

Sam Moore, Debs Fellow Prisoner, Visits Appeal

Sam Moore, fellow prisoner of Eugene V. Debs in Atlanta, and owes his regeneration to the Christ-like influence of Debs on his life...

People Rally to Defeat Vicious Insult Measures

The so-called traction and utility bills which Samuel Insull, great traction and power magnate, slipped through the Illinois state senate last week...

By Carl D. Thompson Citizens:—We have been "on the job" night and day, part of us at Springfield...

N. E. C. Member Named for Labor Vice Presidency

James D. Graham nominated for this place in the Montana Federation of Labor The following article was published in the Montana Labor News...

Industrial Slump Hits New England

BOSTON—New England workers are facing unusual depression, says G. Harry Dunderdale, superintendent of the Massachusetts state employment bureau...

Important Warning To Appeal Readers!

During the week just past a large number of American Appeal subscribers were notified that their subscriptions to the Appeal had expired and that unless they renew immediately...

Chicago Socialists Hold Biggest Picnic For Several Years

Chicago, one of the most difficult Socialist spots in the United States, proved by its picnic, Riverview Park, Sunday, June 19...

From The Pen Of Debs (Compiled by Theodore Debs)

The Growing Workers

The change that has taken place in regard to what is called the labor question during the past few years is as suggestive as it is remarkable...

Brotherhood Banks May Pass To Control Of Traction Magnate

CLEVELAND, O.—Possibility of an affiliation between twelve banks and financial institutions of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Mitten Management, Inc. of Philadelphia...

U. S. Detains Arms Bought By Mexicans From The Germans

Mexico City, June 11.—The situation between the United States and Mexico, which gave rise to a decree forbidding the Mexican state department's purchase of goods direct from American sources...

U. S. Still Plans Mexican War, Says Josephus Daniels

Richmond, Ind.—Josephus Daniels, secretary of the navy under President Wilson, in an address at commencement exercises of Earlham college here...

Norwegian Workers Pass Under State Slavery Yoke

League of Nations Rejects Tory Plan Of War On Russia

Winston Churchill's World War Plot Against Workers Is Delayed at Geneva The following is a news dispatch from Henry Wales, American newspaper correspondent at Geneva...

Capitalist Government Institutes Real Fascist Tyranny By Flat Wage Cut of 15 Per Cent

OSLO, Norway.—By an act of its capitalist controlled parliament jammed through against the bitter opposition of all the Socialist, Labor and Communist representatives...

World Trusts Will Rule Globe by 1950 Says N. Y. Banker

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—"The basic industries of the world will be organized on an international scale by 1950," was predicted by O. H. Cheney, New York banker...

Government Admits Employment Slump

Washington, D. C., June 15.—Labor surpluses in most of the states and a slight decline in operating time and unemployment in several major industries are reported for May by the department of labor in its monthly survey...

5,000,000 Co-ops Join Labor Party In Great Britain

LONDON, England—Labor in politics won another great victory last week. The National Cooperative Congress, meeting at Cheltenham, agreed to affiliate with the Labor party...

Green Is Made Military Aide

WASHINGTON—President William Green of the American Federation of Labor has been appointed civilian aide to the Secretary of War for the Citizens Military Training Camps...

been going along with labor in its political fights, but all attempts to bring about a coalition have been successfully resisted by the more conservative cooperators.

Sign On The Dotted Line And Get Things Started Sub-A-Month Membership Pledge Organized Army of the American Appeal

American Appeal, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago: I hereby agree to obtain for the American Appeal in the future at least one subscription per month, or its equivalent. Enroll me in the Organized Army of the American Appeal. Name Address

NEWS AND VIEWS

Sinclair Defeats Police Attempt to Stop His Meeting

Bares Corruption Underlying the Banning of Novel "Oil," By Boston Police

BOSTON.—Upton Sinclair, speaking from the front seat of an open motor car under a permit issued to Alfred Baker Lewis, secretary of the Socialist Party of Boston, frustrated police efforts to silence him here. The meeting started with about 25 in attendance and ended with close to 2,000. It was held on the Common.

Sinclair explained why the police had suppressed the circulation of his latest novel, "Oil" in Boston. When the meeting had reached a high point of enthusiasm the police appeared and demanded to see the permit for the meeting. This was shown them by Baker. They then demanded to see the permit granting the privilege of singing a march on Chestnut street mall. Baker replied that this had always been done without protest. During the altercation between Baker and the police Upton Sinclair explained that he was a member of the Socialist Party and that he was discussing his book, "Oil" which the Boston police had recently banned.

Police Afraid

"Are you going to arrest me? Sinclair demanded. "We will if you get funny," replied the police. "I wish you would," replied Sinclair. "I would consider it the greatest privilege ever accorded me. If it wasn't for the fact that I would be charged with bribery, I would gladly offer you \$1,000 to place me under arrest."

By this time the crowd was in an uproar and called to Sinclair that they were with him. The police neither arrested him nor made any further attempts to disturb the meeting.

Among other things, Upton Sinclair said:

"I have inside information," that a religious person with a very bad reputation read my book and turned it over to the police with the statement that it was obscene. The police in turn handed it to a police clerk, who in the erudite way of his clan, perused it, and solemnly pronounced that it would corrupt the morals of youth. I am the last man in the world who would willingly corrupt the morals of youth, but you must admit that some youths are easily corrupted."

Calls Police Bluff

"I resent being called a writer of obscenity, but I am powerless to prove the contrary to the people of Boston. I wished to do it in court the other day when they found a young bookstore clerk guilty of selling an immoral book, but the judge would not hear me. I am branded for life as an immoral writer. I will, however, do one of two things, carry the bad reputation placed upon my shoulders, or find some way to make a monkey out of the Boston police."

"On Thursday morning at 10 o'clock I am going to offer for sale at 10 Byron street, right over there on Beacon Hill, three books, Shakespeare's Hamlet, the Bible, and my book, 'Oil.' Act III, scene 2, in Hamlet is absolutely obscene. I am going to ask the police to buy the book, and if they refuse to buy it, I will set up for violating their book censorship. The 19th chapter of the Book of Genesis is also obscene. I will do the same with that, try to sell it and be arrested. Then I will offer for sale a copy of my latest book, 'The real basis of the censorship, and the reason my book was banned, was the presence of one sentence in it where a young girl remarks to the hero in my story, that she knows all about birth control. Hear me when I say that the police are living in Boston today, a large crowd of grown people who practice birth control in their own private lives, but do not wish the youths of today to know it."

"I write of life as it exists. I write for adult people, which seems to be measured by the standard of the few weeklings among the young who are easily corrupted have no chance. Mature novelists should write for mature people."

Assails the Movies

"It is not my novels that corrupt the youth of today. Look to the movies, starring the most truly obscene and most truly vicious crowd of people in the United States. I know, because I live near them, and have heard their sordid stories with my own ears. I have placed a few whiffs out of that sewer in my book. I could not tell the truth, it is too awful."

Labor Leadership And Militarism

There will be wonderment and disappointment among the ranks of Labor throughout the world when it becomes known that William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor has been appointed a War Department aide in connection with the citizens' military training camps. Labor universally, we believe, with the one unique exception, is opposed to the military training of youth. Eminent educators have repeatedly pointed out that better physical and moral results can be obtained by other means of training. Military training at this stage of development when capitalism is taking the form of military dictatorship in a world-wide attempt to crush labor is extremely dangerous to labor. Military training is inseparable from the military psychology. The military psychology is essentially nationalistic, reactionary and warlike. It is brutalizing. It puts the youth in a position of settled opposition to democratic and progressive ideals and especially to ideals of working class emancipation. The military training camp makes tools of capitalism to shoot down the workers. The capitalists know that if they do not do so strongly and unanimously support training camps. The progressive church and college elements know this. That is why they oppose it. World Labor knows this and is almost a unit in opposition. William Green, alone among all the heads of national labor movements does not seem to know or understand.

Overthrowing A Friendly Government

The detention by our government of arms purchased from German firms by the Mexican government, and in process of being shipped across this country, in view of the present situation in Mexico, is a most ominous event. It furnishes startling proof of the fact that the administration in Washington is engaged in undercover war against the Calles regime and is attempting to bring about its overthrow. When these sorely needed arms were detained by our government a series of priest-led rebellions were raging throughout Mexico. As has been shown these rebellions were getting support from this side of the border. To prevent Calles from obtaining arms under such circumstances might easily have led to his downfall and the triumph of elements so reactionary and blood-thirsty that every progressive supporter of the present regime might have been rounded up and slaughtered. The United States administration went so far as to bring about such a result that it detained property belonging to a country with which it is supposed to be at peace and which had been purchased from another friendly nation. Coolidge and Kellogg have had a great deal to say about Bolshevism and the unpardonable crime of attempting to overthrow government. Evidently, they preach one thing and practice another.

He Owns 26,000 Grocery Stores

Recent statistics show that the John D. Rockefeller interests own 26,000 grocery stores. Here is a striking example of the quiet, irresistible flow of big capital over into the fields of small business. What chance has the small groceryman against the owner of 26,000 closely connected grocery stores? What chance has the small business man against the steadily rising tide of big capital? Small capital works on such narrow margins and with so much expense and friction that effective accumulations have become almost impossible. Big capital operating a highly organized system of mass production and distribution is growing with increasing rapidity into mountainous accumulations. These accumulations must be invested somewhere. They are bound to overflow into every possible field. They are bound to have superior methods and advantages. Small capital in the majority of cases will have no chance against them. Not only will they take possession of retail trade, but they will take possession to a large extent of the manufacturing industry. The overflow of big capital will come to a highly organized and centralized system of production and distribution. The people will have to own this new system of big business—the trusts—or it will own them body and soul. As a matter of self-preservation they will finally open and democratize. This is the Socialist interpretation of progress. What is wrong with it?

England and U. S. Partners in Spying On Soviet Russia

While the British Tories were getting ready to kick the trade representatives of Russia out of England and break off relations on the carefully prepared charge that Russia was honey-combed with British spies who imparted their information with equal liberality to the British and American governments. The above statements form the gist of the following news story sent out of Russia by the well known American newspaper correspondent, Junius B. Wood. The article strikingly bears out the appraisal of the Appeal that there is a British-promoted plot to drive Russia into war against overwhelming odds by provocative and terroristic acts. The article says in part:

A complicated international spy organization through which the American department of justice is credited with receiving information concerning soviet Russia was revealed in the reported confession of Capt. Sydney George Reilly, English spy arrested in 1925.

Implicates U. S.

Reilly declared in his statement that the American department of justice had intelligence branches of the American army and navy received their secret information regarding soviet activities through the British spy service which in turn

Tories Jam Through Bill to Hamstring British Labor Party

Reilly designated a man named Weiss as head of the work in Estonia; a man named Miklojohin in Latvia and Lithuania, and another representative named Derbisher in Poland.

These men had staffs and worked under British instructions, each ostensibly to secure information for his own country but actually for transmission to England, which shares an interesting with the United States.

Tells of Plot Against Soviet

The report of the United States political control gives the following excerpt from one of Reilly's letters: "It is my firm conviction that the third method of overthrowing the soviet government is terrorism directed from the center and executed by small groups of individuals, first, exterminating distasteful officials and, second, awakening the Russian human swamp. I think that a single impressive terrorist act would arouse the attention of the whole world and bring Bolshevism to an end."

Imposes Requirements That May Bankrupt Treasuries of Political Movements

LONDON, England.—By a vote of 228 to 103, the government forced the political "contracting in" clause of the anti-trades union bill through the House of Commons.

This will compel trade unionists to specifically state in writing and in a letter mailed through the post office department, that they desire to contribute to the political fund.

Under the present law a unionist may "contract out" by informing the Registrar of Trade Unions at the Board of Trade (the government's Department of Commerce) that he does not desire to contribute to the political fund.

Approximately 100,000 unionists annually "contract out." In urging the new "contracting in" clause the government claims it will protect members from "tyranny and intimidation of union leaders who would force workers to contribute."

Government reports show that during the last 14 years there has been recorded 69 complaints of unfair dealing by union or trade union officials. The Registrar of Trade Unions found that 50 per cent of these complaints were unfounded.

The unionists insist that 33 cases in 14 years of a membership of 4,000,000 does not support a government's claim. The purpose is to handicap political activities of the unionists.

Food Prices Soar Throughout Nation

WASHINGTON, D. C. June 18.—Retail food prices increased about 2 per cent in Chicago and 13 other cities—Baltimore, Buffalo, Denver, Fall River, Manchester, Minneapolis, Newark, New Haven, Omaha, Peoria, Portland, Me., St. Louis, and Washington—from April 15 to May 15, 1927, the labor department reported today.

Price increases ranging from five-tenths of one per cent to three per cent were reported in 26 other cities during the period and in only ten cities was there any decrease in average food costs.

Irish Labor Gains Total of 7 Seats

The Socialist movement of Ireland, represented by the Irish Labor Party, gained seven seats in the Irish parliament in the recent election, an increase from 15 to 22, or nearly 50 per cent.

The government secured 44 seats, a net loss of seven, in the Dail Eireann; Fianna Fail (De Valera's party), 44; the Sinn Fein, 6; labor, 22; farmers, 11; independent, 14; National league, 8; and independent republicans, 2. These, with the speaker already elected, made a complete Dail of 153 seats.

Y. W. C. A. Women Ousted for Joining Peace Organization

Miss Ida Jones, general secretary and Miss Pattie Ellis, Industrial Secretary of the Fort Wayne Indiana Y. W. C. A., have resigned their positions under pressure of continued public attacks on their personal "patriotism." The principal allegation Fort Wayne newspapers made against them was that they are members of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. Local patrioters took the stand that this organization is connected with the communist party and other allegedly subversive movements through "interlocking directorates."

Miss Jones and Miss Ellis after many weeks of resisting the onslaughts of the "patriots" offered their resignations, fearing that the attacks might be prejudicial to the Y. W. C. A. The board promptly accepted both resignations.

PRESENT PROSPERITY FOR THE RICH AND THE POOR

Prosperity of Big Owners Increasing

The New York Federal reserve bank reports first quarter profits of 433 corporations at \$542,534,000, an increase over the same period last year, but points out that the increase went chiefly to such giants as U. S. Steel and General Motors.

The true magnitude of these profits may not be realized. They would have provided all the wage earners employed in all American factories with a wage increase of about 20 percent.

The bank's review covers manufacturing and mercantile companies, public utilities and railroads. Each of these groups showed larger profits in 1927 than in 1926 or 1925. The 184 manufacturing and mercantile corporations reported profits of \$227,940,000 for the first quarter of 1927, compared with \$228,048,000 in 1926 and \$180,595,000 in 1925. For 45 public utility companies it was \$47,554,000, compared with \$79,427,000 in 1926 and \$71,198,000 in 1925. For 184 class-1 railroads the corresponding figures were \$227,000,000, \$224,000,000 and \$205,000,000.

The ability of the railroads to get away with big profits, in spite of such adverse circumstances as the Mississippi flood and the coal strike, is revealed in reports for the first 4 months of 1927, compared with the same period of 1926 and 1925. The net income of Class 1 railroads for that period amounted to \$299,964,211 compared with \$299,460,537 in 1926.

While Failures And Unemployment Grow

Commercial failures in the 1st 3 months of 1927 numbered 6,643 compared with 6,081 in the same period 1926 and 5,969 in 1925. The liabilities of the 1927 defaults totaled \$156,121,853 compared with \$108,460,339 in 1926 and \$128,481,750 in the 1st 3 months of 1925.

Reports from state labor departments in Illinois, Massachusetts and New York show factory employment in those states from 4 percent to 6 percent below last year and from 14 percent to 20 percent under 1926. Federal Reserve banks in Philadelphia and Richmond add to this tale of increasing unemployment. Even building trades employment is failing to show the usual seasonal gains.

Detroit reports industrial employment at 192,568 compared with 242,511 in the corresponding week 1926.

U. S. Steel unfilled orders fell off 405,191 tons to 3,050,941 tons, the lowest level since Dec. 31, 1910. The Wall Street Journal says that on the basis of capacity unfilled tonnage is actually smaller than at any time since the organization of the big corporation.

Reports from the Federal districts indicate that May sales of department and other retail stores were smaller than last year in all sections of the country except the Dallas and San Francisco districts. The decline for the country as a whole compared with May 1926 was 3 percent.

Socialists Gain In Swiss City Elections

International Information, issued by the Labor and Socialist International contains the following information:

In the recent municipal elections in Switzerland general gains for the Socialist Party were recorded. In the five cantons where gains were

Rich Rush Abroad to Spend Surplus

The number of American tourists visiting foreign countries this year is breaking all records. R. A. Procter, chief of the Chicago passport bureau, said yesterday.

The Chicago district already has issued 13,500 passports for the present season and we expect this to reach 15,000 by July 1," Mr. Procter said. "This is an increase of 3,000 over last year. From 1921 to 1926 the number of tourists visiting foreign countries has increased 1,000 yearly."

APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

The Socialists In The War

In 2 Articles Article II. By James Oneal

In the Name of Democracy

We Socialists were not alone in sharing this rebirth of liberty. At Bisbee, Arizona, a thousand miners were chased into the desert; at Butte, Frank Little was lynched by the local Babbits; seventeen members of the I. W. W. were tarred, feathered and whipped in Oklahoma; Herbert S. Bigelow of Cincinnati was kidnapped and his back was cut into bloody strips; a German miner named Praeger was lynched in Illinois; a matter where the Socialist or other radical turned, the terror dogged his heels. No man was safe from the swarm of informers, spies and agents provocateurs, volunteer and official. Only in some of the larger cities were Socialists able to meet, and at these meetings Cheka agents were with pencil and pad to report to Washington what was said.

This espionage system radiated from Washington through a thousand channels. It was linked up with committees of safety and defense councils, whose chief duty was to see that the daily thought ration was used by George Croel was accepted without a whimper. The England ruled by a landed squirearchy in the period of the American Revolution was a freemen's paradise compared with the America of the Wilson war years. Hinkhouse's recent study of British opinion of the American Revolution convincingly shows that even after hostilities opened at Lexington subscriptions were openly taken in London for the relief of American patriots and the Wilson war years. Hinkhouse's recent study of British opinion of the American Revolution convincingly shows that even after hostilities opened at Lexington subscriptions were openly taken in London for the relief of American patriots and the Wilson war years.

The Fourteen Points

I cannot omit from the narrative an interesting story of Wilson's Fourteen Points. If my readers will take the trouble to read that archaic document they will observe none of the Powers at war should be permitted to profit by it. Such a program agreed with the view of the American Socialists. They asserted that the two alliances were smeared with the same muck, and that neither should be permitted to strip the other of its valuables at the end of the war. I do not say that this was Wilson's only view. I only assert that his Fourteen Points can be reconciled with this view. He outlined them in January, 1918. But nearly three years before—that is, in May, 1915—the American Socialists prepared a programme of fourteen points that so clearly resembled the fourteen later presented by Wilson that a comparison of the two suggests that he had ours before him when he wrote. Such questions as indemnities, the transfer of territories, self-determination, international organization, open diplomacy and freedom of the seas were rapidly outlined in the Socialist document just as he later discussed them. He departed from it only when he particularized regarding Belgium, France and Turkey. Thus the "moral forces" looked us up, and then took our declaration as a basis for working out a programme for settling the questions raised by the war. It was a grim piece of humor, which Dr. Wilson no doubt enjoyed.

Underwriting the "Bolshevik Menace"

But having disposed of us, clever mount-banks saw an opportunity to underwrite the "Bolshevik menace" and cash it into dividends. The National Security League, the American Defense Society, and Ralph Easley's National Civic Federation had been in the field for some years. Now hundreds of promoters appeared with their Securities of the Republic, Minute Men, and other such societies, appealing for cash to save the Republic. How many millions they obtained will never be known. Here and there an individual Babbit acted on his own account. Babbit, shortly after the Russian revolution, was a New York Life insurance Company. He sent a circular dated September 17, 1920, to all his agents declaring that the explosion "was the voice of the Red, the shriek of the parlor. Bolshevism is the voice of the street. All forces that hate organized society." The War Department, jealous of the Cheka activities of the Department of Justice, also established a propaganda department, which specialized in attacking organizations of women. They included the United States Franchise Society, the Needlework Guild of America, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic, and the Young Women's Christian Association. Not until the New York World exposed the matter did the heroes emerge from it as a bankrupt.

International Isolation

Meanwhile we were cut off, during the war, from all the Socialists and trade unionists abroad. Attempts were at one time made to get together in an international conference in the hope of contributing something to the slaughter. The Allied governments countered this scheme by sending hampered delegations to various countries. With one such group Sam Gompers did business in England. The Trade Union Congress and the Labor Party over there had supported the war with some misgivings, and as it dragged out both organizations began to suspect the real aims of the Allies. They never went crazy over the war or regarded it as a crusade of God's saints, as the Allies did. Naturally, he could not deal with men of such views, so a delegation picked by the British government was sent to visit him here. Its members had no mandate from the political or economic organizations of British workers, and in fact the organizations publicly objected to the impudence of selecting men who did not and could not speak for them, but they were nevertheless accepted by Gompers and Wilson as true spokesmen of British workmen. While abroad later on, Gompers met with the other organizations that could speak for the British proletariat, and so spent most of his time in London and Paris eating and drinking with financial leaders, political brokers and the titled masters of the British Empire. He would not agree to meet genuine representatives of the British workers during the war. His British accomplices in deception presented an insurance society, the General Federation of Trade Unions, not the trade union executives or the heads of the Labor Party.

The Left Wing is Born

Although a thousand or more of the Socialists locally in the smaller towns and cities had been destroyed by the White Terror, we increased our membership after the war, in the large cities. But we were not to have peace. Within our own ranks appeared another mania, an irresistible desire to ape the Russian Bolsheviki. Hundreds of ambitious Leninists appeared immediately after the armistice with model soviet, red armies, commissars and Marxian experts, all of them apparently more eager to hang us and each other than to establish a soviet republic. I myself did not forget how the militarists treated his father when, as a Congressman, he opposed the entrance of the United States into the World War.

So far as is known, the war bureaucrats have not revealed their reaction to the incident, but they certainly are not pleased that the natty colonels uniformly which they had taken pains to deliver to Lindbergh at sea remained on board the war vessel that brought him home.

Norwegian Workers Under State Slavery

(Cont. from page 1.)

the Communist party. The first two of these parties recently united and the Communist party is disappearing, so that the workers who already have a large representation in the Norwegian parliament, will present a formidable front in the next election.

The present situation arises from an industrial conflict that started in April, involving 15,000 workers in iron, mining and textile industries. The employers asked for a flat reduction of wages of 25 per cent. This represented a greater decrease than the decrease in the cost of living. The workers flatly refused to accept this reduction. Negotiations were attempted. However, it is supposed that the

Army Propagandists Fail in Scheme to Exploit Lindbergh

Out of the Appeal's story of last week relating how Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh was requested by radiogram by the officers of the United States Air Force not to don the army uniform for the Washington reception nor full for the army propaganda staff, has developed a most interesting sequel.

The radiogram excited great interest in Washington.

Curiosity became keen as Lindbergh approached Washington. He was unaware of the issues between the army and air forces. On the other hand, the wireless to Lindbergh was a slap at the army bureaucrats, and this all the world knew of. He was compelled to choose, and he did. Lindbergh appeared in a neat blue suit of civilian clothes, leaving the army uniform aboard the Memphis. He has said nothing of the incident and no one knows what was in his mind. However, it is supposed that the

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Put The Student to Work for Socialism

Editor's Note

The Special Article Editor recently asked Norman Studer, the brilliant editor of *The New Student*, and a recent graduate of Oberlin College, what attitude should the Socialist movement take toward the growing number of students who are seeing through the sham of imperialism and the profit system and asking themselves what they should do about it. Mr. Studer comes back with the following article. I hope that socialists all over the nation will heed this article; will become acquainted with the promising young men and women in their vicinities and will put them to work.

—H. W. L.

Norman Studer

(Editor of *New Student*)
At a time when thoughtful people all over the country were watching with intense concern the reckless

bullying of Nicaragua and Mexico by our Administration last winter, when the papers every day carried hints of impending war with Mexico, the editor of *The Coe College* (Iowa) student paper was shocked to find most of the students utterly ignorant of the state of affairs. Hidden away in the peaceful campus they knew no more of what was going on in the world outside than the inmates of the state lunatic asylum.

Here is the theory of teaching by which these students are getting their education, this editor wrote: "It is all right for students to study Roman imperialism; learn all you can about the ancient Hebrews, Romans, Gauls and Goths but nothing about modern Europeans, Chinese, Americans, Central Americans and Mexicans. Know the past. Remain in ignorance about the present."

Students Unprepared for Realities

The pity of it all is that these

students who are up on all the tricks and schemes of Roman imperialism are likely some day to be called off to serve as cannon fodder for the Dollar imperialism that their teachers forgot to tell them about. They will rush off with all the light-hearted zest of college boys, giving no thought to the right or wrong of the thing. Without a realistic knowledge of the social system in which they live they will throw themselves in on the side of the employers in any strike that comes along. This will happen, just as in England, where college students by the hundreds volunteered to work on the railroads, to drive official motor lorries and lustily offered to do everything—everything in fact, as an eye-witness reported, but one thing: "they did not go down the mines."

Things seem hopeless under an educational system that is paid for by the workers of the country but which neglects to cultivate the social intelligence and social sympathies of

the student. But the mere fact that this one student is asking for something better is a ray of hope. And if this protest is placed beside a good many others that are arising the hope is not so forlorn.

The Awakening

Here is another straw: At a convention at Milwaukee, December 28-January 1 last, students from all over the country met to discuss religious problems primarily. But they were more interested in other things. And in the closing session eight hundred expressed themselves as of the belief that the present economic system based on production for profit and not for use is wrong. Like *The Coe College* students they wanted their education to be realistic, squarely centered on the big issues that are shaking the world. Unlike the politicians they did not propose to face the issue squarely—and then turn away. Here is the one resolution they passed: "Realizing the limitation of our information on the great themes

before the conference we ask that the colleges and universities provide better opportunities for learning the facts concerning international relations, the cause and cure of war, industrial system, social unrest, and the problem of religion in the modern world."

One more instance of this sort during the college year that has just passed: A group of student leaders at Wesleyan University, Connecticut, looked over their course of study and then strongly urged that a course on the history of the world be added to the curriculum. "A few of the topics covered by this course on international conflict," they said, "would be: the history and development of the art of war, a classification of the causes of conflict—historic, economic, psychological, etc., forces at present tending towards war and towards peace, such as nationalism, imperialism, and trade; the possible justice of the past war; the after-effects of war on the victors and the vanquished, on busi-

ness and the progress of the human race; pacifism and its limitations; profiting of national defenses; education for peace; disarmament and the League of Nations." Clearly, such a course would have intellectual dynamite even if it changed to be given by the most dull and reactionary professor. Sixty-three per cent of the students favored such a course.

Along with this body of questioning students in another group of students who have quite made up their minds on certain points and want to begin exerting pressure for changes in the social system. The influence of students in Continental and Spanish American universities has not been lost upon them. In those universities students take an active part in political and social movements and exert a real influence in national life.

Find Work for Young Idealists

To the question "What should the socialist movement do in order to take advantage of this minority of

socially minded idealistic college youth?" the reply is: "Put them to work." If the demand for more vital teaching in the colleges is heeded there will be more and more of the students of the future. If the socialist movement wants to harness this youthful energy it should appeal to and find work for college debaters, orators, writers and students of all kinds who are tired of resting themselves and want to do something.

Organizing LaFollette clubs in the campaign of 1924 I found an appreciable number of such students. It is unfortunate that this movement melted away leaving the thinking minority of congenial homophobes partially. The campaign was unfortunate in this respect, however, the zeal with which college men and women went into the fight, speaking on street corners, debating, distributing literature, doing secretarial work. It proved that labor as well as capitalism can successfully appeal to active and idealistic college students.

The Farmer Problem—How the Farmer Lost His Independence

In Four Articles Article II.

By Tim True

When The Farmer Was Independent

In early colonial days the farm homestead was an economic unit capable of supplying every requirement for its members. If these requirements were simple their satisfaction was ample, and in keeping with the standard of the times.

The planting of crops and the raising of stock and poultry were regulated by the limited needs of the household, or in relation to the immediate community. The farmer then was in position to gauge his market. Surpluses of different kinds could be exchanged with the neighbors for things in which shortages had occurred. If there were few luxuries there were fewer wants.

Export trade in those days can hardly be said to have existed. The transatlantic vessels were slow, small and unreliable, so that only when great value could be packed in small bulk or in the case of commodities indigenous to Europe, was there any export trade at all. Such trading as took place was intercommunity rather than international.

The highways were very rough, and land transportation, with horses and oxen, was slow and difficult under the most favorable conditions. Consequently, the volume of trade carried on with "outside" settlements was small. Communities upon the seacoast and along the waterways naturally became distributing points for such imports as arrived from, and gathering places for such goods as were shipped to Europe.

The farmer, in the days of his colonial independence, worked to live, unlike the farmer of today who lives to work. He raised a few sheep and cattle, a few hogs and poultry; tilled acres enough to furnish food for his needs and taste dictated. He attended to the providing of all his needed tools, furnishings and conveniences. These may have been crude and cumbersome but they satisfied all his requirements.

Substance of Independence

The farmer in those olden days sheared his sheep. He carded his wool and spun it into yarn. The yarn was knit into underwear, caps, socks, gloves, mittens, etc. by the women of the household; and woven into cloth, out of which clothing for every member of the family was fashioned, and covering provided for every bed. There were no shoddy goods, because everything was made for use by those who made it.

When the meat in the larder was running low the farmer slaughtered one of his pigs or cattle, and what he did not wish to consume in the form of fresh meat he either pickled or smoked, or bartered with his neighbors.

When his berries were ripe he picked them and his preserving kettle was requisitioned to transform them into jellies and preserves. These were stored in pantry or roothouse, where the ample supply of vegetables was also kept.

He milked his cows and made his own butter and cheese. He gathered his apples, put some away to eat, and made the remainder into apple-butter or cider. He harvested his small grains, ground his flour and meal, saved his "shorts," and "tailings" for stock feeding purposes.

He threshed with his flail, and with sickle, scythe or cradle he mowed his grain. He had to seek no loan from a banker for binder or thrasher. He tilled fewer acres and raised less, actually and relatively, than his 1926 successor, yet he had more security, greater comfort, little worry—and no "problem."

Separation

Then came steam as a motive power—the foundation of the problem with which farmer and laborer are wrestling today—and the factory system of production.

With the coming of steam, inventors began to devise machinery for its employment in the processes previously performed by handicraftsmen. How great has been the measure of their success we can judge to-day. But strangely enough, while we can plainly mark its progress and measure the effects of machine production, we do not seem qualified to learn the lesson that it teaches.

dependence upon factory-produced tools, and upon, and the spinning wheel, distaff, and handloom, changed from instruments of production and means of employment for the household members into incumbrances or antiques. The time formerly devoted to these pursuits became idle time, and those they had supplied were no longer needed. They were no longer wanted. They were no longer needed. They were no longer wanted. They were no longer needed. They were no longer wanted.

The farmer's workmates in agricultural production, as factory workers, become, directly and indirectly, his customers, and provided him with the means for his surplus. It appeared as though they were no longer associated with him productively in their new character. But such was not then, and is not now the case. He and they still cooperate in wealth production as closely, if not as conspicuously, and intimately as previously. Their relationship is only disguised, not broken. As machine production extended over more and more fields of human endeavor, this disguise became heavier and more difficult to penetrate. Now that agriculture has been reduced to a plant where the farmer produces only raw materials for factory production the veil has worn to such thinness, it is not too much to expect that even professors of political economy soon will see through it.

Changed Position

As wool left the farm only when machinery had been invented which made its production in the factory commercially profitable, so also with other farm products. Until the present time everything raised by the farmer is destined for the factory. His wool goes to the woolen trust; his stock to the meat trust, his fruit and vegetables to the canning trust. He sells his milk to the milk trust and purchases grocery cheese and butter. The harvest trust has replaced his own forge and the village smithy. He gets his fuel from the coal trust instead of his own woodlot. He depends upon the railroads for the transportation he was able to furnish himself. His routine has been supplanted by the modern system of storage and refrigeration. Upon every side and in every line a trust confronts him and exacts toll. He has been stripped bare of the essentials of his independence as the factory system reached out for his independence. He has been stripped bare of the essentials of his independence as the factory system reached out for his independence. He has been stripped bare of the essentials of his independence as the factory system reached out for his independence.

When the farmer was a producer of use-values—things to consume himself—he was relatively independent. When, as he became a producer of exchange value—things to sell others, he lost his independence. Where formerly he was indifferent to a market, now the market is his obsession. He must sell his produce, before he can supply himself with the things he needs, and his market is not at his front gate. To reach it, he cannot help but sell to the market as he went to do. Now he must use the railroads, and, as he does not own them, he can only use them upon terms satisfactory to those who do. Terms satisfactory to the railroads are seldom satisfactory to the farmer. He is the place of sale is often, indeed nearly always, too distant from his home, the farmer cannot personally attend to the marketing of his products and must enlist the services of the storage and marketing agencies. These owners, like the railroads, dictate terms to him, and as he must sell in order to achieve the objective that inspired his production, he has no option but surrender.

Capitalist Stranglehold

The railroads, the marketing agencies, and the trusts with which the farmer as an individual seller must deal are economically stronger and strategically better placed than he. He must dispose of his production, and he must dispose of it through, by and to them. To provide himself with implements, etc. is imperative that he sell what he has raised. If he does not realize above his cost of production, he has worked hard for nothing. If he sells below his cost of production, he has labored at a loss. But whether it be above, at, or below production cost, he has no choice. A bumper crop to the modern farmer does not mean what it did in his colonial antecedent. Crops in this modern day must be turned into cash, in order to secure those things that are no longer produced upon

the farm. There is no man-made law which compels the farmer to sell, but there is a higher law—the law of self-preservation that does. Congresses and legislatures have enacted laws that so limit the field of his purchasers as practically to determine to whom he must sell. These buyers are not specifically designated by any law, yet all laws bearing upon property drive the farmer to seek them out as purchasers of his wares. There is no law, for instance, that compels the farmer to sell his hives, hogs, sheep and poultry to the packing trust. But, if he does not, where will he find a buyer? And so it is in every line. The Legislators, state and national, carrying out the will of the capitalist class, have brought about a condition where the farmer must sell his produce to, and buy his supplies from, the corporations.

Nationalization of Money Is First Step

C. H. Cammanns

(Boise, Idaho)

Farm relief is advocated—demanded—by the victims of present agricultural conditions. But it is an inglorious situation when those who feed the nation are not able through their own organizations such as the Farmers' Union and the Grange to present a plan for their economic betterment of their conditions.

Let us make a beginning by courageously and intelligently attacking the privately owned money monopoly in its stronghold. Let us restore the Constitution as it was originally intended, wherein it provides that the issuance and regulation of the medium of exchange shall be a function of the government.

This will not cure all existing evils, but it will be the beginning of the restoration of this country and its resources to its inhabitants. The Socialist movement is the only one that has the courage to do this. The Socialist movement is the only one that has the courage to do this. The Socialist movement is the only one that has the courage to do this.

Shows First Step to Nationalize Money

James Jarrett

I am glad to note there is one, Tolley Hartwick, who recognizes the necessity of nationalizing money, but he fails to push out how to go about it. Capitalism did not come in a night, nor will Socialism.

The plan is to take the props from under the banks by having the federal government issue to states, counties and all municipalities non-interest bearing bonds for the purpose of making public improvements; to be paid back at the rate of 4 per cent of the bonds every year. In 25 years the bonds would be paid.

Pennsylvania will ask its people to vote for a \$50,000,000 loan on this condition—falling interest and no debt. These bonds will bear interest and no doubt the people of Pennsylvania will have to pay for the improvements twice, if not three times.

In my opinion, the Socialist Party should direct its propaganda now toward the enactment of old age pension laws and the issuance of non-interest bearing bonds for public improvements. This will give employment to millions of working people out of work today.

After we had employed this method of financing public improvements, I am satisfied we would extend it to other lines now privately owned.

Reader Take Notice

If the number after your name on the little yellow slip is 80 or less then your subscription HAS EXPIRED. Renew at once. Don't wait another day to renew.

The actual outlay for family living averaged only \$291, leaving \$133 to apply on debts or to add to their capital. Most of the farmers were tenants, although farms were low in value.

The department estimated that there are about 100,000 white tenant families along the northern border of the Old Cotton Belt east of the Mississippi river that live no better than those of Gwinnett county, Georgia. It was notable that about the only luxuries in general demand are tobacco and snuff.

Don't let your Appeal run out. Don't lose contact with the big developments of the day. Renew your sub at once.

Miners Must Change Strategy To Win Strike, says Brophy

Editor's Note

(Miners Must Change Strategy) . . . At the beginning of the coal strike in the bituminous fields, the *American Appeal* printed a vigorous article by Thomas Kennedy, secretary of the United Mine Workers of America, explaining the official union position regarding the strike. Recently John Brophy, the thoughtful ex-president of District Number 2, a bituminous mine district, and a candidate for president of the United Mine Workers in the last election, was asked to give his point of view to the readers of the *American Appeal*. He has just submitted the following significant contribution.

By John Brophy

(Formerly President, District No. 2, United Mine Workers of America)
A strike has been in progress in a part of the bituminous coal industry since the first of April. In other words, a coal strike of first magnitude. But outside of the press in the immediate strike zone, the present strike gets little public notice. After the first few days, even with this portion of the press, the strike news assumed less and less importance. This indifference on the part of the press, which means indifference on the part of the public, is a barometer which shows the ineffectiveness of the strike to embarrass the country nationally or to curtail seriously the consumers' coal supply.

Why this Unconcern? This unconcern on the part of the country about the present coal strike began with the strikes of 1919 and 1922 is due to a number of reasons. First, according to a survey made by the Federal Bureau of Mines reported last winter, approximately 65 percent of the bituminous coal production of the nation was coming from non-union mines. This non-union production, of course, is capable of considerable expansion in case of an active demand for coal.

Second, over eighty million tons of coal were above ground on the first of April. This is an amount more than double that which is usually carried in stock to meet current demands. Third, outlying fields are permitted, under the present union policy, to work on the old rate of wages pending the securing of a basic settlement. A few districts are doing this, involving a few thousand men.

Fourth, individual companies in the Central Competitive Field are also permitted to work if they sign a renewal of the Jacksonville Agreement. A small fraction of the total tonnage has done this. Fifth, the anthracite region is at work under a five year agreement with 150,000 men employed. In all some 150,000 men are on strike, located largely in the Central Competitive Field, which is composed of the states of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and a part of western Pennsylvania. Some of the outlying districts are also involved in the suspension.

Where the Struggle Lies
The strike is being fought most bitterly in Western Pennsylvania, where the operators, led by the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Company, two of the largest producers, are seeking to establish the open shop, which means non-union conditions and wages. These companies are producing some coal.

This fight is accompanied with all the paraphernalia of social conflict—the employment of scabs, mostly immigrants, the eviction of striking miners and their families from the company houses, court contests over evictions, defense of striking miners charged with offenses of one kind or another, limitations of the right of assembly and peaceful picketing, etc. Two and a half months of strike find the coal market dull, the strike fields are far from working full time, due to small demand for coal. Those of the outlying districts that are permitted in theory to work are largely idle for the same reason—no market.

The strike is deadlocked. No agreement that can be called basic has been reached. True, the union is without a break in Illinois and Indiana, where the traditions and habits born of more than a generation of a solidly organized unionism, coupled with a Miners Certificate Law, insures the maintenance of the union and the prevention of any serious attempt to scab the mines.

So the strike drags its weary way. The Strike Defensive
The union strategy in this strike seems to be based very much upon the theory that the most that can be expected is a renewal of the Jacksonville Agreement for the tonnage that was union when the agreement terminated in March. Thus the strike policy becomes altogether defensive. The battle front is not in some far removed, outlying border district, but in the Central Competitive Field—the Pittsburgh district—the very heart and center of union production.

Dependence on "Supply and Demand"
Even with a renewal of the Jacksonville agreement for this tonnage, the

settlement could be only a truce, because only a part of the total production would come under its terms. The Jacksonville agreement itself, made three years ago, was such a truce. Unfortunately for the miners' union, the officers did not so consider it. If they had, they would have immediately planned an aggressive and persistent campaign of organization in the non-union fields. This would have safeguarded the Jacksonville agreement. But they lulled themselves and the membership into the belief that that agreement was somehow of itself, the guarantee of peace in the industry and prosperity to the miners. Their attitude was that the job of righting this badly managed industry could safely be left to the operators alone—aided by that mysterious and beneficent force, "The Law of Supply and Demand."

This easy assumption on the part of the officers in the inherent goodness and intelligence on the part of the operators and ancient economics was due for a rude awakening. Non-union production began to increase further at the expense of the union and the coal industry began to have its effect in the union fields. Contract repudiations began on a large scale and in a short time tens of thousands of members were lost to the union.

Correct as it is the idea of no wage reductions, it is not more than a partial answer to the problem. The failure on the part of union leadership to grasp the all-importance of unionizing the non-union areas and the utter lack of any sense of responsibility on the part of the union, for the social control of the coal industry, in which the lives and well-being of the miners depend, increased the troubles of the union. The defensive policy which was pursued by the union invited the difficulties that followed. Such a policy was a tacit admission of defeat. A purely union wish to spread the strike, and long since ceased to have merit or advantage.

Lack of Unity
In the present conflict, union strike strategy has failed to unify its fighting forces. If this had been done, the union could have appealed to the latent sense of solidarity among the non-union mine workers and won a response from them on a scale large enough to spread the strike and win a settlement that would be decisive. Defensive fighting under circumstances such as exist during the present strike can, at best, only result in indecisive and inconclusive settlements, covering but a portion of the industry.

Adjustment of Freight Rates Not Enough
The officers of the International have lately been interested in the equalization of freight rates, and in certain quarters great satisfaction has been expressed over the recent decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission which cuts freight rates 20 cents a ton on coal from Western Pennsylvania and Eastern Ohio to the Lakes. They hope that this will ease, if not remedy, the situation. For the union to place much reliance on such action to secure for its members full working time and stability for the industry under present conditions is to invite more disappointments.

Inequitable freight rates should of course be adjusted. Hard pressed districts that are discriminated against may gain temporary relief from a correction of rate inequities. But the so-called scientific freight rate theory does not touch the two most important disturbing factors in the chaos of coal—overdevelopment and non-unionism. Adding or subtracting a few cents to the freight rates may shift production somewhat from one field to another, but such rate-fixing cannot secure full working opportunities nationally, in an industry that is developed to produce two tons of coal where there is a market for only one.

All for Success
Every humane and progressive citizen can not but hope that the union may win its present fight completely and decisively, because, in spite of occasional misgivings, above the weaknesses and frailties of individuals here and there, the union remains the best opportunity for progress for large masses of the people.

The least any Socialist can do to take his paper. Renew your subscription. Don't lose contact with the movement.

A large number of subscriptions have expired and will have to be renewed from the list, if not renewed. Moved. This may be. You renew.

The Economic Breakdown Under Italian Fascism

Editor's Note

An artificial attempt to save capitalism by the direct and complete control of all economic factors by the political state will not work. Italian Fascism, which is such an attempt and which has scornfully boasted that it has discovered Socialism as the force that will rule the future, is failing. Capitalism cannot even be bolstered up by centralized force. The story of the present economic troubles of Italian Fascism is here related in part by G. E. Modigliani, former Italian Socialist member of the Chamber of Deputies.

By G. E. Modigliani

Since I write merely as a passionate but faithful chronicler of events, I shall take good care not to put forward forecasts about the same nor to play in Italy between the fascist and those elements of the middle-class who are beginning to have their eyes opened. The only thing which one can foresee but not note, is that the fascist regime is showing itself daily more utopian. Ruralization, bigger population, these are the fascist dreams. They are to dazzle the middle-class abroad. They are the butty's jokes, and do not count, save to show his incapacity. But at home, where one has to act and not only to mouth phrases, at the moment when the crisis is raging, the fascist's impotence and helplessness could not be worse.

It has been noticed all at once that the "workers' trade union organization of fascism exists only on paper and for the benefit of its officials selected from "above." The fall in wages has only called forth telegrams and statements from the so-called workers' unions entreating to have salaries reduced! Comedy amid tragedy! (And it is truly a tragedy for Italian wages under fascism never have kept up with the rise in the cost of living, the index figure for which was quite recently 447 compared with 1913, while for wages the index was only 572.)

In an appeal—on behalf of lowered wages—the president of the General Confederation of Industry declared quite recently (May 19, 1927) that the industrialists have been able to go on exporting, only because they sold "below cost in 1925." But even so, during the first month of this year, exports already show the first signs of a decline. 3926 milliards of lire, compared with 4004 during the same three months of the past year. And the figures of unemployment are yet more eloquent. 119,922 in October 1926; 148,821 in November 1926; 181,493 in December 1926; 225,346 in January 1927; 269,069 in February 1927; with 63,716 partially unemployed in January and 66,113 in February. These are official figures which ought perhaps to be doubled to reach the truth, but which, together with the increasing famine conditions among the workers, mark the abrupt check in Italian production.

If unemployment is rising, bankruptcies are not behind. They have by stages reached, in March 1927, the figure of 804, almost double the monthly average in 1925. It is the tradesmen's turn to crash... after having stood by fascism so wholeheartedly. And bankruptcy is but the outlet of a life that is less and less peaceful. One is never betrayed but by one's own people. Prefects' depositions by the local fascist centers, re-appearance of the maximum prices of provisions fixed by local authorities, even the threat of being sent to police detention: the reactionary empiricism of fascism omits

nothing that never has succeeded and cannot even now succeed, in bringing down the cost of living. But meanwhile one may see from here how many people in Italy must wonder whether it was worth while to spend so much on fascism, and to risk so much in fierce struggles with the workers, in order to arrive at such a point.

Only the landed owners are not being disturbed. It would be so simple to reduce the cost of living by reducing many special duties on the produce of land. But landed property must not be touched, for fascism is to a great extent its creation. It is true there has been a pretense of reforms imposed on homeowners. But to disclose the trick one has only to let the figures speak: a 10 percent reduction on rents which are not more than 500 percent compared with pre-war, that is the fundamental rule as to rents recently laid down by Italian fascism.

It is an admitted right of the landlords to fix rents amounting to 450 percent of what they were before the war. (After the most recent reduction imposed wages also have fallen to 450 percent of the pre-war figure.) But in the meanwhile the lire has risen and a financial values has enormously dropped, thus the revenue of the owners of houses (one could perhaps say the same thing of all ground landlords) is very much greater than it appears, for its purchasing power has increased by very much more than 450 per cent compared to all the other forms of national wealth.

This is indeed a ray of light on the Italian crisis: only ground landlordism is saving itself from the crisis—it is itself the real cause of the crisis. It bears all the marks of it. Automatically it is becoming its success bulwark, its most faithful instrument.

The economic crisis therefore is acting in Italy as a strong chemical bath which is decomposing fascism while detaching from it those elements which have joined it later, and so to speak, less organically. Fascism is emerging "isolated" in its essential and primitive nature, after having cast off the political supports which embarrassed it (the liberals, the Catholic, "populists" and the democrats, who, alas, all helped it at the time of the March on Rome) it is rejecting those economic categories which are no longer in accord with its external evolution.

A cycle is closing. Fascism, of quantum origin, is rising against everything which is not country or cannot be "countryified." Once again it is betraying and throwing overboard everything which serves it no longer. But this time, it is not a question of certain political men, inadequately prepared and still undecided, but of the very "captains" of industrial production: it is a question of everything that is most active and most grasping among the petty bourgeoisie: it is a question of the nursery of bourgeois intellectualism. There may well be hitches and surprises... above all if abroad it were to be understood what is happening in the country where "the trains arrive to time," but where the crisis is developing much faster than was expected in New York and London.

In any case, the crisis will have at least in Italy opened the eyes of many well-to-do and judgments. That is something. It is even a good deal for in order that the reawakening should come, it is good that errors and prejudices should be corrected and refuted.