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Is to teach Socialism and organize the people politically and industrially to bring Socialism.

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EUGENE V. DEBS, Founder

WILLIAM H. HENRY, Business Manager

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Norwegian Labor Party Wins Tremendous Victory

Berger Plans Real National Third Party

National Chairman Sees Unity of All 3d Party Elements on Socialist Program

Victor L. Berger, who has succeeded Eugene V. Debs as national chairman of the American Socialist Party and who has been the sole representative of the Socialist party in Congress for a number of years, is planning a course of action by the Socialist party calculated to draw all the real opposition elements throughout the nation into unity with the Socialists as a real national third party capable of wielding great influence on events and developments in America.

More Realistic Program

Into this task Berger will throw his long experience and knowledge as a successful political leader. By his practical methods Berger led for a quarter of a century a local Socialist movement in Milwaukee that has stood the test of time, weathered the war and violent and reactionary post-war periods, and stands today as a monument to Berger's practical ability. The Milwaukee Socialist party is as strong as it ever was despite conditions that have almost wrecked all radical and liberal movements in America and brought the organized labor movement to the lowest ebb in its history.

Berger's hopes for a real national third party were expressed in New York City where he has thrown himself earnestly into the campaign to elect Socialist adherents, judges, and assemblymen under very promising conditions. Berger believes not only that such a party has become imperative and inevitable, but he believes the time is ripe and conditions are such that such a party will naturally accept the fundamental demands of the Socialist platform as every great and growing opposition party in Europe, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and South America has already done.

New Party Badly Needed

"The nation needs a new party and needs it badly," Mr. Berger said. "The two old parties are now one. There is nothing to distinguish one from the other. For democracy to survive, it is necessary to have a big, strong opposition party founded upon principle."

Although he indicated the designation of the insurgent party was immaterial, there can be little doubt that Mr. Berger thinks the party should be identified with the Socialist party. He believes Socialism in the United States is riding upon the upward turn of the wheel. He has many economic facts and statistics to cite to show that the new large-scale industrialism, plus the very cessation of immigration, means means depending wholesale conversion to Socialism.

Proud of His Party

He is as proud of his party and as sincere a believer in its future as he had that day 33 years ago when the great Pullman strike was on in Chicago and Berger, the young editor of The Wisconsin Worker, in Milwaukee met and made a Socialist of the late Eugene V. Debs. Berger called attention to the fact that the Socialists were the real originators of much legislation and many conditions that have been established by other parties in America. Among them, light and power plants and other public utilities, free hospitals and free medical service.

Our Splendid Record

"But we Socialists have only just begun," said Berger, "we want fundamental progress in an orderly way. We want to save the water power for the nation, to reforest wherever possible; to protect our American civil liberties, to solve the burning question of unemployment, one of our methods being federal and state insurance against unemployment, we want old

THE DEADLY PARALLEL

Sacco's Goodbye To His Son

My son, do not cry. Be strong to comfort your mother. Take her for walks in the quiet country, gathering wild flowers, resting beneath shady trees, and visiting the streams and the gentle tranquility of the Mother Nature. Do not seek happiness just for yourself. Step down to help the weak ones who cry for help. It is the persecuted, because they are your better friends. They are your comrades who fight and fall, as your father and Barto fought and fell, to conquer joy and freedom for all the poor workers.

Gary's Advice to His Heirs

I earnestly request my wife and children and descendants that they steadfastly decline to sign any bonds or obligations of any kind as surety for any other person, or persons; that they refuse to make any loans except on the basis of first-class, well-known securities, and that they invariably decline to invest in any untried or doubtful securities or property or enterprise or business.

From The Pen Of Debs

(Compiled by Theodore Debs)

The Color Line

In every political party save alone the Socialist party the color line is sharply drawn although every effort is made at election time to obliterate it and to have it appear that all men are equal without regard to their previous condition of servitude. A more ghastly lie than this was never told. The colored people in this country are to a large extent free in name only and most of them are actually deprived of the ballot. The politicians who do not openly despise them cunningly contrive to control their votes in a way to keep them where they are when the election is over one of their number, the most active ward worker, is given a janitor's badge and permitted to clean the cuspidors of the white politicians in recognition of their political equality with the white race.

It is the veriest fraud and false pretense and no one knows this better than the hypocritical politicians who practice it.

In the Socialist party, upon the other hand, there is no color line. The only line drawn there is the class line, the line between the exploiting master and exploited wage-laborer.

The colored worker is as welcome to the Socialist party as the white worker; it is not the color of his skin, but his economic status and his political principles that determine his eligibility to membership.

The working class regardless of color make up the Socialist party and beneath its banners all have equal rights, equal duties, and equal responsibilities. All are alike recognized as human beings and it is the purpose of the party to establish an industrial and social system in which they shall have the rights and enjoy the freedom of human beings.

The ruling class care not one whit whether the labor power they exploit is clothed in white skins or black skins; they draw no line in the skinning business and it suits them quite well to have the "white trash" and the "niggers" making senseless war on one another to their common undoing, knowing quite well that as long as the slaves are full of ignorant prejudice and fight one another it will be all the easier to keep the whole of them in servitude.

Socialism, which means the abolition of wage-slavery, will make it possible for every human being, regardless of race, color or sex, to have work, to make a decent living, to enjoy the fruit of his labor, and to live an honorable and useful life.

Bare Slanderous, Lying Methods of War Propaganda

General Bowley Fully Exposed By National Council for Prevention of War

The war propagandists and militarists of the United States are endeavoring to boost their unworthy cause by the spreading of most vicious and outrageous lies concerning the peace movements of this country. Unable to meet in a fair way the honest purposes and straightforward arguments of the advocates of peace, they are deliberately deceiving the people and attempting to arouse their prejudices against all peace movements by branding these movements as communist and "red" movements under the direct pay and dictation of Moscow.

The most notable example of a large organization of citizens falling bodily like fish into this net was pointed out in recent numbers of the American Appeal, the example being that of the Illinois Federation of Labor at its annual convention at East St. Louis, when it passed a resolution containing practically all the silly, ludicrous and vicious charges of the war propagandists.

Now it has come the turn of one of the prominent dispensers of militarist slander and falsehood to be caught in his own trap. Brig. Gen. Albert J. Bowley, U. S. A., spoke before the Chamber of Commerce forum in Columbus, Ohio, his address being a part of the "whispering campaign" which the Reserve Officers' Association instituted, he asked his audience to give no publicity to his remarks and then proceeded to attack the National Council for Prevention of War in bitterest terms and particularly its Executive Secretary, Frederick J. Libby. Four of his hearers who were aware that he was uttering falsehoods made affidavit to his having made the following specific charges:

1. That Mr. Libby was educated for the promotion of communism in Russia by the Russians.

2. That after returning from Russia he taught communism in Pennsylvania.

(Continued on page 2)

age pensions for every worker, man or woman, over 60 years, who has never earned more than \$1,500 a year.

"You ask whether the Socialist party has finished its work. In answer I say, when labor has been emancipated and capitalist anarchy and strife, and all concomitant evils such as poverty and war have been abolished—then and only then will the Socialist party have fulfilled its mission."

Form Committee to Prove Innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti

Like Banquo's ghost the Sacco-Vanzetti case, which the ruling class of America fondly hopes was buried with these martyrs, is coming back to plague, confound and damn them and their murderous system, and shake its rotten structure as it has not been shaken for years in this country.

The Civil Liberties Union reports from New York, its headquarters, the following news:

"Formation of a national organization dedicated to the establishment of the innocence of Bartolomeo Sacco and Nicola Vanzetti was announced Tuesday night by Forrest Bailey, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union at a dinner conference held by Le Cercle Victor Hugo at the Civic Club, 18 East 10th St. The Civic Club offered the room for the dinner after the manager of the Fifth Avenue restaurant had cancelled an agreement to hold the meeting in his place because of objections to the subject matter. Robert Morris Lovett was chairman of the conference.

"The work of the organization of the new national committee will be completed under the auspices of a provisional committee of which Mr. Lovett, who is professor of English at the University of Chicago and one of the editors of The New Republic, is in charge. Temporary offices have been opened at 705th Ave., Room 411. Miss Mary Lena Wilson is secretary. The proposed permanent name of the organization is the Sacco Vanzetti League for Justice.

"The program of the organization, as outlined by Mr. Bailey at the dinner, is to examine and analyze what ever clues led to the fixing of the theory of guilt on Sacco and Vanzetti for the murder of the paymaster and guard in South Braintree, Massachusetts, seven years ago, to attempt to discover who were the real murderers, to open files of the Department of Justice to see whether there is not evidence that Sacco and Vanzetti were innocent, to publish a complete record of the case, to publish in book form an analysis of the Lowell reports by experts, to study possible reforms of law in order to prevent miscarriages of justice and to collect a fund for the education of Sacco's children.

"Speakers at the dinner conferences included Robert Morris Lovett, Norman Thomas, Director of the League for Industrial Democracy, Harry Kelly, Founder and Chairman of Mohegan Modern School, Paxton Hibben, Captain, Reserve Officers Corps, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, editor of the Crisis, Forrest Bailey, Director American Civil Liberties Union and Arthur Warner, Associate Editor of The Nation."

Fine Memorial in Debs Home Town

The feature of the week is the unexpected large number of Debs Memorial Meetings all over the country. News has been flooding into the Appeal office of successful meetings in places that have been wholly inactive for years. The alibi of inactive Socialists that Socialist meetings in some localities have become impossible has been thoroughly exploded.

Most interesting of these meetings is that held in Debs' own home town—Terra Haute. This meeting was arranged on short notice but it drew a most enthusiastic and generous response. The hall was crowded to capacity by the many friends and admirers of Debs both in and out of the labor movement.

Rev. James Kelly, a comrade, was speaker. Kelly was a close and long standing friend of Debs and has always fought on the side of the workers. The large audience was greatly affected by his eloquent and touching remarks.

Berger Enters Campaign

Representative Victor L. Berger, Socialist of Wisconsin will lead the Socialist forces in Second Municipal Court District this week. Congressman Berger arrived in New York on Monday from Detroit, Mich., where he attended a meeting of the national executive committee of the Socialist Party and was elected National chairman to succeed Eugene V. Debs.

Congressman Berger will address eight meetings in support of the candidacies of Judge Panken, Norman Thomas, August Classens, Samuel Bardsley, and the other Socialist candidates on the east side.

Financial assistance sent in care of the New Leader may result in a Socialist victory that will thrill the Socialist movement of the whole country and start activities that will spell still greater victories in 1928.

U. S. DEMOCRACY CHALLENGED BY NEW DRIVE OF MILITARISTS

American militarists have started a drive to obtain an appropriation of \$21,000,000 for developing, testing and equipping the most terrific of the man-killing explosives and machine science is creating today. One by one military machines of the various nations are passing into the dreadful stage known as army mechanization. Great Britain, Italy and France are rapidly building up wholesale murder machines such as the imagination of man has never conceived before. The British government now has military units that travel rapidly and silently in steel forts that move to strategic points and are armed with artillery and machine guns of diabolical destructiveness.

The achievement during the week of an Italian aviator in traveling by airplane 301 miles per hour, lifts the curtain on a peculiar weapon of destruction which the monster Mussolini hopes to make an invincible and world-conquering force—a mighty, swift moving air fleet, armed with bombs for blowing up the strongest fortifications, burning cities, spreading deadly poison gas and disseminating disease germs through the air.

The army drive for \$21,000,000 is the sinister announcement that the United States will be forced by our militarists into this suicidal race of death unless the enlightened, constructive elements of the country develop enough opposition to make this impossible. Not that the United States has not been preparing secretly the dreadful weapons in this contest. From time to time has come news of startling developments along these lines. But the drive for this appropriation is notification that the movement is entering its larger and more dangerous phases. We are to have a mechanized army and an invincible air fleet of death to alarm the world and draw all civilization into certain suicide unless we become thoroughly aroused to the situation.

The tragedy of this situation lies in the fact that military mechanization by only one or a few governments provokes world-wide resentment and fear, driving other nations hurriedly into this increasing race to destruction. The continual cry that drives nations after nation toward this precipice is national security. But as a matter of fact, every increase in military mechanization makes the whole world more insecure—makes the nation that thus arms more insecure from the very world forces it unleashes.

Another equally appalling result is the fact that a modern mechanized military machine is practically insincible for purposes of tyranny and oppression. It is a machine that cannot develop in a democratic country without finally completely destroying democracy. Every mechanized military machine is the certain and invariable foundation of a military dictatorship. Every country in the world today has an owning class which has monopolized practically all the sources of wealth and employment. The monopolistic power of this class is everywhere threatened by the rising movement of the people. There is not the slightest hope but that the owning class will lay its hands on these new mechanized military systems and use them without mercy whenever it deems such action necessary to preserve its power.

There is no escape from this situation and this dreadful termination of it except in the rapid closing of the ranks of all the forces of democracy and peace. The largest gap in the ranks of democracy and peace exists in the United States. Now these forces are squarely challenged by the first military movement in America on a big scale toward a highly mechanized, machine-made army. Such a part will imperil the whole world in the cause of the supreme position, the unparalleled power of American capitalism. There devolves upon the forces of democracy and peace in America the greatest responsibility that every generation of men and women.

New York Labor Backs Socialist Party Candidates

Election Activities Are Most Extensive Put Forth For Many Years

NEW YORK.—Organized Labor is coming increasingly to the aid of the Socialist candidates in the municipal assembly elections. Among other citizen bodies to endorse the Socialists in preference to the candidates of the old parties is the Citizens' Union, a nonpartisan body. It has endorsed and placed itself squarely behind eighteen Socialist candidates.

The joint council of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters with 40,000 affiliated members has strongly endorsed the candidacy of Charles Solomon for the assembly from the 23rd Brownsville district. Solomon has also been endorsed by a number of strong national organizations including the Organized Railroad Men's Nonpartisan League of Greater New York. The Teamsters have endorsed William Karlin for judge, Court of General Sessions.

Socialist leaders regard the re-election of Jacob Panken as judge of the Municipal Court as certain. Harry W. Laidler, Executive Secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy and Feature Editor of the American Appeal is developing a surprisingly enthusiastic and responsive campaign and his election is now considered possible. The Italian Trade Unions have placed themselves solidly behind Panken.

Favorable Russian Report Foreshadowed

A favorable report by the American Labor Mission to Russia was foreshadowed at a large meeting in Madison Square Gardens, New York, as the American Appeal was going to press. The press dispatch said:

NEW YORK.—Conditions in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics have been grossly misrepresented to the remainder of the world, according to Jerome Davis, professor of practical philanthropy at Yale, who was among the speakers today at a mass meeting in Madison Square Gardens. Six thousand persons paid \$1 each to hear speakers discuss the recent declaration of American labor militants who toured Russia to learn at first hand how things were going under a communist regime.

A resolution favoring recognition of Russia by the United States was adopted.

Norway Labor Is Strong in Cities

The present national victory of the Norwegian Socialists really began a year ago when the Labor Party and Social Democrats made great gains and won not a few victories in the cities and town of Norway. Socialism is militant in Norway and the process of Socialization was begun immediately where there were working class administrations. One of the most notable examples of Socialization, or municipal ownership, is that of the movies.

Movies have been municipalized in Norway. City and town administrations, generally being governed by a majority of Socialists supported by Communists, during the last seven years have summarily confiscated the movie houses by the simple expedient of refusing to extend their licenses and then, without compensation, taking over the management themselves. Only one small district near Oslo has refused to do this, but it is expected this will not continue long.

Once the owner of thirty-five movies in Norway, J. C. Gunderson is today administrator of the Oslo Kinematograf, the movie monopoly. He received no compensation for his property except his appointment to this position. Today he manages Oslo's fourteen movies, and during the first seven months of this year the monopoly rolled up a profit of one million kroner—about \$250,000.

Socialists Gain Power

"Clearly recognizing that the Socialist party alone still offers a possibility of uniting the workers and effectively resisting the reactionaries, the undersigned announce their allegiance to the Socialist party," the manifesto goes on.

"True to the principle of serving only the interests of the working class, the undersigned Communist members of the Fourth city council are convinced that their constituents approve of this step.

"The undersigned urge their old friends and fellow Communists to follow this example and to promote the unity and solidarity of the working class by joining the Socialist party."

Process Continues Elsewhere

In France and other nations of central and western Europe, the Communist parties pass through a similar process of dissolution as in Germany.

In Belgium and Austria, the Communists have dwindled into utter insignificance. In France, the tendency of the experienced Communists to return to the Socialist party is on the increase.

For instance, in St. Etienne, a large group of Communists which left the Socialist party some years ago, recently asked to be taken back into the fold. This dissolution of the Communist parties outside Russia is a reflex of the internal fights of the Stalin and Trotsky factions in Soviet Russia.

Can Force Repeal of Vicious Labor Laws—Socialist Cabinet Possible

One more European nation has advanced to the door of Socialism! In the bitterest election struggles in the history of Norway between the threatened capitalists and the aroused workers the united Labor Party and Social Democratic Party made a gain of nearly 100,000 votes, virtually doubled working class representation in the parliament and leaped from the position of third party in Norway not only to first party, but to a representation in parliament as large as that of the next two parties combined.

Norway now joins Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Belgium, Latvia and Finland as the countries where the Socialist party is the largest party and is close to majority power.

The tremendous gain of the united Laborites and Socialists is told in the following figures: Their vote increased from 190,000 in the former election to 270,000 in the election just held. Despite the fact that the communists conducted a campaign of their own and sought to draw the workers to their banner. The communist vote declined from 50,000 to 35,000. The entire working class vote was thus 305,000.

61 Seats
The new standing of the Norwegian parliament will be composed of 61 Socialists or Laborites, 3 Communists, 32 Conservatives, 27 Agrarians, 32 members of the party of the left. The Socialists will thus have more seats than the Conservatives and Agrarians combined. They will not have enough seats to put through measures of purely Socialist and labor nature but will possess enough seats to prevent any legislation on the part of the reactionary and capitalist parties not wanted by Labor. They can even prevent the approval of the national budget. They will thus be in a position to force the reaction to repeal a number of vicious anti-labor laws passed by the last scorching. The left party, which claim to be a radical party, by voting with Labor on any issue will enable the enactment of that issue. If this party is not a party of pure reaction, the prospects are good for much progressive

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Socialists Increase Throughout Europe As Communists Fade

BERLIN.—The dissolution of the Communist Party is assuming sweeping proportions in Germany. The total membership, the national and local vote, the number of elected Communists, are falling off more and more.

One of the effects of this collapse is the intricate war between Communist leaders. Another is the return of whole Communist groups to the Socialist party.

Councilmen Join Socialists

The Communist councilmen of the Bavarian city of Fuerth recently returned to the Socialist party in a body. In a public manifesto, they gave their reasons for this step.

"The political conditions in Germany are more and more depressing the economic position of the working class," this manifesto declares. "Only a powerful party of the workers can remedy this. Past experience proves that the Communist party cannot reach this goal.

"The attitude of the Communist party and its increasing dissolution produce more and more injurious results for the labor unions and for the workers in general.

"Socialists Gain Power
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WHAT SOCIALISTS ARE AFTER

Full opportunity for full development is the unalienable right of all.

WE DEMAND.
The earth for all the people.
The machinery of production and distribution for all the people.

The collective ownership and control of industry and its democratic management in the interest of all the people.
The elimination of rent, interest, and profit, and the production of wealth to satisfy the wants of all the people.
Cooperative industry in which all shall work together in harmony as the basis of a new social order, a higher civilization, a real republic.

The end of class struggles and class rule, of master and slave, of ignorance and vice, of poverty and shame, of cruelty and crime—the birth of freedom, the dawn of brotherhood, the beginning of MAN.

This is Socialism.

—Eugene Victor Debs.

WEVD Opens With Debs Memorial

NEW YORK.—Dedicated to the interests of the labor movement, Station WEVD, the first Socialist and labor broadcasting station in the East, opened formally Oct. 20 at 9 o'clock and broadcasted a comprehensive program until midnight which included an unusual array of musical numbers as well as short congratulatory addresses by several speakers prominent in the Socialist, labor and progressive movement. The speakers included the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Norman Thomas, Morris Hillquit and Arthur Garfield Hays.

The opening date commemorated the first anniversary of the death of Eugene V. Debs in whose memory

Socialist Party News

The Party Appeals In Name of Debs

Assessment Stamps

The drive on sale of Memorial Voluntary Assessment Stamps will close on December 15th.

New York

State Secretary Merrill urges locals to make every effort to sell Debs' Memorial Assessment stamps during the period October 20th to November 6th, inclusive.

Schenectady

The political mess in Schenectady this fall has been augmented by the filing of an independent petition by Chas. A. Simon, former Mayor, and one of the losers in the primary for the Republican nomination.

New England District

Debs memorial meetings have been held in Maynard, and will be held in Amesbury, October 21st, 8 P. M.; Quincy, October 22, at 74 Arthur St., at 8 P. M.; Gardner, October 23, at 21 Ash St., 7:30 P. M.; and Lawrence, October 30, at 41 Berkeley St., at 2 P. M.

Wisconsin

Preparations are being made for a number of Debs memorial meetings in Wisconsin County and other parts of the state. On Friday, November 11th, the North Milwaukee Branch will hold a Debs memorial open meeting at its community hall, at which William Coleman, state secretary of the Socialist Party of Wisconsin, will be the speaker.

Montana

Comrade James D. Graham, State Secretary of the Party in Montana, has just told us that Comrade Earl McConnell of Musselshell has organized a local of the Socialist Party with ten members.

Utah

Comrade O. A. Kennedy, secretary of the Rocky Mountain District, reports that he has placed all of the assessment stamps in the hands of the membership of his district.

Pennsylvania

The Socialist Party is on the ballot for the election November 8th—the membership is determined to see that it stays there.

New Jersey

The Debs Memorial Voluntary Assessment stamps have been sent to all the branches and members-at-large, and an immediate reply was received from an old time Jimmie Higgins who is now paralyzed.

Illinois

Local Cook County of the Socialist Party held a general membership meeting at the Douglas Park Auditorium on the Afternoon of October 23rd.

Indiana

The Socialist organization of Indianapolis will hold its Debs Memorial Meeting on Friday, October 28th, 8 P. M., at 49 1/2 S. Delaware St., Indianapolis.

Ohio

Debs Memorial meetings have been arranged for Cleveland—one on October 28th at Collinwood, Ohio; speaker, John G. Willert.

List of Philadelphia Socialist Candidates

For Mayor, Fred Hodgson, organized Pocketbook Workers Union. For District Attorney—John N. Landberg, well-known Socialist attorney.

Yipsel Circle for Chicago North Side

Names of Young People are being gathered to organize a Y. P. C. on the north side, Chicago. All young Socialists or near Socialists or even those who would like to get into an organization of young folks and study Socialism, should get in touch with Lillian E. Levitt, 922 North Hoyne Ave.

Appeal Reader Flays Both Old Parties

Butte morning papers recently coupled the name of Con Lowney with a list of aspirants for appointment to the office of commissioner of Silver Bow County.

Support the Class War in Colorado

Striking Miners in Colorado under the leadership of the I. W. W. are making a fight for better conditions and the power that belongs to them wherever found on picket duty.

Wilson Cory Wants Partners

One of our old time comrades in the movement, Wilson Cory, whose address is Hot Springs, National Park, Ark., wishes to hear of men who would be able to make an extensive trip over the United States in a house automobile.

Bertrand Russell to Speak in Chicago

Bertrand Russell, the English scientist and philosopher, will be the speaker at the first meeting of the Chicago Forum next Sunday afternoon, October 30th.

The following signed statement of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party was prepared at the recent meeting in Detroit. It will reach you almost a week before the close of the Memorial Period between the dates of the death and birth of Comrade Eugene V. Debs.

Your National Executive Committee, meeting in Detroit in anticipation of the national election next year, has concluded its labors. It has considered reports from the field, surveyed our opportunities, arranged to hold a national convention next April and prepared for important work for our great Socialist Cause.

This statement reaches you on the first anniversary of the death of our noble chief and leader, Eugene V. Debs, who gave his life for the working class and the Socialist ideal of a classless and classless world.

Appeal Fund

The contributors to the American Appeal Promotion and Sustaining Fund for the two weeks are as follows: Forward Association, New York City \$500.00

On Sub-A-Month Donations

W. S. Lybeck, Riverside, Calif. \$2.00

Walls And Bars Prize Winners

The American Appeal has received many orders for sub cards and gifts from its little valiant, hard fought Army during the past two weeks.

Bare Slanderous War Propaganda

This communication was transmitted to General Bowley, who, finding himself without evidence for his charges and with no support from his supposed sources, gave up and according to authentic information received by us later from the Secretary of War, ceased talking on the National Council for Prevention of War and its Executive Secretary.

loved better than life itself. No more appropriate period could be chosen for this work, beginning on the anniversary of Debs' death and concluding on the date of his birth.

Every man, woman and child in the working class and the working class belonged to him. Unflinching in the hour of trial, going to prison because of his fidelity to you, broken in body yet unbroken in spirit, Debs passed on, a challenge to our ruling class and an inspiration to the labor and Socialist movement of the world.

Memorials for Debs

We therefore urge you to obtain the cooperation of sympathetic organizations and friends in the sixteen days of memorial service dedicated to the Socialist movement.

That Mr. Libby and the National Council have as their impelling motive the overthrow by violence of our form of government.

General Faced With Own Statements

These four affidavits were sworn to before a notary. (This should always be done as soon as possible after false statements are made).

Complete Vindication Ends Case

I categorically and emphatically deny each and every charge of General Bowley as transmitted, and make no reservation in my refusal to be a witness to any charge of Communism.

Two Great Lessons

The political victory of the working class in Norway strikingly illustrates the value of working class unity and it brings out the fact that a great crisis in which labor faces the danger of enslavement and reduction to a lower standard of living is capable of exerting itself in great strength.

mittee also calls special attention to the Debs memorial stamp issued by the National Office. It is a special voluntary assessment stamp to be purchased by party members at a dollar minimum per stamp, or more according to the means of each member.

The proceeds from sales of these stamps and collections at memorial meetings, are to be divided a fourth to the local, a fourth to the state organization, a fourth to the National Office, and a fourth to The American Appeal.

Finally, we send a warning to our members, friends and sympathizers. A period of industrial depression is setting in. Gorked with fabulous loot, our masters of industry and the working class are facing another breakdown of industry.

why would it not be well for Mr. Libby to bring a personal suit against General Bowley for libel? This sometimes has a very good effect.

Norwegian Labor Wins Great Victory

Although, much the strongest party, the Labor Party will not be permitted to form the cabinet under the last party votes with it for this purpose.

Can You Answer These?

When your friend, neighbor, or relative asks you the following: What will be the incentive to work under Socialism? Will Socialism destroy individuality? The Home? Religion? Who will do the dirty work? How will industry be taken over? And the thousand and one questions usually asked by those unfamiliar with the meaning of Socialism, you may already be satisfied in your mind as to the proper answers to all the above, but can you formulate answers that will carry conviction? If not...

Two Dollar Book for Fifty cents

Dr. Joseph H. Greer 253 Pages 35 Illustrations Health and Long Life by Natural Means. Most back of not satisfied.

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A SOCIALIST WEEKLY In Pages Five Weekly. Indispensable to anyone who desires to be well posted on the affairs of the Labor Movement here and abroad.

Vorwaerts

GERMAN SOCIALIST WEEKLY The only one in the Middle West Editor, HEINRICH BARTEL 25 30 per year; \$1.25 for six months Published at 233 Chestnut St., Milwaukee, Wis.

meets the needs of humanity abroad is becoming apparent at home.

All this enforces the need of preparation for the struggle ahead. The two parties of capitalism have no program and no program. They have no issues and they avoid real issues. They drift with the system they represent and are only concerned with public power and party plunder.

In the face of problems that confront the nation we must inspire the working masses with their potential power, the need of united political action, of breaking old party fetters, of moving as a great army of enlightened voters to the ballot box to wrest power from the despoilers.

National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party

VICTOR L. BERGER JOSEPH A. SHARIS WALTER VAN ESSEN JAMES ONEAL WILLIAM R. SNOW JAMES D. GRAHAM MORRIS HILLQUIT WILLIAM H. HENRY Executive Secretary.

the Norwegian government from furnishing the law is repealed, or should the Labor Party from the movement of can turn the law around and use it against the employers to force wages up to the highest point possible under existing conditions.

Can You Answer These?

When your friend, neighbor, or relative asks you the following: What will be the incentive to work under Socialism? Will Socialism destroy individuality? The Home? Religion? Who will do the dirty work? How will industry be taken over? And the thousand and one questions usually asked by those unfamiliar with the meaning of Socialism, you may already be satisfied in your mind as to the proper answers to all the above, but can you formulate answers that will carry conviction? If not...

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NEWS AND VIEWS

How Imperialism Works in Nicaragua

Although the American Federation of Labor was afraid to condemn U. S. imperialism until it had made an investigation and ascertained if in reality America is imperialistic, it had under its very nose one of the worst examples of capitalistic imperialism on record in the form of the latest administration decision regarding Nicaragua.

Deadly Parallel In Coal Settlements

Seventy thousand German coal miners in the lignite district in Germany in less than a week have won a signal victory by strong use of their industrial organization and their political organization.

WEVD BRINGS NEW LIGHT INTO THE WORLD

By Morris Hillquit

(Address Delivered on the Opening of the Debs Memorial Radio Station, October 29, 1927)

This Radio Broadcasting Station is dedicated to the memory of Eugene V. Debs. Its call letters E. V. D. stand for the initials of his name and it is highly fitting that the station should be opened on his death, the first anniversary of his death.

Eugene V. Debs holds a place of his own among the illustrious figures in American history. He did more of the things that ordinarily bring fame and glory to men. He did not lead armies to victory on battlefields. He did not attain to a position of power in government or industry or one of eminence in science or art. He made no great discoveries or inventions.

To the generations of the future Eugene V. Debs will rank with the great humanitarians and liberators of all ages as a sublime symbol of love and service.

court, which virtually create an open shop field in several states. No one knows what the coal operators will do the next time these political victories in the courts after present mine strikes expire in April.

Alabama Reveals Old Party Politics

The Ku Klux Klan of Alabama has been implicated in hundreds of most barbarous mobbing and floggings. It has broken the law and practiced intimidation on the courts. Its members are all Democrats in good standing.

Vicious Propaganda of the Money Trust

For supreme and unadulterated nerve in spreading propaganda poison place your bet on the agents of high finance and you will win. Here is a typical example of about equal parts of poison and bluff.

U. S. Democrat and Fascist Dictator

My friend, Mayor Jimmy Walker of New York City and Benny Mussolini of Italy, had a fine old time together lately if the cables are to be believed. They fell in and all over in love with each other, to hear them tell it.

It is almost unbelievable that such a man should be thought worth recognizing, but first the vast ignorance of that section of the community and second the vote pondering of the modern politician must be remembered and taken into consideration.

It was this all-absorbing, all-dominating passion of human love which inspired every public and private action of Eugene V. Debs throughout the whole of his life, that gave him the magnetic, almost superhuman hold on all persons with whom he came in direct contact, and which set him apart from other men.

And it is in this spirit of Eugene V. Debs that the Radio Station WEVD has been established and is now dedicated to his memory.

WEVD stands pledged to the service of the people as was Eugene V. Debs. It will incessantly combat injustice and oppression in industry, government and in our relations with other countries. It will steadfastly endeavor to promote the great cause for which Eugene V. Debs has lived and died and for which millions of the best men and women all over the world are struggling, the cause of progress, peace and liberty.

"ignorant" of all these facts so closely related to his own particular business?

The banks are working for the continuance of private ownership. Does this arrogant money king deny so simple and well known fact as this? It is well known that the international financiers are engaged particularly at present in compelling governments that happen to be in financial trouble to turn over their publicly owned industries and state monopolies to private corporations.

Why Did Rockefeller Abandon Socialism?

John M. Work (In the Milwaukee Leader)

In its advance matter sent out to the press, the North American Review says that in its November number Rheta Childs Dorr tells why she has abandoned Socialism.

Under the existing system the banks have control over the accumulation of the profits which belong neither to them nor to their shareholders, but to millions of people all over the country.

On close analysis every statement about banks and bankers in the London Herald is found to be 100 per cent sound, sensible and true. Why then would a great and august money king who prizes himself as professional on the responsibility and general reliability of his character, dare to do a thing so viciously dishonest as to dismiss truthful statements as examples of "nonsense" and "ignorance."

It is because the banking profession is a predatory, robbing profession. The banker's responsibility and "honesty" is the responsibility and honesty of the money trust.

Oil Decision a Moral Victory

(From Labor, Washington, D. C.)

By winning its civil suits against Doheny and Sinclair, the United States government has restored oil reserves to the public.

There never was greater need for such a standard. Not since the Grant administration has there been such ghastly grafting as that which flourished during the Harding regime, and the oil industry is no exception.

Not to be outdone in graciousness, here's how Benny said it of Jimmy: "Mayor Walker is young, not only in appearance but in spirit. He is a man of great idealism, idealism and a practical man at the same time."

Now could anything be nicer than that, what the Democrat said of the Dictator and the Dictator of the Democrat? It may strain your gumpkin to allow Mussolini as a "humanitarian" and Walker as an "idealist," but as a famous Tammany politician once said: "What is the truth between friends?"

It will be many a day before the standard thus raised is forgotten. That is the great gain from the oil cases.

A branch of the military machine in Illinois is being investigated for bootlegging. The charge is made that a certain army is a booze joint on a huge scale.

The I. W. W. suddenly shows surprising strength in Colorado in an extensive and rapidly spreading coal strike which is developing all the symptoms of the old class wars of Cripple Creek, Victor and Ludlow days.

After hearing and seeing all this craziness, it's no wonder that Barto Chiappe of Chicago, president of the Garibaldi Legion; Michael Angelo Chiappe of Chicago and Commodore Leopoldo Zunini, Italian consul-general in Chicago, went to Rome and crowned Benny with a "solid green laurel wreath." Benny deserves all that's coming to him and more. So does Jimmy Walker. So does the Democratic party, and all the signs are that they'll get it, too. Here's hoping!

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APPEAL'S FEATURE DEPARTMENT

Harry W. Laidler, Editor

Socialism and Americanism

Are All Men Born Free and Equal?

In IV Articles Article II. Alfred Baker Lewis (Secretary New England District, Socialist Party)

When the American Colonists founded a new nation they set forth in the Declaration of Independence a ringing statement of the principles on which this new nation was to be established.

This statement does not mean of course that we are all equal in size, strength or ability. It means that we are all equal in opportunity.

America is said to be the land of opportunity. Probably it was the land of opportunity years ago when there was free land in the West and a man could get a homestead of 160 acres of first class farming land merely by settling there and paying \$1.00 registration fee to the Government.

Following the great Socialist victory in Norway, the capitalist press in Norway, the capitalist press hit by the event. It resorted to the usual living and coloring of news which it always resorts to when its fundamental interests are threatened.

OSLO, Norway, Oct. 21. The question as to which political party will be requested by the king to form a new cabinet, as a result of the work's parliamentary elections, still is uncertain.

The Labor party, with its strongly communistic program, will have sixty-two representatives in the storthing, against eighty-eight of the other five parties.

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of little use, that the owners of industry in fact are buying brains today almost as cheaply as they buy brains. A graduate of a law school for instance, often has to start out as an employee of a big law firm for practically nothing, "working for the experience only"; and a graduate of the Mass. Institute of Technology, one of the best engineering schools in the country, get only \$25.00 a week on his graduation, if he gets a job at all.

Not until we have Socialism will the principles of Americanism as set forth in our Declaration of Independence be made a reality. It is the Democrats and Republicans who are making a mockery of the principles of Americanism.

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What Should Be the Issues of 1928 Campaign?

A Symposium of Socialist, Labor and Liberal Thought

Government Ownership, Social Insurance, Anti-Imperialism

Paul H. Douglas

(University of Chicago)

In brief, I think the three issues which might be most emphasized are:

1. Government ownership of coal mines and water power, which would make it possible for a national power system to be developed. The example of Ontario and of Russia should be drawn upon to support this. In Russia the government is laying out a five-year program to cost five hundred million dollars for a national electrification program which will utilize the peat beds. We should in order to build up a national power system. If this is not done, the municipal experiments will inevitably go down because of the fact that private interests will have utilized the advantages of a super-power system.

2. A national system of social insurance which in cooperation with the states will provide health insurance, unemployment insurance and old age pensions. This can be done, I think, through the system of federal aid which will stimulate the states to action.

An Agricultural Program

James D. Graham

(Member Executive Committee, Socialist Party)

What issues should be stressed in the coming presidential campaign? In the west and south the agricultural question will be forced to the front.

The Republican party will likely advocate a protective tariff on farm products, which will make a hit among farmers. On the other hand the Democratic party will advocate a reduction of the tariff, claiming that the farmer pays the cost of the protective tariff of the industrialist. This will make a big hit with the farmers.

As for the Socialists, they should carry on a big campaign showing that

Protection of Free Trade has nothing to do with agricultural problems that afflict the farmer.

Proposed Platform

The Socialist Platform should read: Public Ownership of the Government.

Nationalization of Hydro Electric. The Agricultural situation should be most stressed upon as it concerns the whole industrial life of the nation and involves in the following order:

Nationalization of Railways.
Nationalization of Creameries.
Nationalization of the Canning Industry.
Nationalization of the Banking System.

Nationalization of Packing Plants, Tanneries, Cold storage plants, Elevators and Cereal Mills, and Sugar Refining.

The creamery industry at present is in rapid process of trustification, the large packing plants are gradually squeezing the independent and small cooperative creameries out of existence, and it is only a matter of a few years until the trust will be able to dictate to the dairy farmers of the entire nation. Dairying is the one thing that the trust has not got complete control of and dairying is the one thing on the farm that has helped the farmer in the past few years. In fact it has been his bulwark.

Canning Industry

The canning industry is close to all the people of the nation. Immense profits are made in this industry, the consumer pays a high price, the farmer receives a ridiculously low price for the canner for his crop, and labor conditions are beastly.

Nationalization of the canning industry will have to include the making of the machinery used in canneries and the making of the can. This means the nationalization of the American Can Company, the corporation or trust that controls the entire canning industry of the nation, through owning the canning machinery, which is leased to the canneries on a royalty basis, and which also controls all the cans and around the canners of the nation.

Over 13,000 people are employed in the canning industry in New York state and over 12,000 people are employed in Wisconsin. This does not include those employed in the work-

shops of American Can Company in these states. While there are no figures available on the number of farmers who are forced to sell their product to the canneries, it is safe to assume that over one million farmers are dependent on the canneries or the American Can Company, for the disposal of their field and orchard crops, and the conditions in the work-shops of American Can are among the poorest in the country, operated as the Company is on the open shop plan. The last congress put a tariff on butter fat in cream. This has not helped the farmers in North Dakota, Minnesota or Wisconsin, while raising the price or reducing the quality of cream to the residents of the north-eastern states.

The Butter Holdup

In March of last year President Coolidge raised the tariff on butter fifty per cent or from 8 to 12 cents a pound. Yet the farmers last year, as far as my investigation went, received on an average less for their butter than during the previous year, although the flow of milk from the cows was considerably less in 1926 than in 1925.

The tariff on butter or on butter-fat in cream means that the people, especially those of the northeastern states, have to pay a higher price. While the farmers receive no benefit, the corporations which control the market get all the benefits.

The markets of the eastern cities are lost to the farmers of Texas on account of competition with the Mexican farmers. This competition is caused by the privately owned irrigation systems of Texas, which charge the farmers \$10 a year (approximately) per acre for water, while the Mexican farmer gets his water from a government owned irrigation system at \$5 or \$6 per year per acre. A tariff on Mexican vegetables will only help the private owned irrigation systems and raise the cost of living to New Yorkers, without helping the farmers of Texas.

A tariff of 27 cents per pound on scoured wool equals 11 cents a pound on unscoured wool. Unscoured wool is what the farmer sells. The tariff on wool prevents the farmer from getting the wool to the world's markets with finished woolen goods, and does the sheep men little good. It is the high rate of interest that sheep men have to pay that runs away with the profits on sheep raising. No

Free Speech, Public Ownership, Abolition of War

B. C. Cox

(Mississippi)

The three most important issues that should be stressed during the coming presidential campaign are:

1. Orderly democratic government by adhering to our Constitution in regard to free speech, peaceable assembly, etc., instead of its violation by capitalistic officials of the two old parties, and by the adoption of an amendment to our constitution providing for the initiative, referendum and recall.

2. Public ownership of public utilities and national resources, so that the workers can retain all the wealth they produce instead of a large portion of it going to capitalistic owners as it does now.

3. The abolition of war and imperialism for war is just wholesale murder and imperialism is un-democratic, un-Christian and unjust.

Socialize Federal Reserve, Farm Relief, Modify Dry Law

Ernest Untermann
(Translator of Marx's Capital; Associate Editor, Milwaukee Leader)

The Versailles treaty and the Dawes plan, with their inevitable accompaniment, the demand of the big bankers for a cancellation of the remaining allied war debts, dominate the whole international diplomacy, including that of the United States.

All the domestic issues of the United States are directly affected by this major world issue. This is drastically proved by the recent order of Morgan to reduce the discount rate of the American federal reserve banks.

Socialize the Federal Reserve System

The first demand to be stressed by the Socialist party, or by any third party with which we may decide to cooperate, must therefore be the socialization of the federal reserve system.

The two old parties gave full control of the federal system to Morgan and his associates. This is the standard of living, the legal eight hour day, the inauguration of public works to reduce unemployment, and the equalization of farm and city

The Only Remedy

The decadence of agriculture is international and there is no remedy outside of nationalization.

The problems of the Iowa corn grower are the same as those of the South African farmer. The wheat growers of the Northwest have the same ills to vex them as those of Australia and New Zealand. The cattle raisers of Argentina are as much up against it as our western ranchers. The Danish dairy farmer and his cooperatives were held up to the American farmer, by big business, as a pattern to go by. Today the Danish farmer is receiving a dose of American methods from the Danish high-cropper. The bankers of Denmark started this year to selling out the Danish dairy farmers just the same as the U. S. bankers have been doing the farmers of the west for the past seven years.

Agriculture and Industry have become so interlocked in this country that a solution of the problems of the farmer virtually affects the industrial workers. Socialism is the only thing that can bring a harmonious working agreement, or cooperation, to the city and country.

The Socialist party can change the entire political complexion of the country, by taking up the agricultural question and giving a scientific solution to this problem will make this the most advanced nation on the face of the earth.

Nationalization, Labor Rule, Recognition of Russia

Solon DeLeon

(Editor American Labor Year Book)

1. Nationalization of land and industry. To unify the economic equipment of the nation.
2. A workers' and farmers' government. To insure that the unified economic equipment will be used for the good of the masses.
3. Recognition of Soviet Russia. To unite the two workers' and farmers' governments in a crusade of liberation throughout the earth.

him in the form of taxes. If you don't pay your rent, out you go. If you don't pay your taxes, out you go. If you don't pay your taxes, out you go. If you don't pay your taxes, out you go. If you don't pay your taxes, out you go.

Cancel the Volstead Act

In addition to the socialization of the federal reserve and construction farm relief, I think we should emphasize the cancellation of the Volstead act as the third major issue of the United States.

This is good tactics, because the Volstead act is highly incongruous for the old party system, and because our criticism of prohibition of enforcement rolls up the whole issue between democracy and Fascism, between clean government and spoils politics, between constitutional government and lawlessness.

I believe that with these three issues we can strike more directly at the fundamental pillars of capitalism and imperialism and promote more effectively a nation-wide reconstruction than both old parties than by the usual statement of Socialist principles and immediate demands, most of which are not practicable under present conditions and do not appeal to large masses of the common people.

All three issues are world issues, not merely domestic ones. Our federal reserve system will be directly involved in the inevitable revision of war debts and of the Dawes plan, which will become urgent not later than 1929, one year after the Dawes plan comes into full operation.

Farm Relief

These two issues, the socialization of the federal reserve system and the adoption of a real farm relief program in connection with this socialization, will dominate all other issues in the United States, such as the development of a public merchant marine, of air traffic, of power system, of farm exports, of tariff revision, of tax reform, of prohibition modification, of floor, etc.

From the labor point of view, a socialization of the federal reserve is a step towards the socialization of mines, railroads, shipping and power, because through the social control of the federal reserve all other economic issues, such as the raising of the standard of living, the legal eight hour day, the inauguration of public works to reduce unemployment, and the equalization of farm and city

Socialist Solution of the Money and Land Problems

By J. L. Talbott

(St. Louis, Missouri)

The Appeal of Aug. 27th, contains a letter from Mr. Tolley Hartwick, and reply by the editor of The Appeal, which I desire to comment on. The outstanding feature of the article and the editor's reply is the apparent desire to disagree. The tragedy of the age is this mania for disagreement, among well meaning disinterested citizens. Mr. Hartwick undertook to show that if the interest is now paid individually and private corporations was paid to the public that it would stop exploitation through interest. This is the very essence of the Socialist philosophy.

Our conception of Socialism is that the public should perform all public functions, not because the public would give to the individual more for a given amount of labor, (although this is true) but to make exploitation impossible.

Mr. Hartwick could have had no other thought in mind but public control of public credit, and the public doing the loaning. The editor builds a straw man, puts on the gloves and proceeds to knock him cold. Instead of recognizing Mr. Hartwick's proposal to "Nationalize our Money System," the editor assumes that Mr. Hartwick desired a tax equal to the interest.

The trouble with the editor is that he did not grasp Mr. Hartwick's demand for "the Nationalization of our money system," (which would necessitate the revocation of all charters of privately owned banks and the loaning of money by the public). This would, as Mr. Hartwick says, "bow over a whole row of legal robbers, who have been commissioned through bank charters to rob society."

The trouble with Mr. Hartwick is that he used the word Tax. Of course he is right. Interest is a tax. He was striving to point out the fact that a private tax is a method of exploitation, while a public tax (if not stolen from the public but used for public benefit) results in no exploitation. Is not a burden at all as each citizen would have it returned in the way of public benefit.

What is Money?

Mr. Hartwick's other mistake is that he does not point out the fact that the loaning of money into use is all wrong. As long as money goes into use by loaning the people must continue to go into debt. Every socialist has the correct idea of what money should be and how it should be put into use.

Money is nothing more nor less than a legal receipt—made legal by legislative acts.—The producers—farmers and wage earners—receive money merely as a receipt for service and goods.

Once money is in use, it performs its true function of service. The evil is that when money is printed it cannot be used except it be borrowed. This interest is perpetual, making debts perpetual, and ever increasing in amount.

The socialist idea of money is that no dollar should ever be put into use except in payment for service.

There are thousands that see the evil in our present interest robbery, but see no evil in ground rent and profit.

There are other thousands that see the evil in ground rent and land speculation but see no evil in interest and profit.

There are many who condemn huge profits, and see no wrong through interest, and exploit the masses through private ownership of land. In all recorded history there has been exploitation, which inevitably produces masters on the one hand and slaves on the other.

"It fares the land to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay."
Throughout the ages the more humane element of society have protested against this inhuman practice which still manifests itself in human affairs, and exploit the masses through private ownership of land. In all recorded history there has been exploitation, which inevitably produces masters on the one hand and slaves on the other.

The Real Remedy

It has been protested by all justice loving men and women since the dawn of civilization, and always the only possible cure that could be advanced has been public ownership and operation. No other remedy for our social ills can be proposed.

Any system of exploitation if carried far enough will produce poverty and want. If civilization is our goal, the Socialist philosophy of public operation of public utilities and the elimination of exploitation is the only possible way to reach that goal. Let us suppose that we elect a Socialist congress and president. Have the members of the party any universal conception of what steps would be taken to right our wrongs? We think not. This is the weakness of the Socialist Party.

Our goal is to abolish exploitation. Will we begin at the root of the evil or will we attack the twigs and small branches. I think all sensible persons realize the fact that if we destroy the root of a vine the vine will die. All exploitation has its roots fastened in the private ownership of the things that the masses must use.

The only remedy that can possibly be envisioned is to establish public ownership of land and all public utilities. How this is to be done is the question for the Socialist party to outline step by step, since interest is in reality not wealth, not capital, but a legal order for a certain amount of capital, it follows that if we are to procure public capital that we must "Nationalize money."

That is the public which is the source of all money must retain the control of its source in the interest of all. Money must not be loaned into use, but must be paid into use for service. This is the Socialist method? This would make money what every socialist has contended it should be—a legal receipt for service.

as does the air or the sunshine. Socialism implies and socialists demand public ownership of all land. Socialists declare that private ownership of land with privilege to hold out of use or rent or sell is as immoral as it would be to hold out of use or rent or sell the air or the sunshine and exploit the users of these gifts of nature. The Socialist goal includes restoring the land to all mankind and the abolition of exploitation through ownership of title to land.

To outline a method of restoring the land to the public (all of the people) is absolutely necessary if the Socialist party is to live and grow. The only logical method of abolishing exploitation through ground rent is to assume ground to be publicly owned, and collect the rental value of all ground by the public, and to use the rent thus collected for the benefit of the public.

These are the first steps to be taken and the Socialist party should say so in so many words. The other question of profits can only be corrected through public ownership. Public ownership of industry cannot be achieved without "Nationalization of the nation's money" and the restoration of the people's land to all of the people.

The crime of civilization that overshadows all other ills is unemployment. Socialism contemplates public employment of all citizens who want employment, and that every citizen may be assured of an opportunity to at all times earn an honest living.

The only way to assure employment for all is to establish a system of public employment of all surplus labor on public improvements, such as a course would make every worker secure, would create a home market, and stimulate production—would make Evolutionary Socialism inevitable.

Editor's Note

The editor of the American Appeal agrees heartily with most of the above article and considers it a very clear and able exposition of the Socialist idea of money and its proper uses.

The definitions of various forms of exploitation are good and the remedy proposed unassailable. There is only one point the Appeal would like to explain a little further.

Mr. Talbott bluntly proposes the public ownership of land. This raw statement without some explanation would shock the farmers out of every ten into a position of settled hostility to the Socialist movement. The nationalization of land does not necessarily mean ousting of individuals from occupancy and use. All land in the United States might be nationalized by law without a single farmer being moved from any farm legitimately held by him. The public ownership of land is not incompatible with the individual use of land.

Land Publicly Owned Now

As a matter of fact, land is in the last analysis publicly owned now. Uncle Sam owns your farm now and will take it over if you do not pay your taxes. You are one of Uncle Sam's tenants now and Uncle Sam is your landlord and you pay rent to

Liberal Capitalist View of Workers' Control of Industry

Editor's Note

A number of experiments in social industrial democracy have been undertaken during the past decade in the United States by employers. Many of these experiments were inaugurated during the 30-Ford war when the need for labor was great and some method of keeping the loyalty of labor needed to be devised.

Most of the councils set up by employers were merely advisory in their nature and possessed no final power. During this period the exceptionally interesting and important experiment was undertaken by the Hapgood family in connection with the Columbia Conserve Company of Indianapolis. This experiment has become increasingly democratic as the years have gone on. At present every employee in the factory has an equal vote at all company meetings has an equal voice with every other worker in the determination of policies. The Board of Directors has virtually given over all of these functions to this council.

The workers collectively, although not individually, are gradually purchasing stock of the concern out of the concern's profits. Part of the profits are now turned over to the stock holders, part to the workers in the form of premiums, part to a fund for the collective purchase of stock by the workers and part to an unemployment and old age fund. Mr. Hapgood and his family hope that within the next five or ten years the workers will purchase as a unit all of the stock and that the concern will be owned and managed 100 per cent by the workers. The concern at present has as its educational director a New Wales miner of the Miners' Union and the British Labor Party.

—H. W. L.

By William P. Hapgood

(Of the Columbia Conserve Company)

THESE are the industrial and social questions which are more and more on the lips and minds of the thoughtful. Is workers' control of industry practicable and desirable, and how is it to be accomplished?

This may be separated into the following questions:

1. Can workers be taught to manage their own industries and how?
2. If they are in control, will there be less friction than there is now between owners and employees?
3. If workers' control is to come, will it come through the process of evolution, or can it be brought about only by violence, through the expropriation of the present owners?

Fourth, what is the present autocratic influence of the Trade Union Movement on this problem?

I shall attempt to answer the above questions in the light of my experience during the last ten years with the experiment carried on by the Columbia Conserve Company whose goal has been workers' control and workers' ownership. This company reached the first goal, namely workers' control, several years ago, and is now making fairly rapid progress toward workers' ownership.

It was in the early part of the year 1917 when we made the change from

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autocracy to democracy in our plant. When the workers at that time were informed of the decision of the owners to place the management of the business in their hands they were, of course, quite skeptical with respect to the truthfulness of my statement to that effect. The first problem therefore was to get their confidence in the integrity of the owners. It took several years to accomplish that, but slowly as the years passed by more and more of the workers became convinced that the owners really wished them to manage the business. I think I can say without fear of contradiction that it has been some time now since there has been any doubt in the mind of any worker as to the integrity of the experiment.

School of Management

During the process of securing the confidence of the workers in the sincerity of the owners we set up an educational plan by means of which more and more of the workers were taught the problems of management. This school called the Council consisted of meetings regularly twice a month, and sometimes as frequently as three times a week, in which problems of interest to the workers, and of interest to the business, were discussed, and decided upon. It inevitably happened because of the technical knowledge of the business in the beginning, and for some time in the more important positions. Before those in other positions would enter fairly freely and with confidence into important decisions, they had to become more or less technicians themselves.

Through our experience I can answer positively that workers can be taught to manage their own business, if the technicians in the beginning willing to impart their knowledge to the workers. In my judgment the only way they can be given this knowledge is by actually entering into management, and being permitted, in fact being urged, to make their own decisions. I know they will respect the judgment of those more able than they until such a time as they feel confident of their own ability.

Problem of Friction

With reference to question two, I have had at times doubts in the last two years as to whether there will be less friction between individuals and groups within democratic industries than there is in the present autocratic form, but in the main I feel encouraged to believe that workers can learn to live intimately together in a free society and to adjust their differences when they arise. Unless this can be done, I can see little advantage in changing control from its present form to that of workers' control, and that unless democracy in industry results in a better spiritual attitude, unless it becomes a way of life instead of merely a form of government, it is of no permanent value.

I have had a great many arguments in recent years with people of various

belief with respect to the control of industry with trade unionists, socialists, communists, and anarchists. It is hard to find one who believes that industry in the United States may evolve into a genuine democracy. When I point to certain examples of this, not only to the Columbia Conserve Company but others, I am met usually with the reply that we are all exceptions, and such a rare exception that we do not count.

About two years ago I sat in a little group of communists in South Wales and when I made the statement that I felt industry in the United States would evolve into a democracy from one of the communists I was told, "You are setting up the backs of workers, and will not get until they are kicked off."

This attitude is, of course, the typical attitude of the communist, but it is true that I see no reason why such a completely selfish spirit should not exist just as deeply within the communist as within the capitalist, boom, and when the communist control be as autocratic as the autocrat of today.

I am confident that the chief business of the American business man is success, and I believe that this success will force him to change his relationship with his employees when it is proved that there is something in this relationship more permanent and more productive than the present one. In the last two years I had an opportunity to sit twice in meetings of the American Management Association, and I have spoken each time. Each time I have been very certain that my impulse which drove them had been efficiency. By efficiency I mean the ability to produce goods in the most effective manner.

I repeat it is my belief that workers, when encouraged, will be a part in the management, strongly as it, they will be invited in more and more, and I am also confident that if the technicians already in industry will act as teachers of the workers, they will make industry far more efficient than it is today.

With reference to the influence of the Trade Union Movement on the problem of workers' control, I feel much encouragement in such positions as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the Machinists' Union. I wish that the leaders of the American Federation of Labor had a better understanding of the needs of the workers. The Federation spends its energy in fighting for a little more bread and a little more leisure. They are, of course, essential, but there is something much more vital in the end than either, and that is a change in the position of the worker which will affect his spirit. The most effective way in which this may be accomplished is by bringing back to industry an opportunity for creative effort. Since machine replaced craftsmanship I know of no way that creative interest may return to industry except through participation in the problems of management, which includes production, distribution, financing, and more stimulating than all these, an earnest study on the part of the group of how to live together.