

No Wrong Can Live Long Under Free Discussion

Debs Column

Troops on Guard in "Pocket"



Fear of the operators in the "pocket" district in southern Indiana that the non-union mine would be raided by union forces led to a call for state troops.

Let This Sink In

Take a good look at the above picture. Especially if you are a workman. And still more especially if you belong to a labor union. This picture is specially designed, though not intentionally, for your particular benefit: if you are a union man.

War-Makers Organize Civil Legion To Promote Military Preparedness

Debs Writes Platform Expressing Purpose of Special Edition Drive

When Comrade Debs was asked by the Appeal staff and the national secretary of the Socialist Party to allow himself to become the center of the big drive and Special Edition of The American Appeal, he consented on condition that the drive and Special Edition be made a smashing broadside against every reactionary law resulting from the World War and a fight in behalf of every victim in the United States of these unjust laws.

From his home in Terre Haute, Indiana, Comrade Debs has embodied this plan in a platform which the Appeal staff and officials of the Socialist Party gladly adopt as the guiding principles and purpose of this drive.

The platform, as written by Comrade Debs, follows:

- The aims, ends and objectives of this drive are:
The repeal of every anti-union law, every criminal syndicalism law, and every other gag law of every kind, state and national.
The repeal of every law enacted by states with moron legislatures prohibiting the teaching of the truths of science in our public schools.
The unconditional release of every class war prisoner in every jail and prison in the United States, regardless of his affiliation or non-affiliation.
The unconditional and complete repeal of the Espionage Act, which has only been conditionally set aside with the proviso that it may be revived and made effective at any time of 'emergency.'

In subscribing to this platform as the basis for the Drive which will culminate on May 1, 1926, IN A MONSTER EDITION OF THE APPEAL, the Appeal has undertaken the most essential educational work that has been attempted since the World War.

THIS WILL CONSTITUTE THE FIRST GENERAL ATTEMPT OVER A DEFINITE PERIOD OF TIME TO CONCENTRATE ON THIS ISSUE AND GET BEFORE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ALL THE SENSATIONAL FACTS CONCERNING THE AMAZING THEFT OF THEIR CIVIL LIBERTIES UNDER COVER OF WAR.

The people must be told this story. They must be given all the facts. The situation demands that they must be given them in an impressive way. IT IS THE ONLY WAY THAT THE CIVIL LIBERTIES ONCE ENJOYED IN AMERICA CAN BE RESTORED AND SAFEGUARDED.

This is The Appeal's first big job. To accomplish it, The American Appeal MUST NOT ONLY HAVE AN ENORMOUS CIRCULATION ON MAY 1, BUT IT MUST HAVE A RAPIDLY MOUNTING CIRCULATION RIGHT UP TO THAT DATE.

TO GET THIS URGENTLY NECESSARY MESSAGE OVER TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, EVERY APPEAL SUBSCRIBER WHO AGREES WITH DEBS' PLATFORM ABOVE, MUST TURN HIMSELF OR HERSELF INTO A SUBSCRIPTION AND BUNDLE ORDER HUSTLER AT ONCE AND DO THE FASTEST WORK HE OR SHE EVER DID BEFORE.

War-makers are organizing! Not the soldiers who went to the trenches and paid the price of the world's folly but the slackers who stayed at home and reaped the fruit of their sacrifice.

A letter signed by Frank Comford, national president, and John P. Taney, national secretary, pleads for membership and support. It says: "THE CIVIL LEGION WILL BE TO ITS MEMBERS WHAT THE AMERICAN LEGION IS TO EX-SERVICE MEN. IT WILL GIVE TO THE NATIONAL PREPAREDNESS POLICY, AN ORGANIZATION AS ESSENTIAL TO IT AS ARE THE ORGANIZED RESERVES TO THE ARMY."

Berger Secretary Reports Splendid Results of Drive

By Marx Lewis

The agitation provoked by the introduction of a resolution to restore to Eugene V. Debs his citizenship rights has made inroads that were hardly anticipated when the thought of the resolution first suggested itself.

Editorial comment reaching Representative Berger's office, letters from numerous individuals, not Socialists, and some anti-Socialists, and statements privately made to him reveal an interest and sympathy for the restoration that is surprising.

During the past week, the Debs matter has played a prominent part in the press of the entire country. Berger interviewed President Coolidge on Wednesday, Attorney General Sargent and the Pardon Attorney at the Department of Justice on Thursday, and a number of influential Senators on Friday.

While Debs would not apply for a pardon, a million others who love and honor him will, the authorities were assured.

In the meantime, Congressmen who have heard from their constituents, are making inquiry concerning the resolutions. Petitions are reaching them. Very few unfavorable replies have been received from Congressmen, so far as it is known, but those that have been received are either favorable or there is a tendency to be evasive.

One of the letters Berger received was from the head of an anti-Socialist League, with headquarters in Massachusetts. He enclosed a petition clipped from the American Appeal, with his name signed to it.

"As I aided to get Debs out of jail, as you may prove by Hon. John W. Weeks, so I should like to aid in restoring citizenship to him. I am forwarding to you my name signed to the petition. I gladly sign my name to the many thousands of Americans who do not believe in Socialism, but who espouse the cause of liberty."

He adds that while he has worked all the years to damage Socialism, he has never resorted to personal abuse, and that he has respect for free speech, free press and free assembly. Debs, he says, was "far more dangerous to capitalism as a prisoner and as a man deprived of his citizenship, than he is as a free man and a citizen."

Pile up the petitions, and send them to your Congressman. Victory will crown our efforts.

Preparedness for what? For War!

These high lights of patriotic profiting will not fight the next war any more than they did in the last. They will sit in the swivel-chairs safe from danger. They will be the "dollar-a-year" men. They will show their patriotism by forcing their neighbors to "give until it hurts."

Who are in this new organization? The following declares its letter: "The War Governors, members of the War Congress, the War Preparedness Boards, Selective Service Boards, The American Security League, and other Nationally Authorized War Activities."

Here are the forty war governors it claims as members of the Advisory Board:

- National Advisory Board
Charles Henderson, Alabama.
George P. Hunt, Arizona.
Thomas Riggs, Jr., Alaska.
Charles Hillman Broyles, Arkansas.
William Dennison Stephens, California.
Julius Caldeen Gunter, Colorado.
Marcus Healey Holcomb, Connecticut.
John G. Townsend, Delaware.
Sidney Johnson Catts, (Continued on page 1)

Appeal Buried By Debs Petitions On Way to Washington

The volume of petitions and resolutions for the restoration of Debs' citizenship received in the office of the Appeal to be forwarded to their proper destinations in Washington, has increased to the proportions of a deluge.

MOST OF THE PETITION HUSTLERS REPORT THAT THEY ARE ALSO WRITING THEIR CONGRESSMEN. THEY ARE DOING THEIR WORK THOROUGHLY AND SPLENDIDLY—AND ITS EFFECTS ARE ALREADY BEING FELT IN WASHINGTON.

Space forbids any adequate report on this magnificent nation-wide drive. We will give it later.

One of the most important resolutions so far received is from the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee, representing tens of thousands of workers. IT WAS PRESENTED TO THE SENATE BY ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE.

Here are a few of the petitions that lie on top of the pile in the basket today: Chicago Masonic Lodge, 150 names; Edgar Lee Masters, the great American poet, 215 names gathered by H. J. Herbert, Peru, Indiana. Eight feet of names gathered by Maurice Walsh, Terre Haute, Indiana, 5 pages of names collected by Charles Trice, Tranger, Pennsylvania; a four-foot petition from William Rohrig, Milwaukee; 7 pages of names from C. Hany, Muscatine, Iowa, 7 pages of names from S. T. Dargatz, Joseph, Oregon; an eight-foot petition from the constituency of Congressman Albert E. Carter, 6th California District.

Aimed Against Socialism

Mussolini's speech in favor of the bill left no doubt that it was aimed essentially against Socialism. The speech consisted in a tirade against Socialism and a defense of the New Capitalism.

Premier Mussolini attacked the Socialist doctrine, denied that the workers and masses of the world were real internationalists, and urged the cooperation of capital and labor for the national good. The 2,000,000 workers, peasant and industrial laborers who now belong to the Fascist unions obey the government, he declared.

"I know what the masses think and what they want," he said. "The war gave all the Italians national consciousness."

It is not true that the proletariat is international. Did not the teaching and tactics of Samuel Gompers in (Continued on page 1)

The Zeigler Victims

The trial of the union miners at Joliet, Illinois, so long pending, came to a close recently with the conviction of a number of them and their respective prison sentences upon the charge of murder. The case from the beginning was known as "The Zeigler Case." A complete statement of the facts, including the causes that led to the trial is published in a pamphlet entitled "The Zeigler Frame-up" by Max Shachtman. The pamphlet contains a number of illustrations and fully tells a tragic story in union history.

evidence at the trial that these union miners are the innocent victims of a conspiracy to brand them with crime and thereby discredit them because of their activities in behalf of the union of which they had always been loyal members.

An appeal has been taken by the defendants to the supreme court and this appeal is now pending. There is reason to believe that on account of the flagrant injustice of the verdict that there may be a reversal of the lower court and that a new trial may be granted, in which case it is confidently believed that a verdict of acquittal will be rendered.

In any event these union miners are entitled to the support of organized labor in the state of Illinois, and it is hoped that this support, both moral and financial, will be freely given to the end that innocent men may not be railroaded to prison because of their activities in the labor movement.

"The locusts have no king, yet go they forth all of them by bands" So we read in Proverbs. The locusts here set an example to the workers. They have no king and need no king, but they organize in bands, co-operative colonies, and go forth to conquest.

"I Will Not Beg For Pardon", Says Debs, to Arrogant Demand of Attorney General

"Under no circumstances will I apply for pardon. I made no defense when I was tried because I felt that I had committed no crime. If I should apply for pardon, it would be in my eyes an acknowledgment that I was wrong when I stood my ground for the right of free speech in the United States."

In these ringing words, Eugene V. Debs in his home in Terre Haute, Indiana, this week, gave his answer and the answer of every true-hearted supporter of liberty and justice in America to the latest demand of the Administration in Washington.

That demand was expressed by Attorney General Sargent to Congressman Victor L. Berger a few hours earlier the same day when Comrade

Berger urged that the Attorney General consider favorably the restoration of Debs' citizenship. To Berger's statement that Debs would not apply personally for pardon, Attorney General Sargent replied:

"Until a man is ready to say that he will abide by the laws governing everyone else, it is my informal opinion that he is not entitled to clemency."

On the day previous Congressman Berger asked President Coolidge to pardon and grant full American citizenship to Eugene V. Debs.

The reply of the Attorney General has practically shut off all hope of obtaining the return of Debs' citizenship directly from the President, UNLESS DEBS WILL HUMILIATE HIMSELF

AND THE CAUSE HE REPRESENTS. UNLESS HE WILL ASSUME A POSITION THAT WOULD IMPLY THAT HE HAD COMMITTED A WRONG; UNLESS HE WILL PUT HIS SEAL OF APPROVAL ON THOSE WHO IMPRISONED HIM AND DEPRIVED HIM OF HIS CITIZENSHIP.

DEBS WILL NEVER DO THIS. The restoration of Debs' rights must come through his friends.

It must come by way of Congressional action.

THERE MUST BE THE GREATEST CONCENTRATION OF EFFORT IN GETTING PETITIONS SIGNED AND WRITING TO CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS IN THE HISTORY OF THIS COUNTRY.

New Fascist Law Completes Slavery of Italian Workers

Capitalism as it will be, if it succeeds in defeating Socialism and re-establishing itself as militarized capitalism in league with government; capitalism thoroughly institutionalized, an essential part of the law; capitalism as the White Terror, the Iron Heel, industrial slavery, made its definite advent in Italy this week in completed form with the passage of Mussolini's Capital and Labor bill. The nature of this measure and its

passage in connection with Mussolini's speech brings out startlingly the purely anti-Socialist and anti-labor character of Fascism. MORE THAN EVER IS IT MADE CLEAR THAT FASCISM IS NO MORE NOR LESS THAN A HISTORIC REACTION, THE SPECIAL PURPOSE OF WHICH IS TO PREVENT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOCIALISM OR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY AND TO RE-ESTABLISH CAPITALISM IN A

MILITARISTIC AND GOVERNMENTAL FORM OF SLAVERY.

Government Made Slave-Driver

By a vote of 139 to 27 the proposals were accepted and will become law with the king's signature. Under the new law the Fascist labor unions will become the only recognized labor unions in Italy, replacing the old Socialist unions, already done away

with, and the Catholic unions, which still exist. The law, which also established labor magistrates and compulsory arbitration, is expected to end all strikes.

The government becomes supreme arbiter and dictator in all labor disputes. It fixes profits and wages. It determines conditions and hours. It will not tolerate strikes or any independent organization of labor. The workers will have to belong to the Fascist (government) unions and obey the government in all things. The employers must also belong to these unions and obey in all things, but with this difference: THIS FASCIST GOVERNMENT IN MAINTAINING A CAPITALIST SYSTEM WITH THE CAPITALISTS AS OWNERS OF INDUSTRY AND MASTERS IS MERELY CAPITALISM FUNCTIONING IN ALL THINGS THROUGH ITS ARMED GOVERNMENT.

Washington Letter

By Marx Lewis

Muscle Shoals Endangered

A bill has been adopted providing that a joint congressional committee be appointed at once to negotiate bids for the lease of Muscle Shoals.

Both Democrats and Republicans joined in having the bill enacted. They will also join to have Muscle Shoals turned over to private interests, so that the American people may pay tribute for generations to come to a power trust for the use of plants that the people had built.

Would Adjourn Congress

Now that the revenue bill has been enacted into law, a desperate attempt to speed the adjournment of Congress is being made, without regard to the fact that farm relief legislation which

is pretty generally conceded to be absolutely necessary—and other legislation, such as measures designed to avoid a repetition of a coal strike, have not been considered, much less acted upon.

The report is assiduously spread that there is nothing to be done. It would perhaps be nearer true to say that there is no one left to be done—the income tax bill having lifted the burden of taxation from the shoulders of the rich and left it pretty much as it was, on the shoulders of the poor.

Attack Government Printing

A terrific campaign is being conducted for the enactment of the Kendall bill, which would prevent the Government from continuing to print envelopes which it now sells to the public.

It is admitted that not only does the Government do it cheaper than it could be done if private printers were to handle the printing—it costs the Government about 20 cents, a thousand to print the envelopes, while private printers would charge \$2.00 a thousand, according to the statements of the Post Office officials—but that the uniformity which is established by reason of the fact that the Government prints all of the envelopes results

in efficiency in every branch of the Post Office service.

Those demanding that the Government get out of the business are warring members of Congress that Government competition with private business is against the spirit of our Constitution and our country. When they are unable to maintain their contention that government enterprise is more costly and wasteful than private enterprise, they fall back upon the spirit of our Constitution.

While the spirit happens to be one that invariably awakens tender thoughts in the minds of every politician, who will concede that the present practice is socialistic, the business interests are not very strong for a change. The private printers are doing all the shouting. And if business generally is not in favor of a change, the likelihood of a change is insignificant.

Socialism in Record

In response to numerous demands that come to his office, Representative Victor L. Berger has incorporated in the Congressional Record a brief statement of the theory and purpose of Socialism. It will not be news to Socialists—but it will be to those who have formed their opinions from reading the daily press. It will be reprinted in pamphlet form within a week or so, and Socialists desiring to distribute copies in their communities can ascertain from the National Office of the Socialist Party, which will re-print the speech, how they may be obtained.

Debt Terms Enable Fascists to Double Army in Peace Time

From Italy comes the startling news that the Fascist dictatorship during the week authorized upon the recommendation of Mussolini almost a doubling of its army in time of peace. The news dispatch telling of the event says:

"The main points are the increase from 150,000 to 250,000 men in the armed forces in time of peace, an increase in the obligatory service from a minimum of three months to a minimum of six months and an increase in the artillery mechanical devices to conform to the necessities of modern warfare."

"In presenting the bills as Minister of War Mussolini said: 'These reforms are not adequate to the necessities of the nation and her present situation. They are limited by the present situation of the public finances. I should be very glad to increase the number of military divisions if our finances permitted. Modern times are uncertain; we must be prepared!'

"The reorganization of the army is the first step toward a general reorganization of all of Italy's armed forces. The premier is working on the reorganization of the navy and the aviation service."

Less than a week before the Fascist despotism undertook this tremendous expense both President Coolidge and Secretary of the Treasury Mellon explained that Mussolini had been granted the ridiculously easy debt terms because the Fascist government could not possibly pay any more.

THIS TYRANNICAL GOVERNMENT WHICH COULD NOT PAY ONE-FOURTH OF ITS DEBT TO THE UNITED STATES HAS NOW UNDERTAKEN A VAST MILITARY EXPENDITURE THAT IS A STANDING MENACE TO LIBERTY AND PEACE IN AND OUT OF ITALY.

Were the members of the debt commission lured by the agents of Fascism, or are they attempting to lunge the American people in the interest of Fascism?

The American people have a right to know.

The National Office

At 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, is glad to bear anytime from anybody anywhere interested in anyway in the welfare of our American Socialist movement.

Greetings International The Socialists of the United States salute Socialist and Labor organizations everywhere and announce the forthcoming National Convention of the Socialist Party of the United States, to be held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, opening May first. To National Socialist and Labor organizations everywhere we extend a hearty invitation to choose and send accredited fraternal delegates to our Convention—to the end that we may have the inspiration of their presence and the advantage of their counsel and also that we may in daily fraternal contacts be mutually benefited.

The National Executive Secretary should be given all possible advance notice of the number, names and addresses of delegates to be in attendance.

They Are Beauties

John L. Wraether of Kentucky, writes: "With a plentiful use of the American Appeal and through the use of the wonderful Special Organization Letters furnished for my perfect convenience by the National Office, in making my appeal for meetings, I shall surely reorganize Locals Mayfield and Paducah. Watch me. These Special Organization Letters are beauties—and so convenient and persuasive."

Don't Miss It!

Hurry, hurry your request for a speech to the National Office. The use of 50 of the Special Organization Letters would bring every comrade addressed, to the meeting.

Of course you should have a high-grade speaker drop off and speak for you, and help you in an organization round-up—between trains—on the way from the Pacific Coast to the National Convention at Pittsburgh and back again. A meeting of 20 people in a private house or office—even that—would help your local movement very much indeed.

Lena Morrow Lewis and Emil Herman are both available—eager to serve you, and the railway fare has to be paid anyway.

The Socialists of Cook County, Illinois, will hold a very important meeting Sunday afternoon, March 23, at the Labor Lyceum, Kedzie and Ogden avenues. Nominations will be made for delegates to the National Convention; and the question of having a paid secretary again will be decided. Calls are pouring in lately for help in reorganizing old branches that have been inactive for several years. We are on our way.

Local Hartford, Connecticut, is the latest to take up the "New Jersey Plan" of systematic distribution of leaflets. Edward Perkins Clarke, the wide awake secretary, sends to the National Office an order for leaflets, several subscriptions to the American Appeal and a list of names to be circulated with sample copies.

Comrades in California should rush to State Headquarters requests for the propaganda and organization services of their State Secretary, Comrade Lena Morrow Lewis. She will leave San Francisco very soon to cover the lower part of the State before speaking in Yuma, Arizona, on her way as a delegate to the National Convention. (Address: National Office in Chicago and into Terre Haute direct-coaxing, pleading for meetings to be addressed by Comrade Debs.

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Meaning of Italy's New Slavery

We call the attention of the readers to the passage of the monstrous Mussolini Capital and Labor law, related in this issue of the Appeal. THIS FAR-REACHING LAW IS PLAINLY AN ATTEMPT TO FOUND A NEW KIND OF A STATE—A NEW SOCIAL ORDER.

It provides that all employers and all employees shall belong to one and the same union or syndicate AND THAT THIS UNION OR SYNDICATE SHALL BELONG TO THE GOVERNMENT AND SHALL OBEY THE GOVERNMENT AND SHALL BE REGULATED IN PRACTICALLY ALL THINGS.

While close government control is gradually giving away to collective democratic initiative in Russia, Mussolini has launched the closest and most extensive system of government control that the world has ever seen.

Not only are the workers closely controlled in the matter of wages, hours of work, conditions; but the capitalist is subjected to close control. BUT WITHIN THIS GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED SYSTEM OF INDUSTRY THE PRESENT CAPITALIST STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY IS RETAINED. The capitalist is maintained as the private owner of industry, the employer, the master, the retailer of the profits of industry—the upper class.

The workers are forced by a most

cruel and terrible compulsion to remain industrial servants, underlings, wage-workers for a pittance—the lower class. EVERY DEVICE OF FORCE AND POWER THAT HUMAN DEVILISHNESS CAN INVENT IS PITTED AGAINST THEM TO KEEP THEM IN THIS POSITION. They are systematically disarmed. They are not allowed to have an independent voice or organization. They are kept down and forced to slave and obey by the most terrific force labor ever faced.

BOSSSES HAVE BEEN SWITCHED ON THEM. THEIR FORMER BOSS WAS THE PRIVATE EMPLOYER BACKED BY A CAPITALIST-CONTROLLED GOVERNMENT. THEIR NEW BOSS IS THE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT ITSELF. THEY HAVE BECOME GOVERNMENT SLAVES AND THEIR NEW MASTER IS A CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT ARMED TO THE TEETH ON A NATION-WIDE SCALE.

Never before in history was slavery more complete and never before were slaves up against such completely organized power for maintaining slavery. Why this change—why has Italian Fascism substituted government slavery for the former private boss?

The answer is easy. Italian Fascism represents an inevitable phase of capitalism in its final act of self-defense. As capitalism in its present form feels itself breaking to pieces, through the surplus that chokes it, the unem-

ployment problem that blocks it, the organized labor that blocks it, the co-operatives that supplant it, Socialism that threatens it with the loss of political and industrial control—it WILL INEVITABLY SEEK CLOSER AND STRONGER GRIP ON THESE OPPOSING AND DISINTEGRATING ELEMENTS.

THAT NEW GRIP CANNOT BE ANYTHING ELSE THAN CAPITALISM TURNED INTO GOVERNMENT AND THE INSTITUTION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT SLAVERY.

Capitalism has always existed, ruled and gained greater power by virtue of political action and political control, WHICH MEANS IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS MILITARY CONTROL. IT IS INEVITABLE THAT WHEN ITS EXISTENCE IS FINALLY AT STAKE IT WILL ATTEMPT TO MAKE THAT ARMED POLITICAL POWER COMPLETE AND DIRECT.

Jack London foresaw this development in his "Iron Heel" and Ignatius Donnelly in his "Caesar's Column."

Constructive Socialism has always held that POLITICAL POWER IS THE SUPREME THING THAT MAINTAINS CAPITALISM AND IS THE SUPREME FORCE THAT MUST IN AUGURATE SOCIALISM.

We must hurry, hurry and close ourselves with this constructive and protective power. It is our one great hope.

Appeal Army Column

The Appeal recently sent out a letter to loyal subscribers who were the only readers of the Appeal in their towns.

Did they come back? Well, you better believe they did. There will be some towns where the lone ones will be lonely so long. One of the first letters to come back is from J. K. Wood, La Verne, Cal. He says:

"I have just sent you a club of eight subscribers, all my sons. I am ninety years old and not able to go away from home to get subscribers, but if any one comes my way I will boost The Appeal. It surely is a new star of hope and the paper I prize most of the many papers I take. I am nearly helpless but my eyes are good and I read a great deal. I have eight sons and want them to have The American Appeal to read, so have sent their names. They are scattered around in two different states and are all Socialists."

"Dear old comrade in the twilight of a useful life! Your letter gives heart to all who read it. No one should be lonely in the town where you live."

O. E. King, Rockford, Ohio, sends a list of twelve subs with a letter which says:

"Your letter saying that I am the only one receiving The Appeal through the Rockford post office shows an error on my part; so I got busy to correct it. From now on, for a while, it will be me among the few and I hope in the near future to cause you to say that I am one among the many. I hope I will be one of a million subscribers some day."

Julius Polky, Long Cove, Maine, Eugene D. Cox, Jackson, Miss., and Emil Kohlhardt, Cudahy, Wis. Send Home-Town Clubs of four each. Three more who are no longer loners.

W. W. Maltby, Dyas, Alabama, organized a Home-Town Club of four including his own. He writes: "The Appeal is a Godsend to the country, and given the old Appeal Army what they have looked and longed for ever since the war."

Alex A. Swann, Eureka, Montana, writes: "My verdict on The American Appeal is that it is in all respects equal, if not superior to any publication of that class, spreading the truth, exposing the falsehood and corruption, which is so well covered up by the Paid-Press. It is surely a newspaper that deserves to be read by all the 'wage-slaves' and 'peon-farmers.' Let us all help to make it strong and solid as the Rockies. I suggest that each subscriber get at least one new subscriber, and each of the new ones the same and make it an endless chain. Then help to arouse interest in The Appeal by writing and expressing your own views on subjects of general interest to fellow-wage-slaves and peon-farmers. Do not wait for somebody else to take the lead. So many of us have been just following; now let us join the party of which The American Appeal is spokesman and be in the front row, all as leaders."

A. L. Coombs, Bad Axe, Mich., has enrolled three others in his Home-club. B. M. Fredricks, Tuluma, Cal., C. Townsend, Willowbrook, Cal., and Helen Malja, Waterford, have each found a friend to read the Appeal and help form a club. Good luck comrades! You know the poet Swinburne said:

"When three men stand together The kings are weaker by three."

Thunder and lightning! A Storm! A tornado! The office is whirled around and stood on end and buried in the subs, bundle-orders and letters which struck it. Leo Zevnik, La Salle, Ill., starts the excitement with a letter

The Bundle Brigade

Room! Do you hear the echoes rumbling through the Allegheny mountains? Sidney Stark sends bundle-orders totalling 1,600. Besides his own order for Pittsburgh, he orders 50 a week sent to J. Tereshel, Straban; Anthony Lorntick, Hermanie; Frank Crutch, Morgan; and 25 a week to Leonard Lonassy, Meadowlands; and John Ban, Pittsburgh. These bundle orders will be distributed each week for the next eight weeks.

Pittsburgh takes the lead! Starting with an order for 5,000 of the first issue it has been repeating regularly ever since. This week's order shows how the Army grows. Watch Pittsburgh; but don't stand idle while you are watching. Get busy and put your city in the class with Pittsburgh!

A long roll of heavy artillery! The bundle orders struck the fort. Hugo W. Brandt sends 50-a-week for six months for his ward branch in Milwaukee. When that 50-a-week gets going there will be nothing left to do but mop up Milwaukee.

Grace Wolfsohn, Milwaukee, orders 100 to be distributed by the Garden Homes Branch. She says: "We believe in using the proceeds of the treasury for propaganda, and will deliver this bundle to nonmembers Garden Homes comrades with the American Appeal great success in its undertaking. More strength to Comrade Debs and those workers with him."

A. H. Eaker, a never-failing repeater, fires a broadside of 150 from Red Bluff, Cal. That's what keeps California up near the top of the list. A. Priest fires another one of 25 shots from Fresno.

Ed J. Dutton, New York fires a round from the coast guns. He orders a bundle of 100 and says: "That special edition sounds good to me. We will want a large bundle." We know you will make good use of it, Comrade Dutton.

An earthquake shakes the midlands! J. A. Collins, Beloit, Wis., starts things going with 100 shots, while Henry Hoesaker repeats his weekly round of 25. Look out for Wisconsin!

Martin T. Cook, Rochester, N. Y., orders bundles totalling 250. He also wants 300 copies of Berger's Speech. With that much ammunition he'll wake up Rochester.

Mrs. S. Linden, Jersey City, orders 150 to be sent 25 a week for six weeks. With the order she sends a new sub, E. Garbarino, Morganstown, W. Va., orders 200 to be sent 25 a week. He also sends two subs. West Virginia needs more like Comrade Garbarino.

S. Liberty, New York, is getting a copy of The Appeal every week by mail from some kind friend who wants to convert him. As he is already a convert and a subscriber he hopes the good friend will send the copy to some benighted one who needs it.

The following have ordered 50 a week to be distributed by their local and ward branches. F. F. Brough, Amesbury, Mass.; Murray Debaun, Shelburne, Ind.; L. M. Brisson, Ontario, Canada; Jean Hopkins, New York; Peter Hobstetter, Portsmouth, Ohio.

They are sending the message into every state, and over the boundary into Canada.

W. P. Richardson, Roswell, N. M., comes back again for 25. Good steady work is what will wake up the west. An order for 20 comes from Fort Ogden, Florida, from J. H. Lastinger. Sell 'em Socialism, Comrade Lastinger. They've bought enough real estate and climate.

"I hope your staff will blow the earthquake blast through The Appeal until the walls of capitalism fall," writes C. F. Hughes of Harrison, Mich. Well blowing is our long suit. You just give us something to blow about.

John W. Dennis Dies

The above picture was taken a few years ago, showing Comrade Dennis at the left, upon an occasion when he and Comrade Debs visited the tomb of Susan B. Anthony and Louis H. Morgan, who are both resting at Mount Hope Cemetery, Rochester, N. Y.

Comrade Dennis died at his home in Rochester, N. Y., last week a victim of pneumonia, at the age of 50.

He was a powerful influence in the Socialist and trade union movements. He served prominently in the Moulders' union and has been prominent in the Socialist movement since 1900.

During that year he was Socialist candidate for mayor of Syracuse. In 1917 he moved to Rochester, and at once became prominent in the Socialist and labor movement there, where he has been Socialist candidate for mayor twice and Socialist candidate for the legislative assembly.

Irish Labor Wins Dublin - The Irish Labor party candidate has won the election in County Dublin, defeating the Free State government candidate by 1,000 votes.

In another by-election in a neighboring district the Labor candidate is reported in the lead, though the count is incomplete. The Free State has to have a general election next year, and may have it before.

French Socialists Win Paris - The "left bloc" parties—Socialists and radicals—which swept France at the last election have won two out of three recent by-elections to fill vacancies in parliament.

Socialists Carry Argentine Capital Buenos Aires - The election of a third of the chamber of deputies, which retrofits by rotation, passed quietly today. The Socialists are confident of a victory over the radicals here, but reports from the provinces indicate there will be a radical triumph.



The above picture was taken a few years ago, showing Comrade Dennis at the left, upon an occasion when he and Comrade Debs visited the tomb of Susan B. Anthony and Louis H. Morgan, who are both resting at Mount Hope Cemetery, Rochester, N. Y.

Socialist Party News

Students were deeply stirred March 9, with a scholarly address on "Socialism and World Peace," by our Comrade Dr. Norman W. Thomas, recently Socialist candidate for the governorship of New York.

Have you done something like this for a Milwaukee branch: A bundle order for 50 American Appeals for 6 months.

A bundle order for 10 (20 cents) for 5 weeks (total \$1.00) would help immensely. You and one or two neighbors can raise 20 cents a week for this enterprise. Sure. Twenty cents? The price of one ticket to the worst movie in town.

Comrades in Oklahoma, interest in local and state organization is rapidly developing in your state—no doubt of that. Now, Comrades, rustle your names and addresses to the National Office from anywhere and everywhere in the state—and we will get busy with the business of getting you together, organized, busy, happy and on your way with the increasing procession. With you could read the ring call from J. A. ("Dad") Hart, Box 712, Comanche, Oklahoma, Ok. boy!

Come on in. The water's fine. Send for the two-color, hot-stuff Special Organization Letter, prepared to help you help yourselves—as soon as you get the pep, pride and push you need.

In the New England District, the Comrades of the Italian Federation held a convention in the party hall, South Boston, Sunday, February 27. There were 20 delegates present from as many cities in New England. Plans were made for a more active campaign for members and they also decided to push American Appeal and New Leader subscriptions among the American workers.

The State Office reports that there is general activity among the dues-paying members in the New England District, and expects an increasing membership. All plans for the State convention have been arranged to be held April 11, at the party headquarters, 21 Essex street. This will be one of the most interesting state conventions ever held, as there are many propositions submitted by the members to increase Socialist activities.

The Boston Central Branch held a very successful meeting, Thursday, March 4, and they decided to conduct debates at their regular meeting nights. The Boston Central Branch is now the proud owner of a very fine upright piano. The Boston Ypsela have taken complete charge of the piano and are planning socials and entertainments.

Dr. Harry Laidler of New York, will speak Saturday, March 27, at the party headquarters, 21 Essex street, and in Worcester on Sunday, March 28.

Don't be lonely in your own home town. If you are the only—and lonely—reader of the American Appeal in your community, you will have had from the Business Manager a specially interesting communication. Please give it prompt and earnest attention—then make something happen in your own home town.

And also when you write just say: "Special Organization Letters—to help make something happen. I'm with you in the Big Push." The National Office is eager to play 80-20 with you.

A sign of the rising tide is the rapidly increasing stream of letters into the National Office in Chicago and into Terre Haute direct-coaxing, pleading for meetings to be addressed by Comrade Debs.

Read Debs and dispel doubts. The Appeal—Only \$1 per year.

A Warm Letter from a Hot Organizer

"Comrade, 'Good Socialists are members of the Socialist Party. Be good."

"If you are a Socialist and want the Socialist principles pushed forward, then be a co-operating member of the Party that advocates such principles."

"Hundreds of cities and towns in this nation have a goodly number of folks who claim to be Socialists and yet they have no Socialist Local. Every Socialist should be a live wire, so take this tip: Get a supply of the National Secretary's Special Organization Letter (it's all right, believe me)—and get your Comrades together and have a Local; pay your dues of fifty cents per month; carry the membership card and be a regular. This extraordinary Organization Letter, persuasive, convincing, beautiful—in two colors—is precisely what you want in being a regular, and hunting regulars. If there are those among our readers (and we know there are) who do not have a sufficient number of Socialists in your locality to form a Local, then send in your application to the National Office and immediately you will be placed in connection with your State organization, or, if you should be in a state where there is no active State Organization, then 50 can be a member at large, just the same. The tide has turned; the Socialist Party is again on the upward stride; be a regular in the battle for our emancipation.

"Good Socialists are members of the Socialist Party. Be Good."

"WILLIAM H. HENRY"

You want to call your comrades together for organization. Get the National Secretary's Special Organization Letter prepared with great care for your most convenient use in reaching out to the comrades—at a meeting in your private home or elsewhere—for a local. You want more organization work done—right away? Well, the Special Organization Letter makes it practicable for you to do organization work—with almost no trouble at all. More organization work? It's up to you.

You want a greater movement. Help produce it. You want a more powerful national propaganda paper. Get subscriptions for the American Appeal. You want lively party news. Help produce the news—and rush it in.

You furnish a soul and a fair supply of pep, and the National Office furnishes those beautiful, two-color Special Organization Letters—just what you need for a clarion get-together call.

Is your community unorganized? Yes? Well, fire a letter at the National Office for a supply of the wonderful Special Organization Letters today.

YOU READ THE AMERICAN APPEAL—YES? But you are not a party member—No? Well, the first thing under Socialist Party News is the address of the National Office. We want a letter from you, saying you wish to line up and help furnish the funds, fire and fraternalism—absolutely necessary—to make our movement move and move vigorously. We will hustle an application for membership card to you and tell you just where to send it—whether your State is organized or not organized.

Comrade: If you want progress, help get it. If you want good news, help produce it—and rush it to the National Office. If you want the New Day, the New Courage, the New Power, the New Heart, the New Fire for our movement, then come across as one of the 1,000 Special Volunteers in the BIG PUSH BEFORE THE CONVENTION.

Read Debs and dispel doubts. The Appeal—Only \$1 per year.

Buckshot

By August Claessens

By August Claessens

The study of Socialism may be divided into the following four phases: a criticism of modern social and economic conditions; a theory of social progress; an ideal of a future social organization; and a practical movement of the masses. Now, it is our intention to loosen up this concentrated matter in a series of buckshot doses. So here goes the first shot.

Socialism as a Criticism

All critics are not necessarily Socialists. Anybody can criticize. Everybody does criticize something or other and everybody else in the bargain. It is just because somebody criticized the government or a millionaire, or the rich, that does not make anybody a Socialist. Not by a long shot! This chap may be just a sceptic, a grouch, an envious cuss, a cantankerous damn fool. Criticism without a purpose, without a proposal for a remedy, is mere venting of spleen. Criticism that is not directed to the roots of the trouble, criticism that is constructive and honestly seeks to remove the cause and effect remedy—such criticism is necessary, useful and ever urgent. Add lastly, criticism is hard and unwelcome unless it is sympathetic. Good criticism must embrace all sides of the problem and the people involved; it must be unflinching and enthusiastic to make its earthly sphere a more decent and wholesome place to live in. THAT'S SOCIALIST CRITICISM!

Poverty

Now as to poverty. The critic who regards poverty as inevitable, eternal, because of insufficient wealth for all, the result of "human nature," of excess and the lack of foresight and thrift among the masses, or the product of drink or crass greediness—such a critic may be honest and sincere but is intellectually cockeyed. His remedy logically follows his scrambled analysis and he usually proposes charity, community chests, Bible tracts, thrift propaganda and prohibition. Now, all that helps some—helps like perfume or chloroform of time in a stinking garbage pail.

The Socialist critic does not deny that there are minor contributory causes, but he does insist that the main cause of poverty in our modern world is the utterly unjust, shameful and wasteful economic system, wherein a few hogs are permitted to encumber and protect in owning the earth its resources and the machinery of production and exchange. Through the ownership of these capitalists reap the harvest that others have tilled to produce. Thanks to this social crime enormous fortunes pile up at one end of the social scale and a miserable inability for the many at the other. The Socialist critic views this state of affairs as antiquated, inhuman and uncivilized, and he proclaims that in our modern society with its abundant resources, industrial techniques and social organization poverty is indefensible and indefensible. There is plenty enough to go around, and we can increase that if we wish. The Socialist demands that the great instruments of wealth production shall be collectively owned and operated and the product of our economic efforts shall be shared by all those who have contributed to its creation. That's the only fair and sane solution. Its speedy adoption is imperative.

Inequality

That the Socialist critic does not believe that all men and women are equal in color, odor, taste, energy, talent, or ability, is not surprising. But they generally are equal in their desire to prosper and enjoy their brief sojourn on this globe. They all should have an equal right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Just because some of us may have better brains and talents—assuming that that's true—that is no reason why we should be licensed to take advantage of those who haven't. The right to life is an inalienable right and it is not up to us of the wrongs of the world. The genuine noblemen and gentlemen of the future, the only ones who can bring about a real civilization will respect and honor will be those who tender their great gifts to the commonweal. In fact, even today, the greatest love goes to them that give.

Unemployment

There are two kinds of unemployment, with pay and without. The first is the one with pay and the second is the one without. The first is a favor for all. The second is a favor for any man or woman who works any more than is socially necessary and all should enjoy the fruits of their combined labor. Unemployment is the result of a poorly organized economic system. As long as we are in the possession of a few dollars, for their exclusive benefit, we are labor saving. As long as we have unlimited cash and a few dollars, we have unlimited power and the bottom has no consumptive power and a tremendous consuming power as long as that crazy condition exists—we will have unemployment and poverty in spite of our ever

increasing national wealth. (Directions—read that last sentence once every hour until your blind staggers subside.) Some day when we are fully civilized we will progressively shorten the hours of toil for all with every advance in industrial technique and thereby give employment to all—including the bums on the upper and lower crusts of society.

Crime

Criminologists no longer lay great stress upon hereditary crime, criminal traits or instincts or blame crime upon the lack of religious or moral training. They now study crime as a social phenomenon. Great social extremes, over-stimulated desires and temptations and the lure of the game of getting something for nothing are the great causes of crime. The burglar and stick-up man is often only an embryo magnate, banker or speculator out of luck. Hence he is a desperate and bungling amateur and an enemy of society. With another shake out of the dice-box he might have been a money shark, a steel king, a coal baron or a bread count and therefore a successful man, a benefactor and a respected member of society.

Well, our time's up. Oh, yes, we have lots more Socialist criticism on tap. We ain't said the half of it. But this is enough for this week, and if you have any criticism of Socialist criticism send it in care of "Buckshot" and we will load another barrel.

Young People's Department logo and address: National Office, Young People's Soc. League, 15 Townsend St., Chicago, Ill. Agents: J. Parker, Nat. Director.

With the Circles

NEW YORK CITY.—Members of the City Executive Committee, and officers of the New York City circles met in joint session March 7th, with Comrade Parker, National Director, present, to discuss general organization plans for the future. In a brief talk Comrade Parker outlined several important organization functions which must be respected to maintain efficiently a circle's activities, and the need of closer contact between the various circles, city organization and national office of the league. Particular stress was laid on the necessity of regular monthly reporting, membership record corrections when any changes occur, general reading and posting of bulletins and important communications. Efforts must be made to acquire regular and suitable homes for all the circles, meeting headquarters that appeal to the young people and tend to build a spirit of loyalty and comradeship. The importance of reciprocal representation with the party locals and committees, and the value of regular educational directors was emphasized. An appeal was made to the circles to submit weekly information regarding the circle's activities for publication in this column. The meeting was well attended, most of all the fifty representatives present taking active part in the discussion which occupied the entire afternoon. The response and enthusiasm predicts greater things by the Y. P. S. L. of Greater New York.

New York City Juniors.—On Saturday afternoon, March 6th, a delegation of New York City Juniors met with Comrade Parker for the purpose of uniting the Juniors with the National office of the league, and supplying the Junior Y. P. S. L. with necessary materials, certificates and uniform organization literature. An attempt will be made at the earliest possible date to form Junior Yipsels groups in all localities having Party locals. Special bulletins for the Juniors will be issued periodically when complete plans have been made for conducting all this work. A ruling was proposed that no Junior circles be accepted by the National Director without assurance of the applicants that a circle director has been selected, such director to be a member of the Socialist Party or the Senior Y. P. S. L. The New York City Junior Y. P. S. L. now has ten different circles, with a combined membership well above the 200 mark. The average age of this membership is 15 years. With a closer affiliation established with the National Office of the Y. P. S. L. the Juniors will readily make a most active and valuable auxiliary to the Socialist Youth movement of America.

Warren, Ohio.—Young people of Warren have finally gathered a healthy looking group of Yipsels, and are applying for a charter. The group has been active some time awaiting a sufficient growth in the tentative membership to insure a substantial circle when affiliated with the national organization. And we have pretty good reason for keeping a hopeful eye on several other parts of the state of Ohio. Well, one new circle a week ain't so bad.

Fitchburg, Mass.—The Fitchburg circle held a sleigh ride (on an automobile bus) visiting Townsend, Mass., and presenting an entertainment of varied program well received by the Townsend folks. The affair was arranged partly as a propaganda meeting and a social event. A. J. Parker, National Director of the League, addressed the meeting.

International.—On the 3rd and 4th of April the Independent Labor Party of the United States, affiliated with the Socialist Youth International, is holding its second national convention in the

Empress Ball Rooms, Whitley Bay, England. This marks the end of the first year of activity for this splendid youth organization, an opportune time for the Yipsels to extend their greetings. Let's see that America is heard from strong.

Chicago Group to Present Plays

This Friday, March 19, the Chicago Young People's Study Group will discuss the topic, Women in Politics Today. The speaker, Miss Elizabeth Perry, is Assistant State's Attorney. Those interested are welcome to meet with the group from 8:10 p. m. in Parlor D. Woman's City Club, 360 N. Michigan avenue.

Two plays, The Man on the Korb, by Alfred Sutro, which presents the tragedy of the man out of work, and The Sequel by Percival Wilde, a comedy showing what happens after a girl says, "Yes!" are being coached for us by the playwright, Mary O'Reilly. Our dramatic group will also start another play soon. The two plays mentioned will be given in connection with a dance for the Socialist Party some time this spring.

FRANCES LOWRIE.

War-Makers Organize

(Continued from first page.) Florida: Hugh Manson Dorsey, Georgia: Frank O. Lowden, Illinois: James Putnam Goodrich, Indiana: William Lloyd Harding, Iowa: M. Alexander, Idaho: Arthur Capper, Kansas: Augustus O. Stanley, Kentucky: Carl Elias Milliken, Maine: Emerson Columbus Harrington, Maryland: Albert E. Sleeper, Michigan: Joseph Albert A. Burquist, Minnesota: Theodore Gilmore Bolbo, Mississippi: Frederick Dozier Gardner, Missouri: Samuel Vernon Stewart, Montana: Charles S. Whitman, New York: Kith Neville, Nebraska: Emmet Derby Boyle, Nevada: Henry W. Keyes, New Hampshire: Washington E. Lindsey, New Mexico: Lynn Joseph Frazier, North Dakota: R. L. Williams, Oklahoma: Martin G. Brumbaugh, Pennsylvania: Arthur Vager, Porto Rico: Richard I. Manning, South Carolina: Thomas Clark Rye, Tennessee: James E. Ferguson and William Pettus Hobby, Texas: Horace E. Graham, Vermont: Henry Carter Stewart, Virginia: John J. Cornwall, West Virginia.

Such an organization, chartered by congress, recognized officially, would perpetuate the political power of the war-makers, profit-takers and spies who spread the false propaganda which preceded and continued through the last war and who, without danger to themselves, reaped the harvest of graft wrung from the suffering of a war-torn, harassed people. The personnel would be the same. What did they do before?

Their War Record

Some of the figures recently quoted in the House of Representatives by Congressman Wood of Indiana are staggering. Mr. Wood is not a radical. He is one of those who think that the Republicans would remedy what the Democrats muddled. He quoted the following in his criticism of the War Administration.

"The Ordnance Department spent \$3,991,000,000 and obtained 72 cannon; \$355,917,000 for shells and obtained exactly 6,000; \$330,780,000 for larger shells and obtained none; \$1,051,511,000 for airplanes and there was not a single fighting machine ever delivered in France."

He points out that it was not necessary to win the war to contract for 13 pairs of shoes per man, and 11 saddles per horse. It was not necessary to spend \$21,000,000 for ambulance service in this country and Europe was motorized.

Who collected the graft which this mad extravagance yielded? The so-called patriots of capitalism who stayed at home to reap the gain in safety. Through their organizations of spies, key-hole peepers, and slugs they crushed newspapers and hounded to death those who raised their voices against the dastardly robbery. Many an honest and high-minded American suffered imprisonment and abuse, not because he opposed the war, but because he resisted the heartless wringing of profits out of a helpless people.

They Need to Organize

American citizens were divided in their sincere opinions during the last war. Some of them fought, week after week, in the trenches giving their youth and their lives in "the war to end war." Some of them refused to fight because, with all the power of their high young souls, they hated war. They went to prison; they were beaten; they were driven from home and subjected to a persecution more vicious in America than in any country in the world.

Those who fought and those who suffered because they would not fight now, after the smoke of battle and the lies and false propaganda have cleared away, can understand each other. But what about the cowards who deceived one group and tortured the other? They need a political organization to protect them from the contempt of all who remember. War-makers are organizing! They are organizing to prepare for war; which means to bring on war!

To Readers and Contributors

Several regular departments do not appear this week. Their places have been taken for ONE WEEK by new important matter. They will appear again. We beg the indulgence of contributors. The Appeal is getting several times as much good matter as it can use.

New Fascist Law (Continued from first page.) America, even though they were the most scottish expression of proletarian chauvinism, lead to demonstrations of intransigent exclusiveness toward all nations and all races?

Lauds Capitalism

"Fascist unionism recognized the historical function of capital and capitalism. On this point we are completely anti-Socialist. According to the Socialist doctrine the capitalists are vampires. According to our teaching this is only false reading."

"Capitalism not only is not retrograding, but is not yet at its dawn. We must become accustomed to think that this capitalistic system, with all its virtues and faults, has several centuries of existence before it. Even where capitalism has been done away with it is returning."

"The Socialist conception, which personified capitalism in special individuals, and taught that these individuals found delight in exploiting the poor proletariat, are laughable."

"Generals of industry." "The modern capitalists are generals of industry, great organizers, men who have and must have a high regard for civil and moral responsibilities, men on whom future health, happiness, and wages for thousands of individuals depend. The success of their industry is the success of the nation."

Declaring that the power of amassed wealth is unlimited but the power of its employment is definitely bounded, Premier Mussolini continued: "One of the most comic teachings of the Socialist literature was the attempted dogma that happiness of men depended alone more or less on the satisfaction of his material needs. That is absurd. Capitalism has a function which Fascist unionism fully recognizes. It also recognizes everything is tied up with the fate of the nation, and when that is impotent and disorganized all feel the consequences and must assume an attitude of humility and resignation, as it was in Italy for more than twenty years."

Unity of Master and Slave "Class collaboration is another fundamental of Fascist syndicalism. Capital and labor are not enemies. They are classes which are complementary to one another. They cannot live without each other."

"Today we are approaching state control of all the forces of industry, agriculture, banks, labor, and our experiences make us confident that the experiment will succeed."

Premier Mussolini concluded with a declaration that even one hour lost through strike in one factory was a national catastrophe.

The Filling Station

LINCOLN PHIFER

It was one of those fine days in early spring when it is a joy to be outside. Joe, the Standard Serf, was sitting on a bench by the side of the filling station, when he was joined by John Tocsin, who came to get Joe to join the Socialist local. After that had been arranged, Joe asked:

"When do you expect Socialism to win?"

"Tocsin whistled softly. 'It may never win,' was the reply."

"Isn't that discouraging?"

"That depends on how you look at it. I remember twenty years ago when I first became a Socialist we were eager to set dates for the coming of Socialism. We did wonder, but we missed just one thing."

"What was that?"

"The very heart of our philosophy, that the coming of Socialism rests upon the readiness of the people for it. The fact is, we did come near bringing Socialism the world around—so near that the great war was precipitated to prevent its coming. There was really no reason for the war except as a desperate effort to head off Socialism. It did do it, because it made Socialism unable to express itself. But the bringing on of the war in order to defeat the freeing of the world has taught us that the exploiters will hesitate at nothing in order to maintain their graft. This is why I say Socialism may never come."

"You mean that unless we can arouse the people to the supreme need, unless we can head off future desperate measures by the master class, worse even than the war may be sprung on the world?"

"Precisely. It is either Socialism or slavery. The fact that the issue is so clear cut and acute ought to act as an incentive to extra effort. Don't you think so?"

"I certainly do." And Joe paid a year's dues in advance.

The Why of It—Socialist Parable

"Why do you work and worry so?" asked the Philosopher of the Business Man.

"To make a fortune, of course."

"And what do you want with a fortune?"

"To give away when I am dead."

"And why should you work yourself to death, and others with you, in order to give it all away?"

"Why, I can't take it with me, can I? By the way, do you know of a worthy cause to which I might give my money?"

"Business men are accounted very wise, but why?"

The Tin Owl—A Fable.

The Tin Owl was ruffling up his

Stedman Pays Remarkable Tribute to Swan Johnson, True Socialist

(Do you want to understand the intimate life and character of a real Socialist type? Read, then, this masterpiece, delivered at the funeral of Comrade Swan M. Johnson by Seymour Stedman, former Socialist candidate for vice-president. After this week this notice, as usual, will be taken by Up-ton Sinclair's letters to Judd.)

By Seymour Stedman

"Who broke our fair companionship, and spread his mantle dark and cold, and wafted the formless in the fold, and dulled the murmur on thy lip? And bore thee where I could not see, nor follow, the I walked in haste, and thought that somewhere in the waste the shadow sits and waits for me." (From Tennyson's In Memoriam.)

The departed was born on a farm in Michigan, October 31, 1859. He attended school and later, for a short time, was a teacher. In his youth he formed an intimate acquaintance with Doctor Charles Whitehead, a physician in Newaygo, Michigan, who exercised a very great influence in determining the career and the work of Mr. Johnson. Doctor Whitehead was a liberal with most advanced views. He kept abreast of the scientific research and development of his time. He was familiar with the thoughtful works, the research and philosophy of such men as Darwin, Huxley, Tyndall, Herbert Spencer, Grant Allen and the scientists of the middle and latter part of the nineteenth century. He presented their thought and intellectual achievements to young Johnson. Doctor Whitehead was a gracious character and attracted Mr. Johnson by his learning and kindly personality, and Mr. Johnson in his gratitude never ceased acknowledging his debt for what he felt Doctor Whitehead had done for him.

Tribute to His Friend

Mr. Johnson, in delivering the address at the funeral service of Doctor Whitehead on March 12, 1924, said of his friend:

"His whole professional career was a consecration of service by his fellow men. Through sunshine and storm, through summer's heat and winter's blast he labored. At an early age, days blissing his own trail he went forth to battle as a brave soldier fighting for the cause of the oppressed, comforting the sorrowful. No soldier ever fought more bravely than he and he died no more Christlike mission to perform."

"The great outstanding tribute to the Doctor is that a successful professional career never lifted him above the commonest man who toiled at the humblest work. Neither was his professional life circumscribed. He was not content nor did he stop with work upon a scale that made it a narrow, humble home, but he learned and struck at all the evils that oppressed the workers. He was an angel. They were his brothers and comrades."

No doubt, the fascination for Doctor Whitehead determined Mr. Johnson to enter a medical college and commence his preparation for that profession. He had progressed but a short way when his father died and the obligation which he assumed in caring for his younger brothers and sisters, made it necessary to discontinue his then chosen profession.

Struggle for Education Later, with the approval and perhaps at the suggestion of Doctor Whitehead, Mr. Johnson commenced the study of law. He came to Chicago and delivered milk in the early daytime, studying law afterwards and at night. Before the time of his graduation he discontinued his employment with the dairy company and commenced his legal career. It was my delight to have his association before and after his graduation. He came to me because my political affiliations had been with the Liberal and Socialist movements, and my professional services primarily for the unfortunate.

Mr. Johnson had a deep and profound sympathy for the unfortunate, both the poor who were near him in Pullman and those farther away, in the United States and in the remote places of every country. He was temperamental and intellectually an internationalist. He was a part of and he belonged to the International Labor Movement. He was more incensed at an outrage perpetrated upon the helpless than at a personal affront. Bad streets, poor street car service, corruption in public office, international charlatanism, and the hypocrisy of

feathers in an effort to make himself pretty big.

"Why do you do that?" asked the Eagle on a quarter. "I am not very big but am worth more than you will ever be."

"Neither of you amount to very much," laughed a Hunter who overheard. "The value of you both lies in what I think of you, and neither of you will buy very much."

Who fixes your value, and for what purpose?

Under plutocracy indebtedness is becoming the great basis of exploitation. Returns are guaranteed by the government.

Japanese shoes are being sold in America. The making of them is financed by American capital, but Japanese cheap labor does the work.

The average newspaper is filled with propaganda for the profit system. But how it howls if it detects anything it suspects is Socialist propaganda!

The chain stores are going to bind the little storekeepers who imagined they were capitalists, and deliver them into the ranks of the working class.

established order were detested by him. He was genuine, impulsively frank even to brusqueness, yet smiling and cordial, with a personality that was stimulating and refreshing. He was a loving, kindly husband and father, generous and hopeful at all times. At this very time when the fatal fates have taken him away, he was putting a younger brother through college.

He was active in the promotion of co-operation and was president of the Roseland Co-operative Society. He was both practical and idealistic. When overtaken by this fatal illness he was on a mission for the Socialist Party, fighting a legal battle for it in New Mexico.

A Real Socialist

Johnson was a Socialist—emotionally, intellectually and spiritually. That is, artistically, the ugly system was painful to him; intellectually, he knew the reason for the bad system and the remedy for it; spiritually, his ideals were of beauty, harmony, security and a full life for all.

Mr. Johnson's first and last political efforts were in the Socialist Party. He knew fundamentally the causes and reasons for social and industrial inequality and he felt that it was his mission to contribute most of his life's energy in revolutionizing the present industrial order. He admired and commended the most progressive, scientific and revolutionary of men. On the walls of the little room in which he had his desk at home there is not a single frivolous picture. Over the desk is a picture—a crowned knight resting on a book, a burning candle, an hour glass with sands half run, two riddles over the skull, and the inscription, "Get Busy." Life is running away—step lively—expresses the urgency of his every effort.

And among the pictures on the walls are Jesus, Lincoln, Jaures, the great Frenchman who was shot on the eve of the war when he was en route to Brussels for the purpose of uniting the working class of Europe against the impending slaughter; Kier Hardy, the distinguished English Socialist who led his party in Parliament for many years and who opposed the war and died before its close; Charles Steinmetz, the greatest hydro-electric engineer of his time, a Socialist, who wrote "America and the New Era."

"The Thinker" by Gaudens, a bust of Huxley, his comrade, Eugene Victor Balaban, and Hjalmar Branting, the Scandinavian scholar and Socialist, sculptured pieces by Charles Haag, and paintings from the brush of the master marine artist, Lundmark. From this it is easy to understand his source of inspiration and the stellar lights to whom he looked to guide his life.

Slipped into the frame of one of these pictures, expressing his grim realization of the inequalities of the present order, was the verse:

"The solters' club is on the hill, and every sunny day, the totting children in the mill can see the men at play."

Johnson was sincerely respected by his antagonists and adversaries. They instinctively recognized his sincerity and integrity. There was no malice in his occasional wrath, no vindictiveness in his soul. He was devoted to and loved his friends, and they loved him.

Big Social Consciousness

Swan M. Johnson had a highly developed social consciousness, commonly called the love of your fellowmen. His affection for the great masses of people in every struggle was an abiding passion. The misery of the poor, the outraging of the weak, burned him as a hot iron. Only a few days ago when we were talking together, he spoke with feeling of the unemployed in Pullman. Their cause was his cause, their burden his burden. His sympathies were not circumscribed to the locality in which he lived. They leaped over all boundaries, and the cause of the common people in every land was his cause. If he ever yearned for a miracle it was that a shaft of light might charge from on high and bustle in the sodden, dull brains of the count-

less millions of all lands who feel but cannot think.

He was proud but it was a righteous pride. He would not bend the knee nor bow at the shrine of fabled Gods. His reverence rather was for Prometheus, who stole fire from heaven and became the Titan founder of civilization. To rob heaven for humanity was the glory of Prometheus. This fabled God of Greece Johnson could understand—the offense of Prometheus, the larceny of this Greek Deity from the high Gods was for the service of humanity, therefore righteous.

He once said, "I will never rust." This would make a beautiful epitaph. He was always hopeful and generally happy, and thrilled those who could feel the joy of life through achieving something for mankind.

Opposed the War

When the Great War broke out he opposed it, and united as many of his friends as he could in opposition to it. He knew the mean hypocrisy which favored it; its catchwords and its songs. He understood the trade rivalry and commercial competition which was the fundamental reason for the conflict, and he did not hide his opinions. In court and out, he bravely faced the mob in defense of his clients.

There are countless thousands who can stand against Nature's storms, risk and endanger their lives in physical conflicts, but there are very, very few, indeed, who possess moral courage. It is a rare quality. Swan M. Johnson possessed moral courage to the highest degree. He could face and fight back against racial appeals and the savage instincts let loose, which made men and women go mad. During the war he stood against the wild frenzy that possessed the high and low in all strata of society, against those mad and frenzied men and women and children who were filling the air with their wild and foolish cries of "Crucify him," "Hang him," "Mob him," "Treat 'em rough," "He's a traitor," "He's a pro this or pro that," together with all the other lies that malice can mother, and all the brutality that the savage in man can display when conventional society turns loose and claims a holiday for its pent-up savagery. Moral courage is a possession so rare that it startles us like rays bursting through somber clouds from a sudden lonely star. Johnson had this quality.

Heine, the great German poet, once said, "We do not possess ideas; they possess us and ride us to the grave." Rather, I should say, "We do not possess ideas; they possess us and lift us to the banquet board of the Gods."

Lone, Courageous Stand

A young man so possessed was once challenged with the exclamation: "Young man, do you know that the world is against you?" to which the young man replied, "Thank God, there is one man against the world." The cynic looked at the young man and beheld in his eyes the light which has always led blind and groping people from dark depths to the brightest heights.

I close with the lines from Tennyson which were taken from Mr. Johnson's address at the funeral of his friend and mentor, Doctor Charles Whitehead:

"Sunset and evening star, and one clear call for me, and may there be no moaning at the bar, when I put out to sea."

"But such a tide as moving seems asleep, too full for sound and foam, when that which drew from out the boundless deep turns again home."

"Twilight and evening bell, and after that the dark, and may there be no sadness of farewell, when I embark."

"For thou' from out our bourne of Time and Place, the flood may bear me far, I hope to see my Pilot face to face, when I have crossed the bar."

Sometimes I wonder over the grief we feel in the presence of the departed, when we are all rushing after them—a few seasons, Winter and Summer, and then no more of thee and me.

PARAGRAPHS

Twenty thousand dollars to kill a soldier! Dr. David Starr Jordan is quoted as authority for the statement that in the World War "it cost twenty thousand dollars to kill a soldier." Killing comes high, but we have got to have it to keep our capitalist patriotism from turning into delirium tremens.

Capitalism means class rule, class exploitation and class war. Socialism will end the war by destroying capitalism and putting an end to exploitation.

The capitalist press used to sneer at the use of the word "capitalism," heartily denying that there was any such thing, but Socialists continued to talk about capitalism and today the term has a pretty steady call in the editorial columns of capitalist newspapers.

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