private German registry office has been established, which provides employment for persons who have voluntarily given up their places, and is already working well. They will also join and the widest support is assured us.

I beg your excellency to be so good as to inform me with reference to this letter by wireless telegraphy, replying whether you agree.

DUMBA.

His Excellency, Count Burian,
Minister for Foreign Affairs,
Vienna.

THE ARABIC CASE

The White Star Liner, Arabic, was torpedoed and sunk off Fastnet by a German submarine on August 19. The steamer was en route from Liverpool to New York. According to report of the captain and others on board no warning was given. There were 424 passengers and crew on board, including 26 Americans. Of these, 42 were lost, including 2 Americans. Pending investigation and inquiry to the German government through diplomatic channels, no action has yet been taken by President Wilson. On August 24 the German ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, informed the state department that his government had not yet received an official account of the occurrence, that it did not wish to cause loss of American life, and regretted such loss if it had occurred.

Note From Germany

The following dispatches were carried by the Associated Press: Berlin, Sept. 9, via London, Sept. 10, 2:26 a. m.—Germany's note to the United States bearing on the sink-

ing of the White Star line steamer Arabic on August 19, which was communicated to the American ambassador, James W. Gerard, for transmission to Washington, is in the form of a memorandum under date of September 7, the text of which follows:

"On August 19 a German submarine stopped the English steamer Dunsley, about sixteen nautical miles south of Kinsale, and was on the point of sinking the prize by gun fire after the crew had left the vessel. At this moment the commander saw a large steamer making directly toward him. The steamer, as developed later, was the Arabic. She was recognized as an enemy vessel, as she did not fly any flag and bore no neutral markings.

"When she approached she altered her original course, but then again pointed directly toward the submarine. From this the commander became convinced that the steamer had the intention of attacking and ramming him.

"In order to anticipate this attack, he gave orders for the submarine to dive, and fired a torpedo at the steamer. After firing he convinced himself that the people on board were being rescued in fifteen boats.

"According to his instructions, the commander was not allowed to attack the Arabic without warning and without saving the lives of those on board unless the ship attempted to escape or offered resistance. He was forced, however, to conclude from the attendant circumstances that the Arabic planned a violent attack on the submarine.

"This conclusion is all the more obvious as he had been fired upon at a great distance in the Irish sea on August 14—that is, a few days before—by a large passenger steamer, apparently belonging to the British Royal Mail Steam Packet company, which he had neither attacked nor stopped.

"The German government most deeply regrets that lives were lost through the action of the commander. It particularly expresses this regret to the government of the United States, on account of the death of American citizens.

"The German government is unable, however, to acknowledge any obligation to grant indemnity in the matter, even if the commander should have been mistaken as to the aggressive intentions of the Arabic.

"If it should prove to be the case that it is impossible for the German and American governments to reach a harmonious opinion on this point, the German government would be prepared to submit to difference of opinion, as being a question of international law to The Hague tribunal for arbitration, pursuant to article 38 of The Hague convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes.

"In so doing it assumes that as a matter of course the arbitral decision shall not be admitted to have the importance of a general decision on the permissibility or the converse under international law on German submarine warfare."

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