

Fourth of July Is Shunned This Year In South America

Coolidge's Imperialism Cause—Latin Delegates to Labor Meet Here scarce

Thanks to the vicious and stupid policy of Coolidge and Kellogg in riding roughshod over the Nicaraguans and their other imperialist acts in Latin America, July 4th for the first time was not celebrated generally in South America.

The absence of the former enthusiasm for supposed American ideals of independence, liberty and democracy, was particularly noticeable in Argentina.

Public Power Plant Has Silver Jubilee

KITCHENER, Ont.—Hydro, Ontario's public-owned electric utility, celebrated its silver jubilee here. Speakers emphasized that Hydro is so firmly entrenched in public favor that no one dreams of going back to private ownership.

House of Lords Backs Down Before Uprising of Labor

The vicious proposal to give the House of Lords, a hereditary body, the veto power over the House of Commons, an elective body, thereby disfranchising the British nation, destroying democracy and making progress to Socialism impossible short of an armed revolution, has been abandoned by its Tory and capitalist promoters, at least temporarily.

The Labor motion of censure of the Baldwin government for this monstrous proposal did not carry, because the Tories are determined to hold power at all costs, but the debate arising out of it developed a dangerous split in the Conservative ranks.

Fear and Greed Conspire to Keep Deadly Submarine

WASHINGTON—The naval conference at Geneva has failed to agree on control of the submarine. Observers of world affairs are not surprised at this failure, although the United States representatives said this country would be willing to consider abolition of the new war weapon if such action were universal.

150,000 Strike for Sacco and Vanzetti In New York Unions

By Art Shields.

NEW YORK—Tired of mere petitioning, New York workers struck for Sacco and Vanzetti. One hundred and fifty thousand to two hundred thousand trade unionists quit their shops at 4 p. m. July 7th in response to the strike calls issued by two committees with which they are affiliated.

And many thousand more workers, listening at their radios, heard the desperate story of the two radicals waiting there in their tiny cells adjacent to the death house to die.

Sees Chain Stores Grab Clothing Trade Within Four Years

NEW YORK—Nation-wide chains of retail and clothing and department stores will control the woolen industry in the near future, was predicted by William J. Baxter, director of the Wool and Clothing Research Bureau of America, in a statement just made public.

The World Becoming A Big Cooperative

The American Appeal recently published facts showing that the cooperative movement was rapidly becoming a world-wide organization with great trading fleets on the seven seas and that it is becoming more and more a prop and instrument of Labor and Socialism and a genuine approach to the coming world-wide cooperative commonwealth.

From The Pen Of Debs (Compiled by Theodore Debs)

Politicians and Preachers

"Birds have their nests and foxes have their holes but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head." Capitalism has its politicians and militarism its preachers and both are fitly described in the scriptures: "His watchmen are blind; they are all ignorant; they are dumb dogs; they cannot bark; sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber."

"YEA, THEY ARE GREEDY DOGS, WHICH CAN NEVER HAVE ENOUGH, AND THEY ARE SHEPHERDS THAT CANNOT STAND; THEY ALL LOOK TO THEIR OWN WAIN, EVERY ONE FOR HIS GAIN, FROM HIS QUARTER."

A FEW years ago one of the most prominent capitalist preachers in New York City issued a frenzied appeal from his pulpit for military preparedness.

Socialism Comes Back in Bulgaria

A remarkable recovery of the Socialist movement in Bulgaria where it was bloodily suppressed a few years ago, is revealed in the election list held in that country, according to the International Socialist bulletin issued at Zurich, Switzerland.

Mexican Labor to Support Obregon

WASHINGTON—That Gen. Alvaro Obregon, former president of Mexico, will be elected with labor support to succeed Prieto, Calles is the unofficial prediction of Santiago Iglesias, secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor on his return from Mexico City.

DIVIDENDS INCREASE AS EMPLOYMENT DECREASES

Monopoly, power and machinery development, the concentration of wealth—the three major economic developments of the day—are having a twofold effect on the population. On the owners benefitting from these developments they are conferring an ever increasing power to grab profits.

Dividends Largest In History of U. S.

Announcement that mid-year dividend and interest payments to the investor class will approximate \$550,000,000 indicates that the grabbers are getting their share in spite of the much talked of high wages and declining prices.

Unemployment Gains Throughout Nation

The April-May decrease of 1 per cent in workers employed by factories throughout the country is the smallest decrease for this period since 1923, says the U. S. department of labor. But statistics from other government departments, showing prices, trade and unfilled orders all on the downgrade, while stocks of goods accumulate, suggest that any optimism drawn from the employment report is deceptive.

New England Finns Have Big Festival

The annual Summer Festival of the Finnish Socialists of New England, which was held on July 2-3 and 4 at Fitchburg, Massachusetts, was the most successful since the split in the Finnish Federation in every respect.

Wisconsin to Hold Big Annual Picnic

Wisconsin Socialists have made all final preparations for a monster state picnic, to be held Sunday, July 17, in Pleasant Valley park, West Allis, Wisconsin.

Maurer and Laidler in New Labor Bureau

NEW YORK—The Labor Age Service Bureau, a new idea in unionism, has been organized here in the offices of the Labor Age, labor magazine, for the purpose of loaning its services to labor organizations in organizing the unorganized and smashing company unions.

Anthracite Bosses Violate Agreement on Checkoff System

Practiced Fraud and Trickery to Get Strikers Back—New Trouble Looms

SCRANTON, Pa.—Still denied the checkoff promised to International President John L. Lewis 17 months ago at the close of the anthracite strike the miners of the northern hard coal field are meeting in Scranton at their biennial convention in Bellefonte, Pa.

Cahan, Editor of Forward, in Moscow

NEW YORK—Socialist and radical circles are all agog with the news that Abraham Cahan, the veteran editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, is now in Russia. Mr. Cahan, one of the outstanding figures in the American Socialist movement, arrived in Moscow on Wednesday, according to advice received here from there from Berlin, where he spent a few weeks following his arrival from the United States.

America's Rising Billionaire Class

Confirmation of the former report in the American Appeal that in 1925 207 millionaires in the United States paid taxes on incomes of \$1,000,000 or more has come with the official government report for that year just issued. This exceeds the highest figures on one million dollar incomes on during the war.

WOULD GAS TOWN TO SHOW CHEMICAL WARFARE EFFECTS

A new method of "eradicating opinion" opposed to poison gas and chemical warfare has been proposed by one of the tools of capitalism appointed to "educate" the people. This professor would "eradicate" the perverse opinions of those opposing wholesale doses of chemical warfare. Men, women, and children—the whole population—would receive this treatment for the good of the country and the cause of chemical warfare, evidently, without going through the Bible democratic formality of obtaining their consent. Instead, the world "give them about as much warning as they would get in war." Here is the proposal as given in an Associated Press dispatch:

Table with 2 columns: Country, Societies Membership. Includes Soviet Russia, Great Britain, Germany, France, United States, India, and Ukraine.

Dr. Holmes asserted that gas warfare is really less brutal than other types of fighting. The tear gas test on some American city could be made without serious danger to life or health, he said, and would go a long way toward eradicating opinions now based on what he said was prejudice and unreasoning fear.

Sub-A-Month Pledge Inspires Activity
Get In Now

Although only 53 have taken the Sub-A-Month Pledge and joined the ORGANIZED APPEAL ARMY, this organized effort is proving a regular inspiration to these workers. There is not one failure to date to redeem this minimum pledge.

Only two joined last week. It was our smallest week. This is the time to pick up this movement and push it over the crest.

Earl McConnell, Musselshell, Montana.
Ray Newkirk, Utica, New York.
Number of Pledges to Date—53.

Read these inspiring messages from the new and old members:

In sending in a Sub-A-Month Pledge, Ray Newkirk, Utica, N. Y., hits us with a list that bowls us over. He sends in a dozen three month subs and says: "The above names are those of the enrolled Socialist voters in this city who are not yet members of the Party. Perhaps a dozen issues of the Appeal may wake up a few of them. This will start off my monthly pledge which I hereby enclose."

This is a very intelligent and practical plan. It might be followed with splendid results throughout the country. GET THE INACTIVE NONPARTY SOCIALISTS TO READING THE APPEAL. THIS IS A BIG FIELD.

L. S. Walker, Anderson, Ind., redeems his Sub-A-Month Pledge for the month and then some. He sends in three 6 month subs, and is still unsatisfied. He says: "Hope I can do better later."

Here is another letter from our ORGANIZED ARMY which shows that when they take the Sub-A-Month pledge, they go the limit for the Cause. It is a consecration that will bring a complete re-birth of the movement, if all our active comrades will take it.

Earl McConnell, Musselshell, Montana, takes the pledge, sends in a sub and writes: "This new subscriber was once a card member of the Party. After he reads the Appeal while, he will be one again. Can't do much right now, but there is going to be a big crop here this year; then look out. You will have from me more than just one a month. A lot of them here would like to take the Appeal, but can't afford it just now."

Here is a good example for organization to follow: Yipsels Circle 1, Bronx, N. Y., order 10 copies for each week in July as the fulfillment during that month of their Sub-A-Month Pledge. They couldn't fulfill their pledge in a more useful way.

Sign the Sub-A-Month Pledge below; clip out and mail to us at once.

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 .....

Socialist Party News

Party Activity

Just a few days ago, the National Office addressed a letter to all State, Local and Branch Secretaries in which action along several lines was urged. We hope every organization and individual receiving the letter will take it seriously and act. It is usually hard to get activity during hot summer months—but there is no better time to work.

New York

State Secretary Merrill, in a letter to secretaries of locals and chairmen of county committees, decries that the "matte" of putting candidates in the field for public office and Party position is not a debatable question. If organized Socialists do not attend to this matter, non Party members and Tom, Dick and Harry will do it for us at the primary. Moreover, it is the duty of every Party member to stand for nomination when called upon by his or her comrades. There can be no "slackers" in the Socialist movement.

Update comrades are reminded that the State Office has several thousand copies of the Kirkpatrick pamphlet "Out of Work" still on hand, and that anybody who will agree to distribute it can have from one hundred to one thousand copies for nothing.

The State Secretary will call an unofficial convention of Albany County at an early date when convention will endorse candidates for public office in the county and in the cities of Albany and Cohoes.

Comrade Merrill has sent in for the new organization leaflet. As stated in our last issue, this is an excellent piece of work and our Comrades should order them in large quantities.

Pennsylvania

We have heard from some of our branches and locals during the past month and as a few sent in generous contributions the financial statement this month shows a smaller deficit than last. The next two months are apt to be the dullest of the year, so I hope you will exert every effort to prevent a slump.

So far as we know as yet, Philadelphia, Westmoreland, Montgomery and Northampton Counties are the only ones that are circulating nomination papers for county officers. I hope that a number of the other counties will fall in line in the very near future for this work is very important. It is dangerous to lay off for an entire year because you think it may be easier to get on the ballot

next year. Nothing increases enthusiasm so much as activity and nothing creates apathy so much as inactivity. I fear if we fail to try to secure signers this year because the job looks too big, that when the time comes next year, our comrades will be too apathetic to secure even the small number required at this time. That is the theory that we are working on in Montgomery County, and though 560 signatures look almost impossible to us, we are going ahead and will get as many as we can. Should we fail, we will at least have kept the interest of our comrades, and those who sign the petition will know that the Socialist Party is functioning, which after all, is well worth while.

Again, I want to urge you to keep up the support for the American Appeal and the New Leader. At present, our press is the only method we have of keeping in touch with working men in Montgomery County, and though 560 signatures look almost impossible to us, we are going ahead and will get as many as we can. Should we fail, we will at least have kept the interest of our comrades, and those who sign the petition will know that the Socialist Party is functioning, which after all, is well worth while.

Radio is the modern method of communication. We must have our radio station in the very near future. This means that you must send in contributions to the Debs Memorial Radio Fund.

Ohio

To the Members and Branches, Comrades:
The opportune time is here for propaganda. Are you preparing to get your candidates in the field for the coming election? Are you going to TRY and arrange for meetings? Will you distribute literature if it is sent you? You will greatly assist in building the Socialist Party if you will answer in the affirmative. The State Office is ready to help in supplying you with literature, etc. Let's become active and build.

The American Appeal is our mouth piece. The bigger the circulation, the more Socialists, Comrade Willert urges his Comrades throughout the state to comply with his suggestion to renew subscribers to the American Appeal that have run out and when visiting such readers they should be urged to join the Party and be a dues paying member.

A newly formed Branch of the Jug-Slav Federation was organized in West-Park, Cleveland, and they give him every bit of cooperation possible in his excellent efforts to organize the movement in that State.

The campaign is here. We will help. What can you do? Let us hear from you.
Respectively and sincerely,
Yours for Organization,
—John G. Willert, State Secretary

Wisconsin

Black River Falls
Comrade L. N. Doud reports that the School District there on July 6 elected Mrs. L. N. Doud, Sr., Socialist, as School Board Director for a term of three years. She has been Director since July, 1924. She was elected by 7 out of 13 votes in 1924, and by 5 out of 9 this year. Comrades are enthusiastic of the present status of the movement and factious sentiment of great progress in Party activity from this time on.

Texas

The Socialists of Texas are making progress in organization. Another good order for due stamps has been received. State organizer David Curran, whose address is 220 West Oakwald St., Station A, Dallas, Texas, writes us and says that work of organizing the State of Texas into locals and branches in preparation for the National Campaign of 1928 began on June 23, when their first meeting was held there in the open air. He has devised a plan to have all organization meetings during the summer on the lawns of Comrades over the city of Dallas, speaking from their front porches. The Comrades of Locals all over the country will in nearly all cases turn over their front yards for meetings during hot summer months. We expect this work to bear abundant fruit for the fall and winter meetings will be staged in halls in preparation to find some way to finance the organizer so he can reach the people over the state so that locals can be established. A branch or local Dallas is likely to result from efforts so far made and I hope to tell you of the accomplishments within ten days. A disturbing and unwelcome letter was received by a member of our local who is universally loved and known over the state, a man who has been one of the mainstays of the movement. The letter is thought to be from Communists who are using tactics foreign to the policy and aims of the great American Socialist Party. It is an attempt to mislead and disorganize Socialist Party activity.

American Appeal readers will get in touch with Comrade Curran and give him every bit of cooperation possible in his excellent efforts to organize the movement in that State.

What can be more constructive than a program which calls for the collective ownership of the socially necessary means of production and distribution of wealth and their democratic management? How can anyone who accepts such a program and philosophy decide that the best way can advance and further his philosophy by committing self destruction. Nothing is more unwise.

California

Los Angeles

Local Los Angeles is embarking on a stupendous campaign to raise money to put on organizer in the field for a year. It is our aim to raise \$3000. We want to be in a position to put up a strenuous campaign in 1928. California is overwhelmingly republican and it may be that in some instances, as in the last campaign, the democrats will not put up any candidates in which case they will only be opposed by the Socialists. We held a joint meeting on June 22 and nearly \$200.00 was pledged toward the fund. We are preparing to send out 2000 letters to registered Socialists appealing for funds. We have the letters printed and will begin sending them out the latter part of this week.

Young People's Department

National Office
YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOC. LEAGUE
23 Townsend St., Fitchburg, Mass.
Aarne J. Parker, Nat. Director

Milwaukee Yipsels

Annual Outing

The North Side Young People's Socialist League will hold its annual outing at Windlake, Wis. at Borgehagen's grove, Sunday, August 7.

Interurban chartered cars will leave the Public Service station at 8:45 a. m. Round trip tickets sell for 50 cents per person.

A \$125.00 Freshman Masterpiece Console radio will be given away at the picnic grove.

The Yipsels expect this to be the largest picnic ever held.

Those desiring further information can write or call A. H. Baumann, 959 4th St., Milwaukee.

The afternoon's program will consist of a base ball game, dancing and various other games.

Everybody attending is assured a good time.

Chicago Yipsels

Abraham Epstein, National Secretary of the Association for Old Age Security, who is making a national tour will speak for Chicago Yipsels the latter part of this month.

Meetings will be held every Friday evening at the Douglas Park Lyceum, Kedzie and Ogden. Readers of the American Appeal are always invited to attend the lectures.

Is Socialism A Destructive Cause?
By Savale Syrjala

Why did nineteen high school and college students commit suicide during the first two months of 1927?

Socialism is the cause for these youthful suicides! That's the inference that the readers of "Liberty" surely will draw from a recent article in the magazine on "Why Students Commit Suicide."

The title of the article dealing with this explanation of the increasing suicide cases among students reads as follows: "Everywhere—East, West and South—in the colleges, I heard boys talk of the 'Russian School,' the 'Russian influence,' 'Naziism,' 'Marxism'—every destructive phase of philosophy and nothing constructive." At last we have been able to solve the puzzling problem for the cause of this unfortunate and sad malady among the students.

It's the old game again. When any student explains the cause of his studies the causes and then points an accusing finger at the socialist and socialism. Just as socialists are "guilty" of "practicing free love" breaking up the family, and so on, now they must be linked up as a contributory cause of the increasing suicides. The writer for the Liberty includes Marx among those whom he classifies as "every destructive phase of philosophy and nothing constructive." Now anyone who has the most elementary knowledge of socialism surely must be only the utter absurdity and stupidity of the writer. Socialism a destructive philosophy? How ridiculous!

Now if Socialism is a destructive philosophy what good is all the agitation and organizing work that its loyal workers are doing? Why would it not be better to let the writer, socialist doctrine in that case to sit hands folded instead of "wasting time" in party work. As far as we socialists know and understand our own philosophy it rests its whole case on the fact that people will work for social justice through the action of conditions that can be made better so that more people can enjoy the fruits of life, rather than a philosophy of disillusionment and despair which leads people to end their natural lives. Socialism depends first of all on living people, and real live ones at that, and not corpses.

The socialists are optimists who look for betterment rather than a continuance of something that "has been, is, and always will be." They see certain glaring defects in the economic structure of society as it is organized today, which stand in the way of giving every person an opportunity to fully enjoy the benefits of life, but they don't throw up their hands in despair and say that nothing can be done. No we do not accept defeat. Our philosophy forbids such a thing. It demands action. It differs just in this aspect from so many of the other movements that also recognize weaknesses and defects in society, that it offers a constructive program.

True Socialism is the most spiritual force in the world today. It is based upon the assumption that as long as we are enslaved by the more struggle for material existence, there cannot be in a general way any real spiritual life, and that the conquest of poverty and slavery will usher us into a truly spiritual universe.

"Walls and Bars" Off the Press
This Week—An Easy Way to Get It

The publishers have assured the Appeal and Party staff that they will begin printing Debs' great and last book, "Walls and Bars" the latter part of this week. This means that by the time this announcement is in the hands of the readers the first issues of "Walls and Bars" will be off the press.

The book is now known to the staff to its last detail. It will be a beautiful clothbound volume of 264 pages with red covers and illustrations reminiscent of Debs' prison experiences for the cause of Labor, Socialism, Peace and the Cause of Progress. Debs wrote this book himself. It is his last and crowning message. The book needs no further praise. It will be the sensation of the year.

You will all want it. The Appeal Staff has planned to make it possible for every Appeal reader to get it FREE AS A MEMENTO OF FAITHFUL SERVICE. Every reader who sends in \$5 worth of subscriptions, or orders \$5 worth of subscription cards which he can resell and recover his money, or who orders \$5 worth of bundles of Appeals will receive Debs' "Walls and Bars" free.

We are even going further than this. We are going to make it easy for you to get these subscriptions. We have lists of former subscribers and of expiring subscriptions. The majority of these former and expiring subscribers will renew at the mere asking. We will furnish such lists promptly to all readers applying for them.

Get a list of Appeal expirations and you can earn Debs' book in a few hours without spending a cent. Every volume of "Walls and Bars" received by our workers as a memento of service will contain a signed statement on the fly leaf to this effect.

Walls and Bars
Prize Winners

The following Army Members sent in orders of \$5 or more during the week for subs, sub cards and as donations and will receive Debs latest and last book—WALLS AND BARS as soon as it is off the press:

John L. Wraether, Mayfield, Ky., \$5.00 subs
U. M. McGuire, Chicago, \$5.00 subs

Matt Semple, Ottawa, Kansas, \$5.00 subs and cards

Henry J. Hufnagel, Irwin, Pa. \$6.00 subs and cards

A. Kaiman, Milwaukee, Wis. \$5.50 subs

Henry Heesaker, West De Pere, Wis. \$5.00 subs

M. H. B. Chicago, contribution, \$5.00.

Debs' Photo

J. Narverud, Spencer, Minnesota, \$5.50, subs.

Army Record

The week's record for subscriptions and renewals and for contributions to the Sustaining Fund was a good one. A slump in sub card and bundle orders was all that saved us from another record week. A danger of deficit is piling up against the Appeal during these mid-summer months. WE CALL ON THE ARMY TO MAKE A SPECIAL EFFORT RIGHT NOW! We are sure the going will be considerably easier in two months. Here is the record for the week ending July 9, 1927:

Cards ..... \$ 9.00
Bundles ..... 3.10
Subscriptions ..... 112.50
Promotion & Sustaining Fund 63.00
Sub-A-Month returns ..... 2.00
Total ..... \$189.60

Fund Report

Contributions to the American Appeal Promotion and Sustaining Fund for the week ending July 9, 1927, were as follows:

M. H. B. .... \$ 5.00

On Pledges

Morris Berman, Pleasantville, N. Y. .... \$20.00
Annie Berman, Pleasantville, N. Y. .... 10.00
Morris Hillquist, New York City, N. Y. .... 1.00
Joseph E. Cohen, Philadelphia, Pa. .... 25.00

Sub-A-Month

H. E. Nelson, Mountain View, Calif. (previous pledge) .... \$1.00
Gordon Long, Jeffersonville, Ind. .... 1.00

Total Funds ..... \$ 65.00
Previously reported ..... \$4,518.69
Total gifts since Jan. 1 ..... \$4,583.69

Honorable Mention

In addition to the list of single subs and renewals during the week, which is too long to print, and the prize winners who sent in \$5 or more and whose names are in the prize lists, the following Army Scouts sent in more than one sub: Joseph Hazzard, Lorain, Ohio, yearly sub and renewal; V. H. Speller, San Diego, Cal., subscribers for the Appeal for two years; Harry L. Nelson Mechanicsburg, Pa., two yearly subs and renewal; Hector Boles, Leonia, N. J., renewal for year and a half; Local San Francisco, J. Steiner, Secy., bundle, \$1.00; Local Seattle, Wash., Max Dorn, Secy., 8 three month subs; Frank Erben, Cleveland, Ohio, 2 yearly; Charles Lantz, Riverside, Iowa, renewal and bundle, \$1.50; Gordon Long, Jeffersonville, Ind., renewal and donation, \$2.50. This was from a Sub-A-Month pledge. Joseph E. Chamberlain, Stamford, Conn. \$2 to pay for subs selected by Appeal Staff; S. Pollacchioni, Italian Federation, 2 yearly subs; A. M. Stocum, Los Angeles, three renewals and subs; Carl Gravballe, Lowell, Mass., 2 yearlies; W. D. Summers of the Organized Army, 2 subs.

Army Messages

Lots of renewals, good subscription work and messages from the field gladdened the collective heart of the Appeal staff this week. When we read some of these messages we thought, a movement that is again beginning to develop such a spirit after what it passed through during the war and after, cannot be destroyed, is bound to come back. Here are some of the messages.

Rev. Ed. Peterson, Fallon, Nevada, renews and subscribes for his sister and writes: "I am trying to do what little I can for the principle I love so well. It is identical with the teaching of Jesus Christ—a reign of righteousness—the only reign that will make Peace on Earth and good will among men and solve the economic problem."

Louis L. Clay, Burlington, Vermont, right in Cal's own state, sends in a sub and says: "You are very kind to send me the sample copy of the American Appeal of July 2. Here is my sub. It is the best Socialist weekly paper I have ever read. Can you tell me how to join the Socialist Party? Is their a Party organization in Vermont? Now be sure and send me the Appeal!"

Otto Probrock, Cloversville, N. Y., says: "Here is my renewal. Very glad you sent me the reminder. I certainly like your paper, though there is no labor movement in this town. Some day they will wake up."

A. H. Eager, the busy secretary of Local Red Bluff, Cal., sends in 24 names and addresses to get the Appeal three months. That's the kind of work that makes Socialists.

S. T. Daggett, Joseph, Oregon, is one of the many who has promised to do more for the Cause in the future; he says: "Here is my subscription. I am sorry not to do better now, but will try to do better, and will keep on trying."

"I don't want to miss a single article on the Farm Problem and remarks: "Tim True's articles are very good, indeed." If there is anything that makes the Appeal staff happy it is the awakening interest among the farmers.

Ezra Averill, Ada, Mich., sends for the numbers containing Tim True's articles on the Farm Problem and remarks: "Tim True's articles are very good, indeed." If there is anything that makes the Appeal staff happy it is the awakening interest among the farmers.

L. N. Doud, Black River Falls, Wis., renews and sends in the following news: "As you say you want news of Socialist activity, I thought you might be interested to know that Mrs. L. N. Doud was elected a member of the board of school directors for a term of three years. She has been a director since July, 1924 and was re-elected in spite of the fact that 5 or her former supporters moved away. I am planning a county ticket for the Socialist Party here in 1928. In the meantime, I am going to get as many subscribers for the Appeal as I can. I am a member of the Organized Army of the Appeal and was one of the first to take the Sub-A-Month Pledge." We sure like to get news like that.

Eagerness of the Appeal Army members to get a copy of Walls and Bars grows week by week. J. S. Boswell, Conesville, Iowa, can hardly wait until it is off the press. He pledges the \$5 worth of subs and wants the book now. We sure would send it to him if it was off the press, but believe he will get in within a week.

C. C. McCormick, San Luis Obispo, Cal., subscribers and writes: "I and a good many more would like the Appeal a good deal better; if it would show a little more toleration toward the Communists. I am a Communist and brotherly love is pulsing in my soul. My best wishes to you and all honest liberals." We are pleased to get a good, fair letter like this from

a Communist and reciprocate his good fraternal feelings. I don't think we have been intolerant toward Communists, but we have resented a good deal of Communist intolerance toward us.

Farmers Union Radio
Radius is Restricted

The Farmers Union in the Corn Belt put up a radio, KTNT, located at Muscatine, Iowa. Along comes the Radio Commission, largely controlled by the gentlemen who have considerable financial interest in radio, and cut the radius of this progressive farm organization station, which had been broadcasting unhappy thoughts to those who should believe that everybody is rolling in wealth, from 10,000 to 1,100 watts.

The Administration faces a hard fight in the 1928 election. The President's next speech to radio operators may suggest that any speech over the radio criticizing the President's domestic policy is inviting to sedition and entitles the speaker to life imprisonment or at least being bored to death by listening to all of the President's speeches.

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# NEWS AND VIEWS

## The Average American

Prof. H. L. Hollingsworth of Columbia University finds from a study of government records of 93,000 persons that the average American has the mentality of a normal 14 year old child and that he is a victim of ignorance and superstition. This applies, of course, to the average man of all so-called civilized countries. He is a standardized product of capitalism. He is what he is because the industrial system under which he exists has no use for him except to exploit his labor power and keep him properly submissive while it is doing this. The capitalist system could not continue long unless it suppressed everything in the average man except the qualities of a human mule and a useful slave. Originality, the boast of the self-styled individualists, is dangerous to the present system, as is real independence of character, real moral courage, real moral and spiritual initiative, real thought power, true idealism. The suppression of all these higher qualities, and of other high qualities begins at the cradle. The school system, family training, the social conventions, the printed and spoken word in every form, every avenue and instrument of information and education are used to produce a submissive slave, a "safe and sane" citizen, a willing tool of the interests behind the system. The result is the moron uncovered by Prof. Hollingsworth. We will never have really fine and normal adult human beings, with all their splendid powers in action; intelligent, upstanding, aspiring. UNTIL WE HAVE A SYSTEM ESSEN-

## Chicago Tribune's Amazing Discovery

The Chicago Tribune has made a profound discovery. It has discovered that this nation is ruled by propaganda. We are astonished that such a powerful propaganda sheet as the Tribune was not aware of this. But the Tribune has also discovered that 400 propaganda organizations maintained agencies in Washington at a cost of about \$15,000,000 a year. The facts and observations volunteered by the Tribune are interesting. The Tribune rates first in importance as a first class menace, such pacific organizations as the Federal Council of Churches with its 22,000,000 adherents, and other peace forces, which together knocked into a cocked hat the Tribune's scheme of a war with Mexico. We learn that America is more bolshevik than capitalist because "the great powers in the new invisible government are the self-styled moral, political and social reformers" working "under the direct auspices of the churches in pursuing their objectives, with a multitude of radical groups shading from the deep red of the Communists down through the pink of the parlor Bolsheviki." The Tribune writer sees "the pacifists, the idealists and the radicals united by the common bond of the new internationalism." A much less pow-

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# APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

## We Need More Science

### Editor's Note

Is Marxian economics a completed system? Is it in process of development? What new developments might be suggested in view of the industrial evolution of the last forty years—particularly the complex developments in this country?

Ernest Untermann in a series of articles especially written for the American Appeal, at the request of the Special Article Editor, will seek to answer these and other questions. Comrade Untermann, the foreign affairs editor of the Milwaukee Leader, is one of the foremost Marxian students of the present day. He is the translator of the three volumes of Marx's Capital (Kerr edition) and the numerous other classics of Engels, Dietzgen, Labriola, etc., and is the author of Marxian Economics, Science and Revolution, etc.

Comrade Untermann, moreover, has the capacity of setting forth economics in a clear, simple style that cannot fail to illuminate the whole subject. The series should be followed carefully by all students of the socialist movement.

—H. W. L.

### Article I.

#### By Ernest Untermann

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels are the acknowledged leaders and founders of scientific Socialism. Their direct pupil, Karl Kautsky, is the recognized living authority on Marxian Science.

It was the boast of Marx and Engels that they transformed Socialism from utopian speculations into a social science. It is the practically unanimous opinion of the theoretical leaders of the world's Socialist parties that Karl Kautsky more than any other living Socialist showed us what can be done with Marxian Science.

I am the last man to deny these claims. I am a disciple of these men. I spent the best years of my life learning all that they offered and handing it on to the American Socialist movement in translations of their own works, in literary contributions, in the editing of the American Socialist party in every state of the Union.

**Socialism a Science: In Pioneer Stage**

With this experience back of me, I say: Socialism is a science, but a science in its pioneer stage. It is not yet a full science. It offers magnificent opportunities to Socialist scholars for its improvement and extension.

Neither Marx-Engels nor Kautsky ever claimed that scientific Socialism was a finished science. They spent all their lives perfecting it. They urged their friends to labor with the same devotion in the Marxian field.

Because Marxian science did not spring from the head of one, two or three men as perfect as Pallas from the head of Zeus, it grows in travail like all things of this universe. It grows by struggle, experiment, controversy within and without, burning away its dross in the fierce crucible of daily practice.

**Reason for Differences Among Marxists**

It was this way from the first public clash of Marx-Engels with the official intelligentsia of capitalism or with radicals like Proudhon and Bakunin. Within the Marxian camp, because the differences between Marx and Lassalle, Marx and Wilhelm Liebknecht, Kautsky and Bernstein, Hyndman, Quilch and Bax in England never got along with the Kautsky faction in Germany. Guesde in France was always at odds with Jaures, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and other Spartacists had different ideas about Marx than Kautsky and the Socialist majority.

Lenin and Trotsky never agreed with Kautsky, soon began to differ from one another, and began in Soviet Russia what Stalin and Zinoviev are now carrying on. It will continue so, until Socialist theory and practice co-operate better with the aid of more perfect thinking.

We have had our full share of these growing pains in the United States, that were the differences between Skunk and Kangaroo in the Socialist Labor party but efforts of growing minds to understand and apply Marxian science? What of the perpetual repetitions of the same controversies in the new parties formed after each split? What of the evolution of the I. W. W. copying the same course as the schisms in the European and American Socialist parties?

Again, what of the same typical stages in the evolution of Leninism, Trotskyism, Zinovievism, Stalinism? The evolution of the I. W. W. copying the same mind pattern? Are they due only to a misunderstanding of Marxian science, or are they also in part due to flaws in Marxian science magnified by unconscious vagaries of the Marxian minds? Do they indicate that the mental development of Marxians is subject, unconsciously to them, to a law which pushes them at times into directions contrary to their scientific method, their "dialectics"?

It cannot be denied that they bear the same general stamp throughout. The differences cannot be completely explained on the different social conditions from which they arise. They come up also among Marxians living in the same environment. Besides, Marxian science precisely claims to be a reliable interpreter and guide through problems arising from conflicting social conditions. Evidently, however, the Marxian guide, who started with the slogan "Workers of the world, unite," set a bad example of division and therefore cannot be conscious of his own mental laws as fully as he claims to be conscious of the laws of social development.

Of course, we cannot get away from differences in our movement which arise from the steady influx of new and inexperienced members into the places vacated by the experienced veterans. Neither shall we ever get rid of disorganizers, political schemers, traitors, etc. But we can overcome the tendency to make the same mistakes as the old veterans. We don't get away from them by sticking our heads into the sand, diluting the Socialist science to please this or that popular prejudice, this or that social condition, or soft-peddling on the implications of Marxian science for the sake of petty and temporary advantages. We can improve Marxian science and to that extent remove those differences which arise from flaws in its own body.

If Marxian science is to be improved for the practical work of the Socialist parties, it can be done only by improving upon Marx, Engels and Kautsky. It can't be done by pushing them aside, jacking jobs at them, tampering with their work. Neither can it be done by making saintly idols of them. They never claimed to be above criticism. On the contrary, they invited criticism. Of course, being human, they sometimes resented criticism that was more nearly right than they.

**Some Vital Controversial Problems**

I want to deal here only with those Socialist differences which are undoubtedly due to flaws in Marxian Science. Among them, which I handle particularly, those which betray themselves by controversies, splits, or bloody conflicts over the following questions:

- 1) Shall we prepare for a constructive peaceful evolution towards political and industrial dictatorship, or shall we prepare for a violent revolution and a proletarian dictatorship?
- 2) Does co-operation with capital-

ist parties necessarily imply a violation of fundamental Socialist principles?

- 3) How far did Marx and Engels correctly forecast the historical drift in the mechanism of capitalist business and its effects on the fate of the middle and working classes?
- 4) What new facts about the evolution of the capitalist mechanism have been disclosed since the death of Marx and Engels, and what notice have later Marxians taken of them?
- 5) How do these facts affect Marxian economics and the class war?
- 6) To what extent can the Socialist parties be guided by Marxian science? Can "dialectics" guide tactics?
- 7) Just what is the scope of historical materialism (the materialist conception of history)? Is it just a method for the interpretation of mass movements in economics and politics? (Or does social research by means of historical materialism imply a method of thinking (theory of understanding, epistemology)? Does it also imply a science of the universe (world conception)?
- 8) Did Josef Dietzgen contribute anything new and important to the Marxian science, and can his work be developed by Marxians in subject, unconsciously to them, to a law which pushes them at times into directions contrary to their scientific method, their "dialectics"?
- 9) What relation has historical materialism to the science of Darwin, Weismann, Mendel, De Vries?
- 10) Has historical materialism anything to do with Pragmatism and Behaviorism, and with their Neokantian and Machian counterparts in Europe?

These questions disclose at the first glance that Marxism has left both its own internal problems and its relations to other sciences rather vague. Some of these questions do not reach directly into the practical work of the Socialist parties, but they do reach into the fundamental framework of Marxian science.

### Lip Service to Marx

I understand, of course, that most Socialist politicians are not guided by Marxian or any other science. Most of them pay lip service to Marxian science, but get along in practice with very small doses of it. At critical stages, they shrug their shoulders, saying that Marxian science offers no advice on this or that knotty problem of politics.

These articles are for Socialists who really want to apply science to their daily work. My avowed object is to promote Socialist unity by improving Marxian science. The object of Marx and Engels was to have Socialist leaders use science in their practical work. My object is to have them use a better and better Marxian science. To that end I want to remove the theoretical causes of our schisms removed.

### Aim Unity

Let no one identify himself with this critique for the purpose of sowing new schisms. Those who agree with me will never split any Socialist party. They will rather help to unite those which remain split. They will rely upon the historical development to prove them right or wrong.

The understanding and control of the laws which shape our mental development in itself a process of evolution. It depends upon the make-up as well as upon biological and social development. It cannot be forced on anybody by mere words. But if there is a law of mental evolution which enables us to remove the theoretical causes of our divisions and to promote unity, we should know it.

The whole force of my critique tends towards patience and tolerance with any honest differences of opinion. Marx said at the start of his career: "Workers of the world, unite!" I say: "Marxians, unite first by improving your own science and clearing to the workers a more reliable guide through life."

### American Finns Mostly Radicals

The conservatives of Finland were given a little surprise when 762 American Finns, who have lived in the United States for periods varying from 10 to 30 years, arrived in Helsinki on the liner Lancaster for a visit to their mother country and who in answer to the official reception that was extended to them in the Finnish capital not only sang the Finnish national anthem but lustily responded with "The International."

"The Social Democrat," the leading Finnish socialist paper, sent several correspondents to Kiel where they boarded the boat in order to get impressions of the American Finns.

The correspondent writes: "Not only were the great majority of them physical workers but their entire outlook on life was sympathetic to labor; they were divided into socialists, communists, and syndicalists. This was self-evident in the meeting that was held in the large dining hall of the boat after an evening entertainment. At this meeting was discussed in what way they would respond to the official reception that they knew was to be arranged for them at the Finnish capital Helsinki. Especially heated was the discussion as to what song should be sung. That "The International" should be sung was the opinion of the overwhelming majority. The small minority of the conservative insisted that the Finnish National Anthem should be sung and even threatened that they would get ashore from the Lancaster in the same boats unless it was not sung. The socialists were of the opinion that both songs should be sung, the first one to show that the arrivals were Finns and the second to show that they are workers to whom belonging to the labor international had such significance as any nationalism. This opinion was held by the chairman of the meeting Onni Saari who has edited a number of socialist papers in America. From the spirit of the meeting it is inclined to conclude that among the American Finns the divisions are much clearer and sharper than in the old country."

### Making Italy Safe For U. S. Investors

Mussolini is lowering the wages of the poor, thereby making them richer and reducing the taxes of the rich, making them richer. These acts are prompted by the interests of American investors and undoubtedly represent the ideal of the American capitalist. The story of this amazing process is told in the following news dispatch:

Rome, July 9.—Premier Mussolini received representatives of the Italian industrial factions and approved their plans for the reestablishment of prosperity.

These include: lower taxation; cheaper transportation and reduction of wages and other factory costs, all to conform to the newly established figure for a stable Italian currency.

Results of the conference will be watched with interest by Americans, who are ready to invest in Italy.

### German Here to Study Militarism

Ten years after the entrance of the United States in the World War for the avowed purpose of putting an end to militarism in Germany, Germany is sending army officers to America to learn from us the latest lessons in militarism as this news-dispatch shows:

New York, July 4.—Maj. Conrad Stephanus, commander of the 3d battalion of the 4th German Infantry, arrived on the liner New York today to study army posts in the United States. He said he was interested particularly in the training camp at Plattsburgh, N. Y., the operation of which he will study with the view of establishing of a similar camp in Germany.

Stephanus comes to America upon the recommendation of Col. Arthur L. Conger, United States military attaché in Berlin, who witnessed the spring maneuvers of his battalion.

## WERE THERE A CHILD

By George F. Hibner

Where there a child, somewhere, that needed sun; that needed flowers, wild fields, wild hills; that with these, were forming queen; lips, brow, eye—each were model for Grecian marble, voice more sweet than Heaven's; oh, were there then, somewhere, one to sing!—to sing her brow, her eye, her lips, her voice, till all must see her Beauty's self, and none could see her sold in mill!

Were there a child, somewhere, that Profit held, and set at staving in his mill—child whose Grecian form he bent!—whose Grecian brow and eye he set with care!—whose voice and lips he locked or stealed!—child that, else, were forming queen, Heaven-voiced, hair "all golden-tint in the sun"—oh were there then, somewhere, one to sing!—to sing that hair till it were fairest cloud in all the sky, and all must see—sing that throat, that voice, that brow and eye, till each itself were singing, ringing, pleading, till all must hear, and none could see her sold in mill!

Were there a child,

# How Youth Can Help The Labor Movement

## Editor's Note

One of the most unique addresses at college commencement I have ever heard—and one of the soundest—was that delivered last June by Dean A. J. Muste, head of the Brookwood Labor College, to the graduating class of this resident labor institute in Katonah, N. Y. Dean Muste did not tell the young men to go out and get jobs. He did not declare that America was the one 100 per cent country in the world. He told the graduates, who had been sent there from the mines, the machine shops, the textile mills and the clothing factories how they could be of the greatest service to the labor movement. He emphasized to the movement the great need of younger people. His advice was good for every phase of the radical movement in America. The address was afterwards reproduced in Labor Age and is of such an excellent character that the Appeal has asked labor Age for permission to reproduce it.

—H. W. L.

## By A. J. Muste

(Dean Brookwood Labor College)

There are many countries in the world today in which the most striking and significant developments is a youth movement. In not a few instances this is a labor movement. China, India, Italy, several of the South American countries, Austria, Germany, Holland, Belgium, the Scandinavian countries, England, come to mind in this connection.

In certain spheres of our own American life there is a strong organization and movement of young people, in some cases at any rate, beginning to achieve distinctive and creative expression. Among the younger young people, there are, for example, the various kinds of Scout movements. Among the older young people there are the numerous church organizations and the student movement in the universities and colleges.

The American trade union movement has, according to all available figures, a relatively small proportion of young members. It has no young people movement to speak of. The only semblance of a youth movement having any connection with

## American labor is in the extreme left wing movement.

### Trade Union Movement Needs Youth

American unions need a steady infusion of young people, need perhaps a youth movement of some sort. That any organization is in constant need of new blood, if it is not to stagnate and die, is so obvious that it is perhaps hardly worth saying it. We may note, however, that there are certain factors in the present situation such as the steady loss in membership in some trade unions, the falling off in attendance at union meetings, the lack of enthusiasm, which are disturbing our most loyal and most conservative trade unionists.

Not only do our existing unions need young people and the contribution which they can make but it seems likely that we shall have to depend to a very considerable extent upon American labor youth to organize the unorganized. We frequently hear people calling desperation upon the Federal Administration of Labor to organize the basic industries. Doubtless the A. F. of L. has a responsibility for assisting organization work wherever opportunity may offer and is seeking means to meet that responsibility. We have to be clear in mind, however, that the A. F. of L. is not primarily an instrument for organization purposes. Under our American plan, responsibility for organizing is placed primarily upon the international unions. In the case of many of our basic industries today, no international union, however, has clear jurisdiction. In other cases, jurisdictional lines are so hopelessly confused that it seems impossible to solve the difficulty except by some process of cutting the Gordian knot. In any event, every group of workers must in the last analysis organize itself. Nobody else can do the job for them. Organization, like liberty, is something that cannot be handed to people from without or above. It must be fought for and achieved.

If this is in some measure a correct view of the situation, then it would appear that in organizing the unorganized, we are going to need a good many foot-loose young people who

are not yet burdened with heavy personal or family responsibilities, who can afford to travel about, to lose their jobs frequently, as a penalty for attempting organization work, who can carry on various kinds of organizational work at small expense to the bodies that may sponsor their activities, who can afford to take risks, to go to jail, and so on.

The problem of utilizing the energies of our labor youth has to be approached from two angles. These are on the one hand the question of introducing new people from time to time into the leadership of our local, district, state, national, and international labor organizations. And there is on the other hand the larger problem of utilizing the energies of the rank and file of our young people as a whole. In connection with the first much might be learned from the practice of the great modern business enterprises. Not only is big business prepared to spend millions of dollars upon educational enterprises either general or specialized, but there is a deliberate policy of encouraging young people of ability and initiative to rise in business organizations and all possible sources of supply are eagerly searched for such young people. Under our highly competitive modern conditions no big business enterprise would expect to survive on any other basis.

### Wanted: a Youth League

In connection with the second phase of the problem, that of enlisting the energies of the rank and file of young workers, it seems to me that we might profitably consider the possibility of developing something in the nature of a trade union or labor youth league. Religious, charitable and political organizations of all kinds have such auxiliary youth organizations and would not think of carrying on without them. It is true that a special difficulty needs to be guarded against in the case of the trade union since the trade union could not possibly tolerate anything in the nature of a dual organization that might attempt to take over the union's bargaining function. But while this is a danger to be considered, it hardly seems to be an insurmountable one. There is probably no inherent reason why a labor youth organiza-

tion should displace the union any more than the numerous young people's religious organizations have in any sense displaced the churches with which they are affiliated.

In some such youth organization, young people would receive training in running a successful enterprise and might learn to correct many of the mistakes which otherwise they might perpetrate in later years in attempting to administer the affairs of the union itself. It would immensely strengthen the morale of the unions if thru their own organizations young people obtained great deals of their recreation in connection with the union, instead of obtaining it from the boss through the company union, as is so often the case at the present time. The workers' education movement would be strengthened and enriched if it were a spontaneous movement, rising from among young people eager for training that would enable them to function in their own organizations. Furthermore, in connection with organization campaigns, strikes, civil liberties conflicts and so on, there are numerous practical services to the movement that young people could render.

### Resistance of Older People

So soon as we begin to talk about getting new blood into the movement, we encounter a certain resistance among older people. Young people coming into the various labor enterprises with which we are connected, often receive a cold reception or a hot one or a lukewarm one, but very seldom a warm and cordial one from us. We are afraid of losing our jobs. We dislike being disturbed in the routine way of doing our work. We are afraid of the bungling and the haste of young people, remembering the harm we wrought by bungling and haste in our own younger days. We are afraid of that thing in young people to which at the present time we usually apply the term bolshevism. That is to say, afraid of their rebelliousness, their ardor for better things, their willingness even to smash what already exists in order to get at something that seems better. All of these difficulties are perfectly real. Young people do, whether they realize it or not, often

want to take older people's jobs away from them. It is human for them to think that they can improve upon their elders. It would be very unfortunate for the world if frequently it were not so. Young people do have a way of wanting to do things differently and so disturbing the routine. They do bungle many times; they are often in too much of a hurry and they are disposed to be rebellious, whether in a particular situation rebellion be needed or not.

Recognizing these difficulties does not, however, solve the problem. The fact remains that the labor movement, like any other movement, must choose one of three possibilities. First, either the movement uses the energies of youth, harnesses them to the work that needs to be done, or, second, the movement fails to attract young people and presently dies of dry rot, or, third, the movement having young people but failing to use them will in some way be rent asunder by the explosive energies of its own youth.

### Don'ts for Youth

If, however, we thus encounter a psychological resistance among older people which makes it difficult to achieve effective use of the energies of youth in the movement, it is also true that young people frequently complicate the problem unnecessarily. At the risk of being didactic and preachy, I venture to set down a few maxims which it seems to me are worthy of some consideration on the part of young people who want to be truly useful in the labor movement.

1. Don't be somebody who is going to do something. To the labor movement, somebody who is going to be and do something in the labor movement. In every union there are plenty of humble tasks to be done. Set about doing some of them, get people familiar with you, accustomed to seeing you as a part of the picture, before you put your own pet idea in the front window. Perhaps a few of you have been in the movement for some time you may get the opportunity to do something to it if you still want to.
2. Don't get the Messiah or the Moses-lead-the-movement-out-of-the-wilderness complex. That may be all

right if you happen to be a Moses, although I think that even Moses got away with it in spite of his complex and not because of it. People under fifty who try to tell people over fifty just how to run the world have simply never been popular. Don't be in a hurry. Don't go off half-cocked. Some things have to grow; they can't be made. There are some things that you will be able to do after you have been in the movement for ten or twelve years, that you could not do the first year, even if you were the greatest genius ever born.

4. Don't be a cry baby. A cry baby is anybody who quits trying. A cry baby is anyone who always finds someone else to blame except himself. When things go wrong and even your most honest efforts meet with opposition, don't always blame the A. F. of L. or the labor fakery; blame yourself once in a while. There is no royal welcome awaiting you in the movement; you are not entitled to it. No seat is worth anything any way that is built for you by somebody else.

### Don't Play from the Side Lines

5. Don't become the clever fellow who plays the game from the side lines. Young people in the movement usually profess a very great disdain for the intellectual. It might be well to remember that the psychoanalysts and blind hate for something it usually means that at the bottom of our hearts, we want to be that thing ourselves. Be in the game, take your part in the day to day work of the movement; don't play the game from the side lines.

6. Don't be a nut. A nut is someone who is so obsessed with his own idea that he doesn't see it in relation to other ideas nor in its effect on the people he is dealing with. He is the kind of person who can make a speech, for example, and keep right on talking even when everybody has about enough of him, not even about workers' education.

7. Don't play for the limelight all the time. There are still some things that can't be done effectively in the limelight, such as making love or bringing up babies. Much of the im-

portant work of the movement, for example, has to be done quietly in committee meetings. There is no more misleading notion than that the success of a cause depends on the number of people making speeches. You can succeed in making speeches, but not for a chance to exercise your power, when we think that we are only looking for a chance to do our names. I don't tell you to be a shykev but I do tell you to be afraid of being called one. The other hand don't fall a prey to the hypnotism of words. Use your own mind and deal with reality, not with slogans. Don't be one of those people who throws a fit every time the A. F. of L. is mentioned or the cow; every time someone says "collaboration" or "class struggle."

### Don't be a Cynic

10. Finally, and most important of all, don't become a cynic. Don't grow up; don't get old; don't give down; don't lose your nerve; don't be giddy; your willingness to take a risk. People are supposed to grow wiser as they grow older. A lot of us acquire precious wisdom but we do develop a cynicism which causes our minds to grow old, our hearts to grow stale, which causes mental and spiritual skeletons and ghosts, even while we grow fat and possibly do to ourselves. The great movement is to let that cynicism go. All the mistakes you can possibly make by haste, bungling and reverence for your elders and the other supposed shortcomings of youth, could not shortly be as vast as that. You should not get out of your union if you can help it. If you can help it. But it would be infinitely better to be fired from your union, to be thrown into jail and to fail in the world's estimation, than to lose that burning desire for your nerve, your energy, your determination at every cost to build a better movement and a better world than now is.

—From Labor Age

# Money Nationalization - Why It Alone Will Not Save Producer

## Sees Farm Cure-all In Nationalizing Money

By Tolley Hartwick (Meredith, Montana)

Some time ago you published my letter favoring "nationalization" or "socialization" of our monetary system, as a major project of economic reform. Since then my mail has been amazed — dumfounded — me — and pleasantly so.

It would require all the space in the Appeal for one year for one to discuss adequately this money and taxation matter. But, may I briefly depict one little phase?

If, when Christ was a little boy, he had borrowed one little American penny, at compound interest at 10 per cent, and left the debt to posterity, how much do you suppose his successors would be owing by this time?

100 years that penny would have swollen to over \$10,000. From then on let us suppose the rate to have been only 5 per cent, compounded annually. By the year 1900 A. D. that penny would have grown to SIX-BILLION-BILLION-TRILLION DOLLARS, many millions for every human being and for each and every acre of the whole earth's surface, including deserts, mountains and oceans. No wonder that we have sleek, idle, worthless, multimillionaire heirs, drones and sportsmen. (You fellows "from Missouri," get out your pencil and tablets, and algebra.)

And yet, if you were to mold a billion gold dollars and bank-notes into a tree or a machine it would not grow even a copper penny. How then could that lone penny have grown to be many times greater than the whole earth?

Mr. Farmer, Mr. Industrial Genius, Inventors, Labor, et al.: That colossal interest had to be produced by genius and labor. You produce it but do not get it. Is there then need to pursue further the problem as to where the returns from all farming, labor and genius go to? Need we wonder why the American Farmer's net income averages \$71.00 a year less than nothing? (See 1924 Year Book, p. 1182). Or, HOW SUPER-FINANCIALS LOUNGING IN SWIVEL CHAIRS GOT PRESENT CONTROL OF THE WHOLE EARTH AND ITS INDUSTRY?

Under the present situation I market a dollar's worth of wool, and when I buy it back as a suit of clothes it amounts to \$40.00. I sell a cow-hide for \$1.00, and it costs \$40.00 to buy it back as shoes or harness. I market a dollar's worth of wheat and pork, and it costs \$40.00 to buy it back in sandwiches. How so? Because my product has been levied on for interest, some direct but mostly indirect, 20 or more times before the money gets back to me. How CAN there be living left?

I am living in a territory where 84 per cent of the farmers have gone broke or had to quit; but I doubt if over 2 out of the 84 were left, just how the fruits of their 16 hours a day of drudgery, were absorbed right out of their hands—farms, homes and all.

Now, as to "nationalizing" or "socializing" land and other natural resources: one way is by such a "single-tax" on farm-land as will eliminate all speculation in land, and, by leaving to the farmer, free of any tax-penalty, his cattle, sheep, buildings and tools, and all other things that he produces by his own labor. Dis-

## Editor's Reply

It is impossible to more than touch briefly here on a few of Mr. Hartwick's various points.

Socialists are as much opposed to the private monopoly of the money system and the consequent imposition of INTEREST as Mr. Hartwick is. But Mr. Hartwick's illustration of how the financial owner is bound eventually to pay everything is not a perfect illustration because we have had the system of INTEREST in operation for ages—long before Shakespeare's Shylock demanded his pound of blood—and the outcome that Mr. Hartwick portrays has not happened.

Why hasn't it happened? Why haven't the beneficiaries of INTEREST and their descendants realized that SIX BILLION-BILLION-TRILLION DOLLARS in gains since CHRIST SIMPLY BECAUSE THERE ARE OTHER FACTORS IN THE CONCENTRATION OF PRIVATE OWNERSHIP THAT MR. HARTWICK HAS NOT TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION.

These other factors in the accumulation of private wealth are RENT and PROFIT. Now it happens that RENT and PROFIT are not as gossamers as still very powerful and own in their own name a considerable proportion of the wealth of the world, despite the indisputably cumulative power of INTEREST squeezer. But between the three of them, they have grabbed about everything of commercial value in sight on this planet.

But right here we will have to concede a great deal to Mr. Hartwick's contention—the INTEREST drawer, that is, the financial capitalist—has for some time been gaining ground on the RENT and PROFIT makers (the industrial and commercial capitalist). In fact the financial capitalist, or banker, has gained so rapidly on the other two classes of owners that he has become the real overlord of the present system.

Not only has the banker won a CONTROLLING position over the industrial and commercial owner, but he is rapidly acquiring and OWNING interest in INDUSTRY, TRADE and REAL ESTATE. He has even raised the possibility that in time he may actually become the main OWNER of industry, trade and real estate.

This being true, we will have to concede at once that in any plan of socializing or nationalizing property the money system is very necessary and very important. There is no step of socialization that is of great moment or of more importance, than to have the entire money apparatus and actually issued money PARASITIC AT THE COST OF THE SERVICE-

The first hydro-electric unit of the Guernsey power plant of the North Pacific Reclamation project was to be completed about July 1st, 1927, and the second unit a little later. Each unit will develop 3,400 horsepower and the gross revenue will be \$100,000 per year.

# How The Richest Nation On Earth Is Becoming Poorest

## America's Unparalleled Career of Loot, Exploitation and Waste

By Stuart Chase

That America was never poorer in real wealth, though never richer in money wealth, than at the present time, was the contention of Stuart Chase, author of the forthcoming "Consumer in Wonderland" (Selected by the Book of the Month Club as its July publication) and of "Tragedy of Waste," at the Friday evening, June 24, session of the June Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy, at Camp Tamiment, Forest Park, Pa. Mr. Chase spoke on "The Richest Nation on Earth." He said in part:

EXCEPT A SMALL INTEREST REPRESENTING COST OF SERVICE IN OTHER WORDS, ALTHOUGH INTEREST WOULD BE A THING OF THE PAST, PROFIT AND RENT AND ALL THE PROCESSES CONNECTED WITH PROFIT AND RENT WOULD REMAIN.

They would PROFIT and RENT operate with the same power as now, if the people should take over and operate the medium of exchange? The only answer to this question is that they would, UNLESS THE PEOPLE WENT FARTHER AND SOCIALIZED THE MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE BEHIND PRIVATE PROFIT AND RENT.

In fact, the profit makers and rent takers WOULD NATURALLY ABSORB WHATEVER GAIN WERE MADE BY THE ABOLITION OF PRIVATE BANKING AND INTEREST. The reason for this is because as the dominant section of the owning class in possession of industry, transportation, marketing and trading, and real estate they could determine BUYING AND SELLING PRICES, WAGES AND RENTS. THEY COULD TAKE BACK AGAIN MOST IMMEDIATELY FROM THE PEOPLE EVERYTHING THAT THE PEOPLE HAD TAKEN FROM THE MONEY KINGS.

They would get their money cheaper than now. They would get it at the government cost of banking service. And in this they would have the advantage of all other classes because they would have the proper security and most of the security. IN FACT, THE ENORMOUS PROPERTY REPRESENTING MOST OF THE MATERIAL AND VISIBLE WEALTH WOULD CONSTITUTE PERPETUAL SECURITY. FOR LOANS THAT WOULD MAKE THEM THE NATURAL BORROWERS IN THE NATION AND THUS THEY WOULD HAVE MOST OF THE MONEY ANYWAY. In other words, THOSE WHO OWN MOST OF THE PROPERTY ARE BOUND TO BE THE ONES WHO USE MOST OF THE MONEY.

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In fact, the profit makers and rent takers WOULD NATURALLY ABSORB WHATEVER GAIN WERE MADE BY THE ABOLITION OF PRIVATE BANKING AND INTEREST. The reason for this is because as the dominant section of the owning class in possession of industry, transportation, marketing and trading, and real estate they could determine BUYING AND SELLING PRICES, WAGES AND RENTS. THEY COULD TAKE BACK AGAIN MOST IMMEDIATELY FROM THE PEOPLE EVERYTHING THAT THE PEOPLE HAD TAKEN FROM THE MONEY KINGS.

They would get their money cheaper than now. They would get it at the government cost of banking service. And in this they would have the advantage of all other classes because they would have the proper security and most of the security. IN FACT, THE ENORMOUS PROPERTY REPRESENTING MOST OF THE MATERIAL AND VISIBLE WEALTH WOULD CONSTITUTE PERPETUAL SECURITY. FOR LOANS THAT WOULD MAKE THEM THE NATURAL BORROWERS IN THE NATION AND THUS THEY WOULD HAVE MOST OF THE MONEY ANYWAY. In other words, THOSE WHO OWN MOST OF THE PROPERTY ARE BOUND TO BE THE ONES WHO USE MOST OF THE MONEY.

# How The Richest Nation On Earth Is Becoming Poorest

## America's Unparalleled Career of Loot, Exploitation and Waste

By Stuart Chase

That America was never poorer in real wealth, though never richer in money wealth, than at the present time, was the contention of Stuart Chase, author of the forthcoming "Consumer in Wonderland" (Selected by the Book of the Month Club as its July publication) and of "Tragedy of Waste," at the Friday evening, June 24, session of the June Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy, at Camp Tamiment, Forest Park, Pa. Mr. Chase spoke on "The Richest Nation on Earth." He said in part:

EXCEPT A SMALL INTEREST REPRESENTING COST OF SERVICE IN OTHER WORDS, ALTHOUGH INTEREST WOULD BE A THING OF THE PAST, PROFIT AND RENT AND ALL THE PROCESSES CONNECTED WITH PROFIT AND RENT WOULD REMAIN.

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The "net income" of the District of Columbia for the year 1927 was \$288,923.91 after paying operating expenses, interest and taxes. And after paying \$123,717.00 the debt account there still remains a "balance" of \$75,206.91.